Chapter 8
Early lists of parish churches in Kent

Across most of England and Wales, the distribution of parish churches is not adequately documented before the late thirteenth century. Kent is the sole exception. For both of the Kentish dioceses, long lists of parish churches survive which date from before 1200, some of them even from before 1100.

Since the 1930s, the existence of these lists has been widely known, and their value has been widely recognized. In particular, a pair of articles by Gordon Ward (1932, 1933) made most of the evidence easily accessible. The majority of the churches named were successfully identified by him. There are some outright errors, and some of the guesswork seems extravagant to me. On the whole, however, Ward did an admirable job, and only a few loose ends require any further comment.

Eleven texts are printed below. Five of them (a–e) come from Christ Church, three (f–h) from Saint Augustine's; those lists relate to the diocese of Canterbury. For the diocese of Rochester one composite text exists, the three components of which (i–k) need to be treated separately.

Most of these texts are explicitly concerned with money. In the view of their respective compilers, they were not so much lists of parish churches as lists of payments due from parish priests. Especially for the archbishop, payments of this kind added up to a considerable sum.[1] List (c) is a record of the arrangements which Lanfranc found in place, when he first arrived (i.e. in 1070). The churches appearing in this list – there are fourteen of them, but possibly one has been omitted (see below) – had all been required to pay an annual tribute to Christ Church. List (d) is a record of the new arrangements introduced by Lanfranc. Essentially he made two changes: he replaced payments in kind with payments in cash, and he imposed a similar charge on a large number of other churches which had not previously been liable. The individual charges vary greatly, between one church and another, and it seems by and large impossible to say how the payment due from each church was determined. But a chrism fee of 7 pence was certainly one of the items which entered into the reckoning.

Chrism was a mixture of olive-oil and balsam, consecrated in a very solemn way, reserved for a small number of special uses.[2] The commonest use – the only everyday use,

so to speak – was in the rite of baptism: without chrism a baby could not be properly baptized. For that reason every parish priest needed a supply of chrism; but he could not make it himself. Only a bishop – only a bishop assisted by a suitable number of priests and deacons – could perform the ceremony which turned the raw ingredients into chrism. It seems to have been the normal practice, perhaps the universal practice, for chrism to be made on the Thursday before Easter.[3] The arrangements for its distribution are not so clear; they may perhaps have varied from diocese to diocese, and from time to time.[4]

The exchange of money for chrism was frowned upon; in the end it was forbidden.[5] But clearly Lanfranc had no qualms about it.[6] If it was traditional for parish priests to make some payment, at the same time that they received their chrism, he took it for granted that such payments would continue.[7] There was, after all, some benefit in the transaction. By coming to Canterbury and paying his fee, a parish priest was recognizing the archbishop as *his* bishop; by allowing a quantity of chrism to be given to him, the archbishop was recognizing this priest as one of *his* priests. Repeated every year, the inward flow of silver, no less than the outward flow of chrism, helped to unify the diocese.

Over time, as sensibilities changed, the name 'chrism pennies' dropped out of use: it seemed safer to call them 'synod pennies' instead. As far as the diocese of Rochester is concerned, we know that the payments in question were granted to the monks of Rochester by bishop Ernulf (1115–24). It is not clear what Ernulf called them;[8] but in the

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[1] The total for list (d) is 3615 pence.

[2] Chrism was not the same thing as holy oil: it was much holier than that.

[3] We happen to know, for instance, that in 1187 the chrism for the diocese of Canterbury was consecrated on 26 March, which was indeed the Thursday before Easter. On this occasion the ceremony took place in London (Gervasius, *Chronicle*, ed. Stubbs 1879–80, vol. 1, p. 360); since the bishop of London had died a few weeks earlier, the archbishop was presumably making chrism for that diocese as well as for his own.

[4] What happened in 1187 was that the chrism, once it had been consecrated, was carried to Canterbury and then, 'in the usual way', distributed by the sacrist.

[5] The last word on the subject was spoken by the Second Lateran Council in 1139. After that, it could not be doubted but that the giving or receiving of money for chrism was prohibited.

[6] His attitude emerges most clearly from a letter which he wrote to bishop Stigand of Chichester (Clover and Gibson 1979, no. 30).

[7] *Crisma tantum a uobis accipiant, et ea que antiquitus instituta sunt in crismatis acceptione persoluant.*

[8] In Ernulf's charter, as it survives, the payments are called 'the pennies which parish priests are accustomed to pay either when they receive chrism

1140s, when the monks applied to the pope for a confirmation of this grant, 'synod pennies' was the expression that they used.[9] Similarly – though it does not seem to be known exactly when or how – the chrism pennies from the diocese of Canterbury came to belong to the monks of Christ Church; and there too we find them being called 'synod pennies'.[10]

In Lanfranc's time, there were numerous churches in the diocese of Canterbury which did not get their chrism directly from Christ Church. They got it instead from a 'mother church' to which they were subordinate.[11] Arrangements of this kind were presumably justified by history (or pseudo-history): the 'mother church', once upon a time, was the only church within its sphere; as new parishes were formed, new churches built, the 'mother church' continued to exert some superiority over them. There are various ways in which that superiority could find expression, but one of them might be – for a time clearly was – a special role for the mother church in mediating the distribution of chrism. In that respect, large parts of the diocese were not directly under the archbishop's supervision. Indeed, to judge from list (a), Lanfranc had no very accurate idea what churches actually existed in his bishopric, other than those which paid a tribute to Christ Church; he seems to have had no list at all of the churches that belonged to Saint Augustine's.

Arrangements of this kind, even if Lanfranc allowed them to persist, seem largely to have been dismantled not much later. Some vestiges did survive: in the language which became normal later, one church might be said to be a 'chapel' of another church. In the 1080s, ten churches 'belonged' to Lyminge, and two of them, two hundred years later, were still regarded as 'chapels' of Lyminge (Paddlesworth and Stanford). Within the diocese of Rochester, similar relationships show up – most notably with respect to extensive manors like Dartford, Orpington, Shoreham, Hoo – which are, we may suppose, the attenuated traces of arrangements similar to those which had existed in eastern Kent. But a list of the chrism fees due to Rochester, no later than the 1120s, takes no notice of these complications. As far as the distribution of chrism was concerned, it was already the rule that

every parish priest should present himself in Rochester and pay his money there.

In the diocese of Canterbury, there were – apart from Christ Church itself – only two churches which remained conspicuously higher in status than the rest: Saint Augustine's and Saint Martin's of Dover. Saint Martin's dwindled away in the 1130s: its endowment was transferred to the newly founded priory, outside the town, and the old church became just one more parish church (or, more precisely, three parish churches under one roof). Saint Augustine's did not dwindle away. In the course of time, however, as other 'mother churches' lost status, the special privileges claimed by the abbey became increasingly obtrusive. The archbishops and the monks of Christ Church began to feel insulted by the abbey's pretensions; the abbots and the monks, for their part, had to find new ways to maintain their independence, and to justify rights which in the past had been taken for granted. Neither side was willing to yield, and disputes kept flaring up.

This levelling process cleared the ground for the erection of new administrative structures. Both bishoprics came to be divided into deaneries, eleven for Canterbury, four for Rochester. Though the details do not become clear until much later, there are casual references which prove the existence of deaneries as far back as the 1140s – except that then they were called not deaneries but chapters.[12] In the diocese of Canterbury only one of these new groupings (the deanery of Sutton) coincides at all closely with a group of churches appearing in list (a); but even in this case the resemblance is not exact, and I do not see that anything follows from it.

At around the same time, the map of parishes seems to have crystallized out into something very close to the late medieval (and post-medieval) configuration. Of the lists that are printed here, those which date from the mid or late twelfth century contain very few surprises: almost without exception, the parish churches which existed at that time are the same churches which existed a hundred years later. Rare instances can be found of churches which ceased to exist after the twelfth century, or of chapels which were later made into independent churches with parishes of their own; but minor adjustments of this kind continued to occur after the late thirteenth century, and it is only to be expected that some would have occurred in the course of the preceding hundred years.

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or when they attend the synod', *denarios quos presbiteri parochiani solent reddere uel quando crisma accipiunt, uel ad synodum conueniunt* (R1, fo. 197r). But this is a replacement leaf, and it is not impossible (I would say not unlikely) that the wording has been altered.

[9] Eugenius III for prior Brien and the monks of Rochester, dd. 25 Feb. 1146: *Concessionem autem uobis rationabiliter factam ab Ernulfo bone memorie episcopo uestro de sinodalibus denariis et scripti eius pagina confirmatam, ratam esse censemus* (R1, fo. 206r).

[10] Saltman 1956, no. 49, Cheney and Jones 1986, no. 76, both from Reg. H, fo. 26r.

[11] It is hard to be sure what language is best to use here. The documents themselves are not helpful. The churches dependent on Saint Martin's, for example, are merely said to 'belong' to it, which might mean almost anything. List (f) from Saint Augustine's uses the word 'mother' – but promptly mixes its metaphors by calling the dependent churches 'limbs'. The word 'minster' would certainly be suitable in some cases, but I think we ought to be careful not to use this term too loosely.

[12] It seems likely that the chapters were created, or given definite shape, in the time of archbishop Theobald (1139–61). A charter of archbishop Theobald concerning Graveney church is addressed to 'archdeacon Walter and the whole chapter of Teynham' (Saltman 1956, no. 252, dated 1143×8); I read this as a reference to what was later called the deanery of Ospringe. In other charters of Theobald's there are references to 'the whole chapter of the city of Canterbury' (no. 36), 'all clerics of the chapter of Dover' (no. 97), and 'the whole chapter of Reculver' (no. 146), i.e. the deaneries of Canterbury, Dover and Westbere respectively. By the 1170s, it was understood that each chapter would have its own dean, elected (in some sense) from among its members, answerable (in the first instance) to the archdeacon (Cheney and Jones 1986, nos. 75–6).

In the earliest lists, those which date from the early twelfth century or before, the proportion of problematic names is distinctly larger. The map, it seems, was still in a fairly fluid state at the time. New churches were being built; but there was also some tendency for old churches to disappear. Gains and losses are likely to go together: when a new church is built, some existing church will lose part of its parish, part of its congregation, part of its income. Unless there is someone in control, someone who can prevent the construction of new churches where the consequences are likely to be more negative than positive, it is more or less bound to happen that some old churches will cease to be viable.

Nobody was in control. A conscientious bishop would doubtless do his best to encourage the building of new churches, where new churches were needed, but he had no power to make this happen, except on the manors which belonged to him and his church. The initiative had to come from the lord of the manor; and generally this means that it came from an individual layman, who had no reason to weigh the wider consequences. It was taken for granted (so I suppose) that any lord was entitled to build himself a church, if that was what he wanted to do. Some people might grumble, but they had no right to complain. Of course the plan could not be carried through without the local bishop's assent: it was the bishop who would have to consecrate the church, once it had been built; it was the bishop who would have to install the first priest. But how could the bishop refuse, once he was presented with a fait accompli? Was it not a commendable act to build a church?

There are only two documented cases known to me of an attempt to carve a new parish out of an old one. Both cases are relatively late, and the very fact that we know about them tends to prove that they are not typical; but they are instructive nevertheless. The first relates to Sheldwich. The lord of the manor, Helto son of Ricard,[13] built a church here, expecting that it would become the centre of a separate parish. But he met with determined opposition. The monks of Saint Augustine's, as owners of Faversham church, had interests which they were prepared to defend, whatever the cost might be. In the end, Helto backed down. He agreed that his church was only a chapel, subordinate to Faversham church, of which, he admitted, he was himself a parishioner; he apologized for the trouble that he had caused; he paid compensation.[14] In a similar case, twenty years later, the lord of Leaveland came up against the monks of Saint Bertin's, who were the owners of Throwley church.[15] Like Helto, Nathanael de Levelande was beaten into submission.

In the longer run, however, Leaveland did become a separate parish, independent from Throwley.

As I hope to have said enough to show, the documents which follow are of interest in their own right, not just because they help to elucidate the records of the survey. For present purposes, however, their importance lies in the fact that they give us an entirely independent picture of the distribution of settlement in Kent, in the late eleventh century or not long after that.

Parish churches in the diocese of Canterbury: lists (a–e)

The first two pages of manuscript C1 (above, p. 36) are occupied by lists of churches which add up to give us an overview of the diocese of Canterbury as it existed in the time of archbishop Lanfranc. Though these lists have been printed more than once, I imagine that it may be found helpful if I print them again.

