

Blair, J

## *Introduction: from minster to parish church*

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## Abbreviations

<i>Antiq. J.</i>	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i>	<i>Gilbert Foliot</i>	<i>The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot</i> , eds. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967).
<i>Archaeol. J.</i>	<i>The Archaeological Journal</i>		
<i>Arch. Cant.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cantiana</i>		
Barlow, <i>Church 1000-66</i>	F. Barlow, <i>The English Church 1000-1066</i> (2nd edn., London, 1979).	Haslam, <i>Towns</i>	J. Haslam (ed.), <i>Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England</i> (Chichester, 1984).
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>	<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
Blair, <i>Early Medieval Surrey</i>	J. Blair, <i>Landholding, Church and Settlement in Early Medieval Surrey</i> (Surrey Arch. Soc. forthcoming).	Knowles & Hadcock	D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, <i>Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales</i> (2nd edn., London, 1971).
Blair, 'Local Church in Domesday'	J. Blair, 'The Local Church in Domesday Book and Before', in J.C. Holt (ed.), <i>Domesday Studies</i> (Boydell, 1987), 265-78.	Lennard, <i>Rural England</i>	R.V. Lennard, <i>Rural England 1086-1135</i> (Oxford, 1959).
Blair, 'Minsters in Landscape'	J. Blair, 'Minster Churches in the Landscape', in D. Hooke (ed.), <i>Anglo-Saxon Settlements</i> (Oxford, forthcoming).	<i>Med. Arch. Mon. Ang.</i>	<i>Medieval Archaeology</i>
Blair, 'Secular Minsters'	J. Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), <i>Domesday Book: a Reassessment</i> (London, 1985), 104-42.	Morris, <i>CBA</i>	W. Dugdale, <i>Monasticum Anglicanum</i> (revised and extended by J. Caley et al.: i-vi (in 8 vols.), London, 1817-30).
Brett, <i>English Church</i>	M. Brett, <i>The English Church under Henry I</i> (Oxford, 1975).		R. Morris, <i>The Church in British Archaeology</i> (C.B.A. Research Rep. xlvii, 1983).
Brit. Lib.	The British Library, Dept. of MSS.	<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office
Brooke & Keir, <i>London</i>	C.N.L. Brooke and G. Keir, <i>London 800-1216: the Shaping of a City</i> (London, 1975).	<i>Reading Cartularies</i> , i	Reading Cartularies, i, ed. B.R. Kemp (Camden 4th ser. xxxi, 1986).
Campbell, 'Church in Towns'	J. Campbell, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Towns', <i>Studies in Church History</i> , xvi (1979), 119-35.	<i>S.</i>	P.H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (Royal Hist. Soc., 1968). (Charters are cited by number).
<i>Cart. H.T.A.</i>	<i>The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate</i> , ed. G.A.J. Hodgett (London Rec. Soc. vii, 1971).	<i>SC</i>	<i>The Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey</i> , ed. U. Rees (i-ii, Aberystwyth, 1975).
<i>C &amp; S</i>	<i>Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church: I: AD 871-1204</i> , eds. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (i-ii, Oxford, 1981).	Stenton, 'Norman London'	F.M. Stenton, 'Norman London', in <i>Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England</i> (1970), 23-47.
<i>DB</i>	<i>Domesday Book, seu Liber Censualis Willelmi Primi Regis Angliae</i> , eds. A. Farley et al. (I-IV, Rec. Comm., 1783-1816).	Stringer, <i>Earl David</i>	K.J. Stringer, <i>Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219: a Study in Anglo-Scottish History</i> (Edinburgh, 1985).
<i>ECWM</i>	H.P.R. Finberg, <i>The Early Charters of the West Midlands</i> (Leicester, 1960).	<i>Taxatio</i>	<i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Papae Nicolai IV</i> , ed. J. Caley (Rec. Comm., 1802).
<i>EHD</i>	<i>English Historical Documents: I: c. 500-1042</i> , ed. D. Whitelock (2nd edn. London, 1979).	Taylor & Taylor	H.M. and J. Taylor, <i>Anglo-Saxon Architecture</i> (i-iii, Cambridge, 1965, 1978).
<i>Eng. Hist. Rev.</i>	<i>The English Historical Review</i> .	<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
Franklin, 'Identification of Minsters'	M.J. Franklin, 'The Identification of Minsters in the Midlands', <i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i> , vii (1985), 69-88.	<i>VCH</i>	<i>The Victoria History of the Counties of England</i> (cited by county and volume).
Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes'	M.J. Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes: Northamptonshire Studies' (unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1982).	<i>Worcester B.A.A.</i>	<i>Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions</i> i (1978).

## I. Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church

John Blair

A uniting theme for these essays is the critical change in English parochial organisation which occurred between the 10th and 12th centuries. With their different emphases and approaches — documentary, topographical, archaeological and architectural — all contributions bear upon a sequence of development, now widely accepted in its main lines, which can be summarised thus: (i) a system, general in Anglo-Saxon England, of large parishes served by teams of priests operating from important central churches (the 'old minsters'); (ii) the rapid proliferation, between the 10th and 12th centuries, of 'local' or 'private' churches with resident priests; (iii) a major campaign, during the 11th and 12th centuries, of stone church-building at a local level; and (iv) the eclipse of the minsters, the division of their parishes between local churches and the crystallisation of the modern parochial system, a process which was under way in the 11th century and complete by the 13th. Recent local studies (notably by Brian Kemp, Patrick Hase and Michael Franklin, three of the present authors) have done much to elucidate the complexities of this process, but historians are only slowly abandoning the anachronistic back-projections which so distorted earlier work on the formation of English parishes. Perhaps with this volume the new approaches will 'come of age'.<sup>1</sup>

This introduction is intended as a framework for the succeeding chapters. The approach, the interpretation and much of the material are my own, and it may be that no one of the authors would agree with all my conclusions. Nonetheless, the consensus between these studies is impressive, and far outweighs the disagreements: evidence from different regions, seen by a series of fresh eyes, is pointing strongly to the same conclusions. I have therefore drawn heavily on the contributions, and have tried to emphasise points of contact between them. The geographical coverage is reasonably wide, though with a concentration on the West Midlands and gaps in south-western and north-western England: (thus two of the areas in which the strongest traces of a minster-type system survived are not discussed).

Two words, much used in this book, require comment at the outset: 'minster' (*monasterium*) and 'parish' (*parochia*). Insofar as *mynster* is the vernacular Old English for *monasterium*, 'minster' and 'monastery' are synonymous. But 'monastery' is today a loaded word, connoting a community of monks following a

monastic rule, devoted to worship, contemplation and learning and remote from parochial cares. The much looser Anglo-Saxon usage, which allowed the word to describe houses of priests as well as of monks, reflects the wider range of functions which were in some sense 'monastic'. In the 8th century Bede's Jarrow, and the 'decadent' establishments which he decried, were alike *monasteria*; in the early 10th, when there were few strict monasteries, King Æthelstan could order that 'every Friday at every minster all the servants of God are to sing fifty psalms for the king'.<sup>2</sup> The Tenth-Century Reformation drew a firm line between 'true' monasteries and the mass of 'secular' minsters, but produced no corresponding change in terminology; indeed, in the 11th century both *mynster* and *monasterium* could be used for any kind of religious establishment with a church. The present papers generally use 'minster' or 'mother church' for major churches which had at some time housed communities of priests but were not monastic in the strict sense in the 11th and 12th centuries, whether or not they had been controlled by monks or nuns at an earlier stage in their history.

*Parochia* originally meant a bishop's diocese; until the mid 12th century it was used more commonly in this sense than either for 'minster parish' (which in Old English was simply *hyrnesse*, a general term for 'obedience' or 'lordship') or for 'parish' as understood today. For clarity, we have here followed the artificial but now accepted usage of Latin *parochia* for minster parish, and English 'parish' for the institution in its modern sense.

### *The System of Minster Parochiae*

A hypothesis for English parochial organisation in the 7th and 8th centuries has been presented in detail elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Briefly, it is argued that each kingdom acquired, within a generation or so of its conversion, a coherent network of *parochiae* established by acts of royal and episcopal policy. The central churches were of diverse kinds: monasteries in the strict sense, double houses, and straightforward communities of priests. But the likelihood is that all or most establishments called *monasteria* either performed or supported pastoral work within defined territories:<sup>4</sup> their public rôle helps to explain the speed and efficiency of their

creation. This process owed much to existing systems of government and exploitation: many minsters were founded near royal vills, their *parochiae* coterminous with the territories which the vills controlled.

Several of the present papers accept such a scheme as the background to 10th- and 11th-century changes. Patrick Hase shows (pp. 45–8) that a network of four or five minsters around Southampton Water must have been founded under the West Saxon kings Cædwalla and Ine, probably with the advice of Archbishop Theodore and his bishops: here and in north Surrey were 'ancient royal estates, each connected with a collegiate mother church and a hundred, with jurisdictional and religious districts which were essentially coterminous, forming a system covering the whole area.... It is clear that this system was in existence by 700 or a little later'. In Shropshire (pp. 67–8), Jane Croom is equally clear that royal *villae* and *regiones* constituted a coherent matrix within which the (often substantial) endowments of Much Wenlock and other early minsters were created, and in relation to which their *parochiae* were defined. Other authors, less clear about early units and boundaries, still emphasise the high correlation between monasteries mentioned in the 7th and 8th centuries and mother churches with wide parochial authority in the 11th and 12th centuries: Leominster in Herefordshire (Ch. VII); Lyminge, Dover, Folkestone and Reculver in Kent (Ch. IX); Worcester, Evesham, Pershore, Hanbury, Ripple, Fladbury and Bredon in Worcestershire (Ch. X).

Such correlations are testimony to the enduring strength of the primary minsters, which even the drastic changes of the 9th to 12th centuries could not wholly destroy. The main theme of this book is the replacement of the old system by the new, but it is important to remember the signs, usually associated with the oldest and most deep-rooted minsters, of their continuing rôle among local communities into the 11th century and beyond.<sup>5</sup> The *scricorn* which Leominster was still receiving in the 13th century (pp. 87–8) may recall a time when the minister-priests were responsible for 'shriving' the inhabitants of their large *parochia*. Many of the lesser churches of late 11th-century Kent received their baptismal oil from their head minsters, not direct from Canterbury (pp. 105, 116–17). As late as the 1090s, a Hampshire thegn negotiated the foundation of a church with the 'elder' of his local minster, not with the bishop (p. 56). Processions from daughter churches to the minster often preserved memories of a time when the locals genuinely looked to it as their spiritual centre (cf. pp. 58, 60, 65–6 notes 70–1). Many ex-minsters retained large parishes and abnormal clerical staffs, for instance the 'archpriest' and his two colleagues who served three parochial altars in St. Martin's Dover until 1536 (p. 111). Such residual 'team ministries' needed the support provided by parish gilds, which, as Gervase Rosser here shows, are one of the strongest and clearest links from the Anglo-Saxon minsters to the parochial

life of late medieval England: 'The teams of priests who manned the old-style minsters were clearly well-suited to serve the intercessory needs of the laity who formed the gilds. Those needs remained a constant from the 10th to the mid 16th century' (p. 31). Indeed, the lines of social and devotional continuity must often run from the 7th century to the 16th, and they underlie many of the changes described below.

