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THE LISTS OF SAXON CHURCHES
IN THE DOMESDAY MONACHORUM,
AND WHITE BOOK OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

BY GORDON WARD, M.D., F.S.A.

THE Domesday Monachorum is an ancient manuscript book preserved in the Chapter Library at Canterbury. It has recently been published in the third volume of the V.C.H. of Kent but with little editing or discussion. It commences with a list of churches and of the dues which they paid to the Archbishop at Easter. This is followed by a second list from which it is seen that certain churches had others grouped under them in the manner of rural deaneries. The third list contains only a few names and contains a statement of the dues paid "before the coming of Lord Lanfranc the Archbishop". At the end of this last is a sentence to the effect that "what is before written" was ordained and instituted by Lanfranc. This can hardly refer to the dues before his coming (although it has actually been read in this sense) and so must apply to the first two lists. It follows that these lists were compiled in the time of Lanfranc (1070-1089). But we can go further than this. The second list includes the churches subordinate to Milton Regis and Newington by Sittingbourne. These are stated to have been given by the Conqueror to the Abbey of St. Augustine in 1070 (*Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* 35, 39). It is true that the author of this register queries the deed of gift, but his only expressed reason for so doing is that Faversham, whose church was also given, was not *terra regis* and so not within the Conqueror's gift. It is however recorded as *terra regis* in Domesday Book, so that we may perhaps accept the deed of gift to the Abbey as genuine. We have then some presumptive evidence that the D.Mon. lists were drawn up in the very first year of Lanfranc as Archbishop. This view

is further supported by the inclusion of churches named after their Saxon possessors, a feature discussed when dealing with the Rochester churches in Vol. XLIV of *Arch. Cant.* An even more significant fact is the curious mistake which occurs in recording the name of the church of Acrise. This is written "Aqus" and the letters of this strange word are very similar to the Saxon letters A-c-r-i-s but are not at all like the Latin letters. The inference is that this mistake arose from the copying of a list written in Saxon letters, of which several are actually reproduced in the D.Mon. If we add to these considerations the reasonable likelihood that Lanfranc would not have long delayed this measure of reform, we may say with some assurance that the churches mentioned were of Saxon foundation, and may now pass to the first list.

THE FIRST LIST.

In dealing with this and the other lists all Latin words have been translated, but place names have been reproduced as they are in the original except only that diphthongs have been extended and Saxon letters represented by their usual equivalents. The churches have been numbered for convenience of reference and these numbers follow on from those of the Rochester churches. This list commences with the words "These are the customs of the Archbishop at Easter from presbyters and churches." Then follow eighty-eight names each preceded by "De" and followed by the amount to be paid. Most of those which had subordinate churches pay large sums. Of the remainder the great majority pay some multiple of 7d., commonly 28d. But the last twelve names on the list vary between 3d., 7d. and 12d. These are not placed in order and it is quite possible that both the 3d. and 12d. entries are errors for 7d. This mistake is easy to make when copying Roman numerals and would explain what is otherwise difficult to account for, namely, the departure in these cases from the normal unit of 7d. which was the unit in use before the Conquest and which also appears in the church list of Saint Augustine in

the White Book (*P.R.O.—E.* 164/27). We may perhaps hazard the suggestion that these anomalous sums, occurring at the end of the list, are partly to be explained by the injury commonly suffered by the exposed end of any parchment roll in frequent use. The eighty-eight churches are:—

153. Middeltune, 10s. less 4d.—Milton Regis.
154. Maegdestane, 10s. less 4d.—Maidstone.
155. Cyrringe, 10s. less 4d.—Charing.
156. Wy, the same [i.e. 10s. less 4d.]—Wye.
157. Taenham, 2s.—Teynham.
158. Winge ham, 2s.—Wingham.
159. Eastrege, 10s. less 4d.—Eastry.
160. Limminges, 32d.—Lyminge.
161. Apeldre, 7s.—Appledore.
162. Doforis, 55s.—S. Martin le Grand, Dover.
163. Folcestane, 50s.—Folkestone.
164. Boctune, 28d.—Boughton Monchelsea.
165. Alio Boctune, 28d.—Boughton Aluph.

Of the four Boctunes in Kent one is entered as subordinate to Maidstone, and this can hardly be otherwise than Boughton Malherbe, for the manor of Boughton Malherbe was part of the larger manor of Hollingbourne, whose church was also subordinate to Maidstone. We are thus left with three Boctunes from which to choose the “two Boctunes” of the pre-Lanfranc list, which are presumably the same as Nos. 164 and 165 above. Of these three, one—Boughton under Blean—was a demesne manor of the Archbishop and the other two were both in Saxon times manors of Earl Godwin. These latter are both credited with churches in D.B. whereas none is recorded for Boughton under Blean. In these circumstances the above identifications seem inevitable, at least until further information comes to hand.

166. Rumene a, 32d.—S. Nicholas, New Romney,
see under 218.
167. Rokyn ges, 28d.—Ruckinge.
168. Sandhyrste, 28d.—Sandhurst.

169. Ruluindaenne, 28d.—Rolvenden.

170. Wndecyrce, 28d.—Woodchurch.

There seems to be an error here, "Wnde" for "Wude". There are several such in this record. There was one other Woodchurch in Kent, also known as Acol, in Thanet. It is not mentioned in this list although it seems to be one of the two churches mentioned in D.B. as being in the Archbishop's manor of Monkton. It is likely that the existence of two churches distinguished by a name showing them to have been built of wood should be interpreted as evidence that most of the churches in this list were of stone.

171. Binnigdaenne, 28d.—Benenden.

172. Sealtwude, 28d.—Saltwood.

173. Wodnesbeorge, 28d.—Woodnesborough.

174. Leocham, 28d.—Ickham.

The form in the original is an obvious misreading for Ieocham, a usual form of the name.

175. Biscopestune, 28d.—Possibly Bishopstone, west of Reculver.

The sea is continually gaining on the land at this point and it may well be that a church has disappeared but no memory or record of such a church remains. The identification is therefore doubtful. Possibly Reculver itself.