The list which I place first – in the manuscript it is placed third – is the one which poses most problems. As Ward (1933, p. 68) said, it is 'full of difficulties of identification'. He made that remark about the first paragraph, but it also applies to the three paragraphs which follow; and even in the rest of the list an occasional entry occurs which is perplexing. There are so many enigmas, it seems to me, that this list cannot be taken to describe the situation existing in the 1080s. It looks back to a time (perhaps in the early eleventh century) when the diocese comprised eleven (or more) large parishes, each with its own mother church. The mother churches are all easy to identify: it is the subordinate churches (plus the churches named in the final paragraph) which in many cases would seem to have disappeared (or changed their names) by the time that any other evidence becomes available. For some reason, the changes seem to have been most drastic in the eastern and southern parts of the diocese; but some change had happened everywhere.

List (c), as we are explicitly told, is a record of certain arrangements which existed at the time of Lanfranc's arrival in Canterbury – arrangements, that is, which were current in the 1060s. At that time, it seems, there were, apart from Saint Augustine's, fourteen churches – including nine that are mentioned in list (a) – which paid a tribute to Christ Church at Easter. The tribute due from Saint Augustine's is itemized separately in list (b); we hear a great deal about it, from the 1120s onwards, as the monks there exerted every effort to get it abolished. List (d), of which again we are explicitly told that it describes the new arrangements introduced by Lanfranc, is relatively straightforward. There are a few problematic entries – but the same is true for twelfth-century lists as well.

The fifth list, (e), has not been printed before. It comes from manuscript C4, i.e. from the same booklet, written in about

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[13] Helto was the grandson of the Malger who held Ruxley in 1086 (DB-Ke-6va34). As well as his grandfather's lands, he had also acquired (perhaps through his wife) a one-third share of the lands which in 1086 belonged to Ansfrid Masleclerc; that is how he came to own Sheldwich.

[14] The story comes mostly from two documents: a charter of Helto son of Ricard (Turner and Salter 1915–24, pp. 507–8) and a letter of pope Adrianus IV (Hardwick 1858, pp. 406–7).

[15] Cheney and Jones 1986, no. 203, and other documents printed by Larking (1861) from the cartulary of Saint Bertin's.

1215, which also contains a copy of a somewhat discrepant version of text α (above, p. 33). The leaves have been damaged by water towards the top: the black ink was unaffected, but the red ink used for the headings dissolved, to the extent that in places it has vanished altogether. This list is basically a modified version of list (d), with the churches rearranged into groups – groups which were called chapters in the twelfth century, but which came to be called deaneries later. Because the entries are organized geographically, identification becomes much easier than it would be if only list (d) was available.

As for the lists which come from C1, I have treated them more loosely than text α, not reproducing the format of the original or distinguishing the coloured initials; otherwise the transcription is as accurate as I can make it. (A 'w' with a dot beneath it represents the *p*-like character called 'wyn'.) Misreadings of the kind to which this scribe is prone (above, p. 36) occur quite frequently in lists (a) and (d), but I have not thought it necessary to note them.

List (a)

(a1) Iste ẹccl'ẹ pertinent ad sc'm martinum de doforis.	Dover, St Martin
(a2) Sc'i petri.	Dover, St Peter
(a3) Sc'ẹ mariẹ.	Dover, St Mary
(a4) Infra ciuitatem, v monasteria.	?
(a5) Ceorletun.	Charlton
(a6) Denetun.	Denton
(a7) Niẉantun.	?
(a8) *Æ ẉellan, ii ẹccl'as.	? Ewell and River
(a9) *Itum, *æ ẉellan.	?
(a10) Ẉaltun.	?
(a11) Cliue.	? St Margaret at Cliffe
(a12) Burnan.	?
(a13) Cliue.	? West Cliffe
(a14) Gutiestun.	Guston
(a15) Ad folcestan pertinent.	Folkestone
(a16) Aẉoluescyrce.	?
(a17) Bilicean.	?
(a18) Ciricetun.	Cheriton
(a19) Sumafeld.	Swingfield
(a20) Ealhham.	Alkham
(a21) Fleota.	Fleet in Ash
(a22) Huhcham.	Hougham
(a23) Achalt.	?
(a24) Hleodæna.	Lydden
(a25) Wulferestun.	? Wolverton in Alkham
(a26) Ad limenam.	Lympne
(a27) Laurentiuscirce.	?
(a28) Martini ẹccl'a.	?
(a29) Iue circe.	Ivychurch
(a30) Bennede circ'.	?
(a31) Hlide.	Lydd
(a32) Siẉoldescirc'.	?
(a33) Niẉan circ'.	Newchurch
(a34) In hyðe, ii eccl'ẹ.	Hythe
(a35) Ælsiescirc'.	? Eastbridge
(a36) Blacemannes c'.	Blackmanstone
(a37) Mertumnes c'.	?
(a38) Deman, c.	Dymchurch
(a39) Ordgares. *(c.)	Orgarswick
(a40) Bilswiðetun.	Bilsington
(a41) Bunnigtun.	Bonnington
(a42) Ealditun.	Aldington
(a43) Stræta.	Street in Lympne
(a44) Sellinge.	Sellindge
(a45) Kyngestun.	?
(a46) Vndetun.	?
(a47) Sẉirgildan, c'.	?
(a48) Ad limminges.	Lyminge
(a49) Wihtricesham.	Wittersham
(a50) Petri ẹccl'a.	?
(a51) Martinescirce.	?
(a52) Stanford.	Stanford
(a53) Hortune.	Horton
(a54) Stutinge.	Stowting
(a55) Birichalt.	Bircholt
(a56) Steallinge.	Stelling
(a57) Aqus.	Acrise
(a58) Ẉeadlesẉurðe.	Paddlesworth
(a59) Ad middeltune.	Milton
(a60) Norðcip'.	?
(a61) Legesdun.	Leysdown
(a62) Rodmæresham.	Rodmersham
(a63) Milstede.	Milstead
(a64) Tunsteal.	Tunstall
(a65) Bacelde.	Bapchild
(a66) Bradegare.	Bredgar
(a67) Bobinge.	Bobbing
(a68) Tanga.	Tonge
(a69) Eastcyrce.	Eastchurch
(a70) Ad niẉantunum.	Newington
(a71) Heordlyp.	Hartlip
(a72) Rænham.	Rainham
(a73) Vpcyrcean.	Upchurch
(a74) Stacabere.	Stockbury
(a75) Halgastaẉ.	Halstow
(a76) Sexburgamynster.	Minster (in Sheppey)
(a77) Niẉecyrce.	?
(a78) Ad tænham.	Teynham
(a79) Duddingtun.	Doddington
(a80) Stane.	Stone
(a81) Cillinge.	?
(a82) Ætþamgeræde.	Iwade
(a83) Ad ẉingeham.	Wingham
(a84) Æsce.	Ash
(a85) Nunningitun.	Nonington
(a86) Rytlinge.	Ratling in Nonington

(a87)	Wimlingweald.	Womenswold
(a88)	Wielmestun.	Walmestone in Wingham
(a89)	Eadredestun.	?
(a90)	Ad mægdestane.	Maidstone
(a91)	Boxlea.	Boxley
(a92)	Dytlinge.	Detling
(a93)	Thornham.	Thurnham
(a94)	Ealdingtun.	Aldington
(a95)	Holingaburna.	Hollingbourne
(a96)	Welcumeweg.	?
(a97)	Leanham.	Lenham
(a98)	Boctun.	Boughton Malherbe
(a99)	Wulacumba.	Ulcombe
(a100)	Hlyda.	Leeds
(a101)	Langalea.	Langley
(a102)	Suðtun.	Sutton
(a103)	Cert.	Chart Sutton
(a104)	Hedekaruna.	Headcorn
(a105)	Fridenastede.	Frinsted
(a106)	Gmðhyrste.	Goudhurst
(a107)	Mæredæn.	Marden
(a108)	Ad Wy.	Wye
(a109)	Æscedefford.	Ashford
(a110)	Crundala.	Crundale
(a111)	Broca.	Brook
(a112)	Dreamwurðe.	Trimworth in Crundale
(a113)	Haenostesyle.	Hinxhill
(a114)	Brixiestun.	?
(a115)	Wyllan.	Eastwell
(a116)	Haudkashyrste.	Hawkhurst
(a117)	Ad cyrringe.	Charing
(a118)	Eardingtun.	Egerton
(a119)	*Ebben ea.	Ebony
(a120)	Wylmingtun.	?
(a121)	Cealueloca.	Challock
(a122)	Brygge.	Bridge
(a123)	Berham.	Barham
(a124)	Alter berham.	? Kingston
(a125)	Monasterium æthyrnan.	?
(a126)	Garwynnetun.	Garrington in Littlebourne
(a127)	Natindune.	Nackington
(a128)	Haranhylle.	Hernhill

C1, fo. 1rc–va

(a8) Æ wellan *so written, perhaps imitating an erasure in the exemplar* (a9) *presumably* Iterum *misread* æ wellan *again so written* (a39) c *inserted, perhaps by another hand* (a119) *three lines left blank before this*

List (b)

(b) Hęc sunt quę debentur de sc'o augustino singulis annis ęccl'ę xp'i.

(b1) Secretarius *(sc'i aug') vii d' super altare xp'i ponet, aut secretario *(ęccl'e xp'i) in manu dabit.

(b2) Abbas, uel qui in loco abbatis fuerit per idoneos ministros debet mittere ad ęccl'am xp'i xxx panes tales, ut iiii ualeant semper unum denarium, et ii optimos multones, et iii amphoras plenas, ii de meda, et tertiam de ceruisa, et sescentos denarios. Ista omnia debent persolui in cęna d'ni.

C1, fo. 1rc

(b2) sc'i aug' *written above* Secretarius   ęccl'e xp'i *written above* secretario

List (c)

(c) Hęc est institutio antiqua ante aduentum domni Lanfranci archiep'i (c1) de middeltune, ii sestres mellis, et ii multones, et viii agnos, et lx panes, et xii d', et in pentecostes dc denarios.

(c2) De megdestane, i sestarium mellis, et viii agnos, et lx panes, et xii d' ad uinum, et xiiii d' ad oleum.

(c3) Simili modo dabatur de Cyrringe. De wy, Tænham, Wingeham, Estrege.

(c4) De liminges, i sestarium mellis, et ii uerueces, et xxx panes, et vii d'.

(c5) De apeldre, i sestarium mell', et xxx panes, et iiii agnos, et vii d' ad oleum, et vi ad uinum.

(c6) De doforis, i sestarium mell', et xxx panes, et ii multones, et vii d', et dc denarios.

(c7) De *folkestane, i sestarium mell', et xxx panes, et ii uerueces, et vii denarios, et sescentos denar'.

(c8) De duobus boctunis, de unoquoque, iiii agnos, et xxx panes, et xiii den'.

(c9) Similiter de rokinge.

(c10) Sed beatę memorię lanfrancus *ut in antea scriptum est ordinauit et instituit.

C1, fo. 1vb

(c7) fol(k)estane *corrected*   (c10) ut in antea scriptum est *referring to list (d)*

List (d)

(d) Hę sunt consuetudines archiep'i in pascha de presbiteris et ęcclesiis.

(d1)	De middeltune, x sol' iiii denarios minus.	Milton
(d2)	De mægdestane, x sol' iiii d' minus.	Maidstone
(d3)	De Cyrringe, x sol' iiii d' minus.	Charing
(d4)	De Wy similiter.	Wye
(d5)	De tænham, ii sol'.	Teynham
(d6)	De wingeham, ii sol'.	Wingham
(d7)	De eastrege, x sol' iiii d' minus.	Eastry
(d8)	De limminges, xxxii d'.	Lyminge
(d9)	De apeldre, vii sol'.	Appledore
(d10)	De doforis, lv sol'.	Dover, St Martin
(d11)	De folcestane, l sol'.	Folkestone
(d12)	De boctune, xxviii d'.	Boughton under Blean
(d13)	De alio boctune, xxviii d'.	Boughton Aluph
(d14)	De rumenea, xxxii d'.	?
(d15)	De rokynges, xxviii d'.	Ruckinge

(d16) De sandhyrste xxviii d'.	Sandhurst	(d74) De bereham, vii d'.	Barham
(d17) De ruluindænne, xxviii d'.	Rolvenden	(d75) De Ottrindænne, vii d'.	Otterden
(d18) De wndecyrce, xxviii d'.	Woodchurch	(d76) De pytte, iii d'.	Pett
(d19) De binnigdænne, xxviii d'.	Benenden	(d77) De denentune, vii d'.	Davington
(d20) De sealtwude, xxviii d'.	Saltwood	(d78) De luddenham, vii d'.	Luddenham
(d21) De wodnesbeorge, xxviii d'.	Woodnesborough	(d79) De Oran, vii d'.	Oare
(d22) De leocham, xxviii d'.	Ickham	(d80) De piuingtune, vii d'.	Pivington
(d23) De biscopestune, xxviii d'.	Bishopsbourne	(d81) De blean, xii d'.	Blean
(d24) De welle, xxviii d'.	Westwell	(d82) De Norðtune, vii d'.	Norton
(d25) De grauenea, xxviii d'.	Graveney	(d83) De kynardingtune, xii d'.	Kenardington
(d26) De berewic, xxviii d'.	Harwich in Seasalter	(d84) De Elmestede, xii d'.	Elmsted
(d27) De prestentune, xxviii d'.	Preston	(d85) De Eardlanestune, vii d'.	Orlestone
(d28) De ospringe, xxviii d'.	Ospringe	(d86) De hæstingelege, xii d'.	Hastingleigh
(d29) De fæuresham, xxviii d'.	Faversham	(d87) De Sineredænne, vii d'.	Smarden
(d30) De wicham, xxviii d'.	Wickhambreaux		
(d31) De certeham, xxviii d'.	Chartham		
(d32) De Godmæresham, xxviii d'.	Godmersham	C1, fo. 1ra–b	
(d33) De cilleham, xxviii d'.	Chilham		
(d34) De mundingham, xxviii d'.	Great Mongeham		
(d35) De merseham, xxviii d'.	Mersham		
(d36) De Cnoltune, xxviii d'.	Knowlton		

