

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH OF ST. PETER, TITCHFIELD

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SUMMARY

THE historical and architectural evidence for the Anglo-Saxon church at Titchfield (Grid Ref. SU 541058) is examined. The historical evidence indicates that Titchfield was the site of a minster church during the Anglo-Saxon period. The surviving remains of the Anglo-Saxon church are described in detail. The present church retains the west wall of the Anglo-Saxon nave with a west porch, and it is shown that enough early work survives for the original west elevation to be accurately reconstructed. An account is given of investigations in the third stage of the tower involving the removal of plaster from the face of a blocked early window in the west gable of the nave.

The church cannot be firmly dated, but it is argued that it is of early, certainly pre-Danish, date. Several features recall the early churches of Northumbria. It is possible that the church was built under the influence of St. Wilfrid who was engaged in missionary work in Sussex from 681–686 and was subsequently influential in Wessex during the period of Cædwalla's reign (685–688).

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The small country-town of Titchfield stands on the west bank of the River Meon, a little over two miles from its mouth (Fig. 1). Until the early seventeenth century Titchfield was a small port at the head of an estuary, but in 1611 a sea-wall was built across the river-mouth and the estuary reclaimed (Hendy, A. M., in Page 1908, 220).

It will be argued in this paper that Titchfield church is of very early date, and it is

thus necessary to discuss briefly the background to early Christianity in the Meon valley. The principal source of information is Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in 731 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969). From the scanty information provided by Bede and by other sources, it is possible to piece together something of the history of the Meon valley in the seventh and eighth centuries. However the actual sequence of events is likely to have been more complicated than the following short account may suggest.

We learn from Bede that this part of Hampshire was occupied by a people known as the Meonware. Bede indicates that the Meonware were of Jutish extraction, like the settlers in the Isle of Wight (HE I. 15 and IV. 13, 16). At the beginning of the seventh century the Meonware probably recognised the overlordship of the West Saxon kings. Subsequently it appears that the Meon valley was conquered by Wulfhere, king of Mercia (657–674), in the course of wars between Mercia and Wessex; Bede tells us that Wulfhere gave the Isle of Wight and the province of the Meonware as a baptism present to Æthelwealh, king of Sussex, to whom he stood sponsor (HE IV. 13). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records under 661 (ASC, 661) that Wulfhere 'harried in the Isle of Wight and gave the people of the Isle of Wight to Æthelwold, king of the South Saxons'; the date of 661 is however suspect for other events recorded under this year did not take place until later.

Æthelwealh probably retained the Meon valley in his possession until his death at the

hands of Cædwalla, an exiled member of the royal house of Wessex (HE IV. 15). This seems to have taken place in 685, the year in which Cædwalla 'began to contend for the kingdom' of Wessex (ASC, 685). Cædwalla established himself quickly and successfully on the throne of Wessex, and it would seem probable that it was at this time that the province of the Meonware was absorbed back into the kingdom of Wessex. Cædwalla reigned only for a short period, and left England to go to Rome in 688. During the reign of Cædwalla's successor, Ine (688–726), Wessex was the dominant power in southern England. However by the time Bede wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in 731, Wessex had fallen under the domination of Mercia (HE V. 23), and Mercia became the most powerful of the English kingdoms for the rest of the eighth century.

No record survives of the circumstances of the conversion of the Meonware to Christianity. The conversion of the West Saxons had been begun by Birinus *circa* 635 (HE III. 7), but it is unlikely that his work extended as far from his church at Dorchester (Oxon) as the Meon valley. We have little knowledge of the subsequent spread of Christianity among the West Saxons, but it is possible that the Meonware were evangelized some time after the founding of a church at Winchester about 648 by Cenwealh (ASC, 'F' version, 648). Alternatively the conversion of the Meonware may not have taken place until the time of Wilfrid's mission to the South Saxons (681–686), by which time the Meon valley was in the possession of king Æthelwealh of Sussex. The Jutish inhabitants of the Isle of Wight were still pagan at this time, and it may well be that the Meonware were equally slow to receive Christianity.

Despite king Æthelwealh's conversion some while before, the South Saxon people remained pagan until the arrival of Wilfrid in 681. Wilfrid spent five years in Sussex and carried through a successful missionary campaign (HE IV. 13). As we have seen the

Meon valley belonged to the kingdom of Sussex at this period, and would have been within easy reach of Wilfrid's missionary centre, located at the extreme western end of Sussex at Selsey. There is however no record of any missionary work by Wilfrid in the area, with the possible exception of an early thirteenth-century inscription at Warnford ascribing the foundation of the church to a certain VVLFRIÐ (or VVLFRIȚ). This inscription was long taken as referring to Wilfrid, but it is in fact more likely to refer to Wulfric, abbot (*c.* 1067–1072) of the New Minster at Winchester (Rigold 1967, 189). Whether or not the Meonware were actually evangelized by Wilfrid, it is probable that the area was within his sphere of influence at the time.

At all events the Meonware are likely to have been at least nominally Christian by 686. In that year the Isle of Wight was evangelised by disciples of Wilfrid after a merciless conquest by Cædwalla, and Bede comments that the Isle of Wight was the last of the kingdoms of Britain to receive the faith of Christ (HE IV. 16). Although Wilfrid returned to Northumbria soon after Æthelwealh's death, he would appear to have been on good terms with Cædwalla and to have enjoyed considerable influence in Wessex during the period of his reign from 685 to 688. Indeed Wilfrid's biographer, Eddius Stephanus, declares that Wilfrid was Cædwalla's 'venerable father and dearest of all to him' and that Cædwalla made Wilfrid supreme counsellor over the whole kingdom. It is recorded that Wilfrid received 'innumerable pieces of land' from Cædwalla, including a quarter of the Isle of Wight (VW, chapter 42; HE IV, 16).

In 688 Wilfrid heads the list of witnesses of a charter by which Cædwalla granted land in Surrey for the foundation of a monastery at Farnham (Sawyer 1968, no. 235). The charter is accepted by all authorities as genuine, but the date of 688 has been queried for two reasons, first because of the very fact

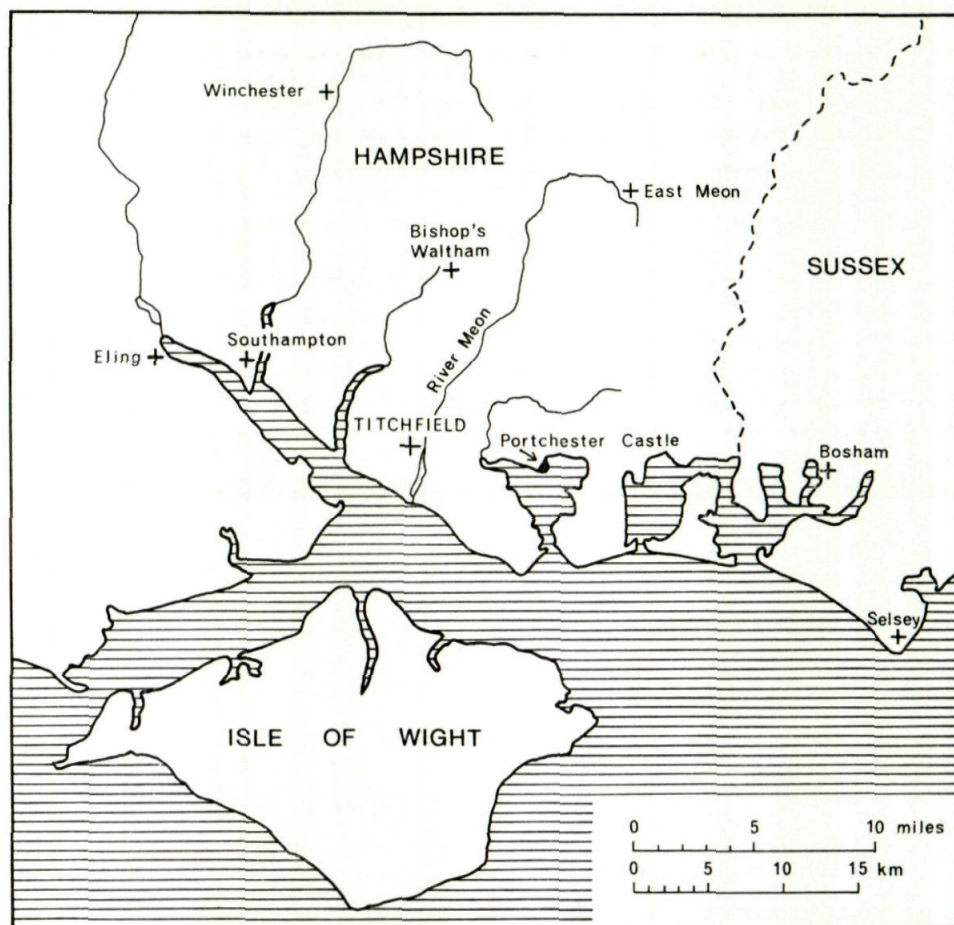


Fig. 1. Location map.

that the charter is dated by the Incarnation and secondly because Wilfrid had returned to Northumbria by 688 (Harrison 1973, 556–557). The time of the introduction of the Incarnation for the dating of charters is still the subject of dispute. As to the second point it does not seem improbable that Wilfrid could have journeyed south at this time; his visit might have been connected with Cædwalla's departure to Rome in the same year (Gibbs 1973, 238 n. 96).

After the late seventh century it seems

probable that the Meon valley was successfully assimilated into the kingdom of Wessex. References to the Meon valley during the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period are rare and the evidence is mainly confined to a series of charters, mostly of tenth and eleventh century date (Finberg 1964, *passim*). The two earliest references to Titchfield occur in a charter of king Æthelred dated 982 (Sawyer 1968, No. 842; Edwards 1866, 217–227 and 353–355). This charter confirms a grant of six estates totalling 13 hides in all to the New Minster

at Winchester. The charter states that four of the estates were on the Isle of Wight, one on Portsea Island and one on the mainland, and the bounds of all six estates are described. The mainland estate, which is the last to be described, consisted of one hide of land at Segensworth, about three-quarters of a mile to the north of Titchfield. After the bounds of Segensworth have been given, the charter refers to a meadow by the River Meon at Segensworth which had formerly been given by king Eadred to a certain Lufa. The witnesses of this gift by Eadred are listed and include the *hina on ticcefelda* (*hina* = genitive of *hīwan* plural, 'members of a religious house', Forsberg 1942, 153). Evidence is thus provided by the charter for the existence of a religious establishment at Titchfield at the time of Eadred's reign (946-955).