It is no accident that the chapters which convey least sense of a pre-existing minster framework deal with areas of Viking settlement, in East Anglia and Yorkshire (Chs. XII–XIV). Whether this reflects genuine regional contrasts, or merely differences in later developments, in the available evidence or in the preconceptions of local studies, is an important question for the future. Norfolk and Suffolk certainly had minsters in the 10th century (cf. Fig. 1). Of Yorkshire, Richard Morris writes (p. 197) that 'the intermediate category of old minsters which is so characteristic of late-Saxon ecclesiastical geography in parts of southern and western England seems to be missing'; some churches stand out as 'superior' in the 12th century, but on present evidence it is impossible to suggest whether such churches could be the vestiges of a network of minsters which had once been more extensive and was largely 'weathered down' in the 9th and 10th centuries, or the products of a more recent, limited programme of founding or upgrading'. In either case, this comment is a useful reminder that not all minsters were 'primary': the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries all brought some new foundations which were more in the tradition of the 'old-style' minsters than of the 'new-style' local churches.

### *Minsters in a Changing World, 800–1100*

The bias of our post-Gregorian sources obscures the fact that the minster community survived great social change to remain, until the late 11th century, a normal and accepted branch of the religious life. Equally, such communities were subject to all the pressures of a fast-changing society. Just as the first minsters had been founded by kings and endowed from early *regiones*, so new systems of local government and land-tenure, and above all a developing territorial aristocracy, brought new kinds of domination and patronage. The 'scandal' of religious communities controlled by laymen, which so outraged later monastic reformers,<sup>7</sup> was in fact an essential part of the process by which parochial organisation grew and changed before the era of the one-priest church.

The 'private minsters' of 8th- and 9th-century princely families are most clearly visible in Worcester diocese. Thus in 804 the will of Æthelric son of Æthelmund begins: 'These are the names of those lands which I will give to the place [i.e. minster] which is called Deerhurst, for me and for Æthelmund my father, if it

befall me that my body shall be buried there: Todenham, and Stour, Shrawley and *Cohhanleah*; on condition that that community carries out their vows as they have promised me'.<sup>8</sup> The successes of 9th-century bishops of Worcester against such lay domination<sup>9</sup> were unusual; in Kent, where Archbishop Wulfred (805–32) fought it at great cost and trouble, his successor ceded control of the minsters to King Egbert in 838.<sup>10</sup> The immunity from royal exactions which the later Mercian kings gave to some minsters<sup>11</sup> implies the reverse as a normal fact of life; in the late 9th century, for instance, the Hwiccan minsters were responsible for stabling the king's horses.<sup>12</sup>

King Alfred certainly countenanced such lordship: he gave three minsters to Asser, and his will asks for 'the community at Cheddar to choose ... [my son Edward as their lord] on the terms which we have previously agreed', and that 'the community at Damerham be given their landbooks and their freedom to choose such lord as is dearest to them'.<sup>13</sup> Land re-acquired by Wenlock in 901 had been 'previously surrendered to the king's lordship in order to purchase the liberty of the minster' (below, p. 73). At Abingdon later tradition blamed King Alfred for annexing the minster to an *aedificium regale*, but the wickedness of the action may have been less obvious in Alfred's day than from a post-Reform perspective: his grandson Æthelstan was to hold important courts at Abingdon, which brought prestige to the community as well as to the king.<sup>14</sup> Insofar as they regularly accommodated the king's household and provided a setting for assemblies and councils, there is a sense in which royal minsters were also ancillary royal palaces.<sup>15</sup>

Although the old view that the minsters perished for good in the Viking raids is clearly wrong, the late 9th century was for many of them a time of loss, disruption and change. Alderman Alfred expresses the general insecurity in his bequest (971 × 89) 'to be divided among the minsters of God's churches in Surrey and Kent so long as they survive'.<sup>16</sup> During the 9th and early 10th centuries many communities seem to have changed in composition from double houses of nuns and monks, or nuns and priests, to colleges of male, canons.<sup>17</sup> Much Wenlock, originally a double monastery ruled by an abbess, was in 901 a *congregatio*; under a male *senior*, though probably still with some female members (p. 71); but by the mid 11th century it was evidently a straightforward community of priests. If pre-Viking minsters had often had dual functions, the monastic was certainly less resilient than the parochial.

But these changes do not betoken mere decay. Recent work has emphasised the work of Alfred and his children in transforming and revitalising the network of pastoral minsters, just as they transformed older secular divisions into the 10th-century shires and hundreds. Cases of 'hundredal minsters', of *parochiae* congruent with hundreds, may often reflect a comprehensive re-fashioning by Alfred, Edward the

Elder or Æthelflæd which produced a new generation of mother churches.<sup>18</sup> In a convincing extension of this hypothesis, Jeremy Haslam argues (Ch. IV) that Alfred's rebuilding of London, and the foundation of other urban *burhs*, involved the creation of urban 'sub-minsters' exercising normal mother-church functions in *parochiae* which were often coterminous with wards. Thus 'the wards and sub-minsters in London and probably other towns can be argued as being the urban equivalents to the new hundreds and hundredal minsters' (p. 39).

It is undeniable that in the long run the land-base of minsters came to be vastly diminished: their estates are quantified in scores and hundreds of hides in the late 7th and 8th centuries, in ones and tens of hides in Domesday Book. Much land alienated in the 9th-century disruptions was probably never restored; 10th-century kings took church estates for political and strategic purposes, and from the 990s Danegeld must have weighed as heavily on secular minsters as it did on the reformed monasteries.<sup>19</sup> But to imagine a fixed body of resources in inexorable decline may be overstatic; it is possible that some 9th- and 10th-century endowments were more of the nature of *precariae*, to be depleted or replenished by secular lords as occasion required.<sup>20</sup> The trend is not in one direction only, and at all dates it is possible to see minsters getting richer or poorer. Burgred of Mercia's grant to Worcester in 864 of five hides in Oxfordshire, reserving a 30s. payment to Eynsham church, suggests the permanent disendowment of a once-wealthy minster; Eynsham retained little land of its own at its re-foundation in 1005.<sup>21</sup> By contrast, Stoke-by-Nayland in Suffolk shows the same process two centuries later: the estates which Ealdorman Ælfgar and his daughters gave it during c. 950–1000 (Fig. 1) had largely disappeared by the end of Cnut's reign.<sup>22</sup> In the continuum of endowment and expropriation, it is arguable that the decisive downwards trend did not begin until quite late in the Anglo-Saxon period.

At all events, thegnly wills from the second half of the 10th century normally include bequests to secular minsters (Figs. 1–2). The Suffolk wills of Ealdorman Ælfgar and his daughters Æthelflæd and Ælfflæd<sup>23</sup> have small bequests to communities at Bury, Sudbury, Hadleigh and Mersea, but show special devotion to the family minster at Stoke-by-Nayland. Ælfgar (946 × 51) gives Æthelflæd the use of estates 'on condition that she does the best she can for the community at Stoke for the sake of my soul and of our ancestors' souls'. Æthelflæd in her turn leaves several estates to Stoke (962 × 91), while Ælfflæd (1000 × 2) expresses in clear language the special link between the family and the minster:

And I humbly pray you, Sir, for God's sake and for the sake of my lord's soul and for the sake of my sister's soul, that you will protect the holy foundation at Stoke in which my ancestors lie buried, and the property

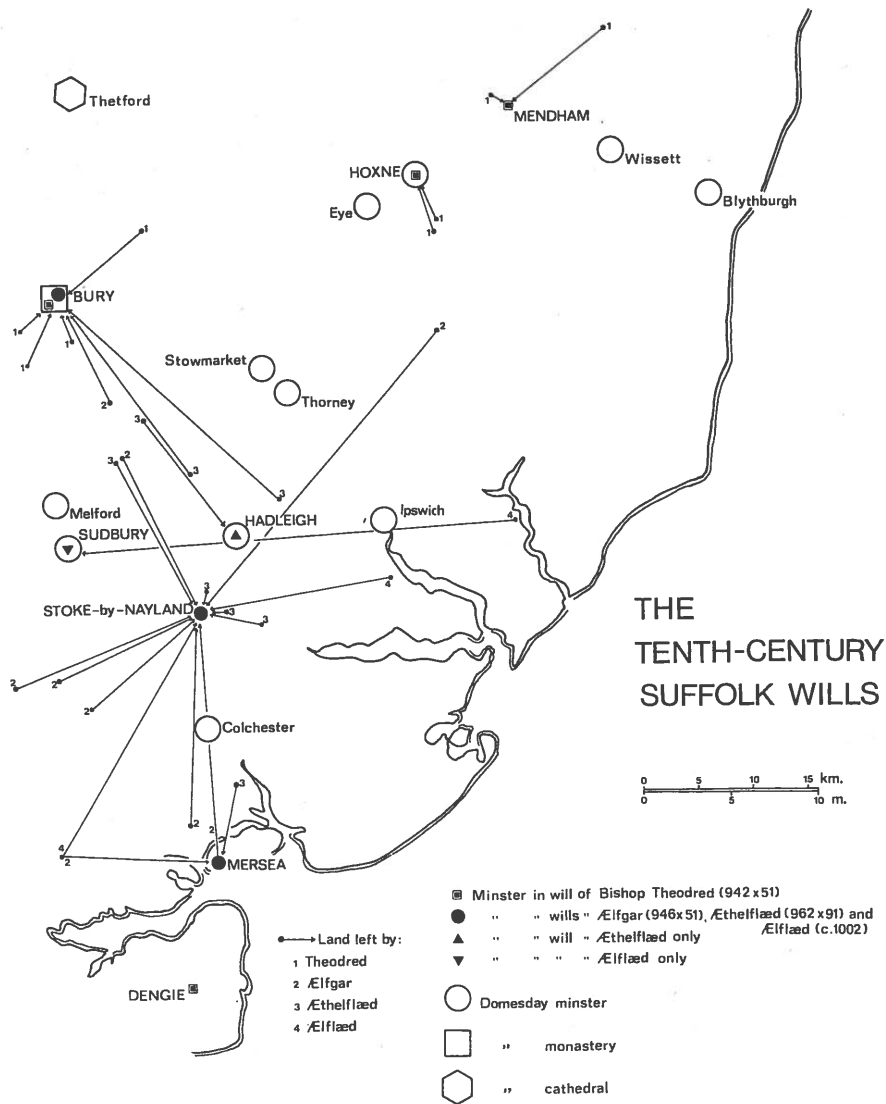


Fig. 1 Minster patronage in 10th-century wills: Bishop Theodred, Ælfgar, Æthelflæd, Ælflæd.