C1, fo. 1ra–b

(d48) Cy(ll)indænne *corrected*   (d53) E *omitted*   (d70) r(æ)tte *corrected*

List (e)

(De sinodalibus soluend' ad *[octau'] Pentecost'.)
(De cap'lo de douor')

(e1) E[ccle]sia de douoria, [l]v sol'	Dover, St Martin	
(e2) Folkestane, lv sol'	Folkestone	
Summa c et x sol'		

(De cap'lo de sandwico)

(e3) Eccl'ia S' mar' de sandwic, xiiii den'	Sandwich, St Mary
(e4) Eccl'ia S' clem' in sandwic, xiiii d'	Sandwich, St Clement
(e5) Bethleshangre, iii dener' ob'	Betteshanger
(e6) Wodnesberge, xxviii den'	Woodnesborough
(e7) Estreia, ix sol' viii den'	Eastry
(e8) Wrthe, vii d'	Worth
(e9) Cnoltune, xxviii d'	Knowlton
(e10) Haurne, iii den' ob'	Ham
(e11) Berefreistune, vii d'	Barfrestone
(e12) Muningeham, xii d'	Great Mongeham
(e13) Riple, vii d'	Ripple
(e14) Colrede, xxi d'	Coldred
(e15) Walemere, xxviii d'	Walmer
(e16) Waldwaressare, xxviii d'	Waldershare
(e17) Redlindwad, vii d'	Ringwould
(e18) Tilemanestune, xxviii d'	Tilmanstone
Summa xxix sol' iiii d'	

(De cap'lo de cerringe)

(e19) Cerringe, ix sol' viii d'	Charing
(e20) *Stalefeld, vii den'	Stalisfield
(e21) Welle, xxviii den'	Westwell
(e22) Chert, xxviii d'	Great Chart
(e23) *Bederichesdenne, xxviii d'	Bethersden
(e24) Sandherste, xxviii d'	Sandhurst
(e25) Ruluindenne, xxviii d'	Rolvenden
(e26) Benindenne, xxviii d'	Benenden
(e27) Cranebroke, xxviii d'	Cranbrook
(e28) Smeredenne, vii den'	Smarden
(e29) Bidindenne, vii den'	Biddenden

Continuing the left column from (d37):

(d37) De sandwic, xxviii d'.	Sandwich
(d38) De burna, xxviii d'.	Patrixbourne
(d39) De burna, xxviii d'.	Bekesbourne
(d40) De bradeburna, xxviii d'.	Brabourne
(d41) De cranebroca, xxviii d'.	Cranbrook
(d42) De wealemere, xxviii d'.	Walmer
(d43) De Colredan, xxviii d'.	Coldred
(d44) De middelea, xxviii d'.	?
(d45) De fordwic, xxviii d'.	Fordwich
(d46) De werhorna, xxviii d'.	Warehorne
(d47) De wealdwarescare, xxviii d'.	Waldershare
(d48) De *Cyllindænne, xxviii d'.	Chillenden
(d49) De trulege, xxviii d'.	Throwley
(d50) De æslinge, xxviii d'.	Eastling
(d51) De ælham, xxviii d'.	Elham
(d52) De hardan, xxviii d'.	Upper Hardres
(d53) De *desham, xxviii d'.	Adisham
(d54) De tilemannestune, xxviii d'.	Tilmanstone
(d55) De smiðatune, xxviii d'.	?
(d56) De hyruuerðestun, xxviii d'.	Barfrestone
(d57) De cert, xxviii d'.	Great Chart
(d58) De bædericesdænne, xxviii d'.	Bethersden
(d59) De hadmwoldungdenne, xxviii d'.	Halden
(d60) De wealtham et pytham, xxviii d'.	Waltham and Petham
(d61) De rumenea, xxxi d'.	Old Romney
(d62) De haðfelde, x d'.	Hothfield
(d63) De plucelea, x d'.	Pluckley
(d64) De Niwantune, vii d'.	Newington (near Milton)
(d65) De kynigtune, vii d'.	Kennington
(d66) De syrran, vii d'.	Sarre
(d67) De heortege, vii d'.	Harty
(d68) De bidindænne, vii d'.	Biddenden
(d69) De Sturmude, vii d'.	Stourmouth
(d70) De *rætte, vii d'.	Fleet in Ash
(d71) De Sæsealtre, vii d'.	Seasalter
(d72) De bæðdesmere, vii d'.	Badlesmere
(d73) De hamme, vii d'.	Ham

(e30) Plukele, x den'	Pluckley
(e31) *Hatfelde, x den'	Hothfield
(e32) Lithlechert, vii d'	Little Chart
(e33) Kenintune, vii d'	Kennington
(e34) Hathewoldindenne, xxviii d'	Halden
(e35) Piuintune, vii den'	Pivington
(e36) Petthe, iii dener'	Pett
Summa xxxiii sol' ix d'	
(De cap'lo de *......)	
(e37) Tyrelesbu[rne], xxviii dener'	Patrixbourne
(e38) Liuingesburne, vii dener'	Bekesbourne
(e39) Wiccham, xxviii dener'	Wickhambreaux
(e40) Sturmuthe, vii dener'	Stourmouth
(e41) Wingeham, ii sol'	Wingham
(e42) Iecham, xxviii dener'	Ickham
(e43) Lithlewelle, vii den'	? Well in Ickham
(e44) Chilindenne, xiiii d'	Chillenden
(e45) Edesham, xxviii den'	Adisham
(e46) Rettheburch, vii d'	Fleet in Ash
Summa xiiii sol' x d'	
(De cap'lo de limminge)	
(e47) Limminge, xxxii d'	Lyminge
(e48) Bradeburne, xxviii den'	Brabourne
(e49) Elmestede, xii dener'	Elmsted
(e50) *Hastingelege, xii den'	Hastingleigh
(e51) Elham, xxviii den'	Elham
Summa ix sol' iiii d'	
(De cap'lo de tenham)	
(e52) Thenham, ii sol'	Teynham
(e53) Feueresham, xxviii d'	Faversham
(e54) Trulege, xxviii d'	Throwley
(e55) Eslinge, xxviii d'	Eastling
(e56) Osprenge, xxviii d'	Ospringe
(e57) Niwentune, vii d'	Newington
(e58) Middeltune, ix sol' viii d'	Milton
(e59) Bissopesboctune, xxviii d'	Boughton under Blean
(e60) Grauene, xxviii d'	Graveney
(e61) *Herteie, vii d'	Harty
(e62) Prestune, xxviii d'	Preston
(e63) Northune, vii d'	Norton
(e64) Ludenham, vii d'	Luddenham
(e65) Niweham, vii d'	Newnham
(e66) Bedelesmere, vii d'	Badlesmere
(e67) Ore, vii d'	Oare
(e68) Deuintune, vii d'	Davington
(e69) Otringedenne, vii d'	Otterden
Summa xxxiii sol' iii d'	
(De cap'lo de burnes)	
(e70) Certham, xxviii d'	Chartham
(e71) Chileham, xxviii d'	Chilham
(e72) Godmeresham, xxviii d'	Godmersham
(e73) Wy, ix sol' viii d'	Wye
(e74) Waltham, xiiii d'	Waltham
(e75) Pettham, *xiiii d'	Petham
(e76) Hardre, xxviii d'	Upper Hardres
(e77) Bissopesburne, xxviii d'	Bishopsbourne
(e78) Bereham, vii d'	Barham
(e79) Yrlesboctune, xxviii d'	Boughton Aluph
Summa xxvi sol' vii d'	

(De cap'lo de limene)	
(e80) Saltwde, xxviii d'	Saltwood
(e81) Merseham, xxviii d'	Mersham
(e82) Wdecherche, xxviii d'	Woodchurch
(e83) Apeldre, ii sol'	Appledore
(e84) Kenardintune, xii d'	Kenardington
(e85) Werehorne, xxviii d'	Warehorne
(e86) *Ordhlauestune, vii d'	Orlestone
(e87) Rokinge, xxviii d'	Ruckinge
(e88) Rumene, xxxi d'	Old Romney
(e89) Baldriesherste, iii d'	Hurst
Summa xviii sol' i d'	
(De cap'lo de raculue)	
(e90) Herewik, xxviii d'	Harwich in Seasalter
(e91) Sesautre, vii d'	Seasalter
(e92) Muneketune, xxviii d'	Monkton
(e93) Serre, vii d'	Sarre
(e94) Thettecherche, vii d'	? Woodchurch
Summa vi sol' v d'	
(De cap'lo de meidestane)	
(e95) Meidestane, ix sol' viii d'	Maidstone
(e96) Chert de suttune, vii d'	Chart Sutton
Summa x sol' iii d'	
(De cap'lo de cantuaria)	
(e97) Blen, xii d'	Blean
(e98) Fordwic, xxviii d'	Fordwich
Summa iii sol' iiii den'	
Summa tocius xiiii li' xiiii sol' ii den'	

C4, fo. 61va–c

(e) octau' *almost dissolved away, but this appears to be the only possible reading* (e20) Stalefe(l)d *with* l *inserted* (e23) Beder(i)chesdenne *with one letter corrected* (e31) Ha::tfelde *with one letter erased* (e37–46) *the end of the heading dissolved away, except for one ascender, perhaps the* h *of* Wingeham (e50) Hastingele::ge *with one letter erased* (e61) Herteige *with* g *marked for deletion* (e75) xxiii *corrected to* xiiii (e86) Ordhaluestune *with* al *marked for transposition*

Comments

(a2–4) The crux is entry (a4), 'Inside the city, five churches.' Ward took 'the city' to mean Dover – and therefore he had to reject the obvious identifications for entries (a2) and (a3). But Dover was not a city. In a list drawn up for the archbishop, 'the city' should surely mean Canterbury. There were numerous churches in Canterbury, but none of them had any recorded connection with Dover, as far as I am aware. I do not see the way out of this difficulty.

(a7) The difficulties involved in identifying this entry as Newington (near Hythe) were understood well enough by Ward (1933, pp. 69–70). He decided to ignore them; I think that he was wrong to do so.