176. Welle, 28d.—Westwell.

177. Grauenea, 28d.—Graveney.

178. Berewic, 28d.—Berwick hamlet in Lymne.

The barn and outhouses of the manor house at this place contain blocks of Caen stone and also incorporate mouldings which Canon G. M. Livett (who most kindly accompanied the writer to this and other sites) pronounced post-Reformation. Whether any of the Caen stone once formed part of a chapel can hardly be said until the barn blows down, but there was certainly an important establishment here, although there are no obvious pre-Conquest remains. It may seem curious that this church should be mentioned and Lymne itself omitted, although we know that the latter had several daughter churches. It is tempting

to suppose that we have not really two churches but two names for one church. The objection to this view is that Lymne was held of Aldington manor and Berewick of Barton alias Northwood manor near Canterbury so that confusion was unlikely. The more probable explanation of the absence of any record of dues from Lymne is that this was the seat of the Archdeacon of Canterbury who had these dues as his own perquisite.

179. Prestentune, 28d.—Preston next Faversham.

180. Ospringe, 28d.—Ospringe.

181. Faeuresham, 28d.—Faversham.

182. Wicham, 28d.—Wickhambreaux.

183. Certeham, 28d.—Chartham.

184. Godmaeresham, 28d.—Godmersham.

185. Cilleham, 28d.—Chilham.

186. Mundingham, 28d.—Great Mongeham.

187. Merseham, 28d.—Mersham.

188. Cnoltune, 28d.—Knolton.

189. Sandwic, 28d.—S. Clement, Sandwich.

190. Burna, 28d.—Patricxbourne.

191. Burna, 28d.—Bekesbourne.

There were many places called Burna in Kent. Of the others Bridge is the Burne of St. Augustine in D.B., Bishopsbourne is No. 360 (see under) and Northbourne is No. 257. Littlebourne was another of the manors of St. Augustine, whose churches do not appear in these lists, and Brabourne is No. 192. All of these are at some time called only Burne, Burnes, Burna, etc.

192. Bradeburna, 28d.—Brabourne.

193. Cranebroca, 28d.—Cranbrook.

194. Wealemere, 28d.—Walmer.

195. Colredan, 28d.—Coldred.

196. Middelea, 28d.—Midley.

197. Fordwic, 28d.—Fordwich.

198. Werhorna, 28d.—Warehorne.

199. Wealdwarescare, 28d.—Waldershare.

200. Cyllindaenne, 28d.—Chillenden.

201. Trulege, 28d.—Throwley.

202. Aeslinge, 28d.—Eastling.

203. Aelham, 28d.—Elham.

204. Hardan, 28d.—Upper Hardres, or Lower Hardres.

Both of these had a church in 1086 (D.B.) and there is nothing to show which is here referred to.

205. desham, 28d.—Adisham [Initial omitted in error].

206. Tilemanne tune, 28d.—Tilmanstone.

207. Smithatune, 28d.—Shingleton chapel in Nonnington.

This identification is uncertain and is based on the following facts. In the White Book of St. Augustine this place and Scriveling are rated together at one suling. Scriveling apparently degenerated to Shrinkling which is given in Bagshaw's Directory as an alternative name for Shingleton. Smithatune should therefore be close to, or a part of, Shingleton. There was undoubtedly a chapel at this place which is therefore probably the chapel of Smithatune.

208. Hyruerthetun, 28d.—Not identified.

The church of Harrietsham is unexpectedly absent from these lists and it is perhaps just possible that the manor of Herbilton in this parish was once that of Hyruerthetun.

209. Cert, 28d.—Great Chart.

210. Baedericesdenne, 28d.—Bethersden.

211. Hadinwoldungdaenne, 28d.—High Halden.

Several intermediate forms of this name are known.

212. 213. Wealtham and Pytham, 28d.—Waltham and Petham.

214. Rumenea, 31d.—S. Clement, Old Romney.

This name has already appeared as No. 166, paying 32d. The two sums added together make 63d., that is, nine times the usual unit of 7d. It is not unreasonable to suppose that

this sum of 63d. was fixed when Old and New Romney were still one for most purposes. That there was such a time the history of the district makes quite certain, nor is it clear that they are differentiated in D.B.

215. Hathfelde, 10d.—Hothfield.

216. Plucelea, 10d.—Pluckley.

I can offer no explanation for these sums which cannot well be explained as due to careless transcription.

217. Niwantune, 7d.—Newington by Sittingbourne.

The V.C.H. (p. 255) makes this Newington by Hythe, but if this view be accepted it is difficult to explain the Niwantune subordinate to Dover (No. 250) which the V.C.H. also explains as “? Newington near Hythe”. No church can well have been subordinate to another, to which it therefore paid its chrism fee (as the records of St. Augustine show), and yet have also paid its chrism fee direct to the Archbishop. We cannot therefore expect to find any name in both lists and difficult identifications must seek some other solution.

218. Kynigtune, 7d.—Kennington (see note later).

219. Syrran, 7d.—Sarre.

220. Heortege, 7d.—Harty in Sheppey.

221. Bidindaenne, 7d.—Biddenden.

222. Sturmude, 7d.—Stourmouth.

This church was given to Rochester in 1089 (Dugdale, *Monast.* vi. 175), a fact which affords further evidence of the early date of this list.

223. Raette, 7d. (see under No. 265).

224. Saesealtre, 7d.—Seasalter.

225. Baethdesmere, 7d.—Badlesmere.

226. Hamme, 7d.—Ham near Sandwich.

227. Bereham, 7d.—Barham (see also No. 360).

228. Ottrindaenne, 7d.—Otterden.

229. Pytte, 3d.—Pett chapel in Charing.

This is now incorporated in the garage of Pett Place. In D.B. this is in Little Chart manor.

230. Denentune, 7d.—Thannington.

Confusion between “d” and “t” is frequent in D.Mon. The two letters are closely allied, and the capital “Th” of Anglo-Saxon is our “D” with a stroke through the upright, so that confusion was very easy.