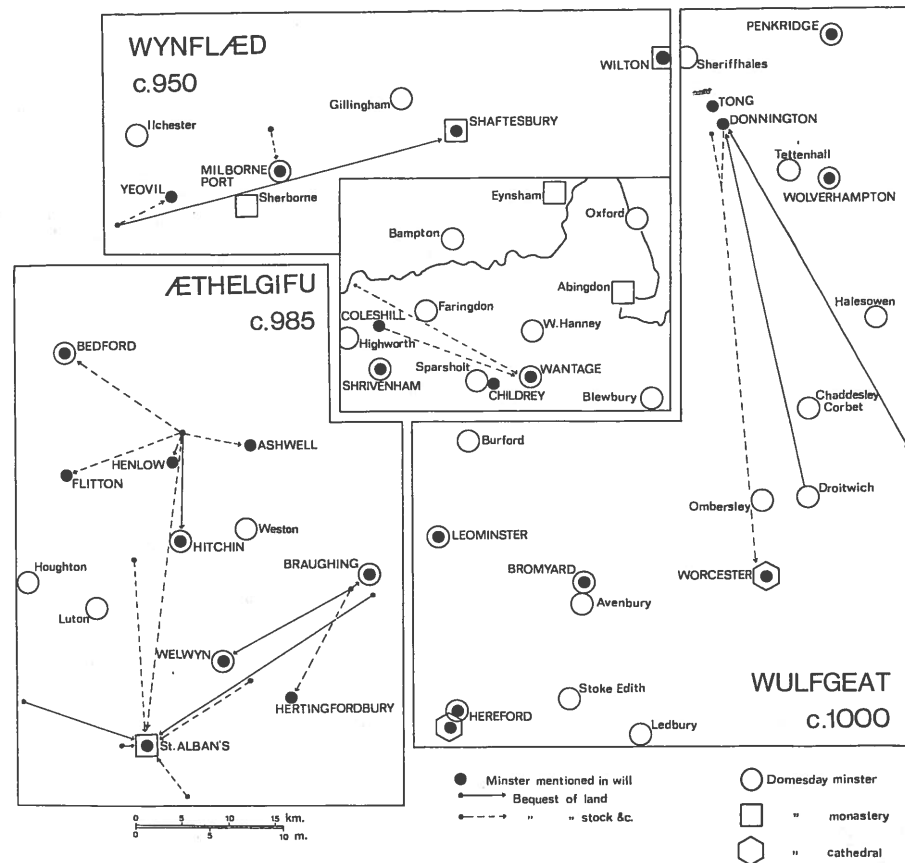


Fig. 2 Minster patronage in 10th-century wills: Wynflæd, Æthelgifu, Wulfgeat of Donington.

which they gave to it as an immune right of God for ever: which property I grant exactly as my ancestors had granted it, that is the estate at Stoke to the holy foundation with everything that belongs to the village there, and the wood at Hatfield which my sister and my ancestors gave.<sup>24</sup>

The wills of Wynflæd (c. 950), Æthelgifu (c. 985) and Wulfgeat of Donington (c. 1000)<sup>25</sup> show small gifts of money, stock and land distributed more evenly among the local minsters. In these cases there is a 50 to 80 per cent correlation between minsters mentioned in the will and minsters identifiable in Domesday Book in the immediate locality; the wealthy widow Æthelgifu seems to have left stock and food-rents to nearly all the

minsters of her native Hertfordshire. There is no sign that such bequests were compulsory, though Wulfgeat's grant of *sawelscattas*, probably to Donington minster, was presumably the render of that name enjoined in the 10th-century legislation. The pattern is curiously reminiscent, on a larger scale, of the thousands of late medieval wills which leave tiny bequests to neighbouring parish churches. It is quite clear that in the late 10th century the local minsters were still familiar and respected, and enjoyed regular small bequests from neighbours of the gentry rank and conventional piety both inside and outside their *parochiae*.

The Monastic Reform and the 'anti-monastic reaction' do not seem to have changed this pattern

significantly.<sup>26</sup> Propagandists for the monks, who put expellers of secular clerks on the side of the angels and cast their supporters as villains, leave an impression that these were entrenched and exclusive positions. In fact, ordinary testators saw nothing incongruous in patronising both the monks and the clerics: of the ten wills between c. 970 and c. 1000 with bequests to monasteries, eight also have bequests to secular communities. Æthelgifu was munificent to St. Albans while not forgetting the eight local minsters; Ælflæd, whose will expresses such eloquent devotion to her ancestral minster at Stoke-by-Nayland, was married to the 'pro-monastic' Ealdorman Byrhtnoth.

During c. 990–1086 some minsters are known to have been re-founded or endowed by great magnates (notably Leofric and Godiva at Leominster, Wenlock, Stow and Chester, cf. p. 71), others by lesser thegns;<sup>27</sup> but the relations between communities and patrons are ill-recorded. A notable feature of Edward the Confessor's reign is the annexation of royal minsters as endowments for household chaplains,<sup>28</sup> and this may reflect a more general practice. Leofgifu's will of c. 1040<sup>29</sup> certainly shows lay control of canons: 'I desire that Æthelric the priest and Ælfric the priest and Æthelsige the deacon shall have the minster at Colne as their lord granted it to them; and it is my wish that Ælfric the priest shall be in the same position in which Æthelnoth was; and may he be guardian over the minster who is over all others'. In such cases, the difference between a private minster and a group of household priests may not have been enormous, and the communities could well have had some involvement in the daily life of their lords' manors. Here there is a possible area of contact between the old centralised ministries and the new world of manorial priests.

It can hardly be doubted that the patronage of these late Anglo-Saxon proprietors extended to buildings. If so, it would have been operating at a time when work on the cathedrals and abbeys was in recession, and the 'Great Rebuilding' of little churches had scarcely begun (Ch. II). When Bishop Herman of Ramsbury spoke of mid 11th-century England as being 'filled everywhere with churches' through 'the most ample liberality of kings and rich men' (p. 21), he was surely thinking partly of royal minsters such as the magnificent St. Mary-de-Castro at Dover (p. 110), and comital or thegnly minsters such as Stow, Nether Wallop and Kirkdale.<sup>30</sup> It may be that churches of this type and status, concentrated in the period c. 975–1080, preceded and initiated the much more widespread building boom among ordinary churches during c. 1050–1150 (pp. 7, 9–10). This suggests a context for Richard Morris's observation (p. 192) that an abnormally high proportion of Yorkshire churches with 'Saxo-Norman' fabric have Anglo-Saxon 'monastic' backgrounds. Appropriately, it was probably the great clerk Regenbald, one of the most notable survivors from Anglo-Saxon into Anglo-Norman

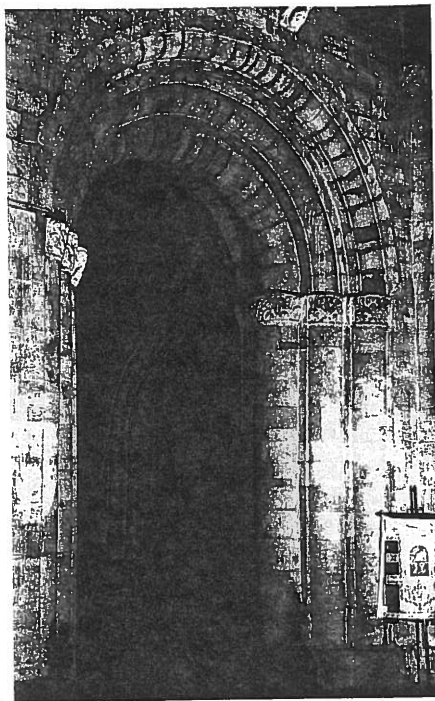


Fig. 3 Milborne Port, tower arch: a fusion of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman traditions, perhaps built by Regenbald c. 1080. (Courtesy Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.)

England, who rebuilt in the 1080s the Somerset minster of Milborne Port (Fig. 3):<sup>31</sup> in Richard Gem's words (p. 27) 'a restatement of older insular ideas in a more up-to-date dress... a truly Anglo-Norman fusion'.

Two chapters in this book illustrate the assimilation of secular minsters into post-Conquest society.<sup>32</sup> Patrick Hase presents the evidence, unique apart from the Waltham Holy Cross texts,<sup>33</sup> for the parochial ministry and internal life of a community at Christchurch (Hants.) during the 1080s and 1090s (Ch. V). This 'mixed system in which elements of communal life and individual life are both notable, but in which the communal life, with its full *horarium*, tends to be the more significant', was clearly based on one of the Continental rules for canons, probably the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang. Most of the land provided communal income, and although peripheral estates were allocated to individual canons they remained, unlike formal 12th-century prebends, under the control of the community.<sup>34</sup> This picture may well be typical of

the larger and 'stricter' English minsters throughout the 11th century. The college at Daventry discussed by Michael Franklin (Ch. VIII) was much younger, founded either just before or just after the Conquest within an existing *parochia*. This makes it all the more interesting that the canons of Daventry had a parochial ministry, which was transferred to one and perhaps more daughter churches after the college was re-founded as a Cluniac priory in c. 1108.

These cases show that secular colleges in their own right, and to a more limited extent the parochial organisation which had once been their main *raison d'être*, still had a place in Anglo-Norman England. But the writing was on the wall. On the one hand, the rising tide of Gregorian Reform was soon to leave the seculars in despised and friendless isolation. On the other, the old order was fast losing ground to a less centralised system of pastoral care.

### The Rise of Pastoral Localism

This shift to a locally-based parochial system is merely one sign of a critical change in the whole organisation of rural life. Recent work has emphasised a stage, spanning the late 9th to mid 11th centuries, when complex estates and territories based on royal, ecclesiastical or aristocratic centres, fragmented into self-contained local manors, the land-base of a broader thegnly class.<sup>35</sup> To take two local studies, both published in 1985: Dr. Hooke shows how multiple estates in the West Midlands, at Tredington and *Wican*, broke up from the 960s onwards with the leasing-off of component townships; while Dr. Stafford sees the 10th and 11th centuries as 'a period witnessing a virtual revolution in landholding throughout the East Midlands', in which 'a group of small-scale landowners, whose only record is that left in the place-names, gave concentrated attention to their new lands; their pride in them was expressed in building activity, in churches and in memorial building'.<sup>36</sup>

A parallel process, elucidated above all by Christopher Taylor, is the formation and planning of villages. While the initial nucleation was probably a spontaneous result of population growth and the coherence of agrarian communities, a good case can be made for seigneurial influence on the emergence of regular settlements and field-systems during the 10th and 11th centuries.<sup>37</sup> Just as many churches adjoin manor-houses, so many others are integral components of villages. Like the small towns (with their own new and often multiple parishes) which were emerging in late-Saxon England, the manor-houses and villages reflect a reorganisation of rural life at a higher level of economic development.

In short, local communities were becoming more internally-focussed and coherent, and the community of the parish was no exception. French historians have

recognised for some time that the re-structuring of seigneurial power accompanied, and probably stimulated, a re-structuring of rural life. Georges Duby wrote in 1953 of the *Mâconnais* that 'la chevalerie ... est au XII<sup>e</sup> s. une collection de familles; de même, la société rurale devient progressivement une collection de communautés d'habitants, les paroisses'.<sup>38</sup> More recently, Robert Fossier has argued for Europe in general that 'l'encellulement des hommes s'est brusquement généralisé aux X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles; ... durant plus d'un demi-siècle, de 990 à 1060, il s'agit d'une véritable révolution sociale'; and that 'la fixation du cadre paroissial est un des phénomènes liés à la "révolution" du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: elle accompagne à la fois les démembrements et remembrements fonciers dont la campagne est le lieu'.<sup>39</sup> English historians have been slow to realise that the origins of our own churches and parishes must be seen in the same context of developing local lordship and emergent local communities.

This process could have more than one stage. Just as many large manors created in the 10th century were subdivided into smaller ones before Domesday Book, so churches of more than ordinary local status may sometimes have been founded to serve them, with parishes which fragmented in their turn.<sup>40</sup> The period c. 975–1025 evidently saw a distinct phase of parochial development: new churches, operating a scaled-down version of the old system, which can be defined as 'sub-minsters' or 'superior' estate churches. This category may have been the one most prominent in the first-phase 'Great Rebuilding' (cf. pp. 6, 9–10, 26–7); it probably includes many of the one-hide or 20s. churches in Domesday Book,<sup>41</sup> and some architecturally imposing or well-endowed churches without discernible *parochiae*.<sup>42</sup> Its existence emphasises the relatively late advent of the truly local church.

