

u Parochialization and patterns of patronage in 11th-century Sussex

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The 11th century was a crucial period for the formation of the parochial system in England. The old minster parochiae were being broken up and their rights encroached upon by an increasing number of new churches, which can be recognized as the parish churches of the later Middle Ages. A study of Anglo-Saxon law-codes, Domesday Book, charters, confirmations, and other documentary sources from Sussex is used to recreate the chronology of parochialization in the county and allow for an assessment of the effect of the Norman Conquest and the subsequent changing patterns of patronage on the parish system. The patronage of magnates, particularly Robert of Eu and William de Braose, is used as an example of how a change of aristocracy did, and did not, come into conflict with the previously established jurisdictional areas of the minsters. An interdisciplinary approach is vital: archaeological and architectural evidence is assessed in order to gain as full an understanding as possible about the extent to which the parochial system was changing in the 11th century. The topographical and socio-religious peculiarities of Sussex are taken into consideration; especially the Wealden coverage of large parts of the uplands and the relatively late conversion of the South Saxons to Christianity which may have stifled the development of the minster parochiae in the first place. Although the county is treated as a discrete example of parochialization, the interpretations are applied to the rest of the country in order to make some useful generalizations.

Domesday Book does not record all the churches in Sussex in 1086, but if its information is supplemented with architectural, archaeological and additional documentary evidence, we can perhaps come close to realizing the full complement of 11th-century churches in the county; by mapping this information onto the parishes known to exist by the 13th century we can gain some idea of the level of parochialization at the end of the 11th century. That simplistic approach offers a structure from which useful generalizations can be made, but it can only be a framework upon which the construction of further evidence can allow a realistic interpretation to be made of the local Church in the 11th century. The status of these churches is vital to any understanding of the level of parochialization at this time — it is not enough to know simply whether a church existed as a building before 1100; whether it was a collegiate minster, independent church, or dependent chapel is fundamental to any discussion of church

and parish. Likewise, the ownership of local churches is important — increasing lay patronage of ecclesiastical establishments with churches and their endowments towards the end of the 11th century had the effect of separating manor and church and creating a more inflexible parochial system less liable to territorial changes.

Discussion of parochialization and changing patterns of patronage in Sussex must always take account of the local topography and the socio-political conditions. Mapping out the extent of the Weald and settlement within it at the end of the 11th century is a highly conjectural process. Brandon, for example, argues for minimal settlement in Wealden areas by 1100, whereas Sawyer and Gardiner both argue for the presence of more substantial settlement by the time of the Norman Conquest.¹ Obviously, the true extent of settlement would have had an effect on church distribution.

The division of Sussex into rapes created first four, then five, compact lordships. The attitude

towards patronage of two of these lords (Robert of Eu and William de Braose) is discussed, especially with regard to parochial authority in Bramber Rape, but it seems clear that the division of Sussex into rapes, whether pre- or post-Conquest,² did not directly affect parochial organization in the county; a greater socio-political determinant was the reallocation of the endowments of minster churches to other ecclesiastical establishments.

MAPPING THE 11TH-CENTURY CHURCH

The fundamental source for tracing the distribution of 11th-century churches is, of course, Domesday Book.³ The survey seems to have included Sussex within the same recording circuit as Hampshire, Berkshire, Kent, and Surrey — a circuit in which the proportion of recorded churches is relatively high in comparison to the northern, midland, and south-western circuits, but not as high as in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincolnshire.⁴ It is well known that outside those three counties Domesday is a temperamental guide to the existence of churches in 1086,⁵ a fact best demonstrated in Kent where we have the text of the almost contemporary *Domesday Monachorum*,⁶ which increases the number of Domesday churches by over 100 per cent.⁷ There are no such contemporary documents for Sussex, but the number of churches in Domesday can be augmented with architectural, archaeological, and other documentary evidence, at least to the degree that a viable distribution of churches in existence by 1100 can be mapped out (Fig. 1).⁸ Comparison of this map with one that has the churches added from the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291⁹ (Fig. 2) demonstrates that, apart from in the Wealden areas which were perhaps not so extensively settled until the next century, the number of local churches in existence by 1100 was not too far off its full 13th-century complement, which perhaps compels us to agree with Richard Morris' assessment that the question of whether or not a church existed before 1100 'is hardly now worth the asking'.¹⁰ What is most certainly still worth the asking is how much sooner than 1100 these churches were being built, and to what extent the building of a new church might constitute or imply the creation of the bounded parishes with baptism and burial rights that we find recorded in the 1291 *Taxatio*. As to the first point, we are largely reliant on archaeological

and architectural evidence for the dating of minor churches to any date before 1086.¹¹ Yet even this can rarely provide a date without a margin of error in decades, and the question of whether a certain church can be given an accurate chronology of construction before the 12th century has aroused an enormous amount of debate, most of it on the extent to which we can periodize 11th-century churches by study of the technological and stylistic conventions used in their construction.¹² The church of St Mary's, Sompting, provides just one example of the controversy from Sussex¹³ — whereby the tower and even the 'Rhenish helm' spire have been credited to dates from as early as 950 to as late as the 1090s.¹⁴ But of course, even if a date can be posited on architectural grounds, the structural remains may not represent the earliest building on the site but rather one that replaced an older, perhaps wooden, edifice. The 1974 excavations at Angmering demonstrate how an Anglo-Saxon church was replaced by a structure of c. 1200 which developed through two further rebuilding phases before being demolished in the 16th century.¹⁵ Without excavation we would not have known anything about the earlier structure(s) (Domesday Book does not record a church at Angmering), and the dearth of other excavated church-sites prevents any useful statistical analysis which could show the distributive extent of earlier Anglo-Saxon churches beneath later sites.¹⁶

The list of churches given in Appendix 1 and mapped in Figure 1 constitutes all local churches which were probably standing in Sussex by the end of the 11th century. But the problem still remains that the large majority are either known from Domesday or have been designated 'Saxo-Norman overlap' on architectural grounds.¹⁷ Very few can be as confidently assigned to the pre-Conquest period as Worth or Bosham, or even to any specific period between the 1050s and 1100.¹⁸ Further, there are only twelve churches *explicitly* mentioned in pre-Conquest charters for Sussex,¹⁹ a figure for definite Anglo-Saxon (not just pre-1100) churches that can be supplemented by literary references,²⁰ but one which cannot be added to with absolute conviction by many of the churches listed in Appendix 1. Even in an early charter the mention of a church does not prove its survival to the 11th century after the disruptions of the Viking wars — in Sussex's case only Donnington, Southease, and Telscombe are mentioned later than 900.²¹ However, the fact that

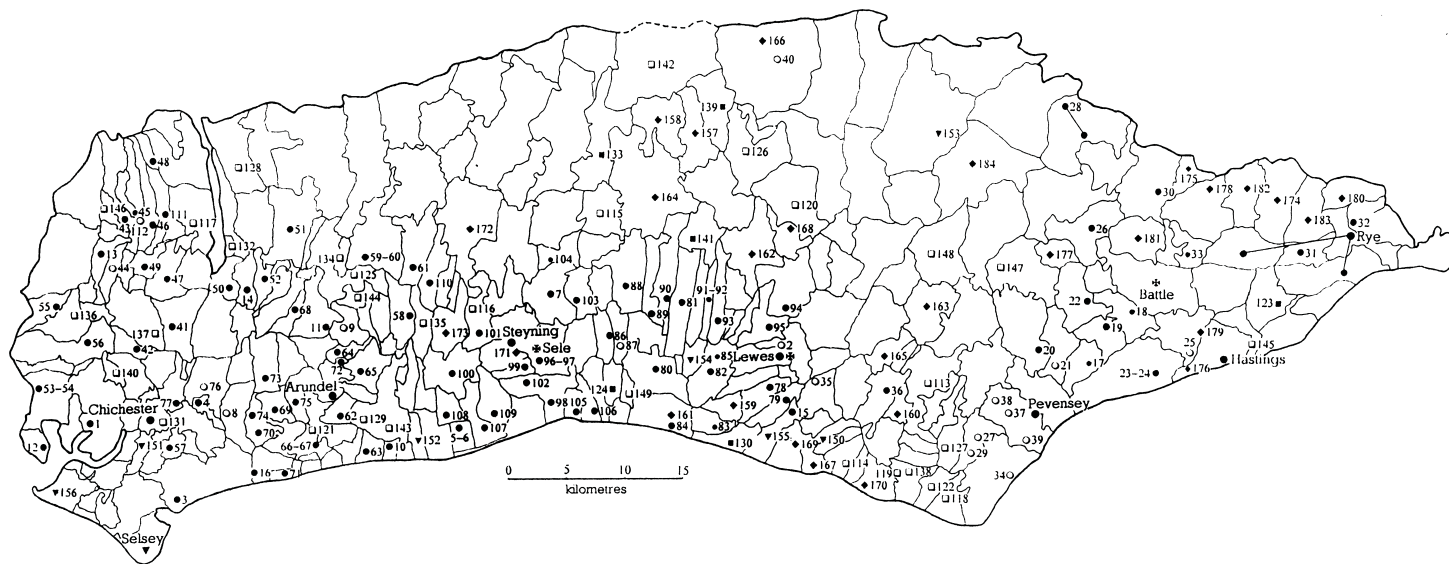


Fig. 1. Churches and chapels in 11th-century Sussex. The parish boundaries are the 19th-century ecclesiastical divisions from the tithe assessment maps unless evidence for previous changes was found. Smaller symbols denote chapels. The numbers refer to the listing in Appendix 1.