There is another, more problematical, reference in the same charter to Titchfield in the bounds of an estate at an unidentified place called Stathe (*Stæðe*). This estate is stated to be in the Isle of Wight, although one section of the bounds runs *on para hina mearce to ticcanfelda*, which would normally be rendered as 'to the boundary at Titchfield of the members of the community'. Three alternative suggestions have been put forward to explain this difficulty. The first explains the difficulty simply by suggesting that the charter is mistaken in describing the estate as situated in the Isle of Wight (Whitelock 1930, xlvii). It has indeed been claimed that some of the boundary marks of the estate can be identified with place-names in the south-western part of Titchfield parish (Gover 1961, 31 and 234). The difficulty in this interpretation is that it is improbable that those who drafted the charter would be mistaken on such a point. The second suggestion, proposed by Professor Finberg (1964, 57-58), is that in this context *ticcanfelda* is not to be identified with Titchfield, but should be translated literally to mean the 'feld where goats were pastured'. This suggestion does away with the difficulty of the island location,

but is unsatisfactory when there is a separate, unmistakeable reference in the charter to Titchfield. The third and perhaps most plausible interpretation was put forward by Rune Forsberg (1942, 153), who suggested that *to ticcanfelda* here qualifies *hina*. The phrase would then be construed as meaning 'to the boundary of the members of the community of Titchfield'. Forsberg also pointed out that the boundaries of Stathe indicate that the estate was bounded on the north by the sea, which suits a place on the north coast of the Isle of Wight, but not one on the south coast of the mainland. Finberg and Forsberg both thought that it was possible that the estate at Stathe was located between Ryde and Wootton Creek, almost opposite the mouth of the Meon. If Forsberg's interpretation of the evidence is correct, it would be of considerable interest, for it would imply that the tenth-century community at Titchfield held land in the Isle of Wight on the boundary of the estate at Stathe.

It was certainly possible for the community of a minster church (such as Titchfield will be argued to have been) to hold lands outside its own parish in late Saxon Hampshire; for instance in the tenth century the churches of East Meon and Stoneham (probably the mother church of Southampton) held lands respectively in Ambersham (Sussex) and Hinton Ampner (Hants) (Sawyer 1968, nos. 718, 942; Hase 1975, 304, 124-180). Final comment on the significance of the reference to Titchfield in the boundaries of the estate at Stathe must however await a satisfactory identification of the site of Stathe.

There are no other references to an Anglo-Saxon religious establishment at Titchfield, but further evidence for the status of the church is provided by the parish boundaries. This evidence has recently been the subject of study both by the present writer and by Dr. P. H. Hase (1975, 96-123) in his doctoral thesis on the development of the parish in Hampshire; both Dr. Hase and the present

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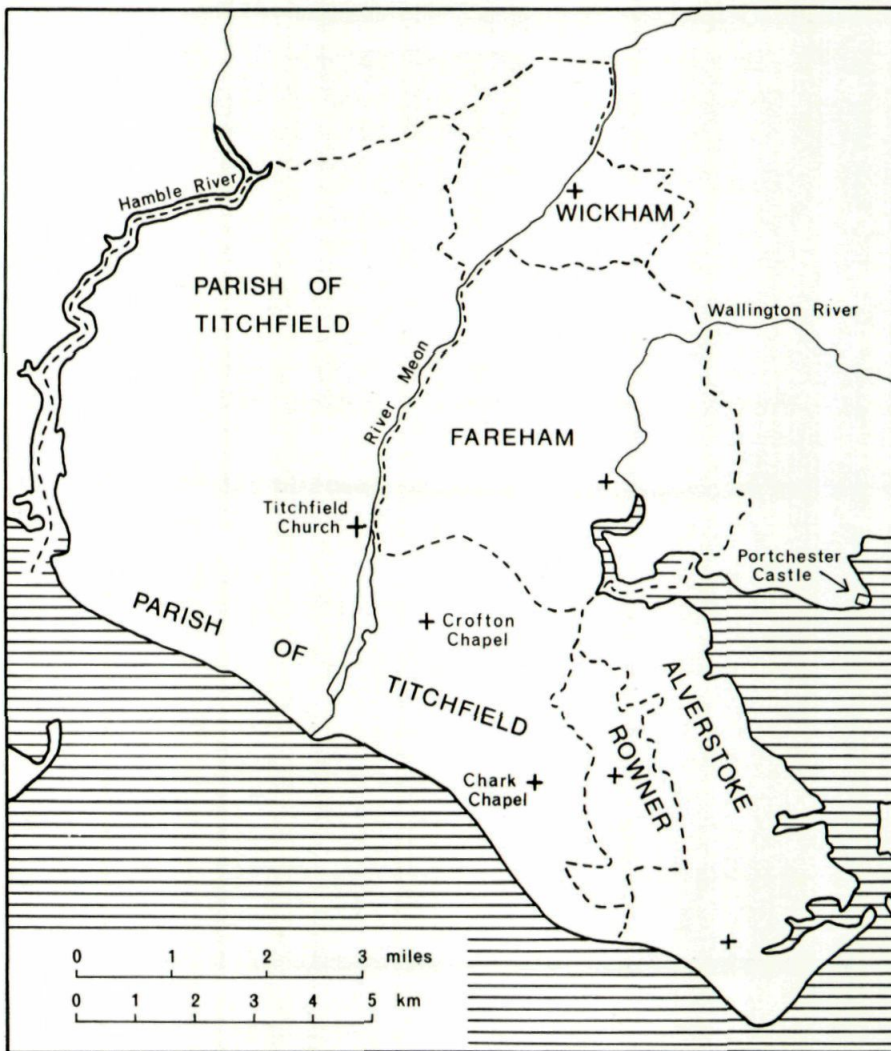


Fig. 2. Map to show the nineteenth-century parish boundaries of Titchfield and of the surrounding parishes of Wickham, Fareham, Rowner and Alverstoke (based on Ordnance Survey 6 in. maps, 1st edition, and on the Tithe Maps in HRO). The position of churches and chapels is indicated by a cross. For the sake of clarity a detached portion of Alverstoke in Rowner and two small detached portions of Rowner in Alverstoke have been omitted.

writer have independently reached similar conclusions. The boundaries of the parish of Titchfield are described in detail in a Titchfield Abbey Rental of 1378–80 (British Library, Loans 29/58, fos. 107v.–111r.), and it can be seen that they remained substantially unchanged between the late fourteenth

century and the early nineteenth century. Until 1837 the parish covered almost 15,800 acres (about $24\frac{1}{2}$ square miles), stretching some seven miles along the foreshore of the Solent and about five miles up the Meon valley. In the early Middle Ages it was of even greater extent, for Wickham was part of

Titchfield until Bishop Henry de Blois (1129–1171) gave it separate parochial status (Goodman 1927, 29).

The early nineteenth century boundaries of Titchfield and surrounding parishes are shown in Fig. 2. It will be noted particularly how the parish of Fareham stretches right up to the eastern bank of the River Meon near Titchfield church and for some considerable distance upstream. On three sides, to the north, west and south, Fareham was surrounded by areas originally part of the parish of Titchfield. This topographical evidence strongly suggests that Fareham originally formed part of the parish of Titchfield and was subsequently separated from it. The acquisition by Fareham of the whole of the eastern bank of the Meon north of Titchfield is probably to be explained by the considerable holding of the bishops of Winchester in Fareham. The Domesday Survey records that the manor of Fareham contained 30 hides and was held by the bishop of Winchester; this holding dated back at least as far as the mid-tenth century (Finberg 1964, 53). No historical evidence survives to support the contention that Fareham originally formed part of Titchfield. However this is not surprising for the separation must have taken place at an early, probably pre-Conquest, date. In the documentary sources, which are mostly of much later date, isolated episcopal manors in Hampshire never show traces of subordination to a non-episcopal mother church (Hase 1975, 242). It is of interest to note that the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Fareham retains fragments of long-and-short work of late Saxon date (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 239).

It appears probable that Titchfield church stood at the centre of a large block of country, comprising at least the parishes of Titchfield, Wickham and Fareham, an area of about 38½ square miles. The evidence of the parish boundaries, coupled with the charter evidence for the existence of a religious establishment at Titchfield in the mid-tenth

century, leaves little doubt that Titchfield was the site in late Saxon times of a 'minster' church, that is to say an establishment staffed by a body of clergy responsible for the pastoral care of a wide area. In turn a minster church with a large parish in late Saxon times is likely to have been founded at a much earlier date. Minster churches were the churches of the first foundation, and most minster churches would normally be expected to have their origins in the seventh or eighth centuries (Deanesly 1963, 191–210); by the tenth century the original minster parishes were already beginning to break up to form smaller parishes. Dr. Hase, in his survey of the development of the parish in Hampshire, considers that most minster churches in the county are likely to have been founded in the first century after the Conversion (Hase 1975, Preface). There is no surviving reference to the existence of a church at Titchfield in the pre-Danish period, but this is not surprising for the names of many early minster churches are now unrecorded; it is often only through careful and painstaking research that their identities can be established (Hase 1975, *passim*). We shall see later in this paper (pp. 33–8) that the architectural evidence gives good grounds for believing that there was indeed a substantial stone-built church at Titchfield as early as the late seventh or eighth century.

As we have seen, the pre-Danish parish of Titchfield seems likely to have comprised at least the parishes of Titchfield, Wickham and Fareham. The original minster parish may have been even wider in extent. In considering the original extent of the parish, the researches of Dr. Hase (1975) are of special value, for he has succeeded in identifying many of the early minster churches of Hampshire and in establishing the approximate area of their parishes. In the case of Titchfield the boundaries of the original parish can only be firmly established to the north and west; on these sides it extended no further than the nineteenth century parish shown in

Fig. 2. To the north of Titchfield a minster church was in existence at Bishop's Waltham (Fig. 1) by the early eighth century,¹ and Dr. Hase (1975, 44–72) has determined the probable extent of its parish. As well as the area directly to the north of Titchfield which comprises the modern parish of Bishop's Waltham, the original parish of Bishop's Waltham seems to have included the west bank of the Hamble southwards to the sea; it certainly included Bursledon and Hamble and probably Hound and Botley.