231. Luddenham, 7d.—Luddenham.

232. Oran, 7d.—Oare.

233. Piuingtune, 7d.—Pevington.

The church was dedicated to St. Mary and the parish has long been absorbed in that of Pluckley.

234. Blean, 12d.—Blean.

235. Northtune, 7d.—Norton.

236. Kynardingtune, 12d.—Kenardington.

237. Elmestede, 12d.—Elmsted.

238. Eardlanestune, 7d.—Orlestone.

The original was no doubt “Eardlauestune”.

239. Haestingelege, 12d.—Hastingleigh.

240. Sineredaenne, 7d.—Smarden.

The original presumably had “Smeredaenne”. A monk of Christ Church who copied this list many years later wrote “Smeredenne” (Lambeth, 1212, folio 345). These mistakes in the reading of minims are very frequent at all periods but it has seemed best not to disregard them but to strive as far as possible for strict textual accuracy in these church names, which are in many cases the earliest and best forms known and are far more reliable than those of Domesday Book. Indeed, in addition to their ecclesiastical significance, these lists are of considerable interest to those whose conversation is of place names and their historical importance.

THE SECOND LIST.

This list commences a new column in the D.Mon. and at the top of this column we find the dues payable by the Abbey of Saint Augustine set out as follows :—

“These are what are owed every year from Saint Augustine to Christ Church. The sacristan of

S. Augustine is to place seven pennies on the altar of Christ or shall give them into the hand of the sacristan of the church of Christ. The Abbot, or he who shall be in the place of the Abbot, by suitable servants, must send to the church of Christ 30 loaves such that four are always worth one penny, and two of the best sheep, and three full amphoras, two of mead and the third of ale, and 600 pence. All these should be paid on Holy Thursday (*in cena domini*)."

It will be noted that St. Augustine pays with particular formality the 7d. chrism fee and with less formality the large sum of 600 pence. The mention of "the Abbot or he who shall be in the place of the Abbot" was possibly prompted by the fact that the last Saxon Abbot lost his head at the Conquest and fled the country in 1070—i.e. about the time that this list may well have been drawn up. The fact is briefly recorded by Thomas of Elmham—"Egelsinus fugit", and by other writers. This second list is broken up into sections, each of which may be said to represent a rural deanery for lack of any more accurate term. It is probable that they were the direct ancestors of present day rural deaneries.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO S. MARTIN LE GRAND.

This section is introduced with the words "These churches pertain to Saint Martin of Dover" and it is a section full of difficulties of identification.

241. Saint Peter's (*Sancti Petri*)—Whitfield.

242. Saint Mary (*Sancte Marie*)—Poulton.

There is nothing to show which of all the churches with these not uncommon dedications are intended. But it is observable that these rural deaneries are in the main composed of churches at no great distance from the mother church and we must accordingly expect to find them near Dover. If we then proceed to eliminate the churches which are elsewhere mentioned, we are left with those of Whitfield and Poulton.

These have the dedications required. The next entry is "Within the city five churches (*monasteria*).” "Monasterium" is occasionally used instead of "ecclesia" or "cyrcce" but apparently with the same meaning. These churches were discussed in *Arch. Cant.*, Vols. IV and XX where it is made quite clear that two of them were actually situated in the same building as St. Martin's itself, each having one part of the trefoil east end but functioning for all parochial purposes as a separate church. The other three are well known to history. The five are numbers 243 to 247 below.

243. Saint Nicholas in St. Martin le Grand.

244. Saint John the Baptist in St. Martin le Grand.

245. Saint Mary.

246. Saint Peter.

247. Saint James.

248. Ceorletun—Charlton by Dover.

249. Denetun—Denton.

250. Niwantun—Newington by Hythe.

There is a serious difficulty about this identification which is also encountered in considering the whereabouts of the manor of Neventone in D.B. The church and the manor were evidently in the same place for both are closely identified with Dover. The manor is stated to be in the Hundred of Bewsborough of which Dover was the centre. But Newington by Hythe has never been known to be in this Hundred. It was in the Hundred of Folkestone which belonged to William de Archis whose daughter and heir Emma married as her first husband Manasses Count of Guisnes (*Trans. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1844). This Count in 1120 gave the church of Newington to the Monastery of St. Leonard of Lonlay (*Idem*, from *History of the Counts of Guisnes*, liv., 126), and it is presumed that he had this church as part of Emma's marriage portion. All this goes to show that Newington-by-Hythe belonged to the de Archis family from the earliest period. The Niwantun or Neventone in Bewsborough Hundred, on the other hand, belonged to quite a different family, that of Hugh de Montfort who was Warden of Dover

Castle under the Conqueror. I do not know how this difficulty is to be overcome, but the complete absence of any Newington in the neighbourhood of Dover obliges one to accept the identification of this church pertaining to St. Martin with Newington near Hythe. The next few names give rise to problems of another sort. They are written as follows: "Aewellan. ii. ecclesias. Itū. Aewellan. Waltun." The V.C.H. translates this "Aewellan (Ewell), two churches. Again Aewellan (Ewell), Waltun (Walton.)" This translation supposes that "Itū" is a shortened form of the latin "iterum"—again. But this is not borne out by the fact that it is followed by a full stop, nor by the contraction mark used, an opinion in which Prof. A. G. Little emphatically concurs. Therefore "Itū" must be the name of a church. We are left with the apparent improbability of there being three churches in Ewell. But this is not really a source of difficulty. There are three manors of Ewell in D.B. and the word was used to cover a district which was, as the name implies, near the water or river above Dover. We can therefore list the churches as follows:—

251. Aewellan (first church)—Temple Ewell.

252. Aewellan (second church)—River.

253. Itun—Eythorne.

This is almost within the Dover district but the spelling is most abnormal and the church in 1291 was in the Deanery of Sandwich. But Eythorne is not otherwise mentioned in these lists, although it was a manor at least as early as 805 (Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 318), and it is difficult to suggest any other identification.