The argument that 'ordinary' churches and priests were rare before the late 10th century, but then became rapidly more common, is a negative one and as such hard to prove. But the lack of written evidence for a ministry based on one-priest churches, the assumption of sources before the age of Ælfric and Wulfstan that priests lived in communities, the signs that old-established local chapels were normally served from a central minster, all point in one direction.<sup>43</sup> So do the excavations, which are consistently revealing 'first-phase' churches and graveyards of the 10th and 11th centuries:<sup>44</sup> the sites at Barton Bendish and Thetford discussed by Neil Batcock (pp. 179–88) are in this respect typical. It may be added that of the twelve pre-1100 dedication inscriptions known from English churches, four (all at minsters) are 7th or 8th century, and the remaining eight date from between c. 980 and c. 1100.<sup>45</sup> Admittedly church archaeology is in its infancy, but future discoveries will need to take a very unexpected course if they are to change this general picture.

Most local churches seem to have originated through

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seigniorial foundation (either lay or ecclesiastical), through devolution from minsters, or through corporate initiative. These were not mutually exclusive categories. The term 'proprietary church' is not meaningless, but it suggests boundaries between private and public, between manorial lords' churches and churches controlled by some external authority, which may be too sharply drawn. We should not assume that 10th- and 11th-century landowners built churches only for reasons of proprietorship and status, or that nobody would found what he could not control thereafter. Simply for convenience, people needed local churches; a lord who could arrange for himself and his tenants to have one might well rest content, whether he or the local minster had paid to build it and whether his priest or the minster's served it.

Lay wills of the period c. 970–1060 suggest a process by which household priests were provided, at first on a very informal basis, with individual churches, which gradually acquired permanent endowments of land and some kind of independent status.<sup>46</sup> Thus a community of priests in a great man's household (perhaps not vastly different in kind from a 'private minster') might become localised in churches on his various manors, the centres of incipient local parishes. Alternatively, if the local minster was independent and powerful, a lord might negotiate for one of its community to serve a new church on his land. Here the *locus classicus* is the narrative, discussed by Patrick Hase (pp. 54–6), of the foundation of a chapel at Milford, Hants., in the 1090s. Ælfric the Small, lord of Milford, built it by agreement with the 'elder' of Christchurch minster, who arranged for one of his own priests to serve it in return for half a virgate and a guarantee of the minster's parochial rights. The priest was to say mass in the chapel (waiting a reasonable time for Ælfric, 'he being the greater man'), and would eat at Ælfric's table before returning to Christchurch. The importance of this case cannot be over-stressed, for it almost certainly reflects pre-Conquest practice, and makes explicit what in numerous other cases can only be conjectured.

Such arrangements represent co-operation rather than encroachment. But other church-founders pursued more aggressive, separatist aims which brought emergent localism into conflict with vested interests. Encroachment began when manorial lords founded, without the leave of their local minsters, churches which usurped their parochial authority and reduced their revenues. The rights principally threatened were *tithe*, an expanding asset in an expanding economy, and the soul-scot which, according to a law of 1014, was to be paid for each corpse 'at the open grave'.<sup>47</sup> It is symptomatic that Æthelstan's ordinance of 926 × c. 930 enjoins reeves to pay their tithes, and to see that those under them do likewise and that church-scot, soul-scot and plough-almos go to their lawful recipients.<sup>48</sup> This new legal rigour speaks of an established order under threat.

Proprietorship, tithe and burial are all linked in the first clear statement that private churches had become a force to be reckoned with: Edgar's second code (960 × 2).<sup>49</sup> A thegn who has on his bookland a church with a graveyard should give it a third of his demesne tithes; if, however, it has no graveyard, he must 'pay to his priest from the [remaining] nine parts what he chooses'. As well as demonstrating that the diversion of payments and offerings from minsters to private churches was starting to cause concern, this passage suggests that the right to take corpses for burial, both as a source of mortuary payments and as a test of parochial jurisdiction, was becoming contentious. To judge from the sudden plethora of carved tombstones in the 10th and 11th centuries, private manorial churches had begun to rival minsters as favoured burial-sites for the thegnly classes.<sup>50</sup> This was different from the long-established practice of burial in outlying graveyards controlled by the minsters,<sup>51</sup> for it implied parochial independence. Æthelred's code of 1008, which states that 'if any body is buried elsewhere, outside the proper parish (*rihtscriftscire*), the payment for the soul is nevertheless to be paid to the minster to which it belonged',<sup>52</sup> protects the minster's rights and revenues even when the corpse is physically absent. 'Some priests are glad when men die', writes Ælfric in c. 1006, 'and they flock to the corpse like greedy ravens when they see a carcass, in wood or in field; but it is fitting for [a priest] ... to attend the men who belong to his parish (*hyrnysse*) at his church; and he must never go into another's district to any corpse, unless he is invited'.<sup>53</sup> These sentiments come from the same generation and milieu as the tract on status which lists a church among the normal attributes of the thriving *ceorl* worthy to be called a thegn.<sup>54</sup>

So far the drift towards local churches has been presented as a matter of thegnly initiative. Such is the inevitable bias of the sources; yet it is doubtful if the gentry could have achieved so drastic a re-structuring of parochial organisation without a basic shift of perceptions in society at large. Hitherto the minster had been the devotional centre to which all its parishioners looked; now, increasingly, they desired to receive the sacraments in life, and to lie in death, among their neighbours and relatives. Far more village churches may have been endowed corporately than we shall ever know. Twelfth-century cases, such as the Worcestershire and Northamptonshire churches maintained from the smallholdings of *rustici* and *coltmani*, or the church of Exhall (Warws.) endowed by the local *probi homines*,<sup>55</sup> are analogous to 11th-century East Anglian practice recorded in Domesday Book.<sup>56</sup> Lord and tenants may often have combined in an enterprise which the former found socially advantageous, and the latter convenient. In turn, the habit of local church-going evidently created a feeling that visits to the minster were rather a nuisance. The church of Whistley (Berks.), dedicated c. 1080 because of the difficulty of

getting to Sonning in winter to hear the office,<sup>57</sup> epitomises a new order of priorities (cf. pp. 32, 138).

As Gervase Rosser points out (p. 32), an unstated function of 11th-century religious guilds may have been to build and repair local churches. Despite their close links with the service of minster parishes, guilds could also embody a sense of local identity which ran counter to the minster system. The federation of Devon parish guilds, some of which were headed by local priests, 'may indicate a transition period of ambivalent loyalties, divided between the old minster and the nascent parish' (p. 31). Insofar as guilds still embodied a pre-Christian ethic of violence and vendetta (p. 32), it is even possible that they heightened the social fragmentation of the old *parochiae* by promoting inter-vill rivalries. A 12th-century inquiry into the lost rights of a minster at Lanow, Cornwall, reports: 'We have heard from old people that these [tithes] were alienated from Lanow church partly because the men of the said vills feared to come to Lanow church because of blood-feuds arising from a murder, whereas [St.] Teath's church was close at hand'.<sup>58</sup> The implication, that visiting the minster was dangerous, suggests that some organisation such as a minster-based guild was keeping the feud alive. But perhaps this was just an excuse: it is clear that the defaulters preferred to hear mass, and pay their tithes, at the rival church nearer their own villages.

From the early 11th century, the 'village priest' seems to become increasingly common. The great programme of vernacular education associated with Ælfric of Eynsham and Archbishop Wulfstan is surely directed at this new phenomenon:<sup>59</sup> the *uplendiscra preost*, ignorant, isolated, cut off from even the basic standards of learning and discipline which he would formerly have attained through membership of a minster community. The ecclesiastical hierarchy was now making provisions, and setting standards, more relevant to the new system than to the old. Reformed monasteries were diligent builders of churches on their manors;<sup>60</sup> Ælfric forbade any priest to 'have two churches at once, for he cannot discharge the full service in both places together'.<sup>61</sup> The undoubted importance which many minsters still retained in 1066 was based on the past; the parochial order of the future is epitomised by Domesday Book's recurrent *est ibi presbiter*.

### The 'Great Rebuilding'<sup>62</sup>

The triumph of this new order has an enduring monument in stones and mortar. Between 1050 and 1150 the English Church acquired new building-stock on a scale unparalleled either before or since, providing local communities with the simple but durable structures still encapsulated in perhaps two-thirds of our parish churches. As Richard Morris writes (p. 191), 'there was only one period during which the

construction of such buildings in stone was practised as a general, national activity'. He shows (pp. 192–5, Fig. 85) how the extensive re-use of earlier masonry in the fabric of Yorkshire churches reflects circumstances peculiar to this phase of activity: clearance of Roman ruins in the expanding city of York, answering a sudden and unprecedented demand for material before freestone quarrying regained significant proportions. 'Outside York, the re-use of Roman stone seems to have lessened early in the 12th century, and to have ceased altogether by around 1150. Thereafter quarrying took over.' This analysis, which is likely to apply equally to other regions, suggests that for several decades demand outstripped the capacity of industry to respond with a regular supply.

It is traditional to see 'Saxon' parish churches as the later manifestations of a long tradition, and 'Norman' ones as marking some kind of fresh start. Here Richard Gem's contribution (Ch. II) is of the highest importance, for it demonstrates that both are essentially products of the 'Great Rebuilding'. His crucial distinction between style and technology shows how dangerous it is to claim that the biggest group of 'Anglo-Saxon' churches are actually pre-Conquest. During c. 1070–90 the distinctive technology of the new Romanesque architecture, in general use on the great building projects, had little influence on the small ones. The Taylors' criteria for identifying late Anglo-Saxon ('Period C') churches are mostly 'technological rather than stylistic' (p. 24), whereas stylistic features often derive from the Romanesque repertoire of the 1050s onwards. In the period of maximum activity, 'many minor churches remained the preserve of masons trained in insular pre-Romanesque traditions, who might be attracted by some of the decorative features of the new architecture but who did not understand it as a comprehensive system of building' (p. 27). The adoption of the new technology, which made churches recognisably 'Norman', could result from diverse and often incidental influences between patrons and craftsmen: it is less important than the first abrupt expansion of building in an insular idiom. Richard Morris likewise sees the 'Anglo-Saxon' churches of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire 'not as the last in a waning series, but as the first essays in a new tradition of stone-built village churches' (p. 197; cf. Fig. 84).

It will take time for concepts so radically different from the Taylors' (whose great corpus was only finished in 1978) to be assimilated. This volume embodies a range of different approaches, which sometimes leave it unclear how far the contrasts between areas are genuine, and how far a product of individual authors' predispositions towards 'late' or 'early' dating. It is interesting to compare the two East Anglian papers, notably in their continuing debate about the 'Anglo-Saxon cathedral' at North Elmham (pp. 175–7 note 7 and p. 190 note 4). Stephen Heywood (Ch. XII) shows that the round towers of East Anglia, so widely

regarded as quintessentially Anglo-Saxon monuments, are all post-Conquest and probably mostly 12th-century. Neil Batcock (Ch. XIII) is more inclined to push proto-Romanesque features back into the immediately pre-Conquest years; he suggests that Norfolk was a 'late starter', but saw a massive campaign of building and rebuilding from the mid 11th century (p. 179). In fact this is very much in line with the later chronologies now being proposed elsewhere: Norfolk may be exceptional less for its timescale than for 'the practice of doubling, or trebling, the number of churches within a single village' (pp. 180–1). In Canterbury diocese, Tim Tatton-Brown notes that virtually every parish church was rebuilt in the half-century after Lanfranc's arrival; the 'standard' local churches are the majority listed in the late 11th century as paying 28d at Easter, and 'at many of them there still survive the remains of the standard two-celled building' (p. 111). The Worcestershire churches discussed by James Bond show a marked lack of 'Anglo-Saxon' features (p. 120), possibly suggesting that the 'Great Rebuilding' did not reach this rather isolated region until the new technology was becoming widely disseminated: Wulfstan's noted activity in the dedication of new churches in his diocese (pp. 23, 134) may imply that they had been notably lacking before.