To the east and north-east of Titchfield the position is less clear. At the north end of the Meon valley, there was probably a minster church at East Meon (Fig. 1) from early times (Hase 1975, 303–308). However the parochial ties of the middle reaches of the Meon valley are unclear (Hase 1975, 66–71, 102–103, 307–308). It is possible, but unlikely, that this area was originally dependent on Titchfield; the Forest of Bere, the southern half of which lies in the parishes of Titchfield and Wickham, would have formed a natural boundary to the original parish in this direction. It is also possible that the original parish of Titchfield extended eastwards along the coast. Unfortunately there is little evidence for early parochial rights in this district, and it is not certain whether there was a mother church anywhere in the Portsmouth Harbour area (Hase 1976, 114–120).

Even more difficult are the cases of Rowner and Alverstoke, which lay between the south-eastern boundary of Titchfield and Portsmouth Harbour (Fig. 2). These two parishes could well have formed part of the original parish of Titchfield. However it is also possible that one or both of these parishes looked eastwards and formed part of a Portsmouth Harbour parish. Rowner was in the hundred of Titchfield, but there is no historical evidence to suggest any connection between Alverstoke and Titchfield. However, like Fareham, Alverstoke was held by the bishop of Winchester (in this case for the support of the Old Minster) at the time of the Domes-

day Survey (Page 1908, 203); thus no record of any tie could be expected to survive in the documentary sources.

There is no evidence to indicate the subsequent history of the establishment recorded at Titchfield in the mid-tenth century. The evidence of the Domesday Survey indicates that in 1086 there was a hundred of Titchfield, comprising the parishes of Titchfield, Rowner and Wickham (Hendy, in Page 1908, 217). Fareham formed a separate hundred (Hendy, in Page 1908, 209), like a number of episcopal one-manor estates in Hampshire (Hase 1975, 294). Alverstoke is recorded in Domesday under the hundred of Meonstoke, while later in the Middle Ages it formed a separate liberty (Page 1908, 202–203, 245). However the omission of hundred names in the Hampshire Domesday is not infrequent; as a single-parish episcopal estate, Alverstoke may already have been independent in 1086.

Titchfield itself is described in Domesday as a berewick belonging to Meonstoke (Round, J. H., in Doubleday 1900, 456). It was held by the king and had previously been held by Edward the Confessor. It seems probable that the record that Titchfield was a berewick of Meonstoke denotes a purely jurisdictional and not a tenurial dependency; it does not necessarily denote a tie of inferiority to Meonstoke or indeed any long-standing relationship at all (Hase 1975, 107). The Domesday Survey records a market at Titchfield, but makes no mention of the church.

The royal estate at Titchfield recorded in Domesday is of interest in the context of the establishment of a minster church. The foundation of early churches was often a matter of royal as much as of ecclesiastical policy (Deanesly 1963, 196). Indeed, Dr. Hase's study has produced striking evidence for the royal character of the early foundations in the county. After identifying many of the churches of the first foundation in Hampshire, Dr. Hase (1975, Preface) observes that

'all the mother churches discovered were on royal estates, and in almost all cases on royal estates which had hundreds attached to them'. The royal estate at Titchfield may originally have covered much of the lower Meon valley. Fareham, on the east bank of the Meon, belonged to the bishops of Winchester at least as early as the mid-tenth century (see above, p. 10). The circumstances in which the bishops of Winchester acquired Fareham are unknown, but the greater part of the endowments of Winchester were obtained as royal gifts (Finberg 1964, 214-248). Thus it seems possible that at some stage there was a large royal estate in the lower Meon valley, part of which was subsequently granted to the bishopric of Winchester.

In the later Middle Ages a Premonstratensian Abbey was established at Titchfield. This abbey was founded on a site about half a mile to the north of the town in 1231-2 by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. However it seems that Peter's original intention may have been to found an Augustinian house. A charter dated 1231 confirms the church of Titchfield and its lands to the abbot and canons of St. Augustine whom the bishop *duxerit constituere de novo apud Tychefeld* (Colvin 1951, 184). This puzzling phrase appears to imply a refoundation rather than an original foundation. It is not clear what is intended, but it is possible that some memory of the late Saxon minster church still survived at this time. Another possibility might be a short-lived, perhaps unsuccessful, Augustinian foundation at Titchfield in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

The parish church of Titchfield was appropriated by the founder to the new Premonstratensian Abbey. The foundation charter does not survive, but an early fifteenth-century register from Titchfield Abbey, the *Rememoratorium de Tychefelde*, records (f. 1) that Peter des Roches appropriated to the abbot and canons 'the parish church of the Blessed Peter the Apostle of Titchfield with its chapels of Crofton and Chark, and

an annual pension of 20s. charged on the church of Wickham, and the manor of Barton, with the lands and tenements annexed to the said church and those belonging to it'. The full record of the foundation is quoted in translation by Colvin (1951, 185). The church was wealthy, with a taxable value of £53 6s. 8d. in 1291; it provided the abbey with almost the whole of its income from 'spiritual' sources (Colvin 1951, 188).

The two subordinate chapels of Crofton and Chark lay in the south-eastern part of the parish (Fig. 2). These two chapels never acquired separate parochial status. A church is recorded at Crofton in Domesday Book (Round, in Doubleday 1900, 476), and a church still stands on the site. Chark chapel has disappeared, but its position is probably indicated by the field-name Church Field (Grid Ref. SU 570012), some 400 yards south of Chark Farm.

DESCRIPTION

The church stands close to the centre of Titchfield and is approached by a narrow street leading from the south-east corner of the market-place. On its east side the churchyard gives directly onto the meadows of the river valley. In its present form the church consists of a west tower with spire; an aisled nave with a vestry at the south-west corner; and a chancel with south chapel (Fig. 3). The axis of the church is not laid out east and west, but is about 14° south of true east.

The original Anglo-Saxon west porch survives and forms the lower part of the tower. The west wall of the nave is Anglo-Saxon throughout its height, and the nave may preserve the Anglo-Saxon plan. The form of the original Anglo-Saxon chancel is unknown. In the twelfth century a south aisle was added to the nave and towards the end of the same century or in the thirteenth century the Anglo-Saxon porch was raised to form a tower. The existing chancel was built in the thirteenth century, and the south chapel,

which now houses the magnificent Wriothsley monument, was added in the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century a fine Perpendicular north aisle was built and the chancel was extensively remodelled. It was probably during this century that the spire was added to the west tower. The church was extensively restored in 1866–7, the work involving the complete rebuilding of the south aisle. The south-west vestry was added in 1905. (For a fuller account of the development of the church see Peers, C. R., in Page

1908, 230–231, or Hare, 1974. Documentary evidence for modern alterations to the early fabric is set out in Appendix I, pp. 41–6).

The tower is plain, its walls rising sheer without either string-course or off-set, and it is capped by a shingled spire. In plan the tower is square, with thin walls measuring about 2 ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. 4 in. (0.69 m–0.71 m) in thickness. The east wall of the tower measures 2 ft. 9 in. (0.84 m) thick at the doorway which opens from the tower into the body of the church. However the whole

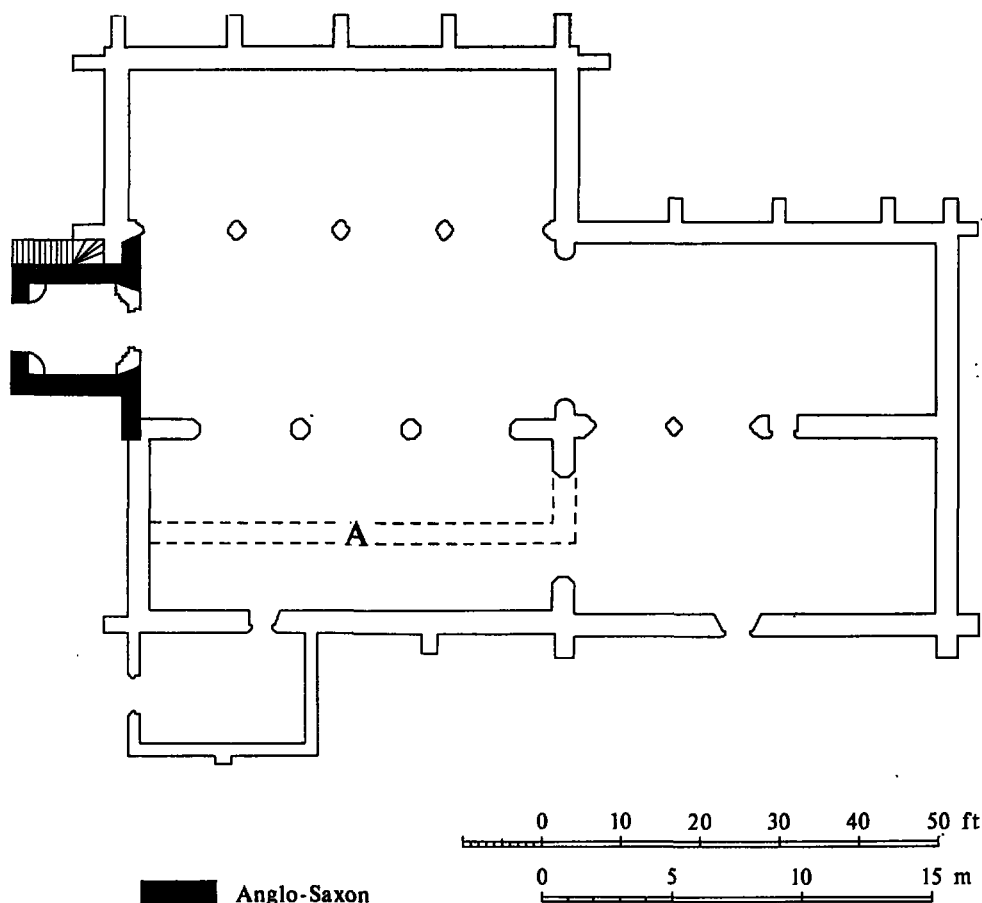


Fig. 3. Ground-plan of Titchfield church. The dotted lines at A show the position of the outer wall of the Norman S aisle, as indicated by the documentary evidence (Appendix I, 7).