254. Aewellan (third church)—Buckland.

255. Waltun—Walton farm near Folkestone.

This again is a doubtful identification. The manor of Folkestone was sometimes described as "otherwise Folkestone-Walton" (*Arch. Cant.*, X, 129) and there is no doubt that Walton was a place of much importance. But there is no certain trace of there ever having been a church there. But this objection would apply to several names in these

lists and it is not impossible that William de Archis may have seen fit to bestow one of his manor churches on St. Martin, indeed, as a near neighbour, he may well have done so.

256. Clive—West Cliff.

257. Burnan—Northbourne.

Here is another problem. Northbourne was a manor of St. Augustine as early as 618 (Thomas of Elmham, iii., 144) and its church was the head of a large deanery (White Book). And it is not particularly near Dover. Nevertheless it is hard to suggest any other identification. Bournes are scarce near Dover except the river Dour, and all the parishes bordering on that have already been mentioned. The problem remains unsettled for the suggestion of “? Bishopsbourne” in the V.C.H. is equally open to all manner of objections.

258. Clive—S. Margaret at Cliff.

259. Gutiestun—Guston.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO FOLKESTONE.

This section commences with the words “To Folcestan pertain”. The first church mentioned is:—

260. Awoluescyrc—Hawkinge.

This is evidently a church named after some Saxon owner. It was Eadwulfeschurch perhaps or that of Adelulf, a name which occurs in D.B. But in neither case are we assisted towards the identification of the place for no one of any such name is known to have lived near Folkestone. But since Hawkinge was one of the most important sections of the great manor of Folkestone, and is not otherwise mentioned in these lists, we may provisionally adopt this identification.

261. Bilicean—Beachborough in Newington.

This also is a problematical identification. It occurs four times in D.Mon. Bilice pays Romescot of 4s.; Hugh de Montfort has one suling at Bilec and Adam fitzHubert one den attached to Bellinge. In D.B. these two last holdings

are said to be at Belice. One supposes that the word was pronounced Bell-each, sometimes enough slurred to produce the form Bellinge. We learn no more about it in D.B. except that it was in Hayne Hundred and belonged to Hugh de Montfort, that is, no more of immediate use to us. Now, Newington has always been considered to be in Folkestone Hundred but in Domesday Book is clearly stated to be in that of Bewsborough. The most reasonable explanation of this apparent anomaly is to suppose that Hugh de Montfort was moving his manors, where needful, into new Hundreds, that is, was causing them to attend Hundred Courts in which he had most influence. It is certain, judging from what happened in other cases, that the Lord of Newington would not wish his tenants to take their pleas (and fees) to the Hundred Court of Folkestone if he could obtain the fees for himself by ordering them to attend the Court of the Hundred of Bewsborough. Beechborough, although in Newington parish, was apparently not part of the manor of Newington which came within Bewsborough Hundred for it is listed as a separate manor in the Hundred of Hayne. This latter adjoins the parish of Newington on the west, that is, that part of the parish in which Beachborough is placed. The Hundred of Hayne was one of the Hundreds given to Hugh de Montfort together with others forming a compact group around Lymne and Hythe. He might therefore quite well divert the men of Beachborough to the Hundred of Hayne, even if they were formerly accustomed to attend the Hundred Court of Folkestone. If one may now suppose that this was actually the state of affairs when our church lists were compiled, it is reasonable to identify Belice and Beachborough for Beachborough was formerly Belche-berghe (*Arch. Cant.*, III, 260) and "Belche" is a very likely late form of "Bell-each" or "Belice". One suspects that the later manor of Newington-Belhouse was one in which both Newington and Belice were combined and that "Belhouse" is only another alias for this place. But it cannot be denied that an identification based on rather surer ground would be very welcome.

262. Ciricetun—Cheriton.

263. Sumafeld—Swingfield.

The form "Sumafeld" is probably an erroneous transcription of "Sinnafeld". This latter form is also adopted by the writer of Lambeth, 1212. Other forms of the name are Swynefelde in 1253 (*Arch. Cant.*, XII, 214) and 1271 (*Arch. Cant.*, VI, 240) and Swynfelde in 1346 (*Arch. Cant.*, X, 129).

264. Ealhham—Alkham.

In a private communication Prof. Eilert Ekwall writes of this name, "I suggest that Alkham goes back to an O. E. *Ealh-ham*, *ealh* being Old English for 'temple.'" This identification certainly fits the facts and can be adopted without hesitation since the more obvious Elham has already appeared as No. 203.

265. Fleota—Fleet manor in Ash by Sandwich.

It is known (*Arch. Cant.*, I, 243) that the castle of Richborough was within the manor of Fleet and that the latter was part of the manor of Folkestone, a fact which explains its inclusion in the deanery of Saint Eanswith. Within this castle was a chapel of Saint Augustine of which the history is given in the 7th Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries. One might therefore conclude that this must have been the Fleota chapel mentioned in these lists. But we have also to remember that there was a church of Raette paying 7d. annually to the Archbishop, that is, a church more important than that of Fleota (see No. 223). This word "Raette" seems to connect with the first syllable of the older forms of Richborough, for example, Rateboure in 1072 (*Cotton Aug.* II. 36) and Ratteburg in 1197 (*Arch. Cant.*, I, 243) not to mention Ritupiae during the Roman occupation. There is no similar name in Kent and the chapel which held the wondrous footprint of Saint Augustine must surely be represented by Raette in these lists. In this case Fleota must refer to a separate manorial chapel somewhere near Fleet farm. This view is also taken by Somner (*Roman Forts*, p. 6) but there seems to be no other record of this chapel.

266. Huhcham—Hougham.

267. Achalt—? Ashill farm in Folkestone.

There are several places in Kent called by names such as Achalt, meaning Oak Wood, but none which particularly suggest themselves as the sites of churches. It is a mere guess that Ashill Farm, long since vanished, in Folkestone may have been the site of the chapel of Achalt. This farm is shown on old maps in the Radnor Estate Office but there is no chapel indicated. Leland reported, "Toward a quarter of a myle owt of the towne is a chapel of St. Botulfe", and this was about the distance of Ashill, but the report of foundations of a chapel on the road to the Warren has also to be remembered (Mackie's *History of Folkestone*, p. 27).