- | | |
|---|---|
| ● <i>ecclesia</i> in Domesday | ■ Archaeological/Architectural evidence with documentary evidence for 11th-century church |
| ● <i>ecclesiola</i> in Domesday | ▼ Pre-Conquest charter mentioning church |
| ○ Implication of a Domesday church | ◆ Post-Conquest documentary evidence for 11th-century church |
| □ Archaeological/Architectural evidence for 11th-century church | ✠ Monastery/Priory |

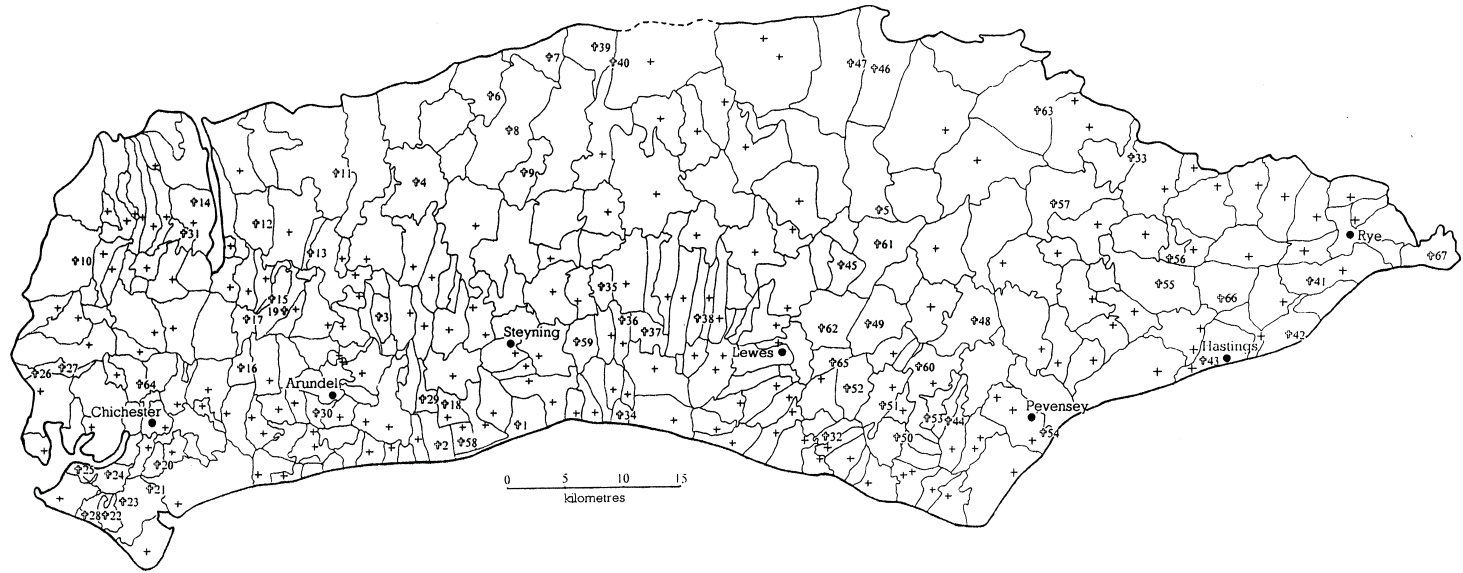


Fig. 2. The *Taxatio* parish churches of 1291. See Appendix 2 for listing and details.

⊕ Evidence for pre-1100 church (from Fig. 1)

† *Taxatio* church not recorded before 1100

charters can be assigned as either authentic or as later copies but still of a genuine pre-Conquest date, does allow us to accept an explicit church reference as constituting the actual presence of an Anglo-Saxon church.²²

It is manifestly difficult to conclude over what period of time local churches in Sussex came to be as numerous as Appendix 1 demonstrates they were by 1100 — was Domesday partially recording a ‘great rebuilding’, or a new building campaign, or just a certain point in time of a more gradual process?²³ William of Malmesbury suggests that it was the Normans who initiated an ecclesiastical rebuilding, even at a local level — speaking of post-Conquest events he observed: ‘you may see everywhere churches in villages (*villis aecclesias*), in towns and cities monasteries rising in a new style of architecture’.²⁴ But were these churches merely updating older churches in the new Romanesque style or creating churches where there had been none before? Goscelin’s report of Bishop Hermann of Ramsbury’s words at Rome in 1050 certainly suggests a new church-building campaign well before the Conquest: ‘England itself is everywhere filled with churches, which are being added to in new places every day’.²⁵ Such literary evidence supplies useful generalizations concerning contemporaries’ perceptions of the development of the local Church, but they could just be noticing the replacement of wood with stone — Richard Morris certainly sees this as the case and suggests that a large number of parish churches were in existence by 1000 and that the 11th-century rebuilding was indeed such a *conversion*.²⁶ However, Sussex may not fit this pattern so well because of the apparently real absence of churches in the north-eastern Wealden hundreds. Certainly, in order to relate the actual church buildings themselves to the development of the parochial system of which they were a part we need to take in a wider range of evidence.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MINSTER SYSTEM IN SUSSEX

The parochial system of the pre-Viking Church seems to have been based on a network of minster churches whose religious communities performed pastoral duties over areas that could form several later parishes.²⁷ William Page postulated that minster *parochiae* often coincided with the shire hundreds, whilst the minster church itself often stood in the

hundredal town: ‘Consequently, it may perhaps be concluded that . . . one church originally served the district dependent upon such an administrative centre’.²⁸ Figure 3 does show a loose correlation between minsters and hundred centres in Sussex — these centres often being *ville regales*, although in Peter Sawyer’s list of royal villis in pre-Conquest England only four out of the twelve Sussex villis — Aldingbourne, Beddingham, Lymminster, and Steyning — have any firm evidence to suggest their churches had minster status.²⁹

It is perhaps more useful not to see minster development as in any strict sense constrained by hundredal boundaries (which may not have even been defined until the 10th or even the 11th century), but rather as an integral part of an earlier system of land division that can be traced in charter evidence. Stanmer, in the Domesday hundred of Falmer, is demonstrative of such development. In a charter of *c.* 760–771, which was preserved in the Canterbury archive,³⁰ 16 hides in Stanmer and its appurtenances in Lindfield and Burleigh were granted by King Ealdwulf to Hunlaf, *comes*, ‘to build there a *monasterium*’.³¹ The bounds, which although written down later presumably retain the older tradition, delineate an estate stretching northwards into the Weald almost to the Surrey border, and it is tempting to equate such an elongated land-apportionment with the similar topographic alignment of the later north–south parishes that cover the central area of Lewes rape (*see* Fig. 1).³² Such boundary topography was usually adopted so as to allocate to each parish a similar distribution of soil-types; presumably Hunlaf’s estate was similarly arranged so as to take in both the richer arable land around Stanmer and the forest lands of Lindfield and Burleigh in the Weald, although by the time of Domesday the hundred of East Grinstead in which Burleigh stood seems to have been cleared and settled more than most other Wealden hundreds.³³ The *monasterium* at Stanmer could well have been the centre of a *parochia* based on Hunlaf’s estate, the components of which — Westmeston, Ditchling, and Wivelsfield — later developed into parish centres with their own churches and parish boundaries which imitated the topographical alignment of the old *parochia*. If that is correct, the actual *parochia* boundaries certainly seem to be preserved in sections of the later parish bounds, notably around Stanmer itself and between Ditchling and Wivelsfield and then northwards.³⁴

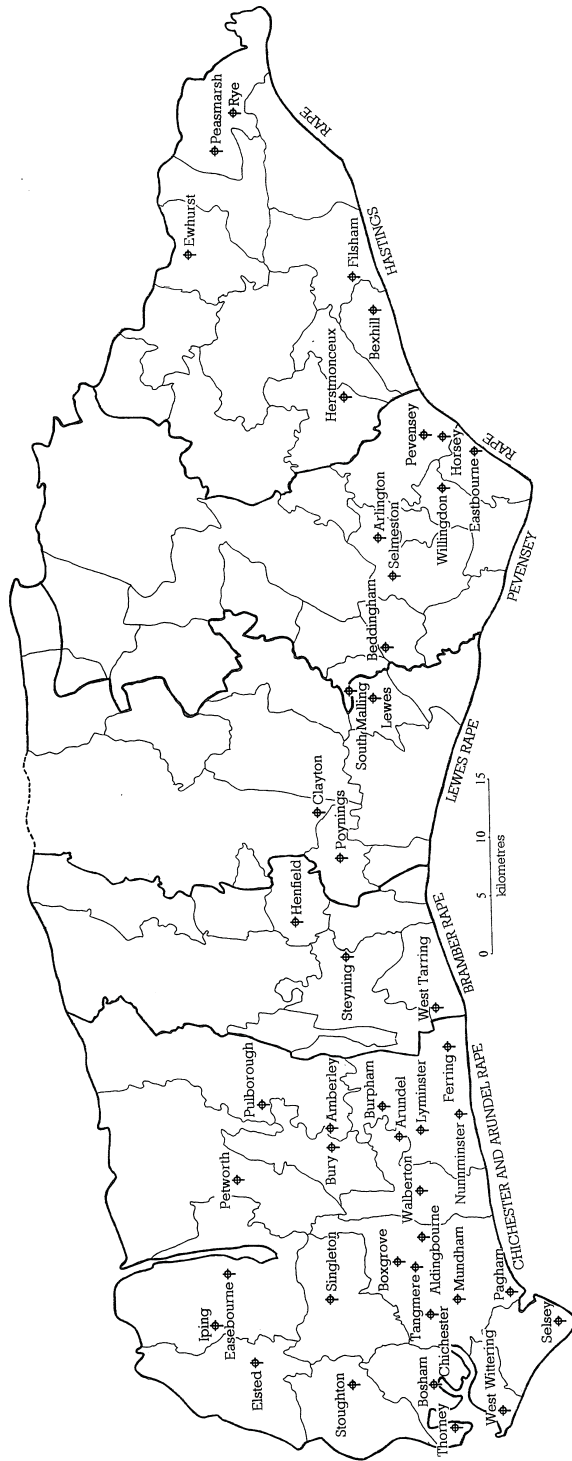


Fig. 3. The Domesday Hundreds and minster churches.

⊕ Minster status churches derived from methods described in text.

⊕ Hundred boundaries are those of 1086 as are the rape boundaries which are shown in heavier lines.

It is impossible to define an exact chronology of parochialization for the Stanmer *parochia*; Ditchling had a church in Domesday³⁵ and Wivelsfield certainly had a church by 1100, but it seems likely that Stanmer's minster status had already been downgraded and its importance subsumed by St Michael's at South Malling after both manors came into the possession of Canterbury — both were in the hands of the archbishop in Domesday Book but the date of transfer is not known. That would explain the reference in the Stanmer charter confirming the donation to St Michael's: '... This grant [is] for the building of a *monasterium*, and the increase of those there serving God and St Michael although founded long since in the pious days of old'³⁶ which is probably a later interpolation by a copyist from amongst the canons of South Malling so as to give weight to their claims to the estate, and could also explain why there is no material or documentary evidence for Stanmer's minster status beyond the 8th century.³⁷ This would suggest that only the larger minsters, such as South Malling, could maintain any pretensions to superiority over the wide areas of the old *parochiae* beyond the 10th century. Such long-lived minster status can be seen at Selsey, the diocesan see until 1075.

The 7th-century minster foundation recorded by Bede³⁸ was the subject of a forged charter, purportedly of King Caedwalla in 683 but in fact probably from c. 957 when King Eadwig restored land to Bishop Brihtelm after seizure by one Aelfsige.³⁹ In regard to the development of the parochial system, what this charter demonstrates is that the Selsey estate consisted of the entire hundred of Manhood, and that apart from West Wittering there is no evidence for any parish church in existence before 1100 in any of the later parishes; it is only in the 12th century that we see the parochialization of the hundred and the division of Selsey's *parochia*.⁴⁰ What these two examples suggest is that some minsters did not come out of the 9th- and 10th-century Viking disturbances with their status or even their buildings intact. Stanmer exemplifies such developments: there is no definite evidence for a church building here between the date of the charter already discussed, and the 12th century. Conversely, Selsey's minster status was maintained, apparently with full parochial authority over Manhood hundred, until the late 11th or early 12th century. The size, prestige and income of the cathedral minster saw it through the Viking disruptions whilst smaller, poorer minsters lost their superior status and seem

to have needed, or to have sought, protection from the jurisdictional encroachment of proprietary churches in their *parochiae*.