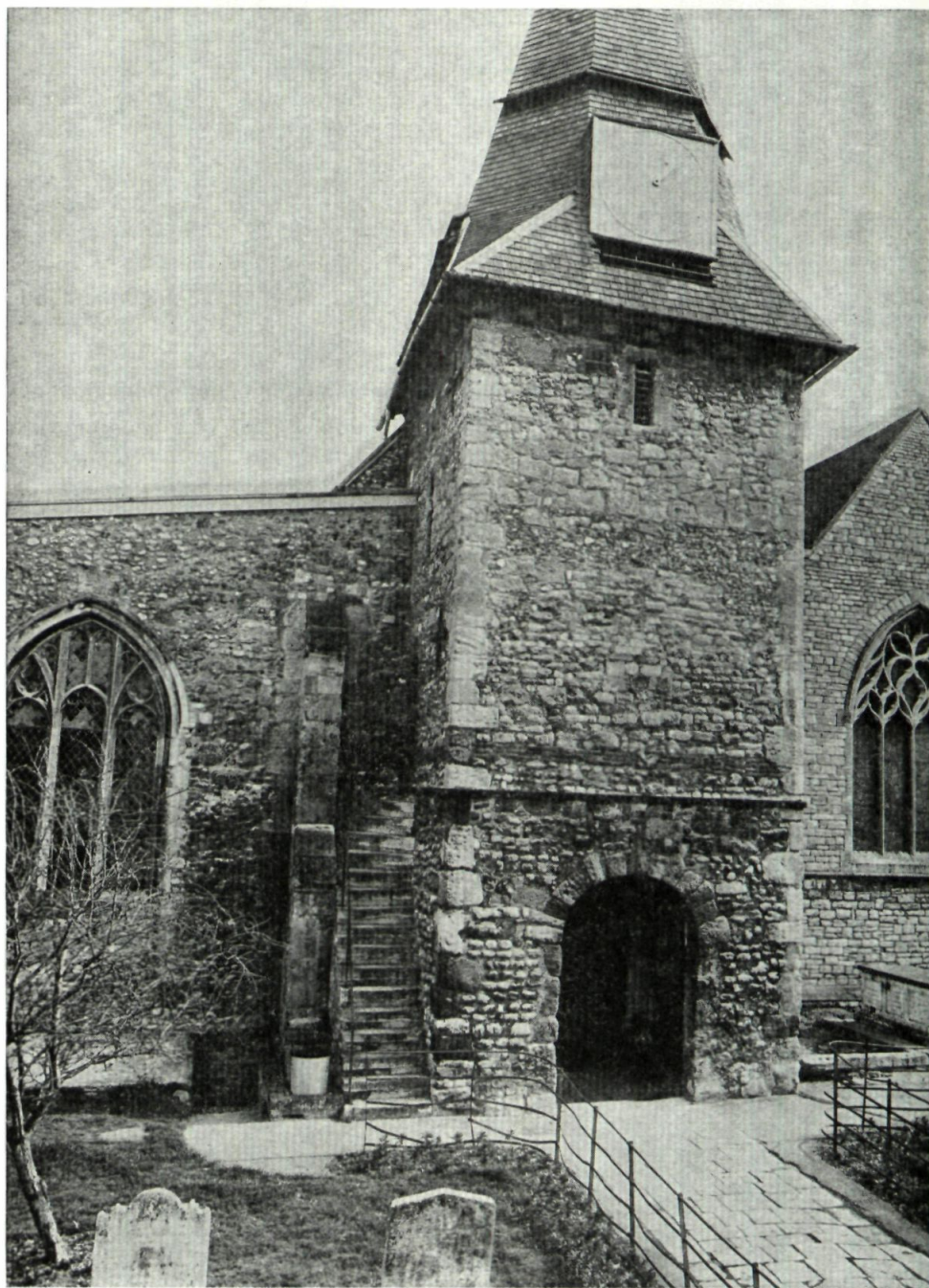


Plate 1. Titchfield Church, general view of west end.
(Photo. N. Bradford.)

of the east wall of the ground stage of the tower up to the level of the first floor was set forward by 5 in. (13 cm) into the body of the porch when the present doorway was inserted in the twelfth century. At the level of the early window high up in the east wall of the tower (see below, p. 22), the thickness of this wall is 2 ft. 4 in. (0.71 m). The original internal dimensions of the tower are thus best preserved above first floor level, where the tower measures 11 ft. 7 in. (3.53 m) from east to west and 11 ft. 6 in. (3.51 m) from north to south; at ground floor level the tower measures 11 ft. 2 in. (3.40 m) by 11 ft. 6 in. (3.51 m).

Only the lower part of the tower is of Anglo-Saxon origin. The early work in the tower is illustrated by stone-by-stone drawings (Figs. 4A-4D) and in Pls. 1, 2 and 3. The lower part of the tower is built of well-coursed rubble, mostly of small stones but with a few courses of larger stones. For the most part the rubble walling is of limestone, but it also incorporates a number of re-used Roman tiles, some pieces of ironstone, occasional uncut flints and a few burnt flints. By contrast the upper part of the tower is built mainly of knapped flints and irregular blocks of roughly-dressed stone. Straight joints between the upper and lower parts of the fabric

can be seen in the side walls of the tower at a height of about 17 ft. 6 in. (5.33 m) above ground level (Ground level is taken as being represented by the stone flagging beneath the outer face of the west archway of the porch; this is 12 in. (30 cm) above the floor of the porch which in turn is 9 in. (23 cm) above the floor of the nave.) The break in the fabric is clearly defined on the north side, but on careful examination can also be discerned in the more disturbed south wall. In the west wall the early fabric continues to a rather higher level in the centre, and defines a steeply pitched gable of which the apex has been cut off. In like fashion, the gables of the Anglo-Saxon porches at Monkwearmouth (Durham) and Bardsey (Yorks, West Riding) were allowed to remain when the porches were raised to form towers (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 39-40 and 432-446). The apex of the gable was no doubt removed in order to bed the later tower more firmly on the early work. Internally the walling of the porch is plastered and thus cannot be examined.

At a height of 14 ft. (4.27 m) above ground level a bonding-course of Roman tiles is carried round all three external walls of the tower. This course is three and in places four tiles deep, and would originally have been a little below the eaves of the porch. During

Figs. 4A-D show the three external elevations of the tower and the west elevation of the nave with a section through the tower. The spire which surmounts the tower has been omitted from these drawings. Re-used Roman tiles are blacked solid, while flints are shaded. In Fig. 4B the area of patching above the tile bonding-course is indicated by stippling. The break between the Anglo-Saxon and later fabric is indicated by the use of a thicker line. The drawings are based on detailed stone-by-stone measurement by the writer, except for the corbel-table and the high window in the west wall of the tower; for practical reasons only a few essential measurements were taken at this level. The drawings are printed at a scale of 1:60; copies of the original drawings at 1:20 will be placed in the National Monuments Record.

Key to lettering: A, iron girdle inserted about 1851; B, iron crosses inserted about 1851; C, nave floor; D, west wall of north aisle; E, buttress at west end of north arcade; F, gable of nave west wall visible above west wall of north

aisle; G, Norman doorway opening from porch to nave - the elaborate zig-zag ornament of the arch and the foliate carving of the capitals have been omitted; H, early window (see Fig. 5 for a more detailed drawing of the window and surrounding area); J, areas of the west wall of the nave disfigured by modern pointing or rendering - no attempt has been made to draw the individual stones in these areas; K, west wall of south aisle; L, area of north wall of tower patched with cut stone, showing where the original west wall of the nave has been removed; M, the dotted lines at M show the position of the chamfered off-set in the west wall of the nave, observed when a loose floor-board was removed. The letters x and y indicate individual courses in the south wall of the tower and in the west wall of the nave, in order to show how the characteristics of individual courses occur in both walls, indicating that these walls are in bond; course x consists of large irregular-shaped blocks, while course y consists of long thin stones with square edges.

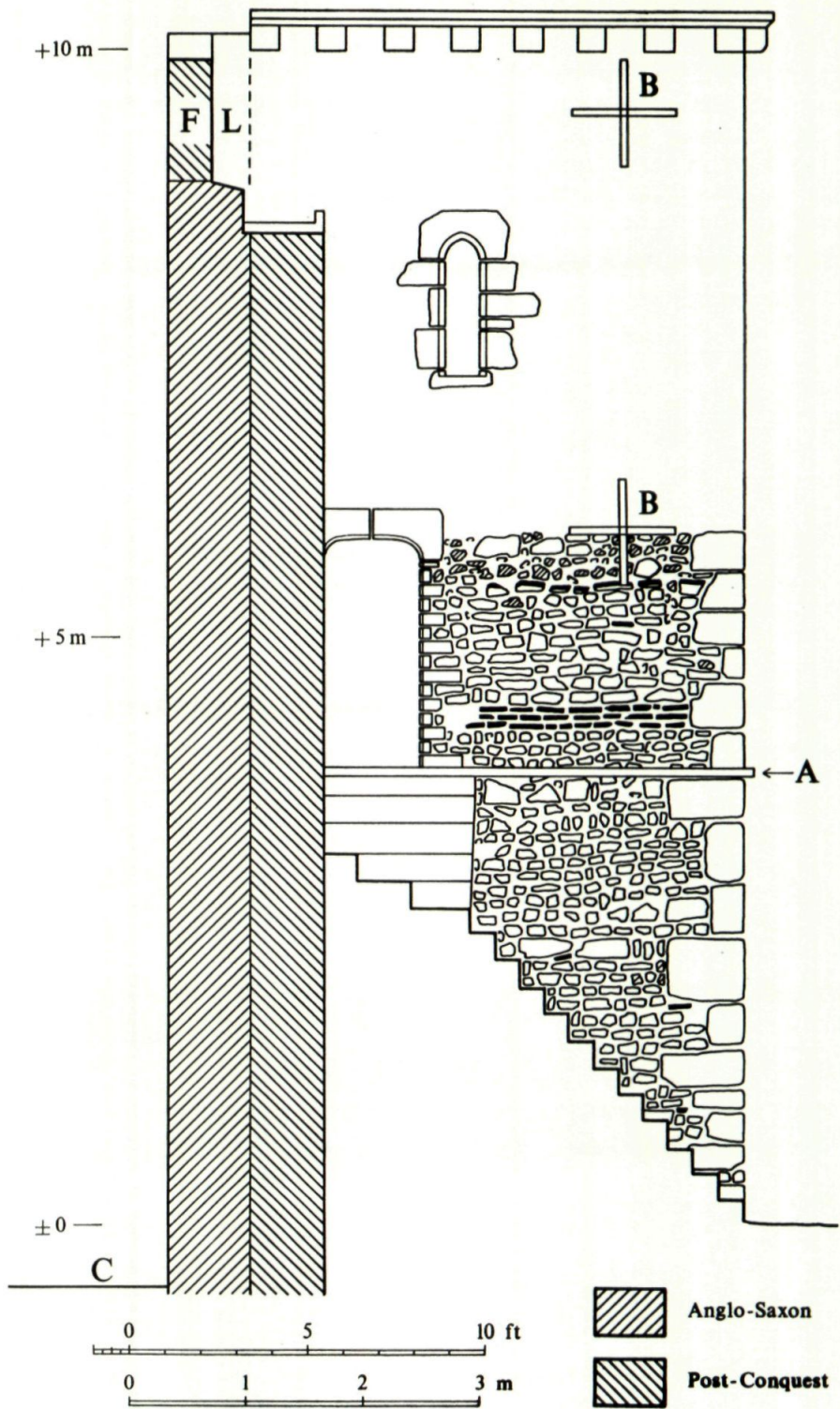


Fig. 4A. North elevation of tower with section through west wall of nave (see separate key on p. 15).