(a9) Ward read *Itu'* as a place-name: he took it to be a very bad spelling for Eythorne. But no doubt it is an error for *It'u'*, meaning *iterum*, 'again'.
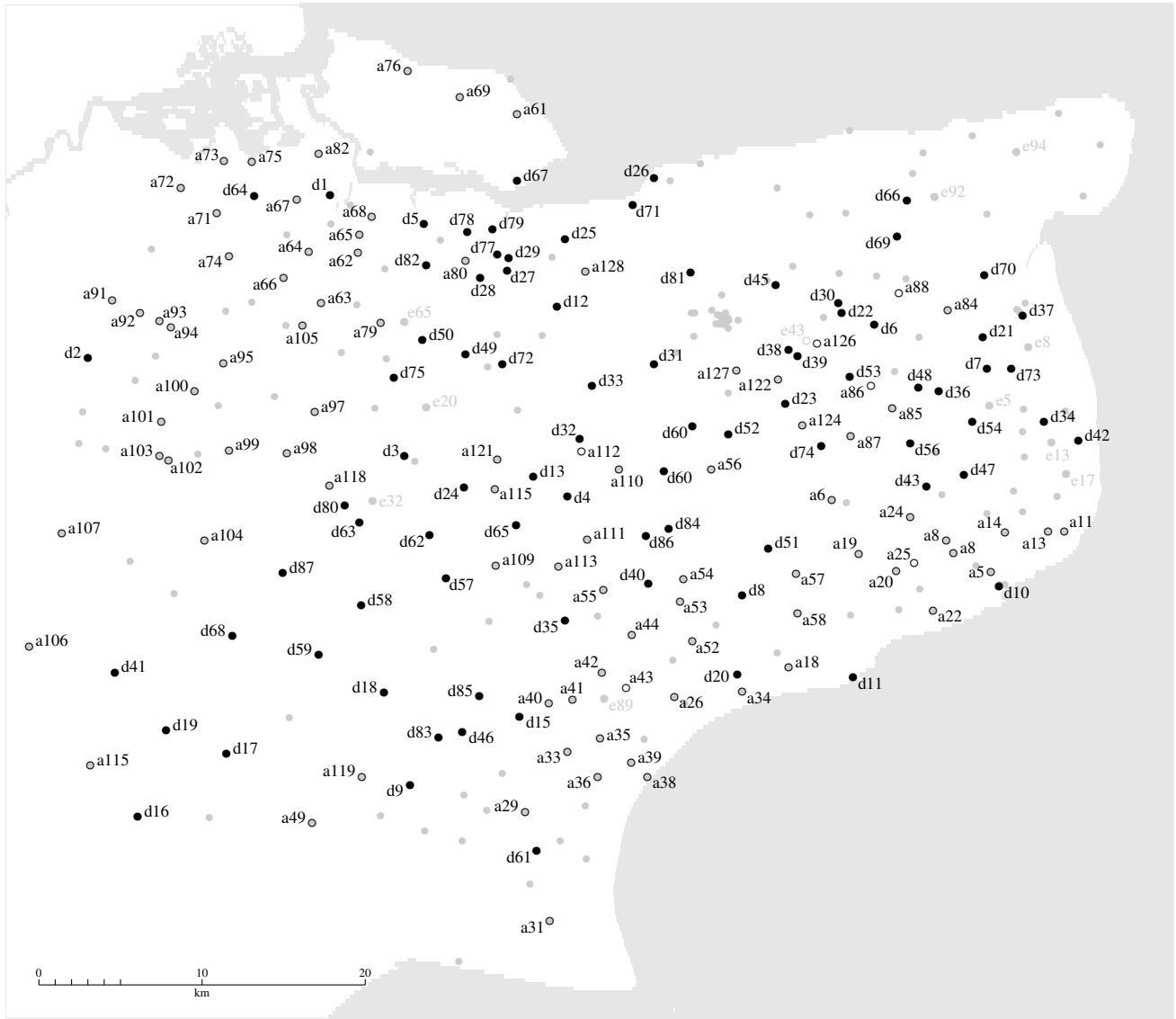
Figure 18. Parish churches in the diocese of Canterbury.

(a12) Ward's suggestion, Northbourne, is out of the question. Northbourne was a mother church in its own right, belonging to Saint Augustine's (f10).

(a15) By the 1080s, the endowment of the minster at Folkestone had been transformed into the barony of Folkestone (above, p. 178). DB says that there are five churches there belonging to Willelm de Arcis (9va20), and three more belonging to one of Willelm's men (9va27). List (a) has eleven churches.

(a26) Lympne occurs only here: it is not included in list (c), nor in list (d) – unless I am right to suspect that it appears there in a garbled form (d14).

(a27–8) I doubt whether Ward's identifications are tenable. If New Romney existed, it would only have had one church, Saint Nicholas's; but in fact the town's existence (as far as I can see) is not securely attested before the mid twelfth century.

(a34) 'In Hythe, two churches.' The statement is clear; its meaning is not. Ward suggested Hythe and West Hythe, but I doubt whether anyone would have thought of saying that West Hythe was 'in

Hythe'. (A 'hythe' is a port, as DB explains (2va8) – a place where it is permitted for ships to be loaded and unloaded. Hythe was the port of Saltwood; West Hythe was the port of Lympne.) Hythe itself – Saltwood's hythe – was already a town in the 1080s (DB-Ke-4va22); it must have had a church; it may perhaps have had two.

(a35) Ward pointed out that a man named Alsi (Ælfsige) was the TRE tenant of Eastbridge (DB-Ke-13ra43). But in fact there are said to be two churches there (13ra46), and that adds another complication.

(a45) Ward suggested that this might be Kingsnorth, with the name misspelt. For the reasons indicated below (d74), I doubt whether that can be right.

(a46) Ward took this to be Wootton, with the name misspelt. That is not impossible, but it seems very doubtful to me.

(a47) Not Swarling: the names are only vaguely similar. But I have no alternative suggestion.

(a57) As Ward observed, the name must be *Acris* with insular *r* misread (the long stroke combined with *c* to make *q*, the short stroke with *i* to make *u*).

(a59–69) A later list of the churches subordinate to Milton survives from Saint Augustine's; it is printed below as list (fm). Once we have deleted the items which are obviously the same in both lists, the residue is this:

(a60) Norðcip'	(fm1) Due ecclesie in Scapaie
(a61) Legesdun	(fm3) Morinistune
(a69) Eastcyrce	(fm9) Sithingeburne

It seems clear that Leysdown and Eastchurch are the 'two churches in Sheppey' (though there is perhaps some room for doubt about Eastchurch); so *Norðcip'* may be Murston or Sittingbourne under another name. Or it may be a different church again – one which had ceased to exist by the twelfth century. On any reading of the evidence, it looks as if at least one new church was built, somewhere in the ambit of Milton, after list (a) was compiled.

(a70–7) A parallel list is available for Newington too; it is printed below as list (fn). The residual entries are these:

(a76) Sexburgamynster	(fn1) Due ecclesie in Scapeia
(a77) Niƿecyrce	(fn7) Bordenne

So *Niƿecyrce* might be the second of the 'two churches in Sheppey' (presumably Warden, since Leysdown and Eastchurch have already been accounted for); or it might be Borden under another name; or it might be a church which subsequently ceased to exist. I see no way of advancing beyond this point.

(a81) Not Selling, which belonged to Saint Augustine's (f34). We know which churches were subordinate to Teynham in the thirteenth century: Doddington, Lynsted, Stone, Iwade. Is it possible that 'Chilling' might be Lynsted under another name?

(a82) A misreading of *Æt þam gewæde*, 'at the ford'.

(a89) Possibly Goodnestone under another name ('Eadred's estate' instead of 'Godwine's estate'). Certainly Goodnestone was one of the churches subordinate to Wingham later.

(a96) If we trace out this sequence of entries on the map, it looks as if *Welcumeweg* might be Harrietsham under another name. Is there any evidence which might corroborate that? (Ward got it into his head that *Welcume* was a bad spelling for Ulcombe, but that is very unlikely.)

(a110, a112) Later on, Trimworth was just an alternative name for Crundale church (e.g. Cheney and John 1986, no. 519); but here it is listed separately.

(a119–28) After three blank lines (perhaps the scribe's way of signalling some discontinuity in the exemplar), the list ends with a puzzling assortment of entries, the sense of which is hard to see. Perhaps it should be read in the same sort of light as the sub-list of 'chapels' appended to list (i).

(a120) Ward (1933, p. 82, 1936, p. 19) proposed identifying this Wilmington as the place of that name in Sellindge. That may be right; but Ward's treatment of the evidence is cavalier, and the case needs to be looked at again more carefully.

(a121) Challock, later, was dependent on Boughton Aluph.

(a121) Barham, later, was dependent on Bishopsbourne.

(a125) Possibly Herne; but why make a point of calling it 'the church at Herne'? (Herne, later, was dependent on Reculver.)

(a126) Garrington, later, was a chapel dependent on Littlebourne; but presumably that would not have been the case before it was given to Saint Augustine's by the bishop of Bayeux (DB-Ke-12ra36).

(a128) Hernhill, later, was dependent on Boughton under Blean.

(b2) The phrase *in loco abbatis* does not have as much significance as Ward (1933, p. 68) wanted to read into it. Even in the normal course of events, the abbot would often be away from his abbey, for one reason or another. In particular, he would be expected to attend the king's Easter court, whenever the king was in England.

(b2) Here and in list (c), the word *multo* means 'ram'; it is a colloquial synonym for *aries*.

(c9) Comparison with list (d) suggests that one name (d14) may have been omitted here.

(c10) The comment here, 'as is written before', refers to list (d), which the man who put these documents in order (so that they could be copied into this manuscript) chose to place before list (c). The expression 'of blessed memory' is also important: it is proof that Lanfranc was already dead when the documents were put in order.

(d1) This payment of 116 pence from Milton church is itemized by list (fm). It comprises (i) a payment of 7 pence for chrism from each of twelve subordinate churches and (ii) a payment of 32 pence from the mother church itself. (List (fm) does not just give the same total: it uses the same odd formula, 'ten shillings less four pence'.) The second payment is, no doubt, a commutation of the tribute that was previously paid in kind (c1); the tribute due from Saint Augustine's was similarly commuted for a payment of 36 pence (b2). As for the chrism pennies, it does not seem to be literally true that there were twelve churches dependent on Milton. List (a) has only ten churches; list (fm) can only contrive to reach a total of twelve by including one church which is not subordinate to Milton and by ignoring one church which pays half the normal amount. Twelve appears to be a symbolic number, expressive of the church's status; and that will explain why four other churches – Maidstone, Charing, Wye, Eastry – are charged with exactly the same payment.

(d11) No doubt the payment was 55 shillings, the same as for Dover. That is the amount mentioned in DB (9va20), and list (e) concurs.

(d12–13) The corresponding entries in list (e) are 'Bishop's Boughton' (e59) and 'Earl's Boughton' (e79), the 'earl' in question being the count of Boulogne.

(d14) This entry is puzzling, not just because it is identical (give or take one minim) with a later entry (d61), but also because it comes near the end of a sequence of entries (d1–15) which is otherwise identical with the sequence in list (c). We get no help from list (e), which has no matching entry – but that fact itself is significant.

I strongly suspect that this is a garbled reference to the minster at Lympne (a26), missing from lists (c) and (e) because it no longer counted as a minster (DB-Ke-4ra23).

(d23) List (e) spells the name correctly (e77).

(d26) Identified by Ward initially as Berwick in Lympne (1933, p. 63), then as Westenhanger (1935, p. 147), which did certainly have a church of its own in the thirteenth century. But the corresponding entry in list (e) spells the name *Herewik* and puts the church in Reculver chapter (e90). The place in question must presumably be Harwich (a detached portion of the archbishop's manor of Westgate), located on the boundary between Seasalter and Whitstable.

(d37) In list (e) this payment is split between two churches, Saint Mary's and Saint Clement's (e3–4). There was a third church in Sandwich, Saint Peter's, but that belonged to Saint Augustine's (f30, g2). (Later it belonged only half to the abbey and half to the men of Sandwich.)

(d38, d39) These identifications are transposable; but I cannot see that it is going to make any difference which *burna* is which.

(d44) Presumably the lost place in Bewsborough hundred of which DB records the existence, plus the fact that it possessed a church (DB-Ke-11va17). There is no matching entry in list (e).

(d55) A lost place in Eastry hundred belonging to Saint Augustine's (below, p. 237). There is no matching entry in list (e).

(d56) List (e) spells the name more correctly (e11).

(d74) This is an instructive case. Ward identified *Bereham* as Barham, and list (e) confirms that he was right. Having done that, he had to think of alternative identifications for *Berham* and *alter Berham* (a123–4). (Here he was assuming that a church which appears in list (a) cannot (unless it is a mother church) appear again in list (d). That is true on the whole, but I would hesitate to push the assumption to the limit.) Pointing out, quite rightly, that the name 'Barham' could be used in a very large sense, he identified *Berham* as Bishopsbourne and 'the other *Berham*' as Kingston (which is indeed called Barham in DB). Having done that, however, he had to find an alternative identification for *Kyngestun* (a45). Might it perhaps be Kingsnorth misspelt? (The answer to that is, almost certainly, no. In the light of its later history, we can feel fairly sure that Kingsnorth, if it appeared here at all, would appear in the list of churches subordinate to Wye.) Uncertainties ramify, therefore, and may magnify themselves as they do so. Ward was not unaware of this danger, but it seems to me that he underestimated it.

(d76) List (e) puts this church in Charing chapter (e36). From the late thirteenth century onwards, the existence of a church called Pett is well attested – in 1281 the patronage belonged to one Stephan Girard of Romney – but its location is uncertain. As far as I can see, there is no reason to associate it with the manor called Pett or Pett's (repr. Pett Place) TQ 9649 in Charing. The ruined chapel there, mentioned by Ward (1933, p. 66), is thought by some to be an eighteenth-century sham.

(d77) List (e) spells the name more correctly and puts the church in Teynham chapter (e68).

(e) Most of the entries in this list can be matched with entries in list (d), but three items have gone missing (d14, d44, d55) and twelve new items have been added (e5, e8, e13, e17, e20, e32, e43, e65, e89, e92, e94, e96). The arithmetic is all correct, except that the grand total is one shilling short.

(e37) As far as I know, this is the only evidence that Patrixbourne was once called 'Tirel's Bourne'.

(e94) The name, I suppose, means 'thatch church'; perhaps it was another name for Woodchurch. The romescot list in manuscript C1 includes an item for *tenet tete circe* (1vc13-14).