In the last analysis, the remarkable coherence of the process outweighs regional differences. This was the age of the mass-produced church: groups of neighbouring buildings sharing standardised plans and modular dimensions<sup>63</sup> imply teams of masons working at a rate which bred such repetitive uniformity. The change was not merely architectural, but one of status. The new stone buildings are physical counterparts to the glebes which we can see being given to churches in the late Anglo-Saxon wills, and attached to them in Domesday Book. No longer ephemeral or informal, the local church was now a fixed point in the landscape, maintained from permanent endowments and the focus of a nascent parish community.

### *Conflict and Confusion: parochial authority in Anglo-Norman England*

The incubation period of the modern parochial system, between the Conquest and the 1150s, is the one about which it is least easy to generalise: so much depends on individual cases. This state of affairs resulted from the decline of the minsters combined with the lack of any formal structure to replace them. Their parochial rights, which must have survived rather unevenly by 1066, were in many cases rapidly diminished thereafter.<sup>64</sup> But for minsters which enjoyed influential protection, these rights were rigorously upheld. A writ of William I orders that the churches built under Andover mother church must be destroyed or held by its proprietors, and one of Henry I (probably 1114) that

the churches of five royal manors in Yorkshire 'are not to lose their parishes which they had in the time of King Edward on account of the sokes which I gave thence to certain of my barons'.<sup>65</sup> The *acta* of Henry I's bishops, which show little conception of the emergent local parishes, are nonetheless quite clear about the superior rights of ancient mother churches. In the late 11th century the bounds of Christchurch's *parochia* were defined with precision, and in 1123 the locals remembered in impressive detail what Leominster's had once been (pp. 60, 83; Figs. 11, 20). So by 1100 there were some *parochiae* in which minster rights had lapsed to the local churches, others in which they persisted; patronage and individual circumstances, not general principles, decided their fate.

At the same time, local 'parishes' were still inchoate and fluid. This is not to say that worshippers at a local church had no sense of their parish community: it has already been suggested that they almost certainly did. But until, in Christopher Brooke's words, 'the canon law laid its cold hand on the parishes of Europe, and froze the pattern which has in many parts subsisted ever since',<sup>66</sup> that community lacked legal definition and geographical stability. The distinction between minster parish and local parish is important, for we must be clear with which level of parochial authority any specific document is concerned. Thus Martin Brett writes: 'it seems by 1135 that the building of a new church, and so the creation of a new ecclesiastical circumscription, was usually accompanied or followed by an exact definition of the rights of the old church and the new, while occasional efforts were made to define the relations between churches which already existed';<sup>67</sup> but in fact his charters are concerned with protecting the parochial rights of old minsters, not those of parish churches in the later sense. The record of a dispute in 1114 between the priest of Carisbrooke minster and the patron of a daughter church (p. 61) is revealing: 'Almetus the priest claimed that the church of Chale was within the *parochia* of St. Mary of Carisbrooke. Hugh Gernun said that the men of his fee were not parishioners either of the church of Carisbrooke or of anywhere else but that, by ancient custom, alive they could go to whatever church they wished, and dead they could go wherever they wished for burial.' In the event, Hugh lost; but the fact that he regarded this claim of parochial anarchy as a sensible one shows how far England was from being divided up into a tidy network of parishes. Except for those people over whom a minster could successfully claim rights by ancient authority, parochial obedience was determined, when it was determined at all, by short-term and secular considerations.

This period saw a rapid decline both in the community life and in the pastoral importance of minsters, not so much a direct result of the Conquest as a feature of the years c. 1080–1120. Christchurch (Hants.), which again provides the most explicit

evidence, was reduced by Ranulf Flambard's appropriation of resources 'from a genuinely communal mother church, with tightly controlled dependents, to what was little more than a single, very rich living for a single clerk, assisted by hired chaplains' (p. 50). In Shropshire, Jane Croom points out (pp. 71–2, 74–5) that the neighbouring minsters of Morville, Shifnal, Wenlock, Burford, Bromfield and Stanton Lacy were all still in some sense collegiate in the 1080s, perpetuating what was recognisably a minster network over a considerable territory; but except for Bromfield, which lasted in a modified form until 1155, all seem to have been disbanded within a generation. It looks as though the breakup of the pastoral minsters, gradual until William II's reign, suddenly became rapid.

In this the separatist activities of church-founding lords were important, but not the universal cause: *parochiae* which were not encroached upon from without showed a strong tendency to fragment from within. It is suggested above that chapels founded by manorial lords may often have been served on a regular basis by minster-priests; elsewhere, as at Bromfield in Shropshire, the priests seem to have divided the *parochia* into chapelries for their own convenience.<sup>68</sup> During the early 12th century, such cases encouraged devolution. Minster-priests seem to have established prebends at the chapels, adopted them as their main bases, and become parish clergy by degrees; Michael Franklin shows this happening at Daventry's chapel of Welton (pp. 101–2).

In perhaps a larger number of cases, manorial lords continued to build new churches in which they installed their own priests. Where the local minster had become moribund they evidently did as they pleased; where it was strong or well-protected they had to compromise. The early 12th century provides a small group of episcopal *acta*, often clumsy and experimental in their formulation, which safeguard minsters by emphasising the subject status of new chapels.<sup>69</sup> In 1107 × 29, Bishop Giffard of Winchester declares that he has 'dedicated the church of Ashtead as a chapel subject, with all customs pertaining to it, to the church of Leatherhead; and I forbid any priest to presume to sing mass in it except by licence of the priest of Leatherhead, to which that chapel belongs together with a virgate of land which Laurence gave him at the dedication, and with all tithes of the demense and of peasants'.<sup>70</sup> The licence of 1108 × 23 by which a layman founds a chapel in an Oxfordshire *parochia* (cf. Fig. 5) is notable both for its detailed conditions and for its clear definition of the new 'parish' in terms of lordship:<sup>71</sup>

This is an agreement between William bishop of Exeter and Richard de la Mare concerning Alvescot chapel, which is made in the parish of Bampton church; which bishop allows Richard to cause the same chapel to be dedicated on these conditions: That this chapel shall forever be subject to its mother church of Bampton. Also, that the men of Richard's land shall hear service

there in such a way that no other parishioner of Bampton shall be received there. Also, that the corpses of the dead from Richard's land shall be carried to Bampton mother church. Also, that the clerk who serves the chapel shall come to the mother church on these feasts: on the feast of St. Beornwald, at Christmas, on Palm Sunday, on Easter Day, on the Rogation Days, at Pentecost and at the Navidity of St. John Baptist. Because the bishop has allowed the chapel to be consecrated on these conditions, the chapel and he who has it shall render yearly two sextars of wheat to Bampton mother church...

These cases are, at least ostensibly, non-contentious, but it was sometimes necessary to bring an adulterine church to heel. In a charter of 1121 × 38 the bishop of Chester defines the relations between Chesterfield minster and Wingerworth church 'which the church of Chesterfield claims to have been wrongfully built within the bounds of its parish'.<sup>72</sup> The lord of Wingerworth is to lay the church key on the altar of Chesterfield as a mark of submission; Wingerworth church will then be 'a mother church with all those parishioners belonging to that township', but will pertain to Chesterfield 'as a daughter to her mother' and will be served by a clerk sent by the parson of Chesterfield. The concern is always to regulate, not to suppress. Vested rights must be upheld, but there is no negation of what is now the normal way of life. A local community can reasonably expect the convenience of its own church; as the 12th century passes, the long trudge to the minster through mud and snow becomes ever more an anomaly and a cause of grievance.

These various types of origin — devolution from the centre, co-operation between minster and lay lord, and private foundation under sufferance — can make one minster's daughter churches of rather diverse origin. A good example of this is the *parochia* of Bibury, a Gloucestershire minster first recorded in 899 (Fig. 4).<sup>73</sup> In 1151 it was given to Osney Abbey as 'the church of Bibury with all its appurtenances in chapels and tithes'.<sup>74</sup> Of the three chapels, Aldsworth and Barnsley are first mentioned explicitly in c. 1184, Winson not until 1276,<sup>75</sup> but on architectural evidence it seems likely that all had existed by 1151.<sup>76</sup> The chapels remained subject to Bibury's burial jurisdiction,<sup>77</sup> but in other ways their status varied. Barnsley was the most independent: in the third quarter of the 12th century it already had a rector, and a dispute settlement of the 1180s left its lay patron with a degree of control.<sup>78</sup> Aldsworth was served by a vicar or chaplain, subject to Bibury, whose revenues were established in an agreement of c. 1195, and although this arrangement lapsed the chapel seems always to have had a resident priest.<sup>79</sup> But Winson was to all appearances a chapel-of-ease pure and simple, served by a curate from Bibury and with virtually no separate identity before the Reformation.<sup>80</sup> While it is unknown whether these chapels were founded from the centre or by the individual manorial lords, there seems a clear difference

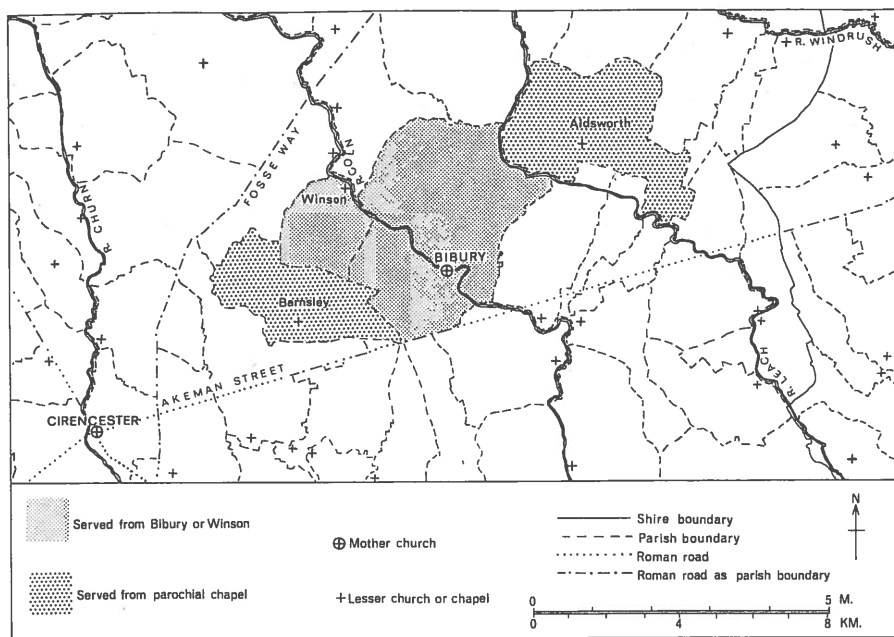


Fig. 4 The recorded parochia of Bibury, Glos. (On topographical grounds, it seems likely that the original parochia extended from the Fosse Way westwards to the Oxfordshire border eastwards.)

between Winsor, which was a mere out-station of the former minster, and Barnsley and Aldsworth, which had their own priests in the 12th century. The same result — a localised ministry — was achieved in different ways.