268. Hleodaena—Lydden.

269. Wulferestun—Woolverton in Alkham.

The manor house of Woolverton was demolished some thirty years ago but there remains adjacent to its site a most interesting cottage built of Tudor brick, the finest flint work, Caen stone, cement and 13th century stone mouldings. It has a large east window, now blocked up, which would seem to be of the time of Henry VII or thereabouts (Canon G. M. Livett most kindly visited it with me, else I should not have dared to date the mouldings, etc.). This was certainly not built for its present purpose and may well incorporate the remains of more than one chapel built on this site.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO LYMNE.

This section commences with the extremely abbreviated introduction "Ad Limenam". This church is not recorded as paying fees to the Archbishop and has thus escaped previous mention. It is No. 270 of the Saxon churches of Kent so far discussed. The subsidiary churches of the Lymne deanery seem to have been mostly in Romney Marsh.

271. Laurenti circe—S. Lawrence, New Romney.

272. Martini ecclesia—S. Martin, New Romney.

273. Iue circe—Ivychurch.

274. Beunede circ' or Bennede circ'—Brenzett.

Brenzett church is dedicated to Saint Eanswith, which is sufficient evidence that it was of Saxon foundation even if we had not the further knowledge that it was long connected with S. Eanswith of Folkestone—certainly from 830 (*Birch, Cart. Sax.*, 396). It ought in consequence to be found in these lists. Brenzett is *Bren-seota*, meaning Bren-settlement, but the original form of the syllable "Bren" is not known. But popular etymology, which did not hesitate to shorten Hadinwoldungaenne to Halden, could certainly shorten Beunede-seota to Brenzett (Brensete in D.B.) and this is probably what happened.

275. Hlide—Lydd.

276. Siwoldescirc'—? S. Mary in the Marsh.

Nothing seems to be known of the Siwold to whom this church belonged. It is just possible that his name was also attached to Silouesbregge (*Arch. Cant.*, XII, 212), a forgotten bridge which gave name to an equally forgotten manor of which part was in Newchurch Hundred. Of the churches in that Hundred Newchurch is next in the list and Snavel belonged to Saint Augustine and so is not to be expected here. There remains S. Mary church, attached to a village which has lost whatever name it had before the church was built. The line of this argument is very thin and it would be unwise to regard this identification as more than a guess.

277. Niwan circ'—Newchurch.

278. In Hythe. ii. ecclesie—S. Leonard, Hythe, and

279. S. Mary, West Hythe.

280. Aelsies circ'—Eastbridge.

Alsi was the tenant of Eastbridge before the Conquest (D.B.).

281. Blacemannes c'—Blackmanstone.

Blacheman was the tenant of Blachemenestone in the time of King Edward (D.B.).

282. Mertumnes c'—Hope All Saints.

The V.C.H. identifies this as "? St. Martin's" but if this were the case the word would at least—judging from

other names in these lists—have been in the genitive singular, Mertumni. Curiously enough the same authority identifies number 272, Martini ecclesia, as “the church of Martin”. I think it is a rule in these lists that the name of a saint is expressed in Latin, that of a mere man in Anglo-Saxon. But we know nothing of any Saxon called Mertumn and the identification with Hope is only arrived at by exclusion.

283. Deman c—Dymchurch.

284. Ordgares c—Orgarswick.

285. Bilswithetun—Bilsington.

286. Bunnigtun—Bonnington.

287. Ealditun—Aldington.

288. Straeta—Chapel at Court at Street.

289. Sellinge—Sellindge.

290. Kyngestun—Kingsnorth (but see under No. 361).

291. Vndetun—Wootton.

292. Swirgildan c’—Swarling chapel in Petham.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO LYMINGE (*ad Limminges*).

293. Wihtricesham—Wittersham.

294. Petri ecclesia—S. Peter, Newenden.

295. Martines circe—Postling.

This identification is based on a balance of probabilities. There were two churches at Postling in 1086 (D.B.) and the present church is of the 11th century according to some authorities (*Arch. Cant.*, XXX, 193, 198). Yet it does not appear in these lists under its own name. It is true that the tenant before the Conquest was Sbern Biga and not Martin. But this Osbern Bigg had eleven houses in Canterbury as well as manors in other parts of Kent and may well have had Martin as a sub-tenant at Postling, very likely with the status of a freeholder. But one is almost ashamed to put forward arguments of this type and can only hope that better information will one day be available.

296. Stanford—Stanford.

297. Hortune—Monks Horton.

- 298. Stutingē—Stowting.
- 299. Birichalt—Bircholt.
- 300. Steallinge—Stelling.
- 301. Aquē—Acrise.
- 302. Peadleswurthe—Paddlesworth near Lyminge.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO MILTON REGIS (*ad Middeltune*).

- 303. Northcip'—Warden in Sheppey.

The original bears an abbreviation mark which would ordinarily warrant the reading "Northcipēr". But the scribe uses this mark in any case in which the end of a word is cut off, for example, to indicate the portions in brackets of Cīrē (e), C(īr)ē, Den(ā)riōs, Denar(ī)ōs, etc. It is thus impossible to say how Northcip' should be written in full. The churches of Milton manor, and of other manors, were given to Saint Augustine by the Conqueror and we have in the White Book a list of the churches subordinate to that of Milton Regis which is itself described as a mother church paying 32 pence to Saint Augustine. No church called Northcip' appears in this White Book list but there are two churches not named but described as being in Sheppey. This rather suggests that Northcip' must be meant to describe North Sheppey. Since Minster and Eastchurch are otherwise accounted for in these lists we are left with Warden, in which parish it may be noted Saint Augustine was a considerable land owner.

- 304. Legesdun—Leysdown in Sheppey.
- 305. Rodmaeresham—Rodmersham.
- 306. Milstede—Milsted.
- 307. Tunsteal—Tunstall.
- 308. Bacelde—Bapchild.
- 309. Bradegare—Bredgar.
- 310. Bobinge—Bobbing.
- 311. Tanga—Tonge.
- 312. Eastcyrcē—Eastchurch in Sheppey.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO NEWINGTON (*ad Niwantunum*).