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d1, e58 Minster (in Sheppey) a76 Great Mongeham d34, e12 Monkton (in Thanet) e92 Nackington a127 Newchurch a33 Newington (near Milton) a70, d64, e57 Newnham e65 *Niwantun* a7 *Niwecyrce* a77 Non-ington a85 *Northcip'* a60 Norton d82, e63 Oare d79, e67 Orgarswick a39 Orlestone d85, e86 Ospringe d28, e56 Otterden d75, e69 Paddlesworth a58 Patrixbourne d38, e37 Petham d60, e75 *Petri aecclesia* a50 Pett d76, e36 Pivington d80, e35 Pluckley d63, e30 Preston (near Faversham) d27, e62 Rainham a72 Ratling in Nonington a86 Richborough, see Fleet Ringwould e17 Ripple e13 River a8 Rodmersham a62 Rolvenden d17, e25 Old Romney d61, e88 Ruckinge c9, d15, e87 *Rumenea* d14 Saint Margaret at Cliffe a11 Saltwood d20, e80 Sandhurst d16, e24 Sandwich d37, e3–4 Sarre d66, e93 Seasalter d71, e91 Sellindge a44 *Siwoldes circe* a32 Smarden d87, e28 *Smithatune* d55 Stalisfield e20 Stanford a52 Stelling a56 Stockbury a74 Stone (near Faversham) a80 Stourmouth d69, e40 Stowting a54 Street in Lympne a43 Sutton (Valence) a102 Swing-field a19 *Swirgildan circe* a47 Teynham a78, c3, d5, e52 Throwley d49, e54 Thurnham a93 Tilmanstone d54, e18 Tonge a68 Trimworth in Crundale a112 Tunstall a64 Ulcombe a99 *Undetun* a46 Upchurch a73 Waldershare d47, e16 Walmer d42, e15 Walmestone in Wingham a88 Waltham d60, e74 *Waltun* a10 Warehorne d46, e85 *Welcumeweg* a96 Well in Ickham e43 Westwell d24, e21 Wickhambreaux d30, e39 Wingham a83, c3, d6, e41 Wittersham a49 Wolverton in Alkham a25 Womenswold a87 Woodchurch d18, e82 Woodchurch (in Thanet) e94 Woodnesborough d21, e6 Worth e8 Wye a108, c3, d4, e73

Parish churches in the diocese of Canterbury belonging to Saint Augustine's: lists (f–h)

As Ward saw, the lists contained in the Christ Church manuscript C1 are systematically defective in one respect: they omit nearly all of the churches which belonged to the abbey of Saint Augustine's. In the hope of making good the deficiency, Ward looked at one of the abbey's own registers – the so-called 'White Book' – and in it he discovered a copy of a twelfth-century list of the abbey's churches. Thanks to him, this list was put into print for the first time.

There are, in fact, two surviving copies of this list, and the copy which Ward did not get to see is generally more satisfactory than the copy which he did. These are the copies, identified by the same codes that have already been used (above, p. 218) for the two manuscripts in question.

A2 = British Library, Royal 1 B. xi, fos. 145v–6v (early thirteenth century)

A4 = National Archives, E 164/27, fos. 14v–15r (early fourteenth century), printed by Ward (1933, pp. 84–8)

We can take it as given that these copies are independent, i.e. that neither was copied from the other. (That A2 was not

copied from A4 is obvious; that A4 was not copied from A2 will appear below.)

As far as we can tell (above, p. 218), the exemplar from which these two copies derive was a cartulary compiled in the time of abbot Hugo II (1126–51). One entry (f25) mentions king Stephan but does not mention Henric II; perhaps we might venture to infer from this that the list describes the situation existing in about the middle of the twelfth century. That was Ward's suggestion, and I am inclined to agree. But texts of this kind are liable to be altered and annotated repeatedly, whenever somebody thinks that they need to be brought up to date, and we have no means of deciding which elements are original and which are not.

In principle these copies are of equal value, but the earlier copy, A2, has the advantage of being better organized. As it appears here, the main text consists of three paragraphs, the headings of which are as follows: (f) *De Eclesiis*, (g) *De Eclesiis denarios cirsmales reddentes*, (h) *De Eclesiis Censualibus*. (This is how the headings are written in A2; the scribe had his own ideas about spelling and a weak grasp on Latin grammar.) There are also two subsidiary paragraphs, each of which, in this copy, was deliberately placed at the bottom of a page, in the same manner as a footnote: (fm) *Capelle de Middeltune*, (fn) *Capelle de Niwintune*. That is all perfectly clear. In A4, only list (h) remains roughly the same; the other four paragraphs are welded together into one. The two subsidiary paragraphs have been interpolated into the main text, and most of list (g) has been omitted, the information being written instead between the lines of list (f). One can see that the scribe was trying to produce a simplified version of the text; one can understand why he thought that this would be a good idea. But in the end he only succeeded in confusing things.

In one respect, nevertheless, this copy is more reliable than A2. The order of the entries in list (f) differs greatly between one copy and the other, apparently because there was some ambiguity in the layout of the exemplar which these scribes interpreted differently. Though I have not been able to work this out in full, it seems clear that the exemplar had part of list (f) arranged something like this:

	Eccl'a S' Laurencii.
Eccl'a de Litleburne.	Eccl'a S' Nicholai ad Stanores.
Eccl'a de Stodmerse.	Eccl'a S' Petri ad Sanwiz.
Eccl'a de Forwiz.	Eccl'a de Feuresham.
Eccl'a de Sturaie.	Eccl'a de Sithingeburne.
Eccl'a de Cistelet.	Eccl'a de Mildeltune cum omnibus
Capella de Bere.	capellis suis dono regum Willelmi
Eccl'a S' Marie in Taneto.	Henrici, Stephani.
Eccl'a S' Petri.	Eccl'a de Sellinges.
Eccl'a S' Ioh' baptiste.	Eccl'a de Swalewecliue.

The A2 scribe read these entries line by line; the A4 scribe read them column by column – and that is certainly the way in which they were meant to be read.

Though the title does not say so, the compiler of list (f) was confining his attention to the diocese of Canterbury: the

monks owned a church in west Kent too – Plumstead (with the chapel of East Wickham) – but that is not included here. With one exception (f16), the churches named can all be identified without the slightest trouble, and there is little to add to what was said by Ward. The names that appear in lists (g) and (h) are mostly repeated from list (f). This third list, (h), was not published by Ward but does have some points of interest; I print the section relating to churches, but not the subsequent section concerning tithes.

By and large, the following text is taken from A2; but there are some changes which I have felt it permissible to make. In list (f), for the reasons explained above, I have altered the order of the entries, to align it with the order in A4; and I have omitted a few phrases, missing from A4, which look like interpolations, some of them being derived from list (h). Also, all the way through, I have disregarded A2's eccentric spelling. Variant readings from A4 are cited only selectively, where they seem to be useful.

List (f)

(f) He sunt ecclesie de *tenatura sancti Augustini. *
*(f1) *In ciuitate Cantuaria ecclesia sancti Pauli apostoli ante portam ipsius sancti Augustini ecclesie,
(f2) Ecclesia sancte Marie ante portam castelli,
(f3) Ecclesia sancti sepulcri, *
(f4) Ecclesia sancti Laurencii, *
(f5) Ecclesia sancte Mildrede,
(f6) Ecclesia sancti Iohannis baptiste,
(f7) Ecclesia sancte Margarete,
(f8) Ecclesia sancti Andree,
(f9) Ecclesia omnium sanctorum infra Eastbrege.
(f10) Ad Norburne ecclesia sancti Augustini, mater ecclesiarum eiusdem uille.   Northbourne
Huic subiacet

(f11) Ecclesia de Munigham,	Little Mongeham
(f12) Ecclesia de Sutune,	Sutton
(f13) Ecclesia de Soueldune,	Sholden
(f14) Ecclesia de Siberteswalde,	Sibertswold
(f15) Ecclesia de Bewesfed,	Bewsfield
(f16) Ecclesia de Smethetune,	?
(f17) Ecclesia de Langedune, *	East Langdon
(f18) Capella de Riple,	Ripple

*et sunt membrum de Norburne.

(f19) Ecclesia de Litleburne.	Littlebourne
(f20) Ecclesia de Stodmerse.	Stodmarsh
(f21) Ecclesia de Forwiz.	Fordwich
(f22) Ecclesia de Sturaie.	Sturry
(f23) Ecclesia de Cistelet.	Chislet
(f24) Capella de Bere.	Westbere
(f25) Ecclesia sancte Marie in Taneto. *	Minster
(f26) Ecclesia sancti Petri.	
(f27) Ecclesia sancti Iohannis baptiste.	
(f28) Ecclesia sancti Laurencii.	
(f29) Ecclesia sancti Nicholai ad Stanores.	Stonar
(f30) Ecclesia sancti Petri ad Sanwiz.	Sandwich
(f31) Ecclesia de Feuresham. *	Faversham

*(f32) Ecclesia de Sithingeburne.	?
(f33) Ecclesia de Mildeltune cum omnibus capellis suis dono regum Willelmi, Henrici, Stephani. *	Milton
(f34) Ecclesia de Sellinges.	Selling
(f35) Ecclesia de Swalewecliue.	Swalecliffe
(f36) Ecclesia de Prestune. *	Preston
(f37) Ecclesia de Laenham.	Lenham
(f38) Capella de Reietune.	Rayton in Lenham
(f39) Ecclesia de *Keitune.	Kennington
(f40) Ecclesia de Wiuelesberge.	Willesborough
(f41) Ecclesia de Burwaremareis. *	Burmarsh
(f42) Ecclesia de Snaues.	Snave
(f43) Ecclesia de Brogcerece.	Brookland
(f44) Ecclesia de Demecirege. *	Dymchurch
(f45) Ecclesia de *Oxenaie.	Stone
(f46) Ecclesia de Tandordenne.	Tenterden
(f47) Ecclesia de Firtindenne.	Frittenden

A2, fos. 145v–6r; A4, fos. 14v–15r

(title) tenura *A4*   de Canterburia et extra *add. A4*   (f1–47) *ordered in A2 as follows*: 1, 5–6, 2–4, 7–13, 28, 19, 29, 20, 30, 21, 31, 22, 32, 23, 33, 24–6, 34, 27, 35, 18, 16–17, 36–40, 14–15, 41, 44, 42–3, 45–7   (f1) In ciuitate Cantuaria *om. A4*   (f3) (xii d') *add. A2, from h12*   (f4) hospitale *add. A4*   (f17) candelam duarum librarum *add. A2, from h14*   (after f18) et sunt menbra ecl'e de Norburne *A2, after f15* : et sunt menbrum de Norburne *A2, after f17* : et sunt membrum de Northbourn' *A4, after f18*   (f25) et S' Mildrede *add. A2*   (f31) iiii lib' *add. A2, from h2* : capella de Cheldewich *add. A4*   (f32) *the whole entry cancelled A4*   (after f33) *lists fm and fn interpolated here A4*   (f36) talentum i *add. A2, from h11*   (f39) Kenington' *A4*   (f41) ii sol' *add. A2, from h13*   (f44) i ecl'a *add. A2, nonsensically*   (f45) Stones in Oxoniaie *A4*

(fm) Iste sunt capelle matris ecclesie de Middeltune de dominio regis, et ibi accipiunt crisma et ibi reddunt denarios.
(fm1) Due ecclesie in Scapaie que reddunt xiiii d'.
                        Leysdown and Eastchurch
(fm2) Elmeleia est insula permodica et reddit iii d' et ob'.
                        Elmley

(fm3) Morinistune, vii d'.	Murston
(fm4) Tanges, vii d'.	Tonge
(fm5) Bachechilde, vii d'.	Bapchild
(fm6) Rodmeresham, vii d'.	Rodmersham
(fm7) Milestede, vii d'.	Milstead
(fm8) Bradegare, vii d'.	Bredgar
(fm9) Sithingeburne, vii d'.	Sittingbourne
(fm10) Bobbinge, vii d'.	Bobbing
(fm11) Tunstalle, vii d'.	Tunstall
(fm12) Bichenore, vii d'.	Bicknor

Set non pertinet ad Middeltune, licet ibi accipiat oleum et reddat denarios.
(fm13) Ipsa mater ecclesia, xxxii d'.
     *Summa, x sol' iiii d' minus.

A2, fo. 145v (as footnote); A4, fo. 14v (as part of list (f))

(after fm13) Summa … minus *om. A4*

(fn) Iste sunt capelle ecclesie de Niwintune oleum *ibi accipientes et denarios reddentes.

(fn1) Due ecclesie in Scapeia.	Minster and Warden
(fn2) Renham.	Rainham
(fn3) Upcherege.	Upchurch
(fn4) Halegesto.	Halstow
(fn5) Stogingeberi.	Stockbury
(fn6) Herdlepe.	Hartlip
(fn7) Bordenne.	Borden

A2, fo. 146r (as footnote); A4, fos. 14v–15r (as part of list (f))

(title) ibi vid' Midd' *A4*

List (g)

(g) Iste sunt ecclesie que solent reddere septenos denarios singulis annis.