The minsters which retained significant rights in their *parochiae* were mainly those controlled by bishops and monasteries. Brian Kemp remarks of Leominster that 'it must be doubtful whether the mother church's rights would have been so effectively and consistently maintained had the ancient church not come into the possession of so powerful a royal abbey as Reading' (p. 92): on acquiring it in 1121/3 the monks began a concerted campaign to recover and record its former rights. A similar process can be seen at Christchurch in the 1140s, when a vigorous, reforming dean collected evidence to establish the extent of the *parochia* and the obligations of daughter churches (pp. 51–2). This anxiety to rescue ancient and half-forgotten relationships from oblivion, and to set them down on parchment, is the first sign that order was starting to be rebuilt. But much had already been lost: the rights which were so widely confirmed during Henry II's reign were only those which proprietors had managed to pull back out of the anarchic years. This period, then,

determined what survived to be perpetuated in the more extensive records of the late middle ages — in other words, most of the evidence now extant for reconstructing minster *parochiae*.

The main regular payments to minsters were church-scot (Leominster's *sciricorn*, pp. 87–8) and tithes. The former was one of the oldest and strongest signs of ancient minster status: thus Pershore continued to take the church-scot from the two-thirds portion of its estates which Edward the Confessor had given to Westminster Abbey (p. 133).<sup>81</sup> By contrast, divisions of tithes could take complex forms.<sup>82</sup> Since Edgar's law had allowed a thegn to give one-third of his demesne tithes to his own church, the other two-thirds still going to the minster, it is not uncommon to find ex-minsters receiving two-thirds tithes portions from land in their former *parochiae* but outside their 'rump' parishes. On the other hand, many Norman lords ignored this arrangement: even when (by an inversion of the original principle) the manorial church was considered to have a right to one-third of the demesne tithes, the two-thirds or minster portion was alienated with a free hand. The monks of Reading found it easy to retain Leominster's tithes-rights over land which was in their secular lordship, but for some of the private manors in the

*parochia*, where tithes had been given away to extraneous religious bodies, it was necessary to strike *ad hoc* bargains; in two cases they had to be content with a one-third portion, Leominster's due as parish church rather than as minster (pp. 84–7). Rights to tithes came to be widely regarded as the main test of parochial authority: a jurisdictional definition which could sometimes conflict with geographical ones. In 1069 William I gave the minster of Bampton (Oxon.) to Exeter cathedral 'with all the king's tithes', which was later understood to mean that the *parochia* comprised all land which had the legal status of ancient demesne; in 1318, some locals thought that the parish boundary ran along ancient landmarks, others that it was 'distinguished by fee'.<sup>83</sup> The tangle of intermixed tithes-rights, often claimed by distant proprietors for forgotten reasons, could be as baffling to contemporaries as it is to modern historians.

The distributions of chrism made by Canterbury cathedral and by Leominster (pp. 84, 105–8) show that in these cases baptism was widely practised at subordinate churches. Brian Kemp comments that among Leominster's mother-church rights 'baptism is strangely never mentioned' (p. 84), but this may not be so unusual.<sup>84</sup> In England, unlike most European countries, baptism never acquired strong jurisdictional overtones.<sup>85</sup> Romanesque fonts are common, and can sometimes be found in chapels of known subordinate status (pp. 133, 149–50). While this is clearly not incompatible with control by the mother church, it does suggest that attitudes to the location of baptism were relatively relaxed.

Burial-rights, on the other hand, were jealously guarded and often contentious. Their importance was part financial, part jurisdictional: the soul-scot (in later parlance mortuary) that came with the corpse, and the recognition of status which this payment, and the burial itself, implied. Thus the claim of St. Peter ad Vincula in London to soul-scot from an adjacent extra-mural area is strong evidence that this had once formed part of St. Peter's parish (p. 39). The soul-scots of the prosperous were worth more than those of the poor, and there may have been something of a social convention that men of status were buried at the minster; it is worth noting here that the Abbotsbury gild had been responsible for bringing members' corpses back to the minster cemetery (p. 31). At all events, rank in life seems to have influenced the extent to which physical presence was required after death. In the early 12th century, all inhabitants of Milford (Hants.) were to be buried at Christchurch except slaves and cottars, who could be buried at Milford chapel on payment of 4d; the only people who could be buried at Boldre, another of Christchurch's chapels, were 'cottars and slaves of the manor on which that church is founded, who were so poor that they did not have the wherewithal to allow them to be carried to Christchurch' (pp. 56, 60). Some similar provision must be recalled in the 13th-century

verdict that all land-holding persons within a wide range of Pershore were buried there, whereas the landless, for whom no mortuaries were payable, were buried at Little Comberton (p. 133). Compromises between rival churches could include new burial arrangements, which were sometimes eccentric: the cemetery at Humber in the Leominster *parochia*, consecrated in 1148 × 54, was only ever to receive one corpse (p. 89), while an agreement of 1163 × 86 imposed on the inhabitants of Clevee (Herefs.) the inconvenient duty of alternate burial at Ross and Wilton.<sup>86</sup> Brian Kemp also draws attention to two cemeteries *ad refugium* consecrated in 1148 × 54, which were not for burial at all but for 'the refuge of the poor in times of hostility' (p. 89). But as the 12th century passed, a feeling may have grown that insistence on the carriage of corpses over long distances was rather unreasonable, and that tradition should make some concessions to convenience.<sup>87</sup> A cemetery was allowed at Hatfield (Herefs.) in 1131 × 48 'as an augmentation of the cemetery at Leominster', with burial offerings and bequests still paid 'as though the dead were buried in the principal cemetery of Leominster' (pp. 88–9). Even when, in the early 13th century, a Leominster corpse was illicitly buried outside the *parochia*, the archdeacon persuaded the prior not to insist on an exhumation for the eminently practical reason that it 'would by now be stinking and horrible to look at' (p. 88).

### The Mould Hardens, 1150–1200

Not surprisingly, the confirmation and recording of ancient rights during the second quarter of the 12th century was accompanied by their progressive formalisation. Relationships which had once had a social and pastoral rationale became fixed and largely financial. Reading Abbey's determination to exploit Leominster to the full produced a bundle of rights which were immutable by virtue of being clear-cut. The gradual devolution of the Christchurch (Hants.) clergy to chapels scattered through the *parochia* was made permanent by Henry of Blois, whose vicarage ordinances confirmed them as parish priests established on their own endowments; the rights of the mother church were reduced to a substantial but fixed pension (pp. 57–8).<sup>88</sup> The foundations were now being laid for a new and comprehensive parochial order.

It was in the mid to late 12th century that the slow but steady advance of the Gregorian Reform was at last making itself felt at a local level, above all in the attack on lay control of churches and tithes.<sup>89</sup> The passage of spiritual property from lay into monastic hands reached proportions unequalled before or since, not only because of the enthusiasm with which the hierarchy encouraged such gifts, but also because growing restrictions made churches less attractive to their lay 'owners'. In turn, the development of



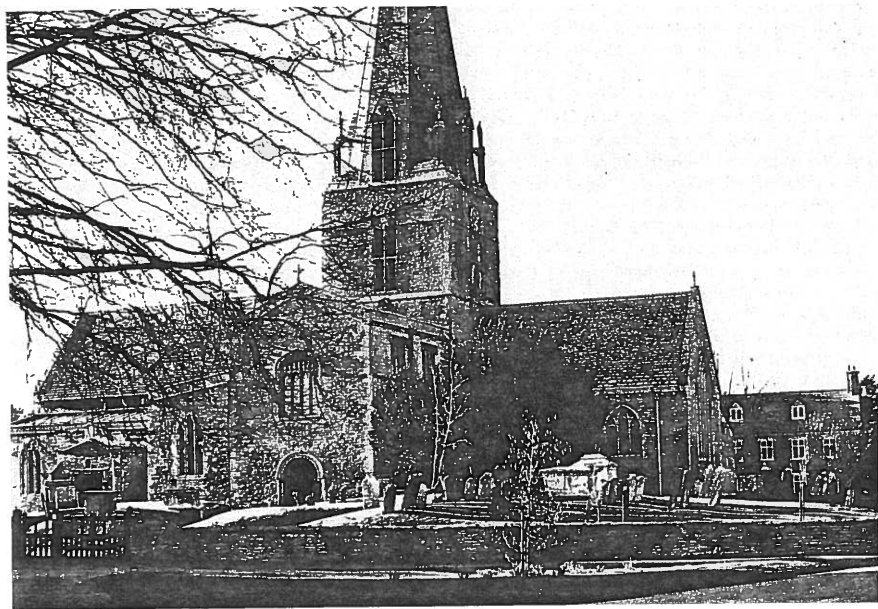


Fig. 5 Bampton, Oxon.: an important late-Saxon minster, lavishly rebuilt in the 12th and 13th centuries. The mounding-up of the graveyard reflects a burial monopoly which continued to be exercised over the large parochia until the late middle ages.

perpetual vicarages in monastically-owned churches subjected parochial arrangements to new safeguards and controls.<sup>90</sup> It was now common for a church to be in different hands from the manor which it had always served, a circumstance which must have encouraged the definition of its parish in terms distinct from those of land-lordship. The confirmations and settlements following the Anarchy,<sup>91</sup> initiating the rapid growth of the secular law under Henry II, contributed further to an intellectual and legal climate in which the confusions of the early 12th century would no longer do.

The key figures were Henry II's bishops: more versed than the previous generation in the new learning, more aware of the latest trends in canon law, more determined to put theory into practice. They applied to their dioceses the developing case-law of papal decretals, which defined relations between clergy, patrons and laity with ever greater precision.<sup>92</sup> Their *acta* apply maturer legal concepts, and clearer general principles, to dispute-settlement and the confirmation of rights: in confirming and adjudicating the bishops defined, and in defining they controlled and regulated.<sup>93</sup> Old anomalies were ironed out; *ecclesia* and *capella* became firmer designations of status, and it was no longer so easy for a chapel to become a church. By

now there were precise territorial boundaries, not merely for ancient *parochiae* but between the parishes of village churches. In a settlement of 1184,<sup>94</sup> ratifying an agreement said to have been made 1123 × 48, the bishop of Lincoln establishes a boundary between Holbeach and Whaplode along two named streams. People living between this line and Whaplode are to pay tithes and offerings to Whaplode church and be buried there; people living on the other side are to tithe and be buried at Holbeach. An exception is made for four tenants on the Holbeach side who are to go to Whaplode church: a perfect illustration of the origins of those small parochial outliers which so often survived to appear on 19th-century maps. The historian writing of this period can abandon such terms as 'local churches' and 'manorial churches', and refer in a strict sense to 'parish churches'.

By 1150 the huge majority of later medieval parish churches existed; by 1200 the parochial system had crystallised. This final phase brought architectural developments which, while turning in new directions, also looked back to the old order. Several authors in this book note the frequency with which ex-minsters are perpetuated as grand 12th-century churches, either cruciform or in some other way imposing (Figs. 5, 10,

33, 53–4);<sup>95</sup> this comment is made in much the same terms by Tim Tatton-Brown for Kent, by James Bond for Worcestershire and by Richard Morris for Yorkshire (pp. 109–11, 138–41, 199 note 51). Stottesdon church (Salop.) had ceased to be collegiate by the late 12th century, yet it was provided with an exceptionally splendid Romanesque font (Fig. 19). Especially thought-provoking is Jeffrey West's analysis (p. 164) of Blockley (Glos.), an ex-minster lavishly rebuilt in c. 1150–75; his comment that 'the value of the manor in which a church is founded or the status of a pre-existing church replaced after the Conquest may have as much importance in matters of size, plan or decoration as the status and wealth of the patron or donor', and his question 'is there any evidence to demonstrate the proposition that churches of minster status rebuilt during the 11th and 12th centuries are distinguished by elaborate decoration?', should be pursued further. Certainly this may be one of the ways in which ex-minsters retained a residual pre-eminence in their former territories.