By the 10th century there was institutional recognition of the minster system in the form of entries in the law-codes that seem to have been developed to arrest minster partition and to protect the rights of the *eald mynstru*. P. H. Hase has pointed out that these Anglo-Saxon law-codes which discuss parochial rights, 'assume, without exception, that the normal parochial system in England was the mother church with its dependent chapels'.⁴¹ But the laws do imply that it was a system under threat — Edgar's second code is keen to stipulate that 'all payment of tithe is to be made to the old minster (*ealden mynstre*), to which the parish belongs'⁴² — a law which needed reiteration in 1009 in VIIAethelred 4.1, and then again in 1020 ∞ 1022 when a series of laws was issued to ensure that tithe and churchscot were paid to the *ealden mynstres*.⁴³ In both the Aethelred and Cnut codes churches are given differing status, from chief minster down to *feldcircan*,⁴⁴ but what is perhaps most interesting is that both IIEdgar 2 and ICnut 11 allow for a thegn with a church and a graveyard on his bookland to 'pay a third part of his own tithes into *his* church'.⁴⁵ Any proliferation of such a proprietary church system would obviously affect the status and income of old minsters.⁴⁶ Although we need to be careful not to equate the appearance of what would by the 12th century usually be a parish church, with the immediate cessation of minster rights over that parish,⁴⁷ it is valid to say that by 1086 the parochial system that was presumed in operation and protected under Anglo-Saxon laws until 1022 had transformed itself into a system much closer to that revealed by the *Taxatio* of 1291, although the evidence from Kent suggests a diluted yet still well-defined role for the 12 mother churches in that county, listed in the *Domesday Monachorum*.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, it is impossible to date the general breakdown of the Sussex *parochiae* any closer than this because of the limitations on dating churches discussed, and the general lack of 11th-century charter evidence (but *see* below). Perhaps most critical though, is the fact that even if such definite evidence as there is for narrowly dating 11th-century church buildings is taken at face-value, we are still unable to say by when the 12th-century parishes had gained their autonomy and rights. There is, however, in Sussex, scope for reconstructing the

areas of several *parochiae* and suggesting local deviation in the chronology of parochialization.

IDENTIFYING MINSTERS AND THEIR *PAROCHIAE*

Figure 3 maps out the churches which were likely to have had minster status in Sussex. John Blair has listed the criteria which can provide evidence of minster status using Domesday Book alone,⁴⁹ from which 23 Sussex churches can be deemed to have had such a superior position.⁵⁰ The manor of Aldingbourne in Box Hundred, for instance, belonged to the bishop of Chichester and answered for 36 hides in 1066 and 1086, of which 10 hides were held by an unnamed priest and three named clerics, Robert holding 5 hides, Hugh holding 3 hides, and Alfwerd with 1 hide. They were presumably the landholding tenants of the church there, and it is interesting to note Norman and English clergy working together in a collegiate church — something that is also recorded at Amberley and Elsted.⁵¹ Aldingbourne has also been classed as a *villa regis*,⁵² and it is reasonable to suggest that it was a superior church attached to a Saxon royal manor and that its parochial responsibilities extended beyond the bounded parish of later centuries. To these 23 probable minsters can be added a further 18 churches (as mapped in Fig. 3) for which later evidence can not only suggest superior status but also allow the conjectural reconstruction of their *parochiae*.⁵³

Petworth Church in Rotherbridge Hundred gives no hint of minster status from its Domesday entry: 'there is a church' is all that is recorded.⁵⁴ It is only from the charter confirmations granting Petworth to Lewes Priory in the 12th century that we can recognize Petworth's original parochial area. Reginald de Windsor,⁵⁵ in c. 1140, confirmed a charter made to Lewes Priory by his predecessor Alan fitzIvo for the church of *Pettewortha*⁵⁶ — a grant also reconfirmed by Bishop Seffrid I of Chichester. Petworth church is given with:

omnia que ad illam pertinent tam in ecclesiis quam in capellis, terris et decimis atque pasturis et ceteris contingentibus suis, ecclesiam de Tolintona cum his que ad eam pertinent, ecclesiam de Lotegaresala cum contingentibus suis, capellam de Dunchetuna cum contingentibus suis, capellam de Treva cum contingentibus suis.

all which belongs to it both in churches and chapels, lands and tithes and pastures and other things, the church of Tillington with whatever belongs to it, the church of Lurgashall with its belongings, the chapel of Duncton with its belongings, and the chapel of River with its belongings.⁵⁷

The churches of Tillington and Lurgashall, and the chapels of Duncton and River, were clearly 'all which belongs to it', and in a later confirmation, which although a forgery can legitimately be seen as preserving earlier tradition,⁵⁸ these four churches are listed as owing pensions to Petworth.⁵⁹ An even more explicit statement of the nature of Petworth's ecclesiastical authority is given in another charter from Lewes Priory, where in c. 1145, Robert de Altariua granted land at Kelesham in exchange for the right to dedicate a new church at *Bleteham* (modern Egdean) along with, 'the cemetery of the same church, so that the same church of *Bleteham* be in subjection to the church of *Pettewerda*, namely, of *romscot* as much as pertains to the said church of *Bleteham* and the customs which pertain to the oil and chrism'.⁶⁰ The dedication at Egdean church can be seen as the first stage in what may have already happened at the other four dependent churches — the founding of a proprietary church within the *parochia* resulting in the subsequent growth of an autonomous parish centred on that church, and the gradual infringements on Petworth's rights which were only partially retained in the form of pension dues. Egdean actually classes as a late example of parochialization — 12th-century canon law was hardening against encroachments upon the rights of existing churches by the creation of new parishes with new rights and pretensions.⁶¹ Duncton church was definitely,⁶² and Lurgashall church was probably⁶³ in existence by 1100, whilst there is no evidence for pre-12th-century churches at Tillington or River — so a rough chronology for the division of Petworth's *parochia* is possible, with the conclusion that even into the 12th century the church of St Mary at Petworth at the least maintained the *status* of a minster church over its *parochia*, whilst even in Tillington and Egdean parishes its priests may have continued ministering over the whole area from the minster centre.⁶⁴

Figure 4 shows the parochialization of Petworth *parochia*. The small southern parishes of Rotherbridge Hundred — Barlavington, East Lavington, Burton, and Sutton — may have formed part of Petworth's

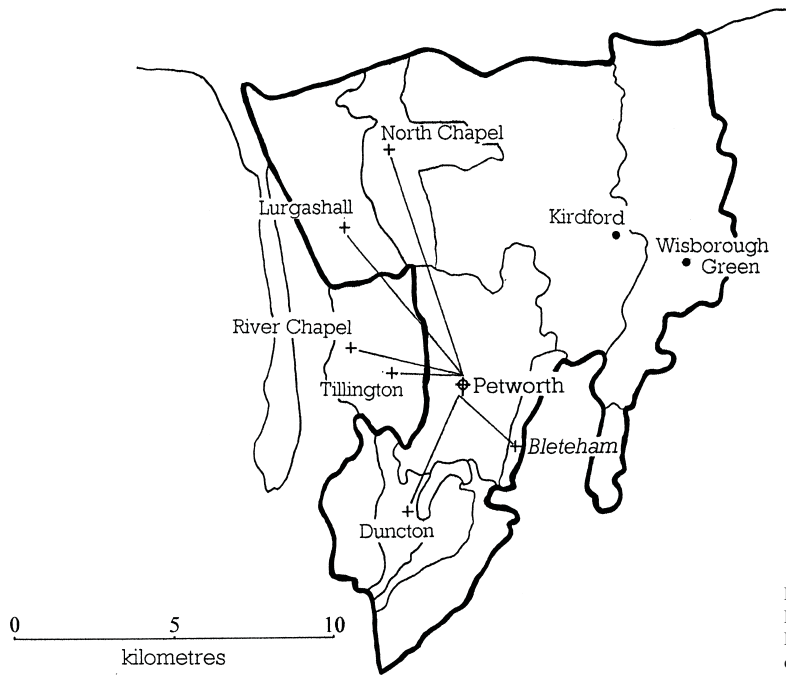


Fig. 4. The *parochia* of Petworth minster church. Petworth is shown as the central church of Rotherbridge Domesday hundred with its 12th-century dependent chapels (see text).

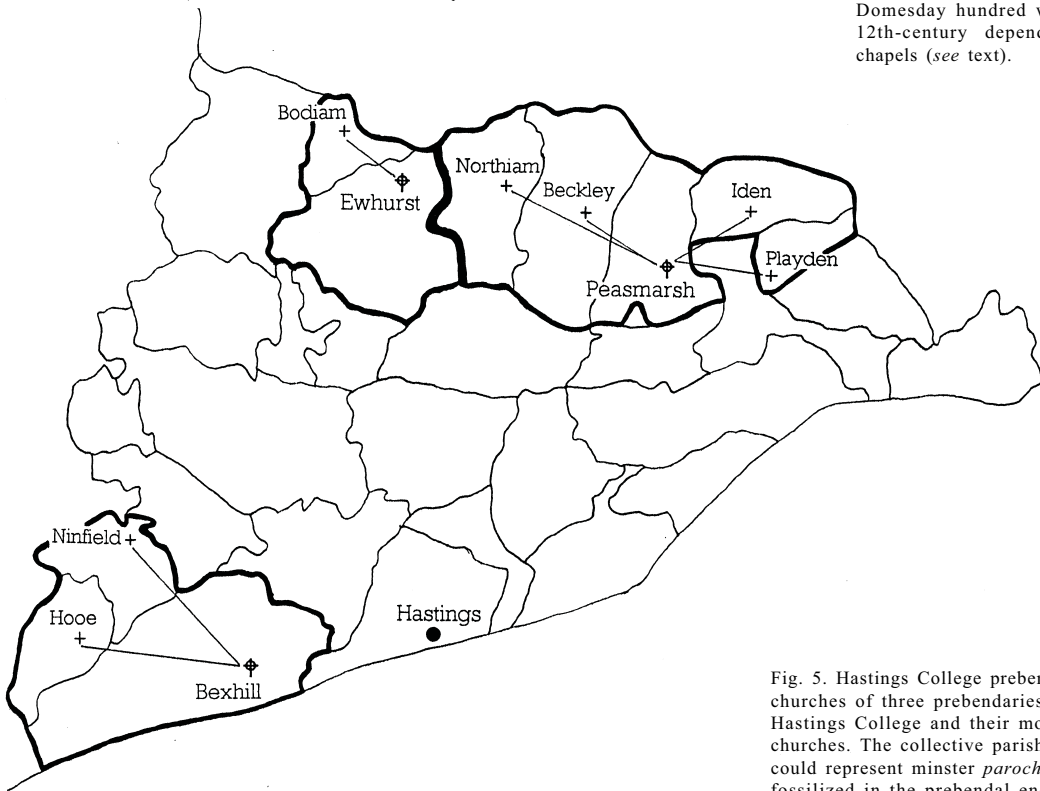


Fig. 5. Hastings College prebends. The churches of three prebendaries at Hastings College and their mother churches. The collective parish areas could represent minster *parochiae* fossilized in the prebendal endowments of the churches (see text).