*(g1) Tres ecclesie de Taneto, xxi d'.

(g2) Ecclesia sancti Petri de Sanwiz, vii d'.

(g3) Ecclesia de Siberteswald, vii d'.

(g4) Due ecclesie de Norburne, xiiii d'.

(g5) De Litleburne de ii ecclesiis, xiiii d'.

(g6) De Prestune ecclesia, vii d'.

(g7) De Cistelet pro ii ecclesiis, xiiii d'.

(g8) De Sturaie, vii d'.

(g9) Ecclesia de Swalewecliue, vii d'.

(g10) Ecclesia de Sellinges, vii d'.

(g11) Ecclesia de Bauesfeld, vii d'.

(g12) Ecclesia de Wiuelesberge, vii d'.

(g13) Ecclesia del Mareis, vii d'.

(g14) Brocecerege, vii d'.

(g15) Ecclesia de Oxeneie, vii d'.

(g16) Ecclesia de Snaues, vii d'.

(g17) Ecclesia de Tantuardanne, vii d'.

(g18) Ecclesia de Fridindenne, vii d'.

(g19) Ecclesia de Muniggeham, vii d'.

*(g20) Ecclesia de Kenigtune, vii d'. Uno anno reddit hic et alio ecclesie sancte trinitatis, ubi oleum recipit: ibi reddit.

(g21) Similiter ecclesia de Smedetune solebat reddere vii d', set permissione detinentur.

(g22) Sunt autem quedam de istis ecclesiis que reddunt denarios crismales ecclesie sancti saluatoris singulis annis, quo uero modo hoc fiat nisi negligentia nostra nescitur. He sunt ecclesia de Laianham, ecclesia de Forwiz, ecclesia de Feuresham, ecclesia de Mildeltune, ecclesia de Newentune, et si que sunt alie.

A2, fo. 146r; A4, fos. 14v–15r

(g1–19) *these data mostly inserted by A4 between the lines of list (f), with the remark* Memorandum quod denarii crismales signantur supra   (g20–2) *attached by A4 to the end of list (f), beginning* Item memorandum quod ecclesia de Keningtone reddit huic ecclesie uno anno et alio anno ...

List (h)

(h) Iste sunt ecclesie censuales sancto Augustino *...

(h1) Prebenda de Douoria, xx sol'.

(h2) Ecclesia de Feuresham sancte Marie, iiii lib', et abbatia, iiii lib'.

(h3) Sancta Margareta, iii sol'.

(h4) Sancta Mildreda, medietatem de his que apportantur. Sed modo nisi x sol'.

(h5) Ecclesia de Fordwiz, x solidos.

(h6) Ecclesia de Leanham, iii sol'.

(h7) Ecclesia de Newentune,   ad parcamenum.

(h8) Ecclesia de Middeltune, xl sol' super altare, et de decimis x lib' de dominio regis.

(h9) De tribus capellis de Taneto, vi sol'.

(h10) De ecclesia de Sellinges, iii sol'.

(h11) Ecclesia de Prestune, i talentum.

(h12) Ecclesia de sancto sepulcro, xii d'.

(h13) Ecclesia de Burwarmareis, ii sol'.

(h14) Ecclesia de Langedune, candelam ii librarum.

(h15) Ecclesia sancti Andree in ciuitate, candelam ii librarum.

(h16) Ecclesia *de Swalecliue, in festiuitate sancti Augustini, candelam ii librarum.

(h17) Ecclesia omnium sanctorum de Eastbrege, candelam unius libre.

(h18) Ecclesia de Stanore, candelam ii librarum.

(h19) Ecclesia de Fismanne, candelam unius libre.

(h20) Ecclesia de Snaues, candelam unius libre.

A2, fo. 146r–v; A4, fo. 15r

(title) et decime a fidelibus dei oblate *add. A2, A4, but I omit that stretch of text*   (h16) de *om. A2*

Comments

(f1–9) The list begins with nine churches in Canterbury. Two of them (f2, f8) were, we know (because A2 and A4 tell us so), given to the abbey by Willelm I, in compensation for the income lost from land requisitioned for the castle (Urry 1967, p. 445). Apart from that, the significant features of this list would seem to be that Saint Sepulchre and Saint Laurence are included, and that Saint Edmund and Saint Mary Magdalene are not (though the last church does appear, under the name 'Fishmanchurch', in list (h)).

(f16) Everything that is known about the church of *Smethetune* can be summed up in a few lines. Archbishop Lanfranc made it pay a tribute of 28 pence (d55). Here it is listed, without comment, among the churches subordinate to Northbourne. List (g) says that it used to pay a chrism fee of 7 pence, alternately to Saint Augustine's and to Christ Church, but that the payment is no longer being made (g21). After that, as far as I am aware, *Smethetune* disappears – not just the church but also the place-name itself.

(f31) Only A4 mentions the chapel of Sheldwich.

(f32) A puzzling entry, not because there is any doubt about the identification, but because there is no other evidence suggesting that Saint Augustine's was ever in possession of Sittingbourne
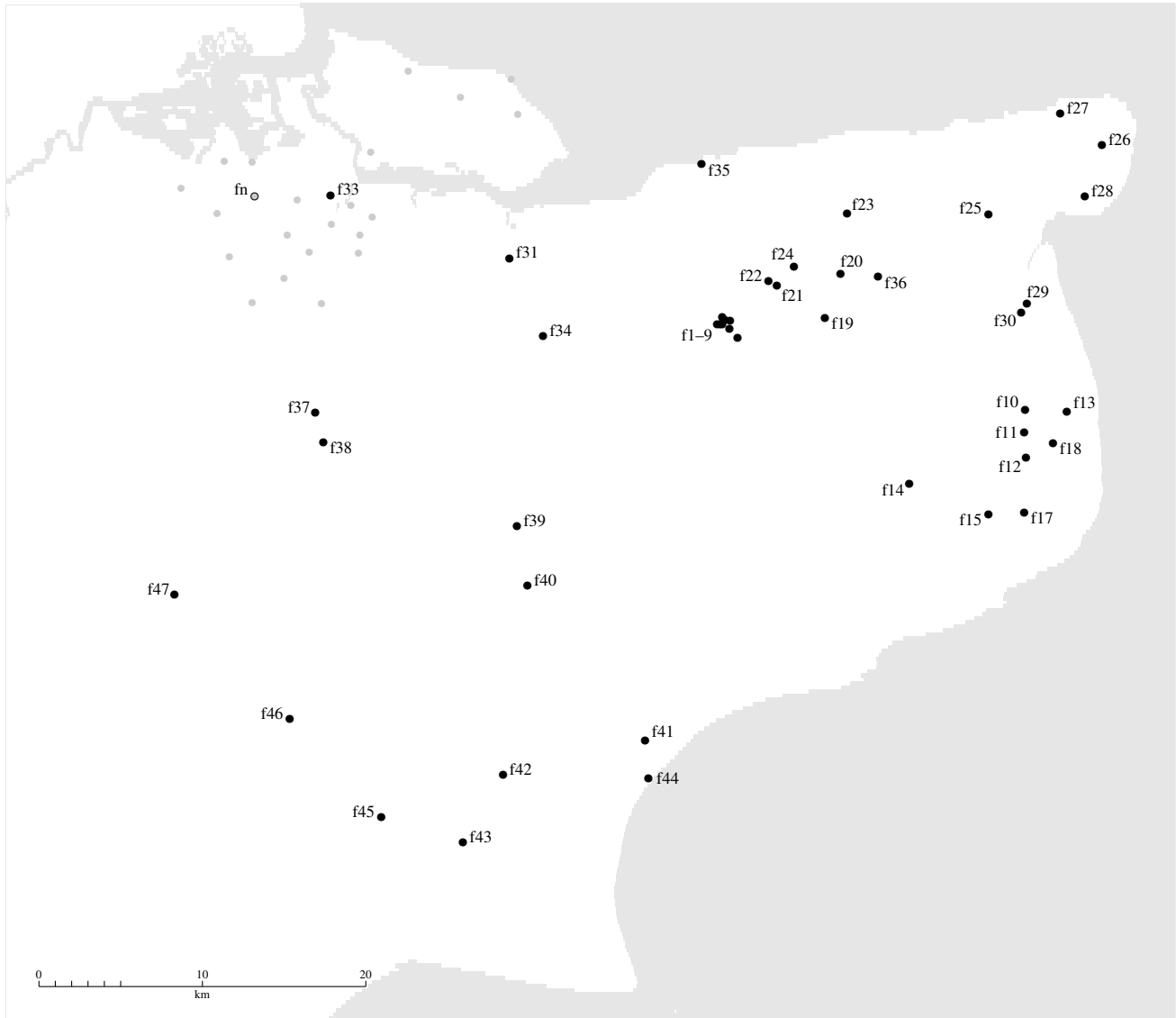
Figure 19. Parish churches in the diocese of Canterbury belonging to Saint Augustine's.

church. Probably this item (which is cancelled in A4) was included here by error; perhaps it resulted from some ambiguity in the exemplar, an item which was properly part of list (fm) looking as if it might be part of list (f).

(fm) This sub-list is included because the monks of Saint Augustine's, by becoming the owners of Milton church (it was given to them by Willelm I), had acquired some rights over its dependent churches. This meant, at the very least, that the chrism pence were payable to them: the priests of the churches on this list all had to go to Milton to get their chrism. Beyond that, it is not very clear – perhaps it was not very clear to the monks themselves – what rights they ought to enjoy; but certainly some tithes in other parishes were claimed to belong to Milton, by reason of its status as the mother church.

(fm1) These 'two churches in Sheppey' are, I suppose, the churches called *Legesdun* and *Eastcyrce* in list (a).

(fm2) 'Elmley is a very small island' (and therefore gets a discount of 50 per cent). This item is not included in the total.

(fm12) 'Bicknor is not subordinate to Milton, even though it gets its chrism and pays its pence there.' The meaning of this sentence, made doubtful by errors of transcription in A4, is perfectly clear in A2. It applies to this entry alone. As a matter of convenience, Bicknor gets its chrism from Milton; unlike the other churches on the list, it is not obliged to do so.

(fn) From the inclusion of this sub-list, and from entries below (g22, h7), it seems certain that list (f) did once contain an entry for Newington church, probably just after Milton. The entry was cancelled – and list (fn) ought to have been cancelled too but was not. So the footnote survives, without the entry to which it ought to be attached. (Plainly the title means that these churches have to obtain their chrism from Newington; A4's interpolation is disingenuous.)

(fn1) These 'two churches in Sheppey' have to be the two not covered by list (fm). Minster is certainly one of them, *Sexburgamynster* in list (a); Warden is probably the other.

(g1–21) Most of these payments are inserted by A4 between the lines of list (f). Six are omitted, probably just by mistake: (g2, g6,

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g9–10, g13, g20). Those payments which consist of some multiple of 7 pence are divided and allotted as follows: (g1) to (f26–8), (g4) to (f12–13), (g5) to (f19–20), (g7) to (f23–4).

(g20–2) The list ends with some interesting comments. In the compiler's view, it ought to be an iron rule that the abbey's churches get their chrism from the abbey, but in fact there are some exceptions. Kennington (f39) gets its chrism from Christ Church in alternate years; the same used to be true for *Smedetune* (f16), but now it does not pay any chrism fee at all. More distressing still, some of the abbey's churches – five that he is aware of – get their chrism from Christ Church every year: Lenham (f37), Fordwich (f21), Faversham (f31), Milton (f33), Newington (fn). (As Ward saw, that is the reason why all of these churches occur once or more in lists (a–e).) He does not know how this was allowed to happen; the thought occurs to him that some churches, after ceasing to pay their chrism fees to the abbey, may have been lost altogether. That is the meaning of the final phrase, 'and, not impossibly, others'.

(h) In A4 this list has been edited extensively, possibly by the A4 scribe himself. The items have been reordered; some have been shortened, and some have been dropped altogether. But the list was a dead letter by the time that this copy was made. In 1237, under pressure from the archbishop, the abbot and convent agreed to relinquish almost all such payments, in return for a twenty-mark share of the income of either Preston or Selling church, whichever fell vacant first (Turner and Salter 1915–24, pp. 534–7). The agreement took effect in 1242 – it was Preston which had fallen vacant – and the document assigning the monks their share includes a list of the payments which they were giving up (pp. 539–41). Mostly they match with entries in one or other version of list (h), but in detail there are numerous discrepancies.

(h1) In the 1140s, when the abbot and monks were coming to terms with archbishop Theobald, they gave him two mills in Dover and twenty shillings from their prebend in Saint Martin's church (Hardwick 1858, pp. 390–1). The twenty shillings that appear in this list are, I suppose, the balance which remained with them.