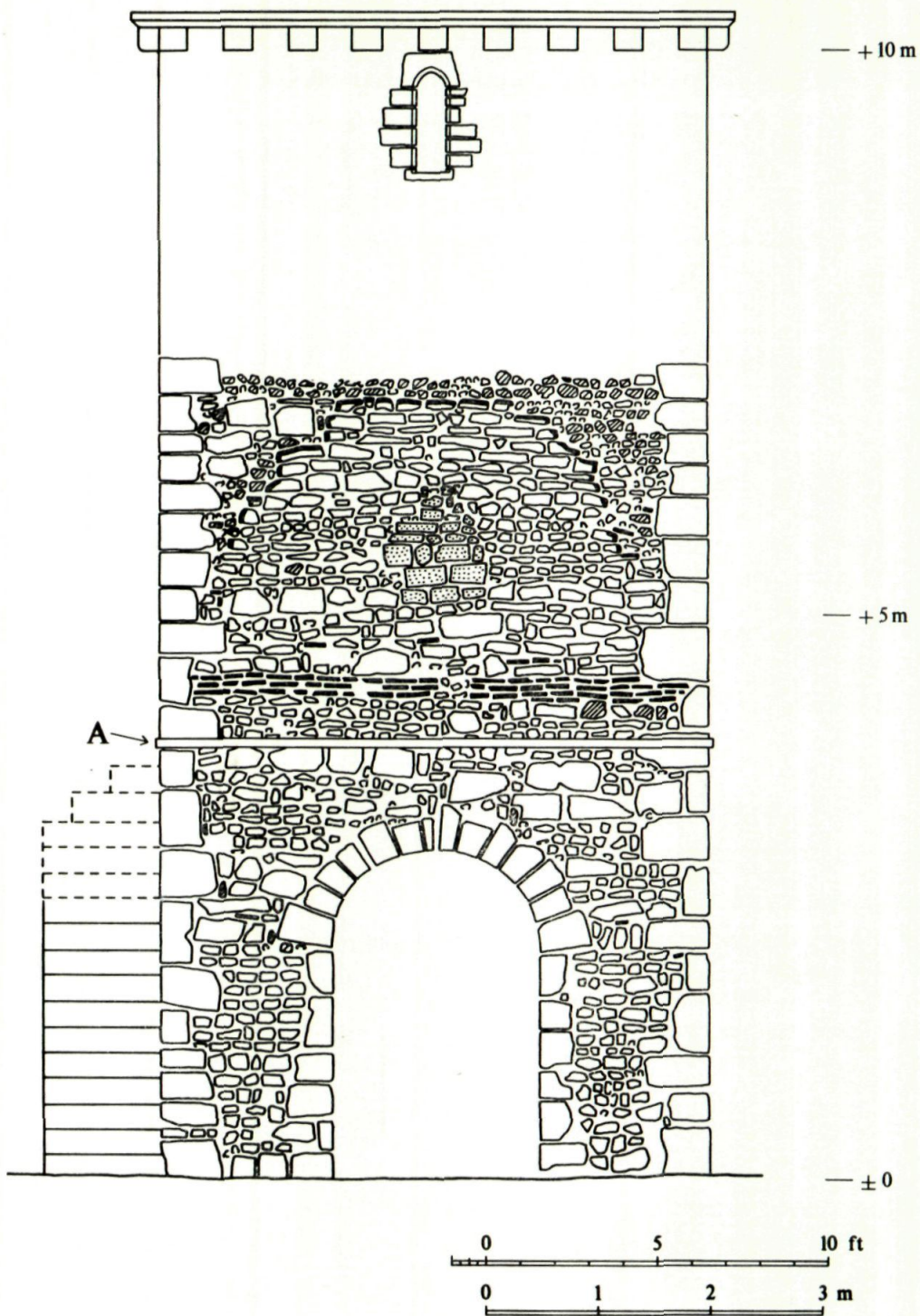


Fig. 4B. West elevation of tower (see separate key on p. 15).

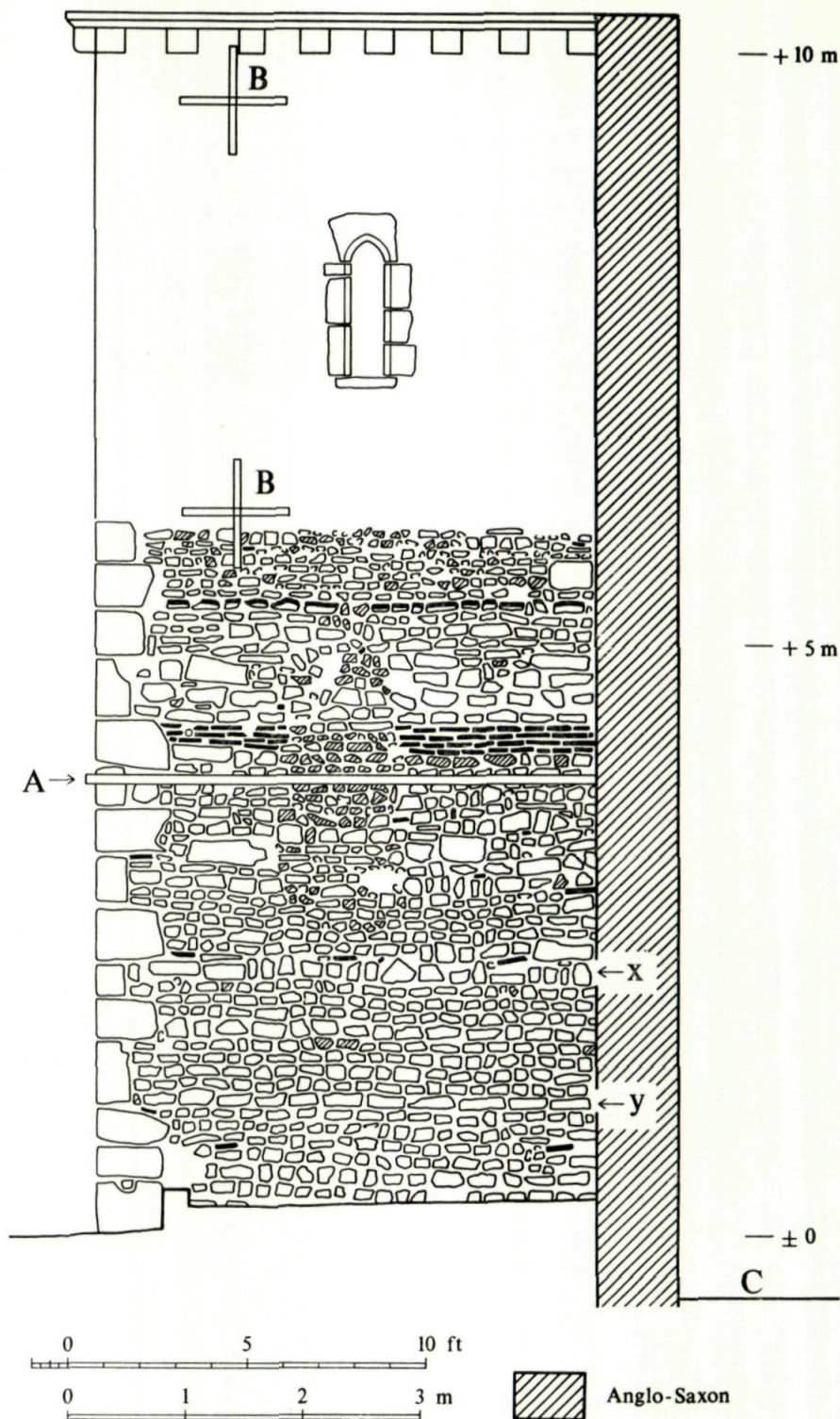


Fig. 4C. South elevation of tower with section through west wall of nave (see separate key on p. 15).