pre-Conquest *parochia* if Page's suggestion of hundredal minsters holds for Rotherbridge, although Tillington was assessed in Easebourne Hundred in Domesday Book.⁶⁵ North Chapel always remained a chapelry of Petworth in the Middle Ages,⁶⁶ but the other Wealden parish of Kirdford certainly had a church by the mid-12th century⁶⁷ although there is no mention of the parish until 1228.⁶⁸ The proliferation of place-names in the parish relating to 'wood' and 'folds' suggests a still densely wooded area in the 11th century and that the population may not have warranted a separate parish. In the 13th century, when there was a larger population in the Weald, Kirdford itself attained a chapelry at Plaistow,⁶⁹ but the way Kirdford's parish bounds are carved out of Petworth parish certainly suggests that it may once have been part of the old *parochia*.⁷⁰

An even later division of a *parochia* is recorded at Wittering, where Bishop Seffrid II of Chichester licensed the chapel of Itchenor within Wittering's parish to become an independent church with burial rights in the 1190s.⁷¹ Likewise, we have the example of the dispute in 1180–81 between the Cluniac monks of Lewes Priory and Adam, priest of Poynings church, over the rights of the neighbouring church of Pyecombe. Adam seems to have claimed that Poynings was Pyecombe's mother church with associated rights — something which the Lewes monks (who held Pyecombe in endowment) disputed. Bishop Seffrid arbitrated and confirmed Pyecombe's status as an independent parish church: 'Adam has renounced all legal rights which he was said to have had himself in the church of Pyecombe (*Picumbe*), and has entirely and forever quitclaimed his rights to the monastery of Lewes, and he himself has surrendered it into our hands for the use of the monks'.⁷² But the chronology of parochialization in Sussex is rarely as late as this — 12th- and 13th-century evidence in the form of disputed rights or pensions payable to a superior church will usually suggest the recognition of a former dependent status of one or more churches on another but will not tell us at what date the 'real' dependence became a formalized recognition.

In all, the example of Petworth and the general lack of 11th-century churches in the Wealden areas are suggestive of the prolongation of a minster system of some kind here until at least the late 11th century, whereas along the coastal plain of West Sussex the number of 11th-century churches indicates that

Domesday Book is recording parochialization at an advanced stage.⁷³ It does need to be noted, however, that there is an inherent problem involved when minster *parochiae* are reconstructed geographically from documentary evidence, in that the later boundaries which actually delineated the parishes of the later Middle Ages may not have been derived from the boundaries of the older *parochiae*. John Blair has warned that most 11th-century churches belonged to manors smaller than later parishes: 'So far as we can see, the "parish" of a manorial church was simply the lands of the manor: if its lord acquired or alienated land, its boundaries would expand or shrink accordingly'.⁷⁴ However, there is evidence for continuation of boundary use in Sussex, as elsewhere, over long periods — the bounds of the Pagham estate charter of 680 which was forged c. 957 are certainly continued in later parish boundary divisions,⁷⁵ the bounds of the Durrington charter of 934 seem to be largely perpetuated in the later parish bounds of Durrington and Clapham,⁷⁶ and the perpetuation of part of the Stanmer estate in the later parishes that were formed from it have already been mentioned.

What of the social attitudes towards parochialization?⁷⁷ It is very difficult to estimate the degree of communal solidarity that was fostered by membership of a parish before we have records of the internal administration and government of such bodies from the late 12th century,⁷⁸ although it is reasonable to suggest that as a defined social entity, small, one-vill parishes must have encouraged community solidarity more than large minster *parochiae* when it came to collective activity.⁷⁹ Cnut's law that all men must contribute towards church building repairs⁸⁰ can best be understood if applied at a parish level where a church would be perceived as an integral part of the community, rather than at *parochia* level where a minster church would not perhaps be deemed an appropriate object of enforced communal contributions. This argument furthers the case for early parochialization, but the local differences in the chronology discussed above always need to be remembered.⁸¹

What is clear from evidence for the 11th century is a change in the pattern of ecclesiastical patronage in the post-Conquest period — the landed endowments of minsters were increasingly transferred by their Norman incumbents to monasteries both in England and Normandy, or were used to form the prebends of collegiate churches.

PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE

The accumulated endowments of Battle Abbey and Fécamp Abbey are the most obvious examples of Anglo-Norman patronage of Benedictine monasteries from the Sussex Domesday.⁸² By 1096 another Benedictine house had been founded at Sele by William de Braose,⁸³ and the first Cluniac priory in England had been founded at Lewes⁸⁴ — the confirmation charter of William de Warrene II to Lewes (c. 1095)⁸⁵ certainly demonstrates the earl living up to the emulatory ideal that Orderic Vitalis placed on the Anglo-Norman aristocracy: ‘They vied with each other in the good work and competed in giving alms generously as befitted their rank’.⁸⁶ By the 12th century Lewes held property worth almost £800, a large proportion of which had been granted before 1100.⁸⁷ The monastic communities at Battle, Fécamp, Sele, and St Martin of Séz also continued to receive Sussex endowments during the 11th century,⁸⁸ but Anglo-Norman piety was by no means exclusively directed at regular houses.⁸⁹

The collegiate church of St Mary’s at Hastings presents an example of how ecclesiastical patronage was changing in the late 11th century, but at the same time how the ethos of secular collegiate minsters was being preserved.⁹⁰ The actual foundation date of the college is not known for certain — in 1299 a commission was appointed to examine the bishop of Chichester’s claim that it was not a royal free chapel and that he held jurisdiction over it,⁹¹ whereupon the canons produced a petition that explicitly stated that the college had been founded by Edward the Confessor in honour of his murdered brother Alfred — that is, sometime between the latter’s death in 1036 and 1065 — a claim that would be substantiated if the church depicted at Hastings in the Bayeux Tapestry were St Mary’s.⁹² Unfortunately for the canons, two years later the bishop’s attorney produced before the king’s bench a foundation charter and confirmations stating that Robert count of Eu was *fundator et edificator* of the college.⁹³ There is no extant original charter but we do have a 13th-century copy of the confirmation grant of Henry of Eu (Robert’s grandson, who died in 1140) which does state that Robert of Eu was the founder — although this could be read as a *refoundation* of an older establishment based on new endowments.⁹⁴ Either way, the charter explicitly shows how the count’s patronage was directed at secular canons rather than a regular order. What it

also shows is how minster *parochiae* could become fossilized within prebendal endowments.

There were ten prebends attached to the college, some of them, as Mark Gardiner has pointed out,⁹⁵ evidently post-Conquest endowments taken from Robert of Eu’s holdings, some of which were out of the county.⁹⁶ However, some of the prebends seem to have been partly endowed with the churches and endowments of old minster *parochiae*, *en bloc*. Theobald’s prebend was later known as the prebend of Peasmarsh because the lands of Peasmarsh church made up the bulk of the endowment⁹⁷ — these included the lands of four semi-dependent churches: Iden, Beckley, Northiam, and Playden chapel — a dependency perpetuated by the pensions that the former three were still liable to pay to Peasmarsh in 1291, and even 1535.⁹⁸ Likewise, the prebend of William fitzAlec consisted in part of the churches of Bexhill, Ninfield, and Hooe,⁹⁹ the latter two having to agree a payment to Bexhill for burial rights as late as 1180.¹⁰⁰ The prebend of Ralph Tayard included Ewhurst church and what was evidently still its dependent chapel of Bodiam, which did not have a graveyard; burial rights remained with Ewhurst.¹⁰¹ The churches and their endowments making up part of these prebends therefore seem to constitute the areas of the old minster *parochiae* (Fig. 5), and their reconstitution as the patronages of prebends at Hastings suggests that some form of exclusive ministering from the mother churches and the associated rights had only recently been infringed upon by the churches and chapels mentioned. Unfortunately, the doubt about the foundation date means that a chronology for parochialization in the easternmost hundreds of Sussex could range from 1036 (Alfred’s death) to Robert’s ‘foundation’ in c. 1090.

There are no such doubts as to the foundation date of the college of secular canons at Bramber. In 1073 William de Braose founded the college of St Nicholas just outside his castle and endowed it with land, tithes, and revenues from within his rape.¹⁰² This new collegiate church and its appurtenances was given over to the Angevin abbey of St Florent les Saumer sometime before 1080¹⁰³ — William evidently saw no discrepancy in being patron to both the secular canons who would administer the spiritualities of the church, and the regular monks in Anjou who would receive proportions of the endowment revenues.¹⁰⁴ What is most interesting to our discussion though, is that the charter appears

to grant Bramber parochial rights within the defined area of de Braose's manor of Steyning.¹⁰⁵ Such an attempted imposition of spiritual rights over an area did not meet with the approval of the owners of St Cuthman's collegiate church at Steyning — the abbey of the Holy Trinity, Fécamp. In 1086 we see just how vehemently Fécamp was willing to defend its parochial rights — in a judicial sitting that lasted for an entire day, King William himself presided over a plea from Fécamp that sought to curtail the temporal and spiritual encroachments of Bramber into the parochial region of Steyning. The king's decision was very much in favour of Steyning and Fécamp:

De sepultura Sancti Cuthmanni hoc statutem fuit ut quieta maneret; et jussu regis corpora defunctorum, que ad ecclesiam Willelmi sepulta fuerant, ab hominibus ipsius Willelmi defossa sunt et ad Ecclesiam Sancti Cuthmanni reportata, ad legitimam scilicet sepulturam. Et Herbetus decanus retulit denarios quos acceperat de sepulturis, de wacis, de signis sonatas, et de toto quod accipitur pro mortuo.