Jeffrey West also suggests the possibility of a 'significant change in the amount and quality of architectural decoration towards the end of the 12th century, that is after the main ecclesiastical provision of rural churches had been achieved' (p. 164). It may indeed be that as patrons found themselves operating within an essentially complete and stable system, they felt more able to divert resources from essentials to embellishments. At a manorial level, status in the hierarchy did not necessarily determine lavishness of decoration: the humble chapel at Aston Eyre has the finest piece of Romanesque sculpture in Shropshire, presumably given by its patron Robert fitz Aer (pp. 77–9, Fig. 17). But the days were passing when a church's fabric was controlled by a single lord or patron. Increasingly, from the mid 12th century onwards, monastic appropriators rebuilt chancels and parishioners added aisles (analysed here in the case of Worcestershire, p. 144). As Gervase Rosser notes (p. 33), the parish was now acquiring a corporate identity of its own, exercising duties formally imposed on it by canon lawyers. The physical transformation which most parish churches experienced during the late 12th and 13th centuries symbolises the triumph of their public status.

But the system still had an infrastructure which was more amorphous and fluid. Just as churches had originally been subordinate to minsters, so in turn they acquired chapels of their own. The difference is that chapels founded after the mid 12th century had little chance of ever becoming independent, or of establishing stable territories which could be defended at law. This does not mean that they were unimportant: their very informality enabled them to respond to continuing social change within the rigid parochial framework. A distinction is perhaps to be drawn between (a) parochial chapels, subject to their mother churches but

with resident curates and sometimes fonts and graveyards; (b) chapels-of-ease, lacking any kind of independent status but open to all; and (c) private chapels, restricted to individual families with their servants and tenants.<sup>96</sup> But even the last category had a pastoral rôle, and may indeed have been the most flexible form of ecclesiastical provision in a changing world. In Lincolnshire and Surrey it has been shown that the proliferation of manorial or demesne chapels was influenced by local settlement conditions, especially the growth of communities in areas of late or dispersed settlement.<sup>97</sup> The present studies include two cases (pp. 132, 91) where the unusually complete survival of a *parochia* resulted in a three-tier structure: Martley and Eye were respectively chapels of Worcester and Leominster minsters, but functioned as parish churches in all but name, with chapels under them. The Christchurch *parochia* even provides a four-tier instance: Buckland chapel was in the 'parish' of Lymington, which was founded as a chapel of Boldre, which was dependent on the minster (p. 66). Influenced by the same economic changes, the internal organisation of these ancient *parochiae* developed along similar lines to that of the new parishes.

Because of their humble status, chapels were never systematically recorded; they also fell easy victims to later settlement changes. A striking product of recent local studies has been the realisation that huge numbers of chapels have simply vanished, leaving no more than slight archaeological traces or the occasional passing reference.<sup>98</sup> In Worcestershire, 'at least 180 parochial chapels of various types are documented ... between the 11th and 16th centuries, and of these over a hundred do not survive' (p. 138); in Shropshire, such chapels formed a diverse, ill-defined mass of which 'many would appear to have been short-lived and most have completely disappeared' (p. 79). This elusive substratum, of which historians are only beginning to become aware, must have been vitally important in the religious life of the medieval countryside. Our three photographs of chapels converted into houses (Figs. 6, 32, 78) may help to encourage a promising branch of fieldwork.

One case of a fully-fledged parish which is recorded in all its complexity makes a fitting conclusion. In 1220 the proprietors of the ex-minster at Godalming (Surrey) compiled a detailed survey of its rights (Fig. 7).<sup>99</sup> The mother church itself had moved from the ancient minster site to an 11th-century chapel, more conveniently sited in the town, which was appropriately enlarged. Dependent on this new centre were the ex-minster at Tuesley, now also a chapel, and Chiddingfold chapel with a chapel of its own at Haslemere. In addition, two of the three private estates within the old royal manor possessed their own chapels. At Hurtmore was a timber chapel dedicated to All Saints, granted two years previously to the summoner of the Guildford chapter, who paid a rent to the mother



Fig. 6 St. Leonard's chapel, Clanfield, Oxon. This improbable-looking building was a roadside chapel dependent on Bampton minster (Fig. 5), abandoned during the later middle ages. See *Oxoniensia*, 1 (1985), 209–14.

church. A chapel of St. Nicholas, owing three days' weekly service (presumably of one tenant), stood in the manorial *curia* of Catteshall. But for the survival of this one exceptional source, it would have been impossible

to guess at so elaborate a structure. Such cases reveal the hidden dimension to a parochial system which, fully-formed and stable though it appears by 1200, still had its inner complexities.

#### Notes

- The following is a very selective bibliography of earlier work: W. Page, 'Some Remarks on the Churches of the Domesday Survey', *Archaeologia*, 2nd ser. xvi (1915), 61–102; D.H. Gifford, 'The Parish in Domesday Book' (unpublished London PhD thesis, 1952); R.V. Lennard, *Rural England* (Oxford, 1959), 396–404; B.R. Kemp, 'The Mother Church of Thatcham', *Berks. Arch. J.* lxxiii (1967–8), 15–22; B.R. Kemp, 'The Churches of Berkeley Herne', *Trans. Bristol & Glos. Arch. Soc.* lxxxvii (1968), 96–110; P.H. Hase, 'The Development of the Parish in Hampshire' (unpublished Cambridge PhD thesis, 1975); Barlow, *Church 1000–66*, 159–208; C.N.L. Brooke, 'Rural Ecclesiastical Institutions in England: the Search for their Origins', *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, xxviii.2 (Spoleto, 1982), 685–711; Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes'; Blair, 'Secular Minsters'; Franklin, 'Identification of Minsters'; Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, Chs. IV–VI; Blair, 'Local Church in Domesday'; Blair, 'Minsters in Landscape'.
- C & S, 54.
- Blair, 'Minsters in Landscape'.
- For the likelihood that communities of monks often supported or controlled priests, or themselves participated in pastoral work, see *ibid.* footnotes 7–12.
- See also Blair, 'Secular Minsters', 137–42.
- See also Blair, 'Secular Minsters'.
- See especially Bede's strictures in his letter to Egbert: *EHD*, 805–6.
- S.1187 (*EHD*, 512–13); J. Campbell (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1982), 122–3 for context.
- C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society* (Cambridge, 1980), 13–16.
- N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), Ch. 1X.
- Campbell *op.cit.* note 8, 138–41.
- S.215 (*EHD*, 533).
- S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great* (Harmondsworth, 1983), 97, 175, 178; S.1507.
- Alan Thacker, in St. Æthelwold commemoration essays, forthcoming. The 10th-century church at Abingdon seems to have belonged to a group of buildings derived from the Carolingian palace chapel at Aachen and with strong royal associations: see R. Gem, 'Towards an Iconography of Anglo-Saxon Architecture', *Jnl. of Warburg and Courtauld Insts.* xlv (1983), 8–9.
- I owe this point to Dr. Thacker.
- S.1508. (However, *EHD*, 538, prefers to translate 'as long as they choose to remain monasteries'.)
- Cf. Wimborne (Dorset), where there were still nuns in 901 but which was allegedly re-founded for secular canons by Edward the Confessor: *VCH Dorset*, ii, 108–9. However, the survival of nunneries has not been adequately investigated, and may prove more general than has been thought: cf. Kemp, 'Berkeley Herne' *op.cit.* note 1, 98, 101–2.
- Cf. Page, *op.cit.* note 1, 66 ff; Blair, 'Secular Minsters', 118–19 and footnotes 55–7. Cf. Kemp, 'Thatcham' *op.cit.* note 1, 19, for Pershore (Worcs.) described as *mater ... ecclesia hundredi* in 1121 × 36.

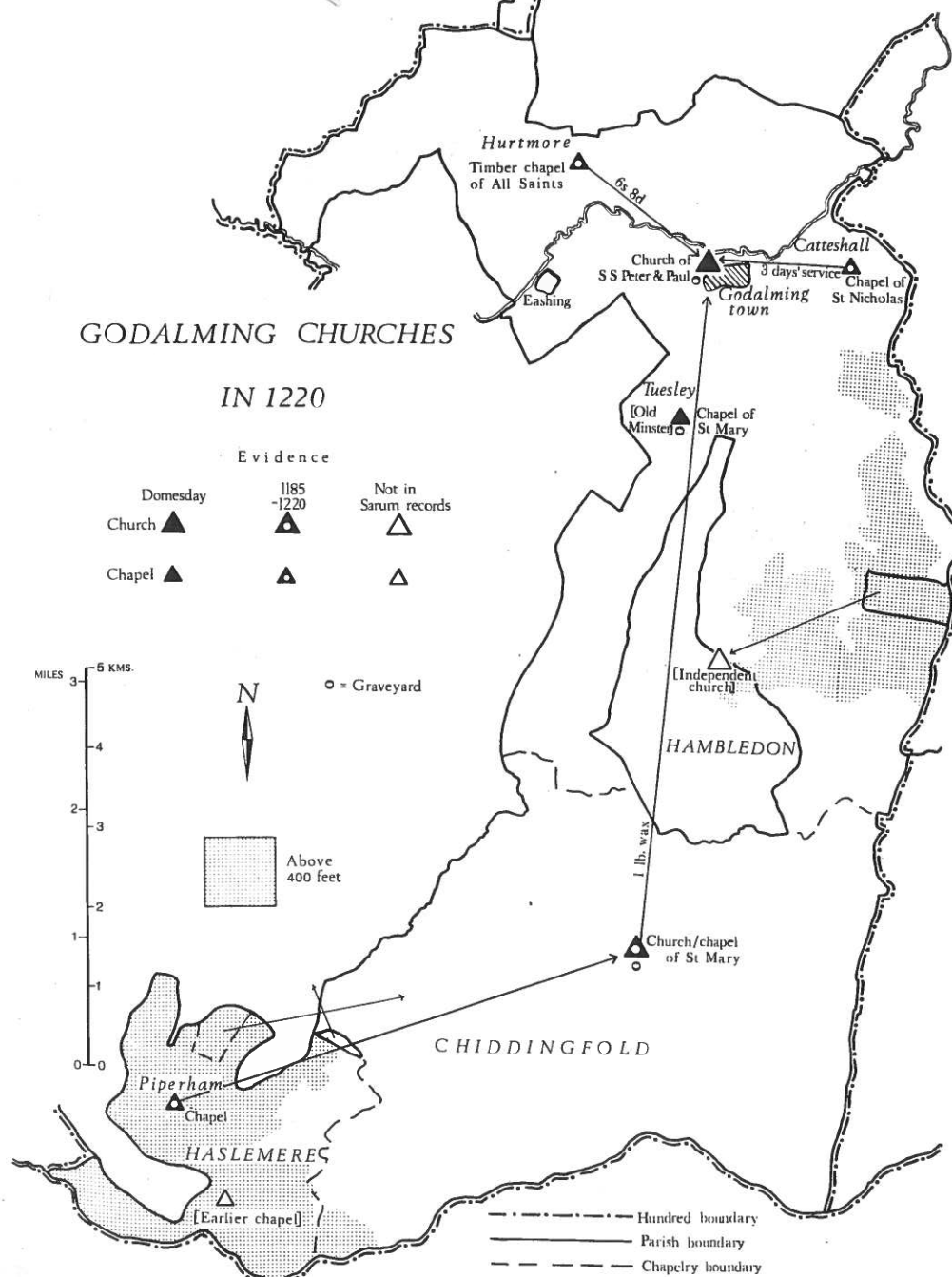


Fig. 7 The parochia of Godalming, Surrey. (After Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, based on survey printed *The Register of St. Osmund*, ed. W.H.R. Jones, i (Rolls Ser. lxxxviii, 1883), 296–8.)