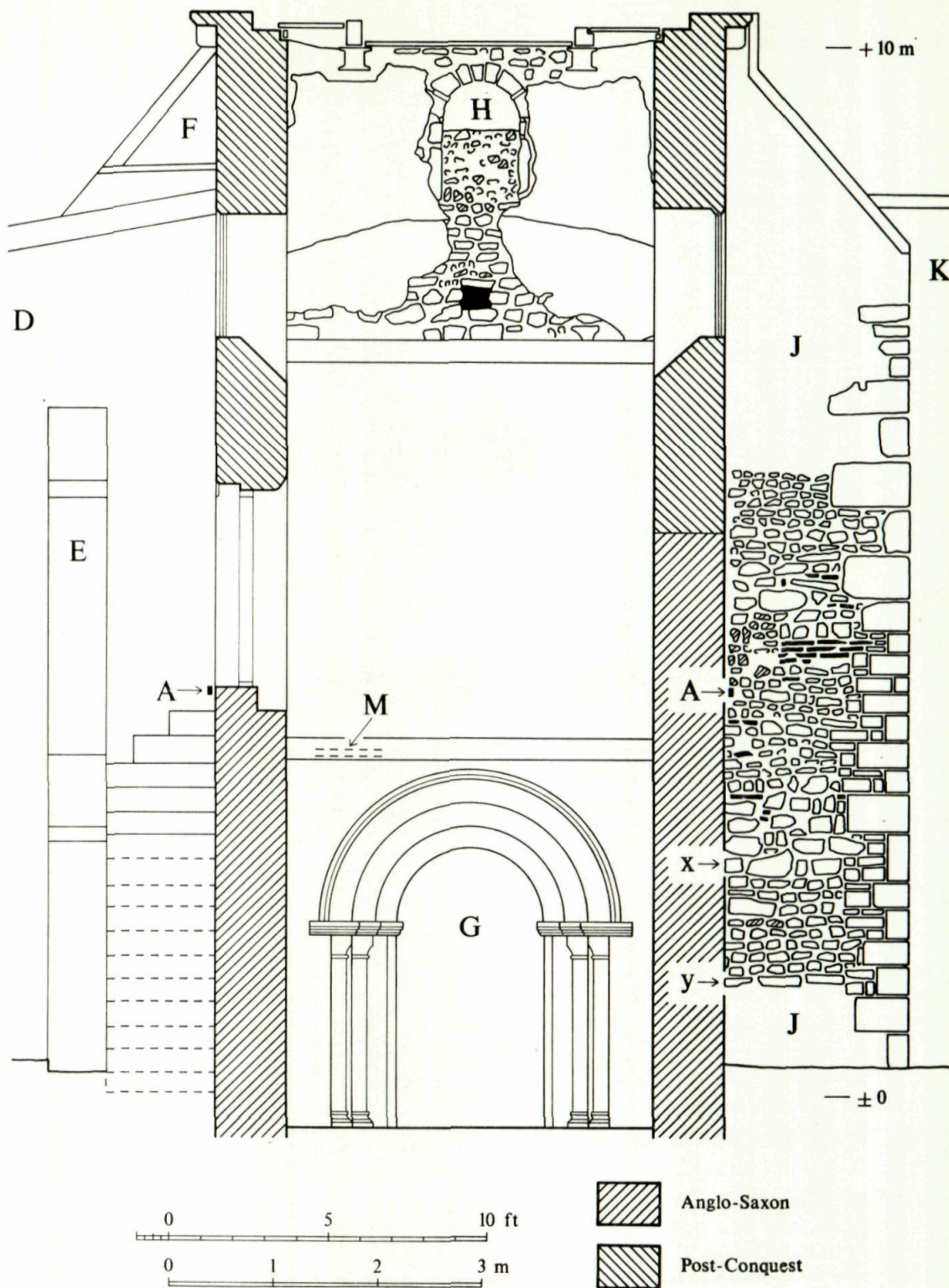


Fig. 4D. West elevation of west wall of nave with section through north and south walls of tower (see separate key on p. 15).

repairs about 1900, it was found that this bonding-course passed right through the thickness of the wall (Appendix I, 10). The quoining of the porch consists of large much-worn blocks laid in side-alternate fashion. A considerable variety of stones is used in the quoins including blocks of ironstone, limestone and greensand. By contrast the quoining in the upper part of the tower is of smaller, less weathered, limestone blocks.

In the west wall of the tower a round-headed open archway leads into the ground floor. This archway measures 6 ft. 0 in. (1.83 m) in width and 9 ft. 5 in. (2.87 m) in height from ground level to the apex of the arch. It is now filled by iron gates dating from 1851 (Appendix I, 6). Both jambs and head consist of a single order cut square through the wall. There are no imposts and the considerable size, about 15 in. (38 cm) in thickness, of the uppermost stones of the jambs would seem to indicate that the arch was built without imposts. The arch survives intact though much weathered on its west face, but the east face has been severely mutilated. The jambs and lower part of the arch have been cut away to allow the insertion of quarter-round blocks of brickwork in the west angles of the porch, probably in the late seventeenth century (Appendix I, 2). The lower part of the head was further mutilated in 1851 to allow the iron gates to swing open. The east arris of the upper part of the head also seems to have been cut away and subsequently patched with plaster; this mutilation was probably caused by the insertion of a blocking wall in the archway removed in 1831 or by the subsequent insertion of a wooden door frame removed in 1851 (Appendix I, 4 and 6).

Despite these mutilations it can be seen that the head of the arch is constructed of fourteen well-cut through-stone voussoirs. With the exception of the springers the voussoirs are laid with reasonably radial joints. The springers are rather thicker than the other voussoirs and are slightly tilted up at

their lower edge in characteristic Anglo-Saxon fashion. The soffit of the head has unfortunately been re-tooled, presumably in the nineteenth century. The jambs are each formed of six large stones of roughly equal size averaging about 13 in. (33 cm) in thickness. In view of their patched and mutilated condition, it is hard to say whether the jambs originally consisted of through-stones, though this would appear probable.

The original opening from the porch to the body of the church was replaced in the twelfth century by the present elaborate doorway. In order to accommodate the three orders of this doorway, the east wall of the ground stage of the tower was built out 5 in. (13 cm) into the body of the porch. Above the doorway the wall is set back 5 in. (13 cm) at the level of the first floor; by removing a loose floor board in the second stage of the tower, it is possible to see a chamfered off-set in the space between the floor and the ceiling of the ground stage (M in Fig. 4D).

No early windows survive in the walling of the porch. However in the centre of the south wall there is a gap in the tile bonding-course. An area of disturbed walling with much flint patching above and below this gap suggests the presence of a former opening at this point. The disturbed area is about 7 ft. 0 in. (2.13 m) in height by 3 ft. 4 in. (1.02 m) in width, though the actual opening may have been smaller, as its dressings have been removed. The opening was probably a window, but the possibility that it was a doorway cannot be discarded. There is no corresponding gap in the tile bonding-course on the north side. In the west face of the porch there is a short gap in the bonding-course just above the apex of the west archway. Some distance above this gap there is an irregular area of masonry patched with cut stones; this area, which is indicated by stippling in Fig. 4B, measures about 3 ft. 6 in. (1.07 m) in height and 3 ft. (0.91 m) broad at its widest point. This patching may be due simply to wear and tear, but its central position suggests that there was

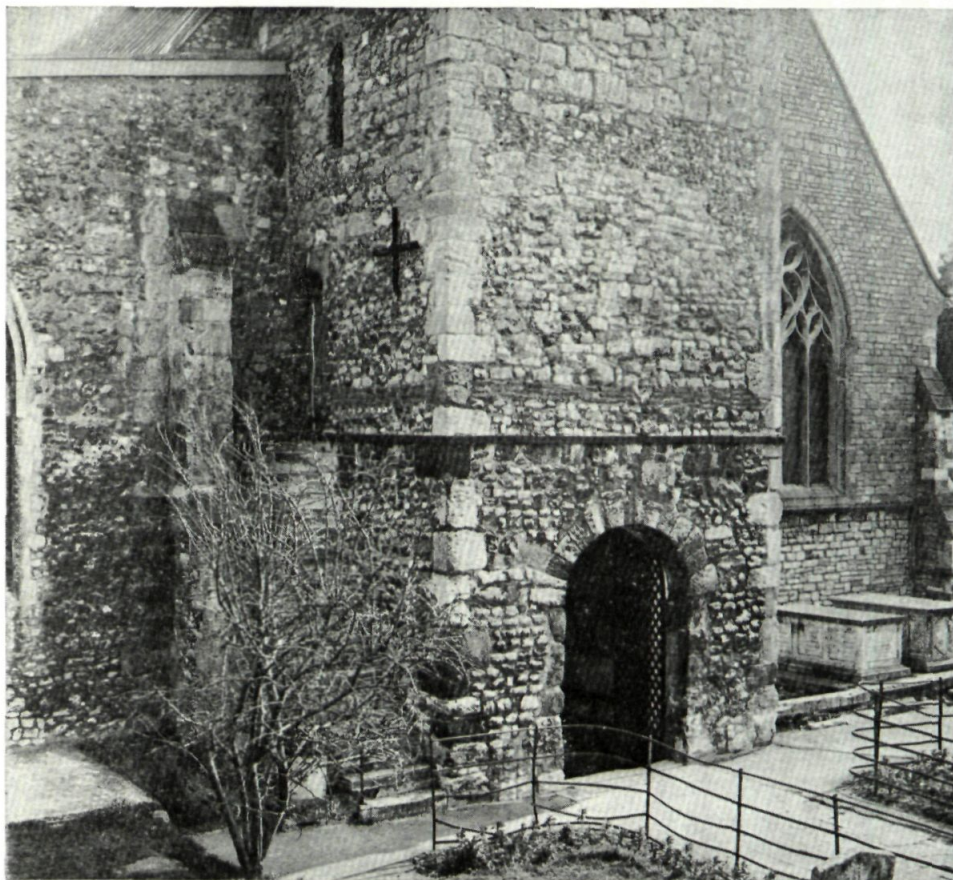


Plate 2. Titchfield Church, tower from north-west.
(Photo. A. M. ApSimon.)

originally a feature of some kind at this point. The patching might represent the position of a further window, albeit smaller than the probable window in the south wall. Other possibilities which deserve consideration are that there was originally a dedication inscription or a small statue in relief at this point; dedication inscriptions are known from a number of Anglo-Saxon churches (Okasha 1971, 7), while there was a statue in the gable of the porch at Monkwearmouth (Durham), a church to which Titchfield bears some resemblance (see below, p. 34 and Pl. 6).

In the late twelfth or in the thirteenth century this early porch was raised to form a west tower about 34 ft. (10.36 m) in height. Internally this tower consists of three stages, with the first floor only a short distance above the apex of the west archway at a height of 11 ft. 2 in. (3.40 m) above ground level, and the second floor at a height of 23 ft. 7 in. (7.19 m). The second stage forms the ringing chamber and the third stage houses a clock mechanism. The clock face is situated on the west side of the lower part of the spire, and the bells also hang in the lower part of the

spire. The upper part of the tower is lighted by three lancets, one at the top of the west wall and one slightly lower lancet in each of the side walls. The floor of the third stage of the tower is illogically placed on a level with the sills of the lancets in the side walls (Fig. 4D) and this floor level would thus not appear to be original (Appendix I, 4). Access to the upper stages of the tower is obtained by a stone stairway of nineteenth-century date against the north wall of the tower (Appendix I, 8). A doorway close to the west wall of the nave opens into the first floor of the tower from the top of the stairway.

The high west wall of the original nave survives intact, with the exception of the upper part of the gable, which was probably removed when the spire was added. However to the north of the tower, the west wall of the north aisle has been built in front of the west wall of the nave (Fig. 3). A small portion of the nave gable can be seen above the wall of the aisle (F in Figs. 4A and 4D), but the gable wall is very thin at this point and does not appear to be original masonry. The corbel table on the north wall of the tower doubtless originally finished flush with the west wall of the nave as it does to this day on the south side (Figs. 4A and 4C). The area on the north side between the end of the corbel table and the gable wall (L in Fig. 4A) is patched with cut stone, indicating that the original west wall of the nave has been removed at this point. On the south side of the tower the west wall of the south aisle is set back behind the line of the west wall of the nave. The west wall and the south-west corner of the nave can thus be seen to their full height. The fabric of the west wall is similar to that of the porch, though unfortunately it is largely covered by harsh modern rendering and pointing in its upper part. The lower part of the west wall seems to be bonded in with the porch, for the rubble fabric of the porch and of the west wall is laid in continuous courses. The characteristics of individual courses, such as the use of stones with square rather than

rounded edges or the use of larger stones, continue to either side of the angle (see for instance the courses marked x and y in Figs. 4C and 4D). The tile bonding-course also continues across the west wall to the south-west corner, apart from a gap patched with flints close to the re-entrant angle, probably caused by the insertion of the massive wooden 'cornice' removed in 1851 (Appendix I, 6).