Concerning Saint Cuthman's rights of burial this statute has been made so that those rights remain unchallenged (*quieta*); and by the king's command the bodies of the dead which have been buried at William's [de Braose's] church, are to be exhumed (*defossa*) by William's own men, and carried back to the church of St Cuthman's, namely for lawful burial. And dean Herbert [the chaplain at Bramber] is to return any money he may have received for the burials, for wakes, for the sounding of bells, and all other things he has received for burials.¹⁰⁶

The grisly scene of 13 years' worth of buried bodies being exhumed and moved from Bramber to Steyning must have had the effect of ingraining in the collective consciousness of the parishioners that Bramber was not a parish and that Steyning — though not in any true sense still a minster — was still the mother church. John Blair raises the interesting point that the *Vita Sancti Cuthmanni* could have been reworked at this time to bolster Fécamp's claims by invoking the name of the 7th-century patron saint of Steyning as added proof of the church's claims to an ancient superior status.¹⁰⁷ Whether this was the case or not, the 1086 ruling in favour of Fécamp must have stifled both the revenues and the validity of Bramber church,

because by 1096 it had been dissolved and its endowments transferred to Sele Priory in Beeding, the church of St Nicholas being given over to Fécamp¹⁰⁸ — this despite the new holders of Bramber church, the abbey of St Florent les Saumer, attempting to resurrect the claims to parochial authority over 'Bramber parish' in 1094–6.¹⁰⁹

PATRONAGE AND PAROCHIALIZATION

So what are we to conclude from the events in Steyning and Bramber 1073–1096, and the other aspects of patronage and parochialization discussed? William de Braose seems to have been directly challenging Fécamp Abbey's jurisdictional authority in his rape by attempting to infringe its temporal and spiritual rights with the foundation of what was essentially a proprietary church.¹¹⁰ Confusion (or, at the least, uncertainty) as to the limits of parochial authority allowed him to endow a college which had the potential of carving out a new parish from one already in existence — it failed to do so only because of Fécamp's relentless opposition.¹¹¹ Minster churches without such powerful lords intent on preserving their privileges were not in the same position to prevent parochialization within their region — the Steyning/Bramber example helps us to form a clearer picture of what was happening within other Sussex *parochiae*, such as Petworth, at different periods in the 11th century. Proprietary churches formed at the centre of communities were able to carve out their own bounded districts from the old *parochiae* and gain baptism and burial rights, whilst still retaining a subservient link to the old mother church which was often not broken until the 13th or even the 16th century.¹¹²

An exact chronology of parochialization for Sussex is impossible, beyond the bounds discussed. But the pattern of patronage, aimed increasingly during the 11th century towards ecclesiastical establishments, tended to set the seal upon parochial organization. Churches and their endowments, as has been shown, were being given as individual assets to religious houses, separate and distinct from the secular manors on which they stood and thus further disruption of their parochial region became less likely. The monasteries were obviously substantial beneficiaries (and, as we have seen, fierce defenders of their acquired church-rights), but collegiate churches of canons such as Hastings were equally

the target of Anglo-Norman patronage, and in their prebendary system of endowment the recently fossilized *parochiae*, which formed part of that endowment, can sometimes be discerned. Parochialization in Sussex must be seen in terms of a gradual process during the 11th century, its chronology dependent to a certain extent on local conditions, but recorded as largely well-developed in Domesday Book, and crystallized by the changing patterns of ecclesiastical patronage from the later 11th century into the 12th century.

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NOTES

- ¹ P. Brandon, 'The South Saxon *Andredesweald*', in P. Brandon (ed.), *The South Saxons* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1978), 138–59; P. Brandon, *The Sussex Landscape* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974), 66–104; D. Haselgrove, 'The Domesday record of Sussex', in P. Brandon (ed.) *The South Saxons*, 204–5; P. Brandon & B. Short, *The South East from AD 1000* (London: Longmans, 1990), 49–56. Brandon, Haselgrove, and Short all argue for minimal settlement by 1100. P. H. Sawyer, 'Medieval English settlements: new interpretations', in P. H. Sawyer (ed.), *English Medieval Settlement* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), 3; M. F. Gardiner, 'Medieval settlement and society in the eastern Sussex Weald before 1420' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, London 1995). These authors prefer to see Wealden settlement (Sawyer discusses the evidence for Kent) as being more extensive by 1086. The extent to which Domesday Book silently includes Wealden outliers within their headmanor entry does leave the issue ambiguous.
- ² J. F. A. Mason, 'The rapes of Sussex and the Norman Conquest', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *SAC*) 102 (1964), 68–93.
- ³ All references to Domesday Book are from *Libri Censualis vocati Domesday Book*, in 4 volumes (London: Record Commission, 1816), cited as DB.
- ⁴ For the division of England into these circuits for the purpose of the survey, see V. H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1979), 5–7; H. C. Darby, 'Domesday Book and the geographer', in J. C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 101–20; R. K. Morris, *The Church in British Archaeology*, CBA Research Report 47 (1983), 68–70, discusses the church data in terms of these circuits.
- ⁵ W. Page, 'Some remarks on the churches of the Domesday survey', *Archaeologia* 16 (1915), 61–102; D. Gifford, 'The Parish in Domesday Book' (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, London 1952), esp. 91–153; R. V. Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 288–9; J. Blair, 'Local churches in Domesday Book and before', in J. C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 265–78, at 266; Morris, *Church in British Archaeology*, 68–71.
- ⁶ D. C. Douglas (ed.), *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1944).
- ⁷ T. Tatton-Brown, 'The churches of Canterbury diocese in the 11th century', in J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition 950–1200*, Oxford Univ. Comm. for Archaeology, monograph 17 (1988), 105–18. Though, J. Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), 109–10, warns that this evidence for Kent should not be projected elsewhere without question — the Domesday evidence for Surrey, for example, seems much more complete.
- ⁸ Appendix 1 describes the evidence and criteria used to produce the list of pre-1100 churches.
- ⁹ J. Caley (ed.), *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Papae Nicolai IV* (London: Record Commission, 1802). Appendix 2 describes the validity of the evidence from this source and lists the churches recorded as 'post-1100 churches'.
- ¹⁰ R. K. Morris, 'Churches in York and its hinterland: patterns and stone sources in the 11th and 12th centuries', in *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 191–200, at 191.
- ¹¹ R. Gem, 'The English parish church in the 11th and early 12th centuries: a great rebuilding?', in *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 21–30.
- ¹² H. M. Taylor & J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, in 3 volumes (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1965–1978). Volumes 1 & 2 describe the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon architecture followed by a gazetteer of churches, whilst volume 3 (published 1978) gives a detailed architectural interpretation of these sites; R. Gem, 'English parish church', is partly a criticism of the methods used by the Taylors. See also the various articles in L. A. S. Butler & R. K. Morris (eds.), *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, CBA Research Report 60 (1986); and specifically for Sussex, H. Poole, 'The Domesday churches of Sussex', *SAC* 87 (1948), 29–76; E. A. Fisher, *The Saxon Churches of Sussex* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1970).
- ¹³ The disparity between the Taylors' figure of Anglo-Saxon churches for Sussex and Fisher's, from the works cited above, demonstrates the difficulty of applying definite 11th-century dates to churches.
- ¹⁴ A. W. Clapham, 'Sompting Church', *Archaeological Journal*

- 92 (1935), 405–9; C. A. Hewett, ‘Anglo-Saxon carpentry’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 205–29; R. Gem, ‘The early Romanesque tower of Sompting Church, Sussex’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 5 (1982), 121–8; F. G. Aldsworth & R. Harris, ‘The tower and “Rhenish helm” spire of St Mary’s Church, Sompting’, *SAC* 126 (1988), 105–44.
- ¹⁵ O. Bedwin, ‘The excavations of the Church of St Nicholas, Angmering’, *SAC* 113 (1975), 16–34. It is suggested that the late Anglo-Saxon phase 1 church may have replaced an earlier, smaller church, 22.
- ¹⁶ Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* 3, 751–4, discuss selected excavations; R. K. Morris, ‘The church in the countryside: two lines of enquiry’, in D. Hooke (ed.), *Medieval Villages*, Oxford Univ. Comm. for Archaeology, Monograph 5 (1985), 47–60, suggests a high proportion of earlier churches. Also see, D. A. Hinton, *Archaeology, Economy and Society* (London: Seaby, 1990), 128–32, for a discussion of evidence for church and social status from the building stones of churches, and the skeletal remains from graveyards.
- ¹⁷ e.g. Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* 1, xxiv–xxv, categorize Anglo-Saxon into nine periods from 600–1100, periods C2 and C3 being *Saxo-Norman*; Gem, ‘English parish church’, comments on the legitimacy of this periodization.
- ¹⁸ Gem, ‘English parish church’, 22–5.
- ¹⁹ P. H. Sawyer (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968). Anglo-Saxon charters are hereafter cited by Sawyer’s number preceded by ‘S’; he gives the details of the available printed versions. Transcriptions and translations of all the Sussex charters can be found in E. E. Barker, ‘Sussex Anglo-Saxon charters’, *SAC* 86–8 (1947–49). S. E. Kelly (ed.), *Charters of Selsey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 6 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. P. for The British Academy, 1998). This excellent volume contains transcriptions of the Selsey archive of Anglo-Saxon charters along with a comprehensive introduction and detailed discussions of each document. The churches are: PAGHAM (*Uedringmutha*), S230; Barker *SAC* 86, 50–58; PEPPERING, S44; Barker *SAC* 86, 74–8; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, no. 5; WITTERING (*monasterium*), S46, S1184; Barker *SAC* 86, 79–81 & *SAC* 87, 96–7; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, nos 7 & 11; FERRING (*monasterium*), S48; Barker *SAC* 86, 82–3; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, no. 9; STANMER (including land at Lindfield and Burleigh) (*monasterium*), S50; Barker *SAC* 86, 85–90; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, 103–6; ROTHERFIELD, S1186; Barker, *SAC* 87, 118–22; BEDDINGHAM (*monasterium*), S158, S1435; Barker, *SAC* 87, 126–8; Barker *SAC* 87, 128–31; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, nos 14 & 15; DENTON (*monasterium*), S1435; Barker *SAC* 87, 128–31; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, no. 15; DONNINGTON, SOUTHEASE, and TELSCOMBE (as individual churches), S746; Barker *SAC* 88, 100. For SELSEY see Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, *passim*. For the meaning of *monasterium* during this period see S. Foot, ‘Anglo-Saxon minsters: a review of terminology’, in J. Blair & R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. P., 1992), 212–25.
- ²⁰ E.g. Mayfield in W. Stubbs (ed.), *Vita Dunstani, Memorials of Saint Dunstan* (London: Rolls Series 63, 1874), 204. And the famous portrayal of *Bosham Ecclesia* in the Bayeux Tapestry — although it has been pointed out by R. Allen Brown that this may not represent the collegiate church there but another, manorial church of Harold’s: F. Stenton *et al.*, *The Bayeux Tapestry — a Comprehensive Survey* (London: Phaidon, 1965), 79, pl. 3.
- ²¹ S746. Though see below for discussion on Stanmer.
- ²² Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, xxxv–xli, for a description of the cartularies containing the charters; and xli–xlv for a discussion of the authenticity of each document.
- ²³ Gem, ‘English parish church’; J. Blair, ‘Introduction: from minster to parish church’, in *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 1–20, at 9–10.
- ²⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum — the History of the English Kings*, eds R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 460–61.
- ²⁵ Goscelin, *Historia Translationis S. Augustini Episcopi*, *Patrologia Latina* 155, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1880), col. 32.
- ²⁶ R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Dent & Sons, 1989), 140–67, esp. fig. 37, 166.
- ²⁷ The best survey of evidence for the early minster system in England is contained in the articles in J. Blair & R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. P., 1992), 137 *passim*; J. Blair, ‘Secular minster churches in Domesday Book’, in P. Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: a Reassessment* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), 104–42, Blair, ‘Local churches’. But in case we are in danger of perpetuating a new orthodoxy with the broad agreements reached in these works, it should be noted that E. Cambridge & D. Rollason, ‘The pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon church: a review of the “Minster Hypothesis”’, *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995), 87–104, have questioned the legitimacy of the established model, and the extent of pastoral care carried out by mother-churches, basing their argument largely on the definition of the word *monasterium* and that its use in Anglo-Saxon England had much the same meaning as it did in the 12th century. John Blair’s comprehensive reply is ‘Ecclesiastical organization and pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995), 193–212.
- ²⁸ Page, ‘Churches of the Domesday survey’, 66.
- ²⁹ Unless, of course, royal will status is in itself suggestive of the possibility that the royal church would have been a minster, for which see P. Sawyer, ‘The royal *tun* in pre-Conquest England’, in P. Wormald, D. Bullough & R. Collins (eds), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 273–99, esp. 277–8.
- ³⁰ S50; Barker, *SAC* 86, 85–90; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, 103–6, at 105: ‘In its present form S50 is not authentic, but there is good reason to believe that a fundamentally authentic 8th-century charter underlies the received text.’ A new edition and full commentary of S50 will be published in N. Brooks *et al.*, *Charters of Christ Church, Canterbury* (forthcoming); also see M. G. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, British Archaeological Reports 112 (1983), 327.
- ³¹ S50; Barker, *SAC* 86, 85 & 87; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, 104.
- ³² S50; Barker, *SAC* 86, 85–90; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, 104, for bounds; Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 272 for a map.
- ³³ DB I 22b records 12 manors (including Burleigh) in the count of Mortain’s hundred of East Grinstead, a concentration possibly created by the exploitation of iron ore deposits — as demonstrated at Ditchling where there