- 313. Heordlyp—Hartlip.
- 314. Raenham—Rainham.
- 315. Vpcyrcean—Upchurch.
- 316. Stacabere—Stockbury.
- 317. Halgastaw—Lower Halstow.
- 318. Sexburgamynster—Minster in Sheppey.

This name is further evidence of the Saxon origin of this list for the Normans were not friendly to the Saxon saints as very many records assure us.

- 319. Niwecyrce—Borden.

The churches of Newington by Sittingbourne were also given to Saint Augustine and we have a list of them in the White Book in which the place of Niwecyrce seems to be taken by Borden.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO TEYNHAM (*ad Taenham*).

- 320. Duddingtun—Doddington.
- 321. Stane—Stone by Faversham.
- 322. Cillinge—Selling.
- 323. Aetwangeræde—Iwade.

This identification is not greeted with any enthusiasm by the writers in the V.C.H. I take it that the word means "At Wangeræde" and we can neglect the first syllable. Wangeræde by shortening in the common speech might become Wade or Warde and the latter word represents the pronunciation which Hasted found current in his time (Hasted, vi., 203). Moreover, part at least of Iwade was in the Hundred of Teynham. How the modern spelling developed can hardly be determined until some intermediate forms are available. In the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (1291) Iwade appears to be included amongst the unnamed chapels of Teynham.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO WINGHAM (*ad Wingeham*).

- 324. Aesce—Ash by Wingham.
- 325. Nunningitun—Nonnington.

- 326. Rytlinge—Ratling in Nonnington.
- 327. Wimlingweald—Womenswold.
- 328. Wielmestun—Walmestone Farm in Wingham.
- 329. Eadreddestun—Elmstone.

In regard to the last name I have the misfortune to differ to some extent from Prof. Ekwall. He is of the opinion that Atterton, the old name of Archer's Court in River Parish (Hasted, ix., 439), might well be derived from an earlier Eadreddestun and on these grounds would suggest that this is the identification which should be adopted. But Atterton was a place of which the possession was disputed between Saint Martin le Grand and Hugh de Montfort, Constable of Dover castle (D.B.). Whoever was the real owner it seems most unlikely that the advowson should have belonged (if there was an advowson) to anyone but the Prior of Saint Martin. Neither propinquity nor ownership connects Atterton with Wingham. Elmstone on the other hand is an adjoining parish, but whether Eadreddestun degenerated into Elmstone or the latter is an alternative name remains to be demonstrated.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO MAIDSTONE (*ad Maegdestane*).

- 330. Boxlea—Boxley.
- 331. Dytlinge—Detling.
- 332. Thornham—Thurnham.
- 333. Ealdingtun—Aldington manor in Thurnham.
- 334. Holingaburna—Hollingbourne.
- 335. Welcumeweg—East Sutton.

Welcume-weg must be read with a later name in this list, Wulacumba, which is certainly Ulcomb. Welcume-weg would thus be the Ulcomb-way or Ulcomb road, which apparently gave its name to a church and village. This method of forming place names has not died out in that district for there is still a hamlet called Chartway there. The direct road from Sutton Valence to Ulcomb—long since made discontinuous—would pass by the one church which we expect to find in this list but which at first sight

seems absent, namely, East Sutton. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that this was the church of Welcumeweg.

336. Leanham—Lenham.

This was a church of Saint Augustine and so might be expected not to appear in this list. The explanation lies in a plaintive note in the White Book—"But there are certain churches among these which pay chrism pence to the church of Our Saviour every year, but how this happens unless by our negligence is not known. These are the church of Lenham, the church of Fordwich, the church of Fauersham, the church of Middleton, the church of Newentone, and perhaps there are others." This note was written not later than the year 1200 and was even then very possibly a copy of an earlier entry.

337. Boctun—Boughton Malherbe (see No. 164).

338. Wulacumba—Ulcomb.

339. Hlyda—Leeds.

340. Langalea—Langley.

341. Suthtun—Sutton Valence.

342. Cert—Chart Sutton.

343. Hedekaruna—Headcorn.

344. Fridenastede—Frinted.

345. Gmthhyrste—Goudhurst.

The original shows copyist's errors, namely—"m" for "ui" and "th" for "d". The "th" used is the Saxon letter. It is possible that Guithhyrste was the proper form at this date.

346. Maeredaen—Marden.

CHURCHES SUBORDINATE TO WYE (*ad Wy*).

347. Aescedeford—Ashford.

The V.C.H. is in error in transcribing this name as Aescedesford.

348. Crundala—Crundal.

349. Broca—Brook.

350. Dreamwurthe—Tremworth in Crundal.

351. Haenostesyle—Hinxhill.

352. Brixiestun—Sevington.

This identification was approached in the following way. Brixiestun ought to be found in the Wye district or at least within the liberties of Wye. When those churches which are mentioned in these lists have been plotted on a map, Sevington stands out as not apparently mentioned although it had a church in 1086 (D.B.). Next, Domesday Book is consulted to see if by any chance it belonged to Brixi in the time of King Edward. At first sight the answer is in the negative for the owner is named Bresibalt, which is not very like Brixi. On the other hand, it is very much more unlike any other known Saxon name and it does bear some resemblance to Brixi Cilt, by which title Brixi is commonly known in D.B. Indeed, it is almost impossible to explain the anomalous Bresibalt except by supposing that it is an error of the D.B. scribe for Brixi Cilt. In that case Brixi did own Sevington and we may identify it with the Brixiestun of our list.

353. Wyllan—Eastwell.

Wyllan or Welle included both Eastwell and Westwell (No. 176) but only Eastwell belonged to Wye.

354. Haudkashyrste—Hawkhurst.

This, although at a distance, was within the liberties of Wye.

CHURCH SUBORDINATE TO CHARING (*ad Cyrringe*).

355. Eardington—Egerton.

THE UNNAMED DEANERY.