19. For these possible pressures on minster resources see R. Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* c (1985), 247-65; M.K. Lawson, 'The Collection of Danegeld and Heregeld in the Reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xcix (1984), 721-38.
20. As with some aristocratic endowments of German monasteries; I am grateful to Professor Karl Leyser for this suggestion. S.210; S.911.
21. C. Hart, 'The Mersea Charter of Edward the Confessor', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* 3rd ser. xii (1980), 94-102.
22. S.1483, 1494, 1486.
23. Translation from D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), 39.
24. S. 1539; *The Will of Æthelgifu*, eds. D. Whitelock, N. Ker and Lord Rennell (Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1968); S.1534.
25. Cf. Blair, 'Secular Minsters', 119-20.
26. *Ibid.* 120-3.
27. *Ibid.* 124-5; Campbell, 'Church in Towns'.
28. S.1521; translation from Whitelock op.cit. note 24, 77.
29. Taylor & Taylor, 214-17, 584-93; R. Gem and P. Tudor-Craig, 'A "Winchester School" Wall-Painting at Nether Wallop, Hampshire', *Anglo-Saxon England* ix (1981), 115-36; Taylor & Taylor, 357 61, and below p. 196.
30. Blair, 'Secular Minsters', 134-5.
31. Cf. *Ibid.* 125-37.
32. *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey*, ed. W. Stubbs (Oxford and London, 1861).
33. On rules and prebends see Blair 'Secular Minsters', 116 18, 123-5; J. Barrow, 'Cathedrals, Provosts and Prebends: a Comparison', *Jnl. of Ecclesiastical Hist.* xxxvii (1986), 536-64.
34. For some expressions of this view see E. Miller, 'La Société Rurale en Angleterre (X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> Siècles)', *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, xiii (Spoleto, 1966), 111-34; Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*; several papers in D. Hooke (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (forthcoming).
35. D. Hooke, *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester, 1985), 106 11; P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1985), 29-39.
36. See especially C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (London, 1983); R.A. Dodgshon, *The Origin of British Field Systems: an Interpretation* (London & New York, 1980); several papers in T. Rowley (ed.), *The Origins of Open Field Agriculture* (London, 1981).
37. G. Duby, *La Société aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> Siècles dans la Région Mécomnaise* (Paris, 1953), 290.
38. R. Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe* (Nouvelle Cléo 17, Paris, 1982), 288, 346. See also S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (Oxford, 1984), Ch. IV.
39. The ideas in this paragraph crystallised during correspondence with Dr Hase after the submission of his paper, and I am very grateful to him for the following additional comments: 'In the 10th century, great royal estates did not often in Hampshire break up into one-vill units, but often into two or three blocks, each of three or four villis: the further breakup into single vill units, if it happened at all, was usually an 11th century development. Ecclesiastically, too, the 10th century developments in Hampshire seem to be more the breakup of an old minister *parochia*, not into single-vill parishes, but into two or three parishes based on the new secular units, with each new parish covering several villis, and with the further breakup into single-vill parishes coming, if it came at all, in the 11th to 12th centuries.... It seems to me that the 975 1025 parochial developments tend to be the building of new parish churches on a reduced minster type basis, by the very greatest men only (earls and religious houses), but that single-vill parochial developments by the ordinary upland thegn are conspicuous by their absence.' Thus large *parochie* were first split into smaller ones, 'the new minsters taking soulscot and churchscot from the older ones (and possibly glebeland as well), and functioning in the

older way, but over a much smaller area, and presumably with a much reduced complement of priests to man them.'

40. Cf. Blair, 'Secular Minsters', 106, and comments by Hase below p. 63 note 27.
41. Churches such as Nether Wallop (Hants.), Breamore (Hants.) and Worth (Sussex) may be relevant here; for another likely case see J. Blair and B. McKay, 'Investigations at Tackley Church, 1981-4', *Oxoniensia*, 1 (1985), 25-45.
42. For a fuller discussion of all this evidence see Blair, 'Local Church in Domesday', 267-8, and J. Blair's review of Morris, *CBA*, in *JBAA* cxxxix (1986), 168-9; Cf. Blair, 'Minsters in Landscape'.
43. Blair, 'Local Church in Domesday', 268 note 15.
44. J. Higgin, 'The Dedication Inscription at Jarrow and its Context', *Antiq. J.* lix (1979), 367-70.
45. Fully discussed in Blair, 'Local Church in Domesday', 269 71. C & S, 393.
46. C & S, 44-6.
47. C & S, 97-8.
48. See Stafford op.cit. note 36, 174-5; J.T. Lang, 'The Hogback: a Viking Colonial Monument', in S.C. Hawkes, J. Campbell and D. Brown (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, iii (1984), 85-176; C.D. Morris, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture of the Tees Valley', *Med. Arch.* xx (1976), 140-6.
49. For outlying graveyards dependent on minsters at an earlier date, see Blair, 'Minsters in Landscape'.
50. C & S, 352.
51. C & S, 295 6.
52. *EHD*, 468, note 7.
53. R. Lennard, 'Two Peasant Contributions to Church Endowment', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* lxxvii (1952), 230 3; Brett, *English Church*, 130.
54. Blair, 'Local Church in Domesday', 270-1, notes 25 6.
55. *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, ii (Rolls Ser. iib, 1858), 18 19. Dr. Kemp points out (pers. comm.) that 'Whistley' church is either now lost or represented by the present church of Hurst, which in 1220 was a chapel *non dedicata* in Sonning *parochia* (*The Register of St. Osmund*, ed. W.H.R. Jones, i (Rolls Ser. lxxviii, 1883), 280).
56. W.M.M. Picken, 'The Manor of Tremaruustel and the Honour of St. Keus', *Jnl. of the Royal Inst. of Cornwall* n.s. vii (1973-7), 226.
57. For this point I am grateful to Mr. Peter Kitson.
58. For instance the Chertsey Abbey churches discussed Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, Ch. V; cf. M. Deanesly, 'The Late Old English Church: Bishops and Pastoral Care', in *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 1962), 104-36.
59. C & S, 301.
60. See also Blair, 'Local Church in Domesday', 272 4.
61. E.g., Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, ch. V for two-cell churches around Godalming; [D.G. Buckley (ed.)], *Four Church Excavations in Essex* (Essex County Council Occasional Paper 4, 1984), 59, for apsidal churches in Essex.
62. Blair, 'Secular Minsters', 125.
63. *Eng. Hist. Rev.* c (1985), 283; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* ii, No. 1046.
64. C.N.L. Brooke, 'The Missionary at Home', *Studies in Church History*, vi (1970), 72.
65. Brett, *English Church*, 223.
66. Blair, 'Secular Minsters', 128 31, and the other cases cited there.
67. The best general discussion of these *acta* is in Brett, *English Church*, 122-31.
68. *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria*, ed. S.A. Moore (Roxburghe Club, London, 1897), i, 78.
69. Exeter Cathedral, Dean and Chapter MS 3672 p.33.
70. *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, ii, ed. C.W. Foster (Linc. Rec. Soc. xxviii, 1933), 7 9.
71. S.1279.

72. *The Osenev Cartulary*, ed. H.E. Salter, v (Oxford Hist. Soc. xcvi, 1935), 1-2; cf. M.G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester 1164-1179* (Oxford, 1980), 106, 281-2, 334.
73. *Osenev Cartulary*, v, 35, 24, 9.
74. See *VCH Gloucs.* vii, and D. Verey, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire: the Cotswolds* (Harmondsworth, 1970).
75. *VCH Gloucs.* vii, 11, 19.
76. *Osenev Cartulary*, v, 24; *VCH Gloucs.* vii, 19, 11.
77. *Osenev Cartulary*, v, 36-7; *VCH Gloucs.* vii, 11.
78. *VCH Gloucs.* vii, 42; *Osenev Cartulary*, vi, 232.
79. However, Dr. Hase points out (pers. comm.) that there are several cases in Hampshire of religious houses without any hint of rectorial rights receiving church-scot, having probably annexed it from the old minsters during the early to mid 12th century.
80. Cf. Franklin, 'Minsters and Parishes', 13-14; Blair, 'Secular Minsters', 125; B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in England in the Twelfth Century', *Jnl. Eccles. Hist.* xxxi (1980), 142.
81. J. Blair, 'Parish Versus Village: the Bampton/Standlake Tithe Conflict of 1317-19', *Oxfordshire Local History*, ii.2 (1985), 36-7.
82. As Dr. Kemp points out (pers. comm.), cases in which baptismal rights are at issue between mother and daughter churches are not unknown: cf. *Reading Cartularies*, i, 352, and *Landhoc sive Registrum Monasterii de Winchelcumba*, ed. D. Royce, i (Exeter, 1892), 67.
83. Blair, 'Minsters in Landscape'.
84. J.S. Barrow, 'The Bishops of Hereford and their Acta' (unpublished Oxford DPhil thesis, 1982), No. 9.
85. This is explicit in the Wells synodal statutes of 1258 (?) (*Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church: II: AD 1205-1313*, eds. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), 602, which order the consecration of cemeteries at all chapels not already having them and lying more than two

miles from their mother churches. Cf. Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, ch. VI.

86. Cf. Kemp op.cit. note 82, 153 6.
87. See for instance Brooke op.cit. note 66; C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956); G.W.O. Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century Canon Law* (St. Anthony's Hall Publication No. 9, York, 1956); Kemp op.cit. note 82.
88. Kemp op.cit. note 82.
89. E.g., the papal mandate of 1154 x 9 ordering that chapels erected in Reading Abbey's parishes during the war are not to prejudice the rights of the parish churches, 'since what is done in an emergency ought to cease when the emergency is over': *Reading Cartularies*, i, No. 147.
90. See works cited in note 89.
91. For a local study see Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, Ch. VI.
92. K. Major, 'Conan son of Ellis', *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Repts. & Papers* xliii (1934), 13-14.
93. Cf. however Franklin, 'Identification of Minsters', who points out that several Northamptonshire minsters were evidently not cruciform; and P.H. Hase's view (pers. comm.) that '12th-century parish churches in Hampshire which were ex-minsters do not show any particularly striking elaboration in form or finish'.
94. For these definitions I am indebted to Dr. Hase.
95. D.M. Owen, 'Chapelries and Rural Settlement', in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval Settlement* (London, 1976), 66-71; *Idem, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1981), 5-19; Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, Ch. VI.
96. E.g. Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, Ch. VI.
97. *The Register of St. Osmund*, ed. W.H.R. Jones, i (Rolls Ser. lxxviii, 1883), 296 8 (discussed Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, Ch. VI). Cf. the equally fine survey of Sonning at the same date (*Reg. St. Osmund* i, 275 83).