- was *una ferraria*. However, it is notoriously difficult to decide the extent to which DB is recording outliers of head manors in entries such as these, and caution is necessary in making assessments of settlement from DB alone.
- ³⁴ S50; Barker, *SAC* 86, 85–90; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, 103–6; Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 271–4.
- ³⁵ DB I 22b.
- ³⁶ S50; Barker, *SAC* 86, 87; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, 104.
- ³⁷ Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, 105–6; Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 326–7.
- ³⁸ Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, (eds) J. McClure & R. Collins (Oxford: Oxford Univ. P., 1994), 194.
- ³⁹ S232; S1291; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, nos 1 & 20.
- ⁴⁰ S46; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, no. 7, for West Wittering church.
- ⁴¹ P. H. Hase, ‘The mother churches of Hampshire’, in *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 45–66, at 51 & 64 (note 40). Cambridge & Rollason, ‘Pastoral organization’, 99–101, argue that the Anglo-Saxon ordinances from Edgar onwards were not protecting pre-Viking minsters but were imposing reformed ideas on the Church that did not antedate the 10th century.
- ⁴² D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L. Brooke (eds), *Councils and Synods — With Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 1 (in 2 parts) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) (hereafter *C&S*), 97–8. Though there is a problem with the translation here; *C&S* renders *hernes* as ‘parish’, which leaves open the question of whether ‘parish’ in this sense means the minster’s *parochia* itself or whether it means a parish which is part of the minster *parochia*. The translation in B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 2 volumes (London: Rolls Series 28, 1840), 1, 262–3, is perhaps more accurate by rendering *hernes* as ‘district’, which cuts out any ambiguity as to what is meant: ‘the minster to which the district belongs’.
- ⁴³ *C&S*, 475–7, ICnut 8–13.1; Hase, ‘Mother churches’, 64 (note 40), lists all the Anglo-Saxon law-codes dealing with the rights and dues of the minster churches.
- ⁴⁴ *C&S*, 390, VIII Aethelred; ICnut 3.2 copies this.
- ⁴⁵ *C&S*, 98, 477. My italics.
- ⁴⁶ G. W. O. Addleshaw, *The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne to Urban II* (St Anthony Hall Publications, 1954), at 3–10, discusses parallel developments on the continent in the wake of Carolingian reforms.
- ⁴⁷ Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 152–4.
- ⁴⁸ *Domesday Monachorum*.
- ⁴⁹ Blair, ‘Secular minster churches’, 106.
- ⁵⁰ Filsham, Willingdon, Horsey, Mundham, and Pulborough have been added because they have one or more clerics/priests holding either at least 1/2 hide or more than 1 virgate.
- ⁵¹ DB I 16b; DB I 17a & 17b.
- ⁵² Sawyer, ‘The royal *tun*’, 290. It is in the wills of both Alfred and Eadred.
- ⁵³ The following articles from *Minsters and Parish Churches* also reconstruct minster *parochiae* using various forms of evidence: Hase, ‘Mother churches’; Tatton-Brown, ‘Churches of Canterbury diocese’; J. Croom, ‘The fragmentation of the minster *parochiae* of south-east Shropshire’, 67–82; B. Kemp, ‘Some aspects of the *parochia* of Leominster in the 12th century’, 83–96; C. J. Bond, ‘Church and parish in Norman Worcestershire’, 119–58.
- ⁵⁴ DB I 23b.
- ⁵⁵ J. Dawtry, ‘The honour of Petworth’, *SAC* 53 (1910), 188–91, at 191, tentatively identifies Reginald as King Henry I’s son, the earl of Cornwall, but it is more likely that he is the Reginald of Windsor who witnessed a charter of King Stephen in 1138/9; H. W. C. Davis, H. A. Cronne, & R. H. C. Davis (eds), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, in 4 volumes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953–59), (hereafter *Regesta*) 3, 851; and a confirmation of land to Lewes Priory in c. 1140; L. F. Salzman (ed.), *The Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, in 2 volumes, *Sussex Record Society* 38 & 40 (1932 & 1934) 2, 117.
- ⁵⁶ *Chartulary of Lewes* 2, 116–17.
- ⁵⁷ H. Mayr-Harting (ed.), *The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester 1075–1207* (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1964), no. 17.
- ⁵⁸ *Acta Chichester*, no. 40. And see 62–8.
- ⁵⁹ Duncton 105s., Tillington with Treva 12s., and Lurgashall one mark. Petworth’s income in the 1291 *Taxatio* is still one of the highest in the county at £46 13s. 4d., 134.
- ⁶⁰ *Chartulary of Lewes* 2, 77.
- ⁶¹ Hase, ‘Mother churches’, 64 (note 41), cites the canon law appertaining to new churches and parishes as interpreted by Gratian, e.g.: ‘Within one boundary there are not to be many baptismal churches, but one, with a number of chapels’, M. Brett, *The English Church Under Henry I* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. P., 1975), 127–31, discusses early 12th-century charters that are concerned with protecting the rights of mother churches from any potential infringements by newly dedicated chapels.
- ⁶² It was a Domesday church, DB I 23b.
- ⁶³ Fisher, *Saxon Churches of Sussex*, 139–40.
- ⁶⁴ Treva was a chapel within Tillington parish, the late development of which possibly prevented further division.
- ⁶⁵ DB I 23b.
- ⁶⁶ Dawtry, ‘Honour of Petworth’, 188; A. W. Mawer & F. M. Stenton (eds), *The Place-Names of Sussex* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. P., 1929), 113.
- ⁶⁷ I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (London: Penguin, 1965), 253; *Sussex Notes & Queries* 12 (1949), 129.
- ⁶⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls 1227–31* (HMSO), 105.
- ⁶⁹ Brandon, *Sussex Landscape*, 100–101 & 127.
- ⁷⁰ The Domesday hundred of Rotherbridge also included Stopham and possibly Wisborough Green, but there is no evidence to connect them with Petworth.
- ⁷¹ *Acta Chichester*, no. 110.
- ⁷² *Acta Chichester*, no. 120.
- ⁷³ The evidence for Wealden Surrey suggests a similar conclusion for that county; Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 120–22.
- ⁷⁴ J. Blair, ‘The making of the English parish’, *Medieval History* 2 (1992), 13–19, at 16–18; Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 153.
- ⁷⁵ S230, Barker, *SAC* 86, 50–58.
- ⁷⁶ S425; Barker, *SAC* 87, 150–62, esp. notes 7–15.
- ⁷⁷ S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. P., 1984), has an illuminating discussion on the ‘community of the parish’, 79–100.

- ⁷⁸ Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 97–100.
- ⁷⁹ D. Harvey, 'The evolution of territoriality and societal transitions', *Landscape History* 19 (1997), 13–23; S. Bassett, 'Continuity and fission in the Anglo-Saxon landscape: the origins of the Rodings (Essex)', *Landscape History* 19 (1997), 25–42, both discuss the social effects of parish development; C. J. Calhoun, 'Community: toward a variable conceptualization for comparative research', *Social History* 5 (1982), 105–29, is a more general discussion but still useful.
- ⁸⁰ *C&S*, 500.
- ⁸¹ By the mid-12th century, parish organization in Essex had apparently even extended to Purgatory, where the souls were held in designated areas according to their parish according to the *Visio Thurkilli*: A. Gurevich (ed. tr. J. Howlett), *Historical Anthropology of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Polity, 1992), 57–60.
- ⁸² Battle Abbey held portions of 15 manors in Sussex, and Fécamp Abbey held three manors including the boroughs of Rye and Steyning, DB I 17a & 17b.
- ⁸³ J. H. Round (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France 918–1206* (London, 1899) (hereafter *CDF*), no. 1119, and see below.
- ⁸⁴ *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, 1–7; B. Golding, 'The coming of the Cluniacs', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980), 65–77.
- ⁸⁵ *Chartulary of Lewes Priory*, 9–20.
- ⁸⁶ M. Chibnall (ed.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, in 6 volumes (Oxford Medieval Texts, 1969), 2, 10.
- ⁸⁷ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, in 6 volumes, eds J. Caley, H. Ellis & B. Bandinel (London, 1817–30) 5, 1–21.
- ⁸⁸ *Monasticon Anglicanum* 3, 233–58, for Battle; *CDF*, nos 114–15 and D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. P., 1962), 38–41, for Fécamp; *Monasticon Anglicanum* 4, 668–71 for Sele; *CDF*, no. 655, for Séez.
- ⁸⁹ The question of *why* the Anglo-Norman nobility were *really* giving so much land to the Church is not touched on here, but is dealt with fully in C. Harper-Bill, 'The piety of the Anglo-Norman knightly class', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 2 (1979), 63–77, esp. 63–9.
- ⁹⁰ E. Turner, 'The college and priory of Hastings and the priory of Warbleton', *SAC* 13 (1861), 132–79; M. Gardiner, 'Some lost Anglo-Saxon charters and the endowment of Hastings College', *SAC* 127 (1989), 39–48.
- ⁹¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1292–1301* (HMSO), 468.
- ⁹² G. N. Garmonsway (ed. tr.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (C) (London: Everyman, 1972), 158–60; A. J. Taylor, 'Evidence for a pre-Conquest origin for the chapels in Hastings and Pevensey Castles', *Château Gaillard* 3 (1969), 144–51.
- ⁹³ G. O. Sayles (ed.), *Select Cases in the Court of the King's Bench under Edward I*, Selden Society 58 (1939), 3, 184.
- ⁹⁴ The charter is printed in W. D. Peckham (ed.), *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, Sussex Record Society 46 (1942–3), 299–302.
- ⁹⁵ Gardiner, 'Endowment of Hastings College', 44–5.
- ⁹⁶ Such as the prebend of Aucher which consisted mainly of the church and its appurtenances at Thurrock in Essex which the count held; DB II 63a.
- ⁹⁷ Turner, 'College and priory of Hastings', 137.
- ⁹⁸ *Taxatio*, 137; *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henrici VIII, auctoritate Regia Institutus*, in 6 volumes (London: Record Commission, 1810–34) 1, 342–3, 'Theobald the priest' held 3 virgates and the church in Playden manor in Domesday, DB I 19b.
- ⁹⁹ Hooe was recorded as *ecclesiola* in Domesday, DB I 18a.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Acta Chichester*, no. 104.
- ¹⁰¹ *Chartulary of Chichester*, 301.
- ¹⁰² *CDF*, no. 1130. The present parish church incorporates part of the college church's nave and tower and stands within an outwork of the castle; K. J. Barton & E. W. Holden, 'Excavations at Bramber Castle, Sussex 1966–7', *Archaeological Journal* 134 (1977), 11–79, at 15; E. F. Salmon, 'St Nicholas, Bramber', *SAC* 73 (1932), 187–91 contains 18th- and 19th-century engravings of the church.
- ¹⁰³ *CDF*, no. 1112; *Acta Chichester*, no. 18.
- ¹⁰⁴ Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, 38.
- ¹⁰⁵ 'Later King's Barns and Bidlington manors; T. P. Hudson, 'The origins of Steyning and Bramber, Sussex', *Southern History* 2 (1980), 11–29, at 19.
- ¹⁰⁶ *CDF*, no. 114; *Regesta* 1, no. xxxii, 127.
- ¹⁰⁷ J. Blair, 'Saint Cuthman, Steyning and Bosham', *SAC* 135 (1997), 173–92, at 177.
- ¹⁰⁸ *CDF*, nos 1119 & 1131; *Regesta*, 1, no. 424. For Sele Priory see *VCH Sussex* 2, 60–63.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Regesta*, 1, no. 423, for the plea once again in favour of Fécamp.
- ¹¹⁰ Hudson, 'Steyning and Bramber', 19–23.
- ¹¹¹ Bramber did gain parish status in the mid-12th century; *VCH Sussex* 6, part 1, 201.
- ¹¹² Blair, 'The making of the English parish', 16–18.