The last group in this list has no head church mentioned although a clear line is left for its insertion. The list is rather miscellaneous so that no particular mother church suggests itself as appropriate. But amongst the churches paying heavy dues at Easter that of Eastry, paying as much

as Milton, Maidstone, Wye, etc., has still no deanery apporportioned to it. It might possibly fill the vacant space but there is nothing which points to any certainty in the matter. The churches are :—

356. Ebbenea—Ebony Isle.

357. Wylmington—Wilmington.

Of the various Wilmingtons in Kent the Borough of Wylmyntone in Street Hundred (*Arch. Cant.*, XII, 212) gave name to a manor which was still existing in 1253 and had existed since 697 when it was called Wieghelmestun (Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, 97). Even then it had an older name which had been disused—"Berdelhameswicum". Hasted (viii., 308) deals with the later history of the manor which is probably now represented by Harringe near Street. With this pedigree one might expect to find it possessed of a chapel but I know of no record of one here or at any other East Kent Wilmington.

358. Cealueloca—Challock.

359. Brygge—Bridge.

360. Berham—Bishopsbourne.

361. Alter Berham—Kingston.

We have already encountered Barham in No. 227 so that we have now the problem of finding three Barham churches, a problem of the type which we have already met at Ewell and Sutton. Each of these names must have at one time covered a large area which had subsequently to be divided into three parishes. Fortunately there are several Saxon charters to help us with the particular case of Barham. In 809 we read of seven *aratra* at Beoreham (Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, 328) of which nevertheless the southern boundary is another Bereham. The northern boundary is Ealdhuninglond which we can identify with certainty for it was given by its owner, named Aldhun, to Christ Church in 799 (Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, 293-4). It was then described as "on Biora ham" but the charter is endorsed "Burnan", that is, Bishopsbourne. We have therefore, in the 809 charter, seven *aratra* bounded on the north by Bishopsbourne

and on the south by Barham. The seven *aratra* can only be Kingston, as a glance at the map will show. The fact that their western boundary was Hardres affords further evidence. We can therefore say that the three churches of Barham were Bishopsbourne, Kingston and Barham. But this puts us in a predicament because we have already met with a church called Kyngestun, No. 290. This, I think, must have been Kingsnorth, of which there is no other entry in these lists.

362. Monasterium Aethyrnan—Herne.

363. Garwynnetun—Garrington in Littlebourne.

A tradition of a nunnery persists at this place and is probably the last faint remembrance of this church.

364. Natindune—Nackington.

365. Haranhylle—Hernehill.

THE THIRD LIST.

Before discussing these deaneries it will be well to set out the third list. It contains no new names and commences with the introduction, "This is the old institution before the coming of Lord Lanfranc the Archbishop." It concludes with the words, "But Lanfranc of blessed memory ordained and instituted as is before written." The details of the dues are :—

From Middeltune 2 sesters of honey and 2 sheep and 8 lambs and 60 loaves and 12 pence and at Pentecost 600 pence.

From Megdestane (Maidstone) one sester of honey and 8 lambs and 60 loaves and 12d. for wine and 14d. for oil.

The same was given from Cyrringe, from Wy, Taenham, Winge ham, Estrege.

From Liminges one sester of honey and 2 wethers and 30 loaves and 7d.

From Apeldre one sester of honey and 30 loaves and 4 lambs and 7d. for oil and 6d. for wine.

From Dover one sester of honey and 30 loaves and 2 sheep and 7d. and 600 pence.

From Folkestane one sester of honey and 30 loaves and 2 wethers and 7d. and 600 pence.

From the two Boctunis, from each 4 lambs and 30 loaves and 13d.

Similarly from Rokinge.

A LIST OF THE CHURCHES OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

This list is copied amongst several other eleventh century documents in the White Book of St. Augustine. The copy was made about the year 1200 but the clerk who made it had the unfortunate habit of bringing his material up to date so that the list contains at least one church, that of St. Laurence Hospital, founded as late as 1137 (Somner's *Canterbury*, p. 72). But the majority of the churches mentioned were probably in an original list contemporary with those of Rochester and Canterbury. The list falls into natural divisions and is of particular interest because it includes what we may call a rural deanery of Northbourne and also shows how the churches given by the Conqueror were dealt with. The names in this list are given as briefly as possible below. Where they have not been previously mentioned they are numbered in series with the former lists and the chism fees are given after each. The list opens with the words, "These are the churches of the tenure of Saint Augustine, of Canterbury and beyond." Those in Canterbury are :—

366. S. Paul the Apostle, before the gate of the monastery.

367. S. Mary before the gate of the castle.

368. S. Sepulchre.

369. S. Laurence Hospital.

370. S. Mildrethe.

371. S. John.

372. S. Margarete.

373. S. Andree.

374. All Saints.

There is then a section introduced by the very definite words, "At Northbourn these are subordinate to the church of Saint Augustine the mother church of the same ville" and concluded with the words, "And they are members of Northbourn"—meaning, probably, of Northbourn manor. The churches are :—

375. Moningham 7d.—Little Mongeham.

376. Suttane 7d.—Sutton near Northbourne.

377. Scholdone 7d.—Sholdon.

378. Siberdeswelde 7d.—Shepherdswell.

379. Beauwesfelde 7d.—Bewsfeld.

This identification might be queried on the ground that no such church is known and that Bewsfeld is usually identified with Whitfield of which the church is already recorded, No. 241. But the geography and manorial history of the parish both make a second church quite likely.

380. Langedune—East Langdon.

Smedetone—Shingleton, No. 207.

The explanation of the appearance of this church in both lists is probably to be found in the note under Kennington, see later.

381. The chapel of Ripple—Ripple.

Whether the following churches were also in Northbourne deanery is not clear but the mention of the chrism fee makes this quite possible.

382. Littlebourne 7d.—Littlebourne.

383. Stodmerche 7d.—Stodmarsh.

Fordwich—Fordwich (see note under No. 336).