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Parish churches in the diocese of Rochester: lists (i–k)

A list of the parish churches belonging to the diocese of Rochester was copied into the twelfth-century Rochester cartulary, the same manuscript cited previously as R1 (above, p. 39). The entries were printed and discussed individually by Ward (1932), and there is little to say beyond what was said by him, with regard to the identifications.

As it survives (R1, fos. 220v–2r), this list is a composite text, put together over a period of several decades.

The earliest and largest component, list (i), is a list which was included in the original cartulary, written in the 1120s. But it was not allowed to survive in its pristine form.[16] The beginning of the list, possibly one whole page, disappeared when a leaf was cut out; and the portion which survives has been altered and added to by later hands. Several of the original entries have been erased, for reasons we can only guess at.

The second component, list (j), is a partial list written by a later scribe on the last page (220v) of a newly inserted sheet (fos. 217 + 220).[17] The hand is clumsy and undistinguished; it seems to me to date from the late twelfth century.[18] Presumably this scribe was making a copy of the portion of list (i) which was about to be discarded; but the fact that he took the trouble to write this page out again seems to imply that he intended to make some changes in the text, and we have no means of knowing what those changes were. Presumably also he was under the impression that this new list, combined with the remainder of the old list, would add up to a complete description of the diocese; but he was not quite right about that.

[16] This manuscript suffered much mutilation at the hands of later scribes (Flight 1997a, pp. 31–3).

[17] Some portions of the text relating to Rochester bridge were rewritten in a similar fashion (Flight 1997b, pp. 2–3) – by a better but rather similar hand, so far as the Latin version is concerned (fo. 164v).

[18] Late rather than mid twelfth century, I would think – mainly because of the *de* ligature, which occurs three times (always at the end of a line) in the word *den'*. (The same scribe wrote a list of the bishop's knights (fo. 217r), but did not use this ligature there.)

Both lists were annotated by a third scribe, who wrote the names of several churches and chapels in the margin, using a variety of symbols to connect them with entries in the main text. These notes vary in appearance, some being written with a finer pen than others, but they are, I think, all the work of a single hand; I take them to date from the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. Taken together, they constitute the third component, list (k).

The original list does not seem to have been organized in any meaningful way. There is, for instance, no correlation between the ordering of the entries here and the organization into deaneries recorded later, not even with respect to the deanery of Shoreham: the archbishop's churches are included in this list, haphazardly interspersed among the others. There is some vague tendency for neighbouring churches to be juxtaposed (e.g. Ridley, Ash, Hartley), but that is hardly a surprise: no doubt it would sometimes happen that priests who were neighbours made the journey together and paid their fees, upon arrival, one after the other. So perhaps the order is just the accidental order in which the chrism fees came to be paid (with a few accidental exceptions) on one particular occasion.[19]

In its final composite form, this list agrees very closely with the list that can be compiled, from the bishops' registers and other sources, for the fourteenth century and later (Flight 2000). Most of the churches named here can be identified without the slightest difficulty. But there are a few surprises. Several churches which are fairly certain to have existed at the time are absent;[20] on the other hand, some names which are present here do not turn up again in later records. In list (j) there is only one such entry; in list (i) there are several (and would perhaps have been more, if some had not been erased); and the impression we get, here as in east Kent, is that the map of parishes was still in a slightly fluid state at the beginning of the twelfth century, solidifying by the end of it.

This fluidity is most evident in the section of list (i) which carries the subheading *De capellis*, 'Concerning chapels'. What meaning this distinction was intended to convey is not clear. For the scribe who added the marginal notes, calling a church a chapel meant that it was dependent on some other church; but a church which was a chapel in that sense would not be expected to need a separate supply of chrism. The churches called chapels here appear to have an independent existence. Some are paying at a reduced rate; some, apparently, are not paying anything (or at least not paying this year), but still, for some reason, need to be in-

cluded in the list. Some of these chapels evolved into parish churches; the majority did not.

List (i)

(i1)	*[　　　　　]	?
(i2)	*[　　　　　]	?
(i3)	Erde *(uel earhethe), ix d'.	Crayford
(i4)	Wilmentuna, ix.	Wilmington
(i5)	Lullingestuna, ix den'.	Lullingstone
(i6)	Le, ix den'.	Lee
(i7)	Mæruurtha, ix den'.	Mereworth
(i8)	Westerham, ix den'.	Westerham
(i9)	Watlande, ix den'.	Woodlands
(i10)	Ciuilinga, ix den'.	Chevening
(i11)	Æinesford, ix den'.	Eynsford
(i12)	Cimisinga, ix den'.	Kemsing
(i13)	Wicham, ix den'.	West Wickham
(i14)	Bradesteda, ix den'.	Brasted
(i15)	Færningeham, ix den'.	Farningham
(i16)	Hæselholte, ix den'.	?
(i17)	Readlega, ix den'.	Ridley
(i18)	Æisce, ix den'.	Ash
(i19)	Herclei, ix den'.	Hartley
(i20)	Sunderersce, ix den'.	Sundridge
(i21)	Mapeldreskampe, ix den'.	Maplescombe
(i22)	Heure, ix den'.	Hever
(i23)	Scorham, ix den'.	Shoreham
(i24)	Hludesdune, ix den'.	Luddesdown
(i25)	Otteford, ix den'.	Otford
(i26)	Rokesle, ix den'.	Ruxley
(i27)	Leleburna, ix den'.	Leybourne
(i28)	Culinga, ix den'.	Cooling
(i29)	Iuelda, ix den'.	Ifield
(i30)	Cidingestane, ix den'.	Chiddingstone
(i31)	Terstana, ix den'.	Teston
(i32)	Æilentune, ix d'.	Allington
(i33)	Freondesbyri, ix den'.	Frindsbury
(i34)	Lilecirce, ix den'.	Higham
(i35)	Heahham, ix den'.	?
(i36)	Cobbeham, ix den'.	Cobham
(i37)	Scorene, ix den'.	Shorne
(i38)	Halgesto, ix den'.	Halstow
(i39)	Hnutstede, ix den'.	Nurstead
(i40)	Sc'a wereburh de hou, ix den'.	Hoo
(i41)	Dereuuoldes treow, ix den'.	?
(i42)	Ordmæres circe de hou, ix den'.	?
(i43)	*Do[ ]des circe, ix d'.	Dode
(i44)	Deremannes circe de hou, ix den'.	?
(i45)	Cliue, ix den'.	Cliffe
(i46)	Falkenham, ix den'.	Fawkham
(i47)	Denituna, ix den'.	Denton
(i48)	Meletuna, ix den'.	Milton
(i49)	Grauesænde, ix den'.	Gravesend
(i50)	*Eadelmesbre(g)ge, ix den'.	Edenbridge
(i51)	Stokes, ix den'.	Stoke
(i52)	Grean, ix den'.	Grain
(i53)	Cilesfeld, ix den'.	Chelsfield

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[19] I read no sigificance into the fact that the list begins with Tonbridge, not with a church near Rochester. Even so, it is striking that the next six churches to be listed were all, like Tonbridge, connected with the honour of Clare; the same was true for the first entry in the list of chapels.

[20] The churches which I think we might expect to find are these: West Farleigh, Hayes, Keston, Kingsdown, Longfield; also the altar of St Nicholas in the cathedral church. Hayes and Keston may perhaps be missing because they were still subordinate to Orpington. The other omissions appear to be accidental.

(i54)	Celca, ix den'.	Chalk
(i55)	Northcræi, ix den'.	North Cray
(i56)	Rodulfescræi, ix d'.	St Paul's Cray
(i57)	Fotescræi, ix den'.	Foots Cray
(i58)	Norðfleotes, ix den'.	Northfleet
(i59)	Suðfleotes, ix den'.	Southfleet
(i60)	Bixle, ix d'.	Bexley
(i61)	Suaneskampe, ix den'.	Swanscombe
(i62)	Haltesteda, ix d'.	Halstead
(i63)	Derente, ix den'.	Darenth
(i64)	*[ ]	?
(i65)	Derteford, ix den'.	Dartford
(i66)	Suð derente, *ix den'.	? South Darenth in Horton
(i67)	Suðtuna, ix den'.	Sutton
(i68)	Stanes, ix den'.	Stone
(i69)	Orpintuna, ix den'.	Orpington
(i70)	Hortune, ix den'.	Horton
(i71)	Plumstede, ix den'.	Plumstead
(i72)	Bromlega, ix den'.	Bromley
(i73)	Æltheham, ix den'.	Eltham
(i74)	Wicham, ix den'.	East Wickham
(i75)	Cerlentune, ix den'.	Charlton
(i76)	Greneuuic, ix den'.	Greenwich
(i77)	West greneuuic, ix den'.	Deptford
(i78)	Wleuuic, ix den'.	Woolwich
(i79)	Gillingeham, ix den'.	Gillingham
(i80)	Bearmlinges, ix den'.	East Barming
(i81)	*[ ] ix den'.	?
(i82)	Seouenaca, ix d'.	Sevenoaks
(i83)	Meallingetes, ix d'.	West Malling

De capellis.

(i84)	Bitteberga reddit *sex denarios.	Bidborough
(i85)	Chitebroc, vi den'.	Kidbrooke
(i86)	Comba, vi d'.	? Westcombe in Greenwich
(i87)	Strodes, vi den'.	Strood
(i88)	Capella de hou, vi den'.	Howbury in Crayford
(i89)	*[ ]	?
(i90)	*[ ]	?
(i91)	Halgelei, vi den'.	Hawley in Sutton
(i92)	Æslingeham, vi den'.	Islingham in Frindsbury
(i93)	West cliue, vi den'.	? West Court in Cliffe
(i94)	*Gre[ ]nic, vi den'.	Grange in Gillingham
(i95)	Stanstede, vi d'.	Stansted
(i96)	*Thorninduna, vi d'.	?
(i97)	*Liṇdisinge, vi d'.	Lidsing in Gillingham
(i98)	Mersctuna, vi d'.	Merston
(i99)	Lullingestana, vi den'.	Lullingstane
(i100)	Hescendena.	Nashenden in St Margaret's
(i101)	Bearmlingetes, vi den'.	West Barming
(i102)	Cusintune.	Cossington in Aylesford
(i103)	*Bean(t)esteda. *	Bensted in Hunton
(i104)	Cretenersce.	? Greatness in Sevenoaks
(i105)	Sciburna.	Shipbourne
(i106)	Helle. *(vi d')	St Margarets in Darenth
(i107)	Fearnberga. *(vi den')	Farnborough
(i108)	Sc's Leonardus.	St Leonard's in West Malling
(i109)	Lilintuna.	Linton
(i110)	Sc'a Maria de castello.	?

R1, fos. 221r–2r

(i1–2) *probably two entries erased*   (i3) uel earhethe *written above* Erde   (i50) Eadelmesbre(g)ge *corrected*   (i64) *one entry erased*   (i66) vi *added above* ix *by a different hand*   (i81) *one entry partly erased*   (i84) sex *dotted out and* Sed modo ix *added above it by a different hand*   (i89–90) *probably two entries erased*   (i96) *this item cancelled, doubtless by a different hand*   (i97) Li(n)disinge *with* n *dotted out*   (i103) Bean(t)esteda *with* t *inserted   in the space after this,* Craie *inserted by a different hand*   (i106) vi d' *added at the end of a line*   (i107) vi den' *inserted into a space*

List (j)

(j) De numero ecclesiarum rofensis episcopatus, et de *reddittibus quos singule reddunt quando accipiunt sanctum crisma a matre ecclesia episcopatus.