The south-west quoin of the nave is built in side-alternate fashion, like the west quoins of the porch. In its present form the lower part of the quoin does not look ancient and it can be seen that the rubble walling close to the quoin-stones has been patched below the level of the tile bonding-course, largely with stonework of the same kind as that used in the Victorian south aisle. However the survival of one block of ferruginous sandstone and several other large stones suggests that the original quoin has been re-dressed or perhaps re-built using some of the original stones. The existence of the quoin serves to show that the early nave was aisleless.

In the west gable of the nave an original round-headed window survives. This window has been only briefly mentioned in previous accounts of the church (Peers, in Page 1908, 231; Green and Green 1951, 23), but is a feature of considerable interest in its constructional details. The window is visible from the floor of the nave high up in its west wall and from the third stage of the tower in its east wall. When the church was first built this window must have opened out above the roof of the porch.

The window is blocked up to the level of the springing and the head is closed on its east side by a disused wooden ventilator. The jambs and the head of the east face of the window are plastered over and thus all that is visible from the floor of the nave is the semi-circular outline of the head. However from within the tower the window can be closely examined. Until recently the jambs were plastered over and there was also much



Plate 3. Titchfield Church, tower from south-west.
(Photo. A. M. ApSimon.)

plaster on the face and soffit of the head, but in 1974 permission was obtained from the Parochial Church Council to remove part of the plaster from the east wall of the third stage of the tower. The object of the exercise was twofold, first to uncover as much of the stonework of the blocked window as possible, and secondly to see whether any evidence could be found for the abutment of the porch roof against the west wall of the nave. The work was carried out on 29 June 1974 by Mr. Martin Biddle and by the present writer, and the result is shown in Fig. 5 and in Pls. 4

and 5. The work exposed has been left uncovered and may be examined.

The head and jambs of the window, the blocking, and an area stretching down to the floor of the third stage of the tower, were covered with soft plaster, much of it haired. The plaster was removed, revealing the outer stonework of the window. The window has a broad outer face with no external chamfer or rebate. There is a shallow internal splay. The round head is built of seven fine-jointed through-stone voussoirs; the two lower stones on each side are rather thicker than the three

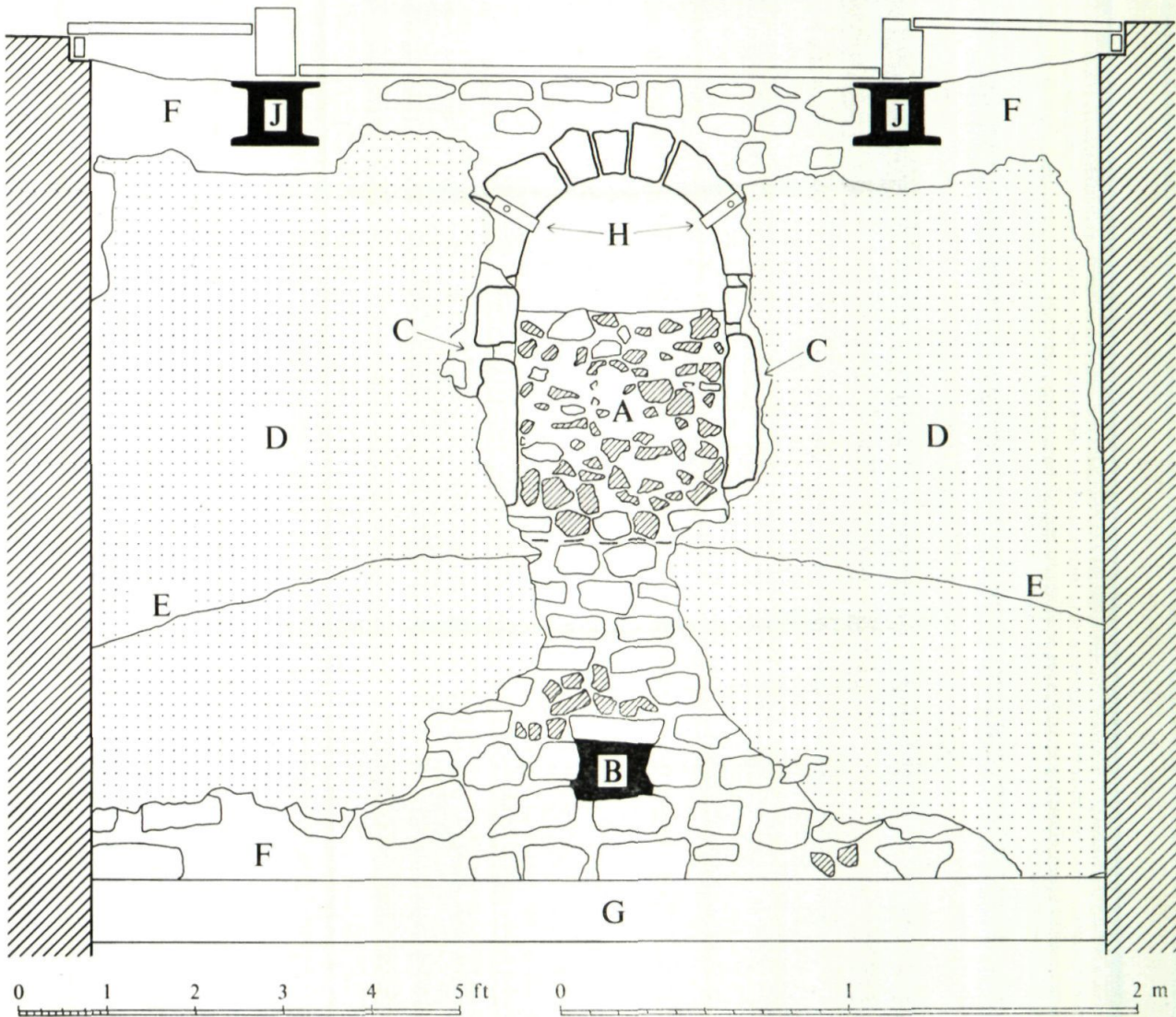


Fig. 5. Elevation of the east wall of the third stage of the tower following removal of plaster (the position of the area shown can be seen in Fig. 4D). The shaded stones are flints.

Key to lettering: A, blocking of early window, mostly of flints in soft bright yellow mortar – the lower edge of the blocking as indicated by this mortar is shown by a dotted line; B, hole in walling, interpreted as seating for ridge-beam of porch roof; C, white mortar visible beside jambs of early window and passing behind D; D, the stippled area marked D shows the hard brown plaster left in position; E, crease in brown plaster; F, the areas marked F are covered with a variety of modern plasters and renders and no attempt has been made to draw these areas; G, floor of third stage of tower; H, iron ties fixing the ventilator in the east face of the wall to the west face; J, rolled steel joists supporting bell-frame in lower part of spire.



Plate 4. Titchfield Church, early window in west wall of nave with hole beneath for ridge-beam of porch roof.
(Photo. M. Biddle, Winchester Research Unit.)

central voussoirs. The jambs each consist of one tall thin stone surmounted by a rather shorter stone. It is not possible to see whether the jamb-stones pass through the full thickness of the wall. There are no visible surviving traces of a sill-stone. The window is 2 ft. 4½ in. (0.72 m) wide at the outer west face, splayed to about 3 ft. 3 in. (0.99 m) at the inner face, though precise measurement is difficult because of the presence of the wooden shutter. The window is 3 ft. 8 in. (1.12 m) in height from the lower edge of the jambs to the apex. The wall of the church is 2 ft. 4 in. (0.71 m) thick at this point, and the apex of the window on the outer face is 31 ft. 7 in. (9.63 m) above ground level. The blocking of the window is of uncut flints set in soft, bright yellow mortar.

The soft plaster was found to cover only a limited area of the east wall of the third stage of the tower. To either side of the jambs of the window a very hard brownish-coloured plaster, made with a sand and chalk mix, was encountered. This brown plaster was found to cover much of the east wall of the third stage, except for the window and the area beneath it. The joint between this plaster and the soft plaster was carefully followed, the hard brown plaster being left in position. The area covered by this brown plaster is stippled in Fig. 5. The north-east and south-east angles of the chamber were examined and it was found that the north and south walls of the tower had been built up against the west wall of the nave with a straight joint. The hard brown plaster could be seen to pass at least several inches behind the side walls of the tower. A small amount of the soft plaster was also removed from the soffit of the window, revealing patches of hard brown plaster still surviving; the brown plaster could be seen to pass behind the flint blocking of the window. At a height of about 3–4 ft. (0.91–1.22 m) above the floor of the upper chamber a marked curved crease (E in Fig. 5) was observed in the brown plaster stretching right across the width of the cham-

ber, and this crease could be seen to pass behind the north wall of the tower. There was no change in the character of the plaster to either side of the crease, but it could be seen that the plaster below the crease overlapped and was applied later than the plaster above the crease. Between the outer edge of the jambs of the window and the edge of the brown plaster, a hard white mortar could be seen, flush with the outer surface of the jambs (C in Fig. 5). This white mortar could be seen to pass behind the brown plaster.

The soft plaster beneath the window was removed in the hope of finding traces of the abutment of the porch roof against the west wall of the nave. The walling uncovered proved to be of coursed limestone rubble with some flint patching. There was no indication of any crease left by the porch roof. However at a point directly beneath the centre of the window and just over a foot above the floor of the chamber a piece of brick and two other small stones indicated patching at a late date. On investigation these stones were found to conceal a rectangular hole measuring 7 in. high by 9 in. wide and 1 ft. 5 in. deep (18 cm by 23 cm by 43 cm), neatly covered by two flat stones. The blocking of this hole was contemporary with the haired plaster, which filled in the joints between the blocking stones.