384. Stureie 7d.—Sturry.

385. Chistelet 7d.—Chislet.

386. The chapel of Bere—West Bere.

387. S. Mary in Thanet—Minster.

388. S. Peter 7d.—Broadstairs.

389. S. John Baptist 7d.—Margate.

390. S. Laurence 7d.—Ramsgate.

391. S. Nicholas at Stanores—Stonar.

This entry corrects the traditional dedication to S. Augustine, which no doubt arose because the Abbey possessed Stonar (*Test. Cant.*, ii., 327). It also adds a church of S. Nicholas where we might expect it—at one of our earliest ports.

392. S. Peter at Sandwich—S. Peter.

The two following churches were given by the Conqueror :—

Fauersham—Faversham (see Nos. 181 and 336).

393. The chapel of Cheldewich—Sheldwich.

We come next to the rural deanery of Milton Regis introduced with the words “ Middeltone with all its chapels by grant of the Kings, namely, William Henry and Stephen. These are the chapels of the same church which there receive the chrism and there pay their pence.”

Two churches in Scapei—Leysdown and Warden.

394. Elmeleie is a very small island and pays 3½d.—
Elmley.

395. Morinestune 7d.—Murston near Sittingbourne.

Tanges 7d.—Tonge, No. 311.

Bachechilde 7d.—Bapchild, No. 308.

Rodmeresham 7d.—Rodmersham, No. 305.

Milstede 7d.—Milsted, No. 306.

Brede gare 7d.—Bredgar, No. 309.

396. Sithingebourne 7d.—Sittingbourne.

Bobinge 7d.—Bobbing, No. 310.

Tunstalle 7d.—Tunstall, No. 307.

397. Bikenore 7d.—Bicknor.

This group closes with the words, “ But they do not pertain to Middeltone but there receive the oil and pay pence. The mother church of Middelstune pays 32d.” Unlike the churches of Northbourn, those of Milton had been taken out of the manor by the Conqueror’s gift. The Newington churches follow on but are introduced with words which suggest that they now formed one deanery with

Milton—"Again, there are chapels of Newentone receiving the oil there, to wit (at) Middeltune, and paying pence."

Two churches in Sheppey—Minster and East-church.

Renham—Rainham, No. 314.

Opchirche—Upchurch, No. 315.

Halgestowe—Lower Halstow, No. 317.

Stokeburi—Stockbury, No. 316.

Herlepe—Hartlip, No. 313.

Bordene—Borden, No. 319.

It will be noticed that the names in these lists of Saint Augustine are very much less archaic than those in the D.Mon. This illustrates, perhaps, a form of editing which was not very unusual. Although there is no break in the list the next group of churches is obviously not connected with Newington or Milton.

Schellinge—Selling, No. 322.

398. Swalclue—Swalecliffe.

399. Prestune—Preston by Wingham.

Lenham—Lenham, No. 336 (see note).

400. The chapel of Rattune—Rayton in Lenham.

Kenington—Kennington, No. 218.

The inclusion of this church in both lists is explained by a note at the end, "Item, be it remembered that the church of Kenington pays to this church in one year and in the next year to the church of Holy Trinity; where it receives the oil, there it pays. Similarly also the church of Smedetune used to pay 7d. but by permission they (the pence) are kept back."

401. Wiuelesberge 7d.—Willesborough.

402. Borewaremerch—Burmarsh.

403. Snaves 7d.—Snave.

404. Brkchirche 7d.—Brookland.

This place was called Broke and not Brookland during the early part of its history. Prof. A. G. Little has kindly confirmed the reading "Brkchirche".

Demcherd—Dymchurch, No. 283.

405. Stones in Oxoniaie 7d.—Stone in Oxney.

406. Tentwardenne 7d.—Tenterden.

407. Strithindenne 7d.—Frittenden.

Frittenden was a den of Lenham and had long been vested in the Abbey. There was certainly a mistake in transcription here and the form "Strithindenne" existed only in the copyist's imagination.

CONCLUSION.

From these four lists it is clear that churchmen of the end of the eleventh century were familiar with a form of organization closely akin to the rural deaneries of more recent years. These church groups were smaller than was the case later and their exact constitution took into consideration not only convenience of access but also the internal economy of the manorial system. Thus Fleet was in the manor of Folkestone and, apparently for this reason, was also in the Folkestone deanery. For the same reason Hawkhurst was attached to Wye as its mother church. But the case of Marden shows that the manorial status was not the only factor, for this parish was part of Milton manor but was not in Milton deanery, nor was given with that deanery to Saint Augustine. It is also clear that the deanery subordinate to a religious house might be augmented by gift of a church with which neither propinquity nor manorial status would have brought it into connection.

It is not quite clear whether these deaneries existed before the conquest. But it is difficult to understand the heavy dues charged to certain churches in the "institution" before the coming of Lanfranc except on the supposition that these churches were in turn receiving dues from subordinate churches.

The only obvious link between mother church and subordinate chapel is the chrism fee, that is, the fee paid for the consecrated oil used in baptism. Whether this oil was used also in other sacraments does not appear; that was certainly not the case at all periods of our history. A

special payment for sacramental wine appears in the old institution, the sum in question being 6d. This would appear to have been discontinued. Although these fees are the only stated bonds between mother and daughter churches, the expression "mother church" may properly be held to signify that some closer co-operation was really in question. Even so, one cannot help being struck by the very casual nature of the relationships revealed in the White Book. It is to be hoped that some student of church history, better equipped than I am and more learned in the Latin tongue as used by the priesthood, will see fit to deal with this subject of early rural deaneries.

In the meantime it is interesting to be able to record that the Rochester and D.Mon. lists give the names of 365 Saxon churches in Kent, while the White Book adds others which bring the number up to 407. If some few of the latter may not be really Saxon, we may set against them churches in Canterbury and elsewhere which certainly existed but find no place in these records, for example, that at Reculver. I think we can assert with confidence that there were over 400 Saxon churches in Kent. Of about twenty of these there are still tangible Saxon remains. This perhaps speaks well for the care and reverence of our ancestors but, alas, between 300 and 400 have utterly disappeared and of many of these even the sites are quite unknown.

NOTE.—In numbers 170, 240, 260, 261, 280, 294, 303 and 347 the spelling above differs from that given by the V.C.H. in some small detail. The former has been repeatedly checked.