(j1)	Tonebrigga reddit nouem denarios.	Tonbridge
(j2)	Barindena, ix den'.	Barden in Tonbridge
(j3)	Ealdinga, ix den'.	Yalding
(j4)	Lega, ix den'.	Leigh
(j5)	Bræncesle, ix den'.	Brenchley
(j6)	Horsbundenne, ix den'.	Horsmonden
(j7)	Theudelei, ix den'.	Tudeley
(j8)	Lamburherste, ix den'.	Lamberhurst
(j9)	Peppingeberia, ix den'.	Pembury
(j10)	Speldherste, ix den'.	Speldhurst
(j11)	Wotringaberia, ix den'.	Wateringbury
(j12)	East pecham, ix den'.	East Peckham
(j13)	West pecham, ix den'.	West Peckham
(j14)	East fearnlega, ix den'.	East Farleigh
(j15)	Becceham, ix den'.	Beckenham
(j16)	Trottescliui, ix den'.	Trottiscliffe
(j17)	Ciselherste, ix den'.	Chislehurst
(j18)	*Cuclena, ix den'.	Cowden
(j19)	Æischerste, ix den'.	Ashurst
(j20)	Æilesford, ix den'.	Aylesford
(j21)	Berlingis, ix den'.	Birling
(j22)	Meallingis, ix den'.	East Malling
(j23)	Codeham, ix den'.	Cudham
(j24)	Reiersce, ix den'.	Ryarsh
(j25)	Offeham, ix den'.	Offham
(j26)	Dictuna, ix den'.	Ditton
(j27)	Huntintune, ix den'.	Hunton
(j28)	Netlesteda, ix den'.	Nettlestead
(j29)	Burcham, ix den'.	Burham
(j30)	Wldeham, ix den'.	Wouldham
(j31)	Sc'a margarita, ix den'.	Rochester, St Margaret
(j32)	Cætham ix den'.	Chatham
(j33)	Sc's Clemens, ix den'.	Rochester, St Clement
(j34)	Cuclestena, ix den'.	Cuxton
(j35)	Hallingis, ix den'.	Halling
(j36)	Snodilande, ix den'.	Snodland
(j37)	Wroteham, ix den'.	Wrotham
(j38)	Meapeham, ix den'.	Meopham
(j39)	Pennesherste, ix den'.	Penshurst

(j40) Ehteham, ix den'.		Ightham
(j41) Eadintuna, ix den'.		Addington
(j42) Lisna, ix den'.		Erith
(j43) *Leueseham, ix den'.		Lewisham

R1, fo. 220v

(title) reddittibus *so spelt*   (j18) Cuclena *so spelt in error for* Cudena   (j43) *this entry overflows into the bottom margin*

List (k)

(k1) Beantesteda $\longrightarrow$ (j3)		
(k2) Bitteberga $\longrightarrow$ (j4)		
(k3) Lilintuna $\longrightarrow$ (j14)		
(k4) Cap' anfridi $\longrightarrow$ (j16)		?
(k5) Cusintuna $\longrightarrow$ (j20)		
(k6) pædlesuurtha $\longrightarrow$ (j21)		Paddlesworth
(k7) Hescindena $\longrightarrow$ (j31)		
(k8) *Stanteda $\longrightarrow$ (j37)		
(k9) cap' Ho $\longrightarrow$ (i3)		
(k10) Lullingestana $\longrightarrow$ (i5)		
(k11) Sela $\longrightarrow$ (i12)		Seal
(k12) Strodes, Æslingeham, Thorndun $\longrightarrow$ (i33)		
(k13) *Mercstune $\longrightarrow$ (i37)		
(k14) Westcliue $\longrightarrow$ (i45)		
(k15) cap' Fearnberga $\longrightarrow$ (i53)		
(k16) Gretenersce $\longrightarrow$ (i62)		
(k17) Helle $\longrightarrow$ (i63)		
(k18) Craie *		St Mary Cray
(k19) chitebroc $\longrightarrow$ (i75)		
(k20) comba $\longrightarrow$ (i76)		
(k21) Grenic, Lidisinga $\longrightarrow$ (i79)		
(k22) Bearmlingetes $\longrightarrow$ (i80)		
(k23) Sc's Leonardus $\longrightarrow$ (i83)		

R1, fos. 220v–1v, marginal annotation

(k8) *so spelt in error for* Stansteda   (k13) *so spelt in error for* Merscune   (k18) *should be* $\longrightarrow$ (i69)

Comments

(i3) Crayford has changed its name twice. The name 'Earhethe', used by DB, seems to have been obsolescent by c. 1100. 'Erde' was taking its place; and that remained the usual name till c. 1500.

(i13, i74) There are two churches here called 'Wickham', and the only hesitation comes in deciding which is which. The second Wickham occurs among a group of churches which otherwise all lie in the north-west corner of Kent; so probably that is East Wickham.

(i16) The name 'Hazelholt' is a puzzle, and I am no closer to solving it than I was ten years ago (Flight 1997b, p. 20). Ward proposed to identify it with Hadlow. Though his reasons were mostly wrong, the conclusion may be partly right. It seems possible that 'Hazelholt' and Hadlow were alternative names for the same place. There are two lines of argument. First, a woman named Eadgyth of Hazelholt is mentioned in DB as one of the

people in West Kent who had sac and soc in the time of king Eadward (DB-Ke-1va7). That being so, her name would be expected to occur in the main text too – and the only possible identification is with the woman who owned Hadlow and Tudeley (7vb6, 7vb12). (This woman's name is written *Eddeua*, and that is the DB scribe's spelling for Eadgifu, not Eadgyth; but the names are similar enough that they might become confused.) Second, since Hadlow is stated to have a church (DB-Ke-7vb4), it ought to appear in this list – and the only possible identification is with the church called 'Hazelholt' here. Given all this, one can understand why Ward felt impelled to identify 'Hazelholt' with Hadlow. I feel the same impulse myself, but am still not ready to give way to it. Someone should take a fresh look at the problem, paying particular attention (so I suggest) to the records of the manor of West Peckham.

(i34, i35) Higham church was always called 'Lillechurch' until c. 1200; the new name begins appearing in the thirteenth century. The church called 'Higham' here seems to have disappeared: presumably its parish was merged with that of Lillechurch, its name surviving and eventually becoming more popular than that one.

(i41) An interesting name, but I cannot identify the place.

(i42, i44) Probably Allhallows and St Mary Hoo, but there is no evidence to settle it, let alone to say which is which.

(i43) Despite its being sandwiched between entries connected with Hoo, the identification of this entry seems secure. As late as the fourteenth century, Dode was still sometimes called 'Dodechurch'.

(i56) The name 'Rodulf's Cray' occurs only this once, but the identification is certain. Rodulf (or Radulf) was butler to Adam son of Hubert (R1, fo. 212r), who held St Paul's Cray in 1086 (DB-Ke-6va45), and later to Adam's brother, Eudo the steward (R1, fo. 184v).

(i74) Probably East Wickham (see above).

(i84) The annotation 'But now nine (pence)' reflects the fact that Bidborough was detached from Leigh and made into a separate parish in 1219 (Thorpe 1769, pp. 166–7).

(i87) Strood was in Frindsbury until the 1190s, when it was made a separate parish.

(i96) 'Thorndown' was in Frindsbury, towards the boundary with Cooling. An early thirteenth-century Rochester manuscript has the name *Torindun'* glossed *videlicet Chetindon'* by a later hand R3, fo. 66v, printed, incorrectly, by Thorpe 1788, p. 2). This suggests that the name was falling out of use, and that the place was approximately or partly the same as Chattenden TQ 7572 in Frindsbury.

(i103) The place has disappeared, and I cannot locate it accurately enough to map it. A marginal note (k1) associates Bensted with Yalding; but Bensted was in Hunton later.

(i104) A marginal note (k16) associates Greatness with Halstead; but Greatness was in Sevenoaks later.

(i109) Linton is listed as a chapel here, and a marginal note (k3) connects it with East Farleigh; but Linton, later, was in Canterbury diocese.
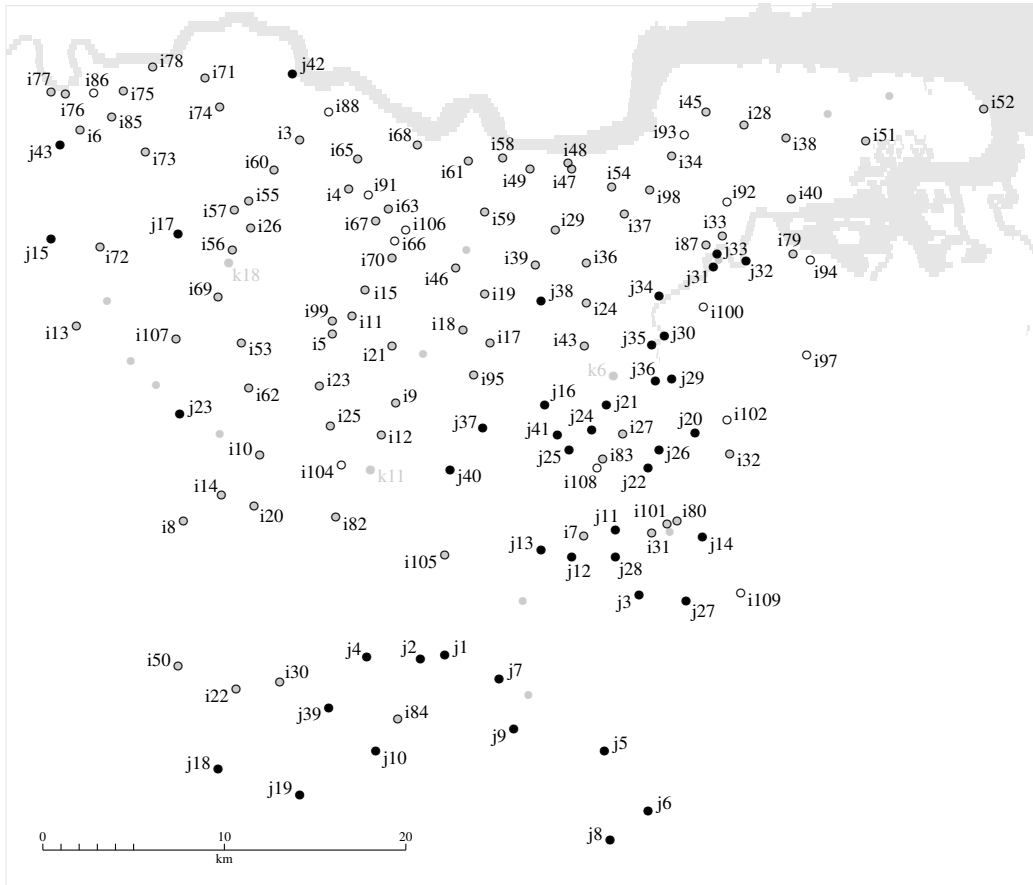
Figure 20. Parish churches in the diocese of Rochester.

(j2) This entry is the only oddity in list (j). Ward thought that the place in question had to be Barden, and I think that he was right; but there is no other evidence of a church existing there.

(k1–23) The arrow means that this marginal entry is keyed to an entry in the preexisting text.

(k4) If this chapel is correctly linked with Trottiscliffe, it is to be identified with the manor, variously called Trottiscliffe or Little Wrotham, which is represented on the map by Wrotham Water. In that case 'Anfrid' would be Ansfrid the steward (occ. 1108–37); the manor continued with his descendants (Conway 1911) for the next hundred years (*Feet of fines*, p. 126). But the chapel is not heard of again.

(k6) Paddlesworth, linked with Birling here, was, later, an independent church.

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Addington j41   Allington i32   Ash i18   Ashurst j19   Aylesford i20, k5   Barden in Tonbridge j2   East Barming i80, k22   West Barming i101, k22   Beckenham j15   Bensted in Hunton i103, k1   Bexley i60   Bidborough i84, k2   Birling j21, k6   Brasted i14   Brenchley j5   Bromley i72   Burham j29   *Capella Anfridi*, see Wrotham Water   Chalk i54   Charlton i75, k19   Chatham j32   Chelsfield i53, k15   Chevening i10   Chiddingstone i30   Chislehurst j17   Cliffe i45, k14   Cobham i36   Cooling i28   Cossington in Aylesford i102, k5   Cowden j18   Foots Cray i57   North Cray i55   St Mary Cray note to i103, k18   St Paul's Cray i56   Crayford i3, k9   Cudham j23   Cuxton j34   Darenth i63, k17   South Darenth in Horton i66   Dartford i65   Denton i47   Deptford i77   *Deremannes circe* i44   *Derewoldes treow* i41   Ditton j26   Dode i43   Edenbridge i50   Eltham i73   Erde, see Crayford   Erith j42   Eynsford i11   East Farleigh j14, k3   Farnborough i107, k15   Farningham i15   Fawkham i44   Frindsbury i33, k12   Gillingham i79, k21   Grain i52   Grange in Gillingham i94, k21   Gravesend i49   Greatness in Sevenoaks i104, k16   Greenwich i76, k20   West Greenwich, see Deptford   *Hæselholte* i16   Halling j35   Halstead i62, k16   Halstow i38   Hartley i19   Hawley in Sutton i90   *Heahham* i35   Hever i22   Higham, see Lillechurch   Hoo i40   Horsmonden j6   Horton i70   Howbury in Crayford i88, k9   Hunton j27   Ifield i29   Ightham j40   Islingham in Frindsbury i92, k12   Kemsing i12, k11   Kidbrooke i85, k19   Lamberhurst j8   Lee i6   Leigh j4, k2   Lessness, see Erith   Lewisham j43   Leybourne i27   Lidsing in Gillingham i97, k21   Lillechurch i34   Linton i109, k3   Luddesdown i24   Lullingstane i99, k10   Lullingstone i5, k10   East Malling j22   West Malling i83, k23   Maplescombe i21   Meopham j38   Mereworth i7   Merston i98, k13   Milton i48   Nashenden in St Margaret's i100, k7   Nettlestead j28   Northfleet i58   Nurstead i39   Offham j25   *Ordmæres circe* i42   Orpington i69, k18   Otford i25   Pad-

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