APPENDIX 1

This appendix includes all the churches in Sussex for which there is sufficient evidence to say that there was an ecclesiastical building of some kind standing by 1100. The importance of differentiating between these churches is discussed in the text — this list is purely an attempt to show as many churches as the evidence will allow. The churches are effectively split into eight sections:

i. Those churches which are explicitly stated as in existence in Domesday (*æcclesia* or *æcclesiola*), with DB reference (for appropriate entry only) and appropriate wording. These entries read as *æcclesia* or *æcclesiam* unless specified.

ii. Those churches which are implied in Domesday (signified in this list as 'No church mentioned') by the statement that there are priests, canons or clerics holding land or receiving revenues connected with the manor. It is debatable whether all such churchmen should be included unless they can be proven as resident on the manor, but where the churchmen are either unnamed or they cannot be shown to be from elsewhere (as with the *canonici de Mellinges* who held Stanmer manor, or the *clerici de Sancti Nicolao* holding Harting manor — Stanmer and Harting are thus not included) they are taken to imply the existence of a church. With DB reference and appropriate wording.

iii. Those churches which have either been designated as 11th

century on architectural grounds or at which an archaeological excavation has demonstrated the presence of a church in the 11th century. The reference for archaeological evidence is given after each entry, whilst four authorities have been used for the architectural evidence — the following abbreviations denote which authority designates a church as 11th century: HJT - Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*; EF - Fisher, *Saxon Churches of Sussex*; HP - Poole, 'Domesday churches of Sussex'; VCH - *Victoria County History, Sussex* (only used where there is a lack of other evidence or where that evidence is inconclusive).

iv. Those churches which have architectural/archaeological evidence as well as documentary evidence to demonstrate an 11th-century date. With reference to source.

v. Those churches which are explicitly mentioned in pre-Conquest charters. All of these charters are pre-1000 (but see text and note 19) and so as evidence for the existence of an 11th-century church they are not conclusive, but it is reasonable to include them on the grounds that the communities around them did continue to exist and would be unlikely to be without a church where there was one once. References given from Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*; and Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*.

vi. Those churches for which there is specific post-Conquest documentary evidence. In Sussex this evidence comes mainly from *The Lewes Priory Cartulary*, *The Chichester Cartulary*, and *The Sele Priory Cartulary*. Other documentary references are cited.

vii. Those churches in the Domesday boroughs, which are more conveniently discussed separately.

viii. Monastic churches. Included here despite their having no parochial status.

Domesday references take precedence, so that Domesday churches are not included in other sections even if there is other evidence for their existence; so sections iii, v and vi only contain churches not proven as pre-1100 anywhere else. The Domesday churches appear in their recorded sequence.

The numbers correspond with the map in Figure 1 where the sections discussed are appropriately symbolized. 'DB' has been omitted from the references.

i.-ii.

1. Bosham I 16a 17a. A church with 112 hides, answering for 65 hides.
2. South Malling I 16a, 16b. St Michael's College in South Malling is not directly recorded in the entry but the canons are recorded as holding 4 hides in the manor, as well as the manor of Stanmer DB I 16b. (See VCH Sussex 2, 117-19); E. Turner, 'The College of Benedictine Canons at South Malling' (*sic.*), *SAC* 5 (1852), 127-42.) Also see text.
3. Pagham I 16b. Manorial church and a church in Chichester.
4. Tangmere I 16b.
5. West Tarring I 16b.
6. West Tarring II I 16b.
7. Henfield I 16b.
8. Aldingbourne I 16b. No church mentioned. Priest holding 1 hide; 3 named clerics holding 9 hides between them. (See text.)

9. Amberley I 17a. No church mentioned. William the cleric holds 2 hides; Aldred the priest 3 hides.

10. East Preston I 17a.

11. Bury I 17a.

12. Thorney I 17a. Ralph holds one hide of church land; a cleric holds 1 hide; four clerics hold 1 hide between them.

13. Elsted I 17b. Osbern the clerk holds 1/2 hide; Ralph the priest holds 1 hide.

14. East Lavington I 17b.

15. Southease I 17b.

16. Felpham I 17b.

17. Hooe I 18a. *aecclesiola*.

18. Catsfield I 18a. *aecclesiola*.

19. Ninfield I 18a.

20. Herstmonceux I 18a. Edmer the priest held 5 hides of land TRE.

21. Wartling I 18a. No church mentioned. Venning the priest holds 2 virgates.

22. Ashburnham I 18a.

23. Bexhill I 18a. The clerics Geoffrey and Roger hold 1 hide in prebend.

24. Bexhill II I 18a.

25. Filsham I 18a. No church mentioned. Venning the priest holds 1 virgate.

26. Brightling I 18b.

27. Willingdon I 19a. No church mentioned. Wulfmer the priest holds 1 virgate.

28. Hazelhurst (for Ticehurst?) I 19a.

29. Ratton I 19a. No church mentioned. Eustace the cleric has 1 plough.

30. Salehurst I 19b.

31. Udimore I 19b.

32. Playden I 19b. Theobald the priest holds 3 virgates.

33. Sedlescombe I 20a.

34. Eastbourne I 20b. No church mentioned. Roger the cleric holds 3 virgates.

35. Beddingham I 20b. No church mentioned. Wulfnoth the priest holds manor in lordship.

36. Selmeston I 21b. Recorded together with Sidnor.

37. Peelings I 22a. No church mentioned. Godfrey the cleric holds 1 hide in alms.

38. Cudnor I 22a. No church mentioned. Roger the cleric holds 1 hide in alms.

39. Horsey I 22a. No church mentioned. Roger the cleric holds 1 hide in alms; the clergy held it in common TRE.

40. Brambletye I 22b. No church mentioned. A priest mentioned.

41. Singleton I 23a. A church with 3 hides and 1 virgate; the clergy have 2 ploughs and 5 smallholders.

42. Binderton I 23a.

43. Trotton I 23a.

44. Treyford I 23a. No church mentioned. 2 hides in Chichester prebend.

45. Chithurst I 23a. *aecclesiola*.

46. Stedham I 23b.

47. Cocking I 23b.

48. Linch I 23a.

49. Bepton I 23b.

50. Graffham I 23b.

51. Petworth I 23b.

52. Duncton I 23b.

53. Westbourne I 23b.

54. Westbourne II I 23b.
 55. Compton I 24a. A priest holds $\frac{1}{2}$ hide.
 56. Stoughton I 24a. A church with $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides; a priest has $\frac{1}{2}$ plough.
 57. Mundham I 24a. A church with $\frac{1}{2}$ hide; a priest has $\frac{1}{2}$ plough.
 58. Storrington I 24a.
 59. Pulborough I 24b.
 60. Pulborough II I 24b.
 61. West Chiltington I 24b.
 62. Lyminster I 24b.
 63. Nunnminster I 24b. Esmelt the priest TRE.
 64. North Stoke I 24b.
 65. Burpham I 24b.
 66. Climping I 25a.
 67. Climping II I 25a. St Martin of Seez holds 11 hides.
 68. Bignor I 25a.
 69. Walberton I 25a. Acard the priest holds 2 virgates in prebend.
 70. Barnham I 25a.
 71. Middleton I 25a.
 72. South Stoke I 25a.
 73. Slindon I 25a.
 74. Easter Gate I 25b. St Martin of Séez holds the manor.
 75. Binstead I 25b. (Could be Binstead or Yapton: *VCH Sussex* 1, 433).
 76. Boxgrove I 25b. No church mentioned. Clergy of the church hold 1 hide.
 77. West Hampnett I 25b.
 78. Iford I 26a.
 79. Rodmell I 26a.
 80. Patcham I 26a.
 81. Ditchling I 26a.
 82. Falmer I 26a.
 83. Ovingdean I 26b. *æcclesiola*.
 84. Brighton I 26b.
 85. Balmer I 26b. *æcclesiola*.
 86. Poynings I 27a.
 87. Saddlescombe I 27a. No church mentioned. Godwin the priest holds in lordship.
 88. Hurstpierpoint I 27a.
 89. Clayton I 27a.
 90. Keymer I 27a.
 91. Streat I 27a. *æcclesiola*.
 92. Streat II I 27a. *æcclesiola*.
 93. Plumpton I 27a.
 94. Barcombe I 27b.
 95. Hamsey I 27b.
 96. Beeding I 27b.
 97. Beeding II I 27b.
 98. Shoreham I 28a.
 99. Annington (St Botolph's) I 28a.
 100. Findon I 28a.
 101. Wiston I 28a.
 102. Coombes I 28b.
 103. Woodmancote I 28b.
 104. Shermanbury I 28b. *æcclesiola*.
 105. Kingston I 28b.
 106. Kingston II (Southwick) I 28b.
 107. Broadwater I 2Sb.
 108. Durrington I 28b.
 109. Sompting I 28b.
 110. Thakeham I 29a.
 111. Woolbeding I 29b.
 112. Iping I 29b. No church mentioned. 40d. owed in church dues (*denarius de Circet*).
 iii.–iv.
 113. Arlington HJT EF HP.
 114. Bishopstone HJT EF HP.
 115. Bolney HJT EF.
 116. Buncton EF.
 117. Easebourne EF.
 118. Eastdean EF.
 119. Exceat EF.
 120. Fletching HP *VCH*.
 121. Ford HJT EF.
 122. Friston EF.
 123. Guestling EF *VCH (Chichester Cartulary)*.
 124. Hangleton EF (*Lewes Cartulary*).
 125. Hardham HJT EF.
 126. Horsted Keynes EF.
 127. Jevington HJT EF HP.
 128. Lurgashall EF.
 129. Poling HJT EF HP.
 130. Rottingdean EF (*Lewes Cartulary*).
 131. Rumboldswyke HJT EF.
 132. Selham HJT EF HP.
 133. Slaugham EF (*Lewes Cartulary*).
 134. Stopham HJT EF HP.
 135. Sullington EF HP.
 136. Up Marden EF.
 137. West Dean EF HP.
 138. Westdean EF.
 139. West Hoathly EF (*Lewes Cartulary*).
 140. West Stoke EF.
 141. Wivelsfield HJT EF (*Lewes Cartulary*).
 142. Worth HJT EF HP.
 143. Angmering O. Bedwin, 'The excavation of the Church of St Nicholas, Angmering, 1974', *SAC* 113 (1975), 16–34. (See text.)
 144. Greatham R. Milner-Gulland, 'Greatham Church: fabric, date, dimensions, implications', *SAC* 126 (1988), 93–103.
 145. Ore Mark Gardiner, pers. comm. (See also Gardiner, 'Medieval settlement and society', 85, note 33.)
 146. Terwick *VCH*.
 147. Walberton C. Place & M. Gardiner, 'A collection of Late Anglo-Saxon pottery from St Mary's Church, Walberton', *SAC* 132 (1994), 194.
 148. Waldron P. M. Johnston, 'A supposed pre-Conquest font at Waldron', *SAC* 49 (1906), 126–7. (Also mentioned in the *Lewes Priory Cartulary* for 1120.)
 149. West Blatchington J. Holmes, 'A Saxon church at West Blatchington', *SAC* 126 (1988), 77–91.
 v.
 150. Denton S1435; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, no. 15.
 151. Donnington S746.
 152. Ferring S48, Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, no. 9.
 153. Rotherfield S686; S1186.
 154. Stanmer S50; Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, appendix 2B., 103–6.
 155. Telscombe S746.
 156. Wittering S230.

vi.

Lewes Priory Cartulary

- 157. Ardingly.
- 158. Balcombe.
- 159. Balsdean.
- 160. Berwick.
- 161. Brighton (a second church not mentioned in DB).
- 162. Chailey.
- 163. Chiddingly.
- 164. Cuckfield.
- 165. Eckington.
- 166. Grinstead.
- 167. *Meeching* (Newhaven).
- 168. Newick.
- 169. Piddinghoe.
- 170. Seaford.

Sele Priory Cartulary

- 171. Bramber.
- 172. Shipley.
- 173. Washington.

Chichester Cartulary

- 174. Beckley.
- 175. Bodiam.
- 176. Bulverhythe.
- 177. Dallington.
- 178. Ewhurst.
- 179. Hollington.
- 180. Iden.
- 181. Mountfield.
- 182. Northiam.
- 183. Peasmarsh.

Other sources

184. Mayfield In the *Vita Sancti Dunstani* the 10th-century reformer finds himself in disagreement with the Devil in *Magaveldem*, where he seizes him by the nose with a pair of tongs. Having satisfactorily despatched Beelzebub, Dunstan builds a wooden church; *ligneam ecclesiam fabricavit*. If the story is preserving a trustworthy tradition, then it is instructive that Dunstan's Wealden church was wooden — the later medieval replacement stone church at Mayfield could have been typical of what was happening in other churches in the Weald, where the 11th-century evidence is sparse. Stubbs, *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, 204.

Selsey There are obviously various sources that mention the cathedral church before the see was transferred to Chichester in 1075. The Selsey Anglo-Saxon archive is contained in Kelly, *Charters of Selsey*, along with a lucid discussion of Selsey's pre-Conquest history, xxvii–xciv. There are some late 12th-century remains in the present church and although the church is not directly mentioned in Domesday, by the late 13th century the church still retained a vestige of its former pre-eminence; its endowment was assessed at £13 6s. 8d. in 1291, quite high in proportion to many Sussex churches. *Taxatio*, 135; see also *VCH Sussex* 4, 205–10; and D. P. Kirby, 'The church in Saxon Sussex', in P. Brandon (ed.), *The South Saxons* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1978), 160–73, at 168–73.

vii. The Domesday Boroughs

Arundel DB I 23a. St Nicholas College and St Martin's Church are both mentioned in the Domesday entry. See M. A. Tierney,

The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel, in 2 volumes (London: G. & W. Nicol, 1834) 2, 575–85; also *VCH Sussex* 5, part 1, 86–93.

Chichester DB I 23a (main entry). The Domesday entry does not mention any Chichester churches, but the canons of the cathedral church (after 1075) of St Peter held 16 hides in common in Preston (DB I 17a), and the entry for Pagham mentions a church of the manor held in Chichester by the archbishop (DB I 16b), which was the church of All Saints in the archbishop's liberty of the Pallants. It is possible that there were nine churches in Chichester before 1100. See J. Munby, 'Saxon Chichester and its predecessors', in J. Haslam (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), 315–30, esp. 326–8.

Hastings DB I 19b (in Guestling Hundred). John Morris suggests that the unnamed entry belonging to Robert de Olecum recorded under Guestling Hundred is Hastings, as the term *Ferling* with a capital letter indicates the ward of a borough, J. Morris (ed.), *Domesday Book: Sussex* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1976), unpaginated, note 9, 107. *VCH Sussex* 1, 405, note 5, identifies this manor as Fairlight, which Mark Gardiner follows, 'Medieval settlement and society', 85. I have followed Morris' etymology in the absence of further evidence, although the presence of a pre-1100 church at Fairlight must remain a possibility. If this entry has been correctly identified as Hastings then the one church mentioned is probably the collegiate church of St Mary (see text for discussion).

Lewes DB I 26a (main entry). There is no direct reference to churches in Domesday, but the *Lewes Priory Cartulary* confirms the presence of at least seven churches by 1100 — St John sub Castro, St Peter, St Andrew, St Mary, St Martin, St Nicholas, and Holy Trinity. St Pancras Priory was the first Cluniac house in England, see Golding, 'Coming of the Cluniacs'.

Pevensay DB I 20b. No church is directly referred to for Pevensay but three priests are mentioned — Edmer, Ordmer and Doda — as holding lordship over 23 burgesses between them. For the college at Pevensay see A. J. Taylor, 'Evidence for a pre-Conquest origin for the chapels in Hastings and Pevensay Castles', *Château Gaillard* 3 (1969), 149–51; M. Gardiner & C. Whittick, 'Some evidence for an intended collegiate church at Pevensay', *SAC* 128 (1990), 261–2.

Rye DB I 17a. Rye was held by the abbey of Fécamp in 1086, and five churches are recorded as paying 64s. These churches probably include the churches at Old and New Winchelsea (*Iham*) and Brede as well as two churches in Rye. Gardiner, 'Medieval settlement and society', 84; W. M. Homan, 'The founding of New Winchelsea', *SAC* 88 (1949), 22–41, at 26.

Steyning DB I 17a. Steyning had two churches recorded in Domesday and was held by the abbey of Fécamp. (See text for discussion.)

viii.

- Battle - St Martin
- Lewes - St Pancras
- Sele - St Peter

Using this evidence the total number of churches and chapels in Sussex before 1100 comes to 215.

APPENDIX 2

The following list is of churches that appear in the 1291 *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV, and for which there is no evidence that they existed pre-1100. The *Taxatio* is not comprehensive in its coverage of late 13th-century churches, and so even by appending these churches to Appendix 1 we may still be missing some parish churches, that an exhaustive study of 12th- and 13th-century churches would reveal. But the idea is to demonstrate how far the parochial system had developed by 1100 by showing that although 67 churches can be deemed to have become independent between 1100 and 1291, the majority were in Wealden areas (as well as the noticeable concentration in Manhood Hundred, probably as a result of Selsey's continued full minster status, as discussed in text), suggesting either minimal settlement in the Weald or that before 1100 wooden churches were the norm here, and have subsequently left no trace. Many of the churches in this appendix could well have been standing by 1100 (*see esp.* Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 149–67), but without definite evidence for this, they appear here instead of in Appendix 1. Some *Taxatio* churches remain unidentified, and only those churches specifically described as *ecclesia* or for which there is a *vicarus* present, are included — named manors providing prebends are not included. The churches appear in their *Taxatio* sequence, and the numbers relate to the map in Figure 2.

Details obtained from J. Caley (ed.), *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Papae Nicolai IV* (London: Record Commission, 1802), 3 & 134–42.

For the background to the *Taxatio*, *see* R. Graham, 'The taxation of Pope Nicholas IV', *English Historical Review* 23 (1908), 434–54.

1. Lancing
2. Goring
3. Parham
4. Billinghurst
5. Etchinswood
6. Warnham
7. Rusper
8. Horsham
9. Nuthurst
10. Harting
11. Kirdford (*see text*)
12. Tillington (*see text*)
13. Bleteham (Egdean) (*see text*)
14. Buddington
15. Barlavington
16. Eartham
17. Waltham
18. Cote
19. Sutton
20. Hunston
21. Sidlesham
22. Earnley
23. Almodington
24. Birdham
25. Itchenor
26. Racton
27. Lordington
28. Bracklesham
29. Clapham
30. Tortington
31. Midhurst
32. Heighton
33. Burgham
34. Portslade
35. Albourne
36. Newtimber
37. Pycombe
38. Westmeston
39. Ifield
40. Shelley Plain (Crawley)
41. Icklesham
42. Fairlight
43. St Leonard's
44. Folkington
45. Little Horsted
46. Withyham
47. Hartfield
48. Hellingly
49. Laughton
50. Alfriston
51. Alciston
52. Firle
53. Wilmington
54. Westham
55. Battle, St Mary's (probably consecrated 1102–1107; E. Searle (ed. tr.), *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. P., 1980), 54–5, note 3.)
56. Whatlington
57. Crowhurst
58. Heene
59. Edburton
60. Claverham
61. Framfield
62. Ringmer
63. Wadhurst
64. Lavant
65. Glynde
66. Westfield
67. Broomhill (Listed under the diocese of Canterbury in the *Taxatio*, 3, suggesting that it was on the Kentish side of the border in 1291.)