There is a little flint patching just above the hole, but the hole does not look like an insertion and it is difficult to imagine circumstances in which it could have been inserted at a later date. The hole is interpreted as the seating for the ridge-piece of the porch roof. It is placed on the centre line of the west wall directly beneath the middle of the west window with the top of the hole at a height of 25 ft. 2 in. (7.67 m) above ground level. Assuming that the side walls of the porch were originally no higher than their present height of 17 ft. 6 in. (5.33 m) and allowing for the intersection of the rafters above the ridge-piece, the pitch of the original porch roof can be calculated as approximately 45°. The flint



Plate 5. Titchfield Church, north-west angle of upper stage of tower, showing how the north wall of the tower (left) was built up against the west wall of the nave with a straight joint. The plaster on the west wall of the nave can be seen to pass behind the joint.
(Photo. M. Biddle, Winchester Research Unit.)

patching just above the hole probably reflects weathering at the junction between the porch roof and the nave west wall.

It is difficult to be certain about the date of the hard brown plaster. It is certainly older than the construction of the upper part of the tower and the blocking of the window, that is to say there is a *terminus ante quem* of about 1200. This brown plaster is similar in character to the yellow plaster, probably of late tenth century date, found in certain later phases of the Old Minster at Winchester (information from Mr. M. Biddle). The plaster is of good quality and could have survived exposure to the weather over a period of several centuries; it is thus possible that it represents the original external rendering of the church, but it is perhaps more likely to date from a re-rendering during the late Saxon or Norman periods. It is clear that the plaster originally covered a wider area than it now does, but it was not possible to determine in what circumstances the plaster was removed. The cause of the curved crease in the plaster is uncertain, but this crease is probably best explained as the joint between two days' work.

The softer plaster covering the window and the area beneath it was of relatively recent date, belonging to the eighteenth or nineteenth century. The plaster was contemporary with the blocking of the hole which contained a piece of broken post-medieval brick. The hole itself contained miscellaneous debris including several pieces of hand-wrought iron-work of no great age. It would seem probable that the wooden ventilator on the east side of the head of the window is contemporary with this plaster; this ventilator is fixed to the west face of the wall by two iron bars (H in Fig. 5) which appeared to be contemporary with the surrounding hair plaster, which itself passed between the bars and the faces of the voussoirs around which the bars were angled.

Nothing was found to indicate whether the area covered by the hair plaster was plastered

in the period between the construction of the tower about 1200 and the application of the hair plaster in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. If this area was plastered during this period, it is necessary to explain why it was subsequently stripped and re-plastered, while the remaining plaster was left undisturbed. The north, south and west walls of the third stage of the tower are not plastered internally, and it may be that such ancient plaster as was still in position on the west wall of the nave about 1200 was left untouched, while the remainder of the wall was left unplastered. The ridge-piece was probably sawn off, leaving its end embedded in the wall. By the eighteenth or nineteenth century this end had presumably rotted, leaving a hole in the wall which was blocked when the modern plaster was applied. This work may have taken place during one of the recorded repairs of the tower in the nineteenth century (Appendix I, 4, 5 and 6). This sequence of events is hypothetical, but does explain satisfactorily the various features observed.

The evidence outlined above enables us to reconstruct with some degree of accuracy the original west elevation of the church (Fig. 6). The only uncertain element is the window in the south wall. There may also have been a window or possibly a statue or dedication inscription in the west wall of the porch above the west archway. Internally it is likely that the porch was of one storey only. As the Taylors have noted (1965, 621) the window which may have existed in the south wall of the porch would have been suitably placed to light a porch of one storey but not of two. The present floor, which would block this window internally, is probably of much later origin. However if the disturbed area in the south wall was not a window, then it is possible that the original porch was of two storeys with a dividing floor at about the level of the present floor or a little lower; in this case the disturbed area could represent a doorway giving access to the upper stage. The window in the gable of the nave can hardly

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH OF ST PETER, TITCHFIELD

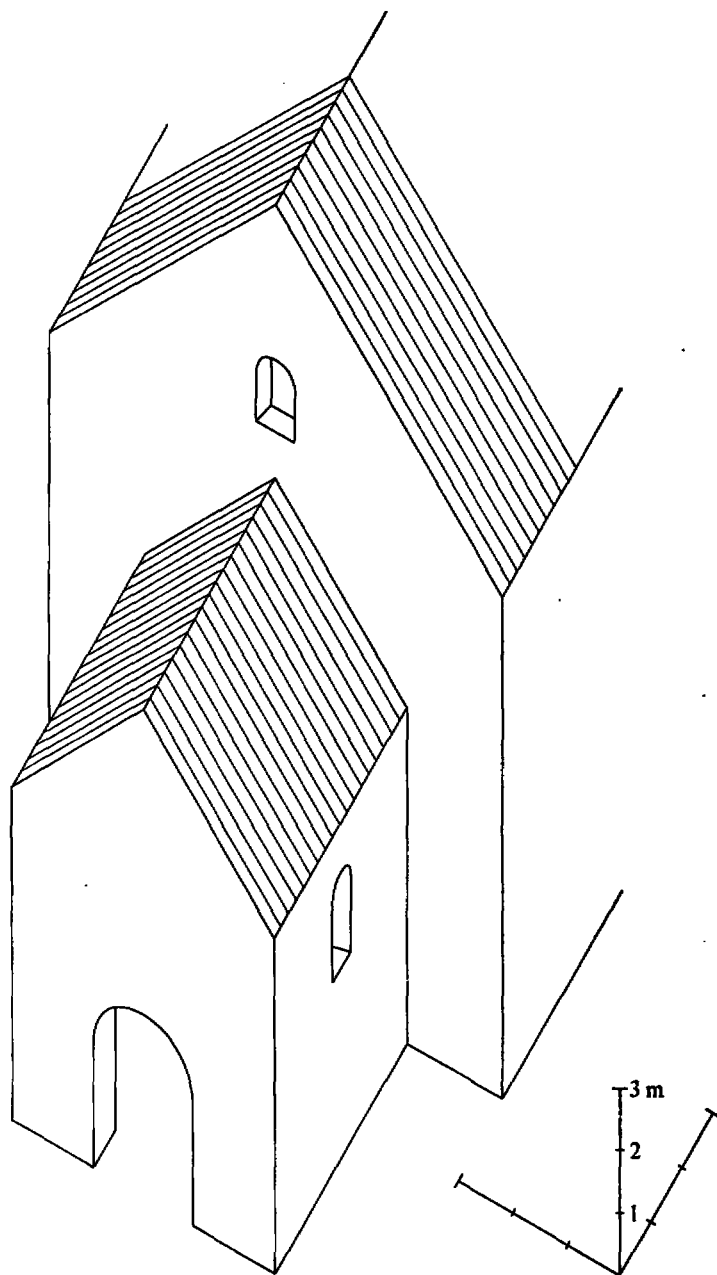


Fig. 6. Reconstruction drawing of the west end of the Anglo-Saxon church at Titchfield (axonometric view).

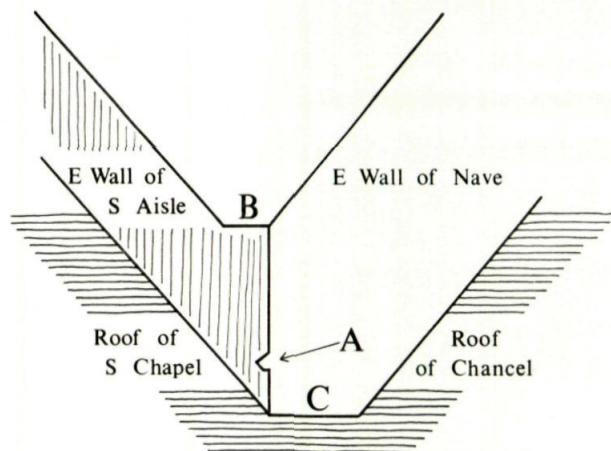
have shed much light on the floor of the nave and probably served to light a chamber between a flat ceiling over the nave and the roof; upper chambers in this position are believed to have existed at a number of Anglo-Saxon churches (Baldwin Brown 1925, 335–337). There is no evidence to suggest any structural alterations to the west end of the church between the time of its construction and the twelfth- or thirteenth-century alterations.

No early features are visible in the rest of the nave or in the chancel of the present church. However, the proportions of the nave, particularly the tall side walls, suggest that it may retain its original plan. Internally the nave measures about 53 ft. (16.15 m) long and 22 ft. 3 in. (6.78 m) wide. The present arcade walls, the northern of fifteenth and the southern of nineteenth century date, are both 2 ft. 6 in. (0.76 m) thick and 27 ft. (8.23 m) in height above the floor of the nave. Judging by the evidence of the south-west quoin, the early nave must have been of about the same height. A continuous foundation wall was observed in 1955 beneath the north arcade (Appendix I, 13 and Pl. 8), while the south arcade wall may have contained Anglo-Saxon masonry above the Norman arcade before the restoration of 1866–7 (Appendix I, 7). There have been no recent opportunities for archaeological investigation below the floor of the church, and it is in fact likely that much of the archaeological evidence has been damaged. There have been many burials within the church, particularly in the chancel and south chapel, as is witnessed by the monuments and ledger stones and by the parish registers. Underfloor heating ducts were installed in 1899 (Appendix I, 10), and in 1955 a large part of the nave was filled with rubble to a depth of 2–3 ft. (0.61–0.91 m) (Appendix I, 11). The levels of the various bases would appear to indicate that the present floor is at about the same level as in the later medieval period, but there is nothing to indicate the floor levels in the Anglo-Saxon period.

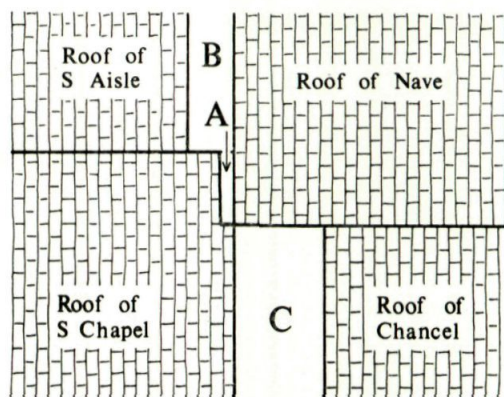
It has been claimed that remains of the Saxon chancel-arch have been discovered in the lower part of the present arch, but there is no evidence to support this suggestion (Appendix I, 12). The existing chancel-arch is of twelfth or thirteenth century date, but it may well be an insertion in an earlier wall. This wall is in fact 2 ft. 3 in. (0.69 m) thick, the same thickness as the walls of the porch.

There is no evidence of any quoining at the east end of the nave at ground level, but a short section of quoin 4 ft. (1.22 m) in height does survive just below the eaves at the south-east angle of the nave (Fig. 7). This feature can be seen in the roofs at the junction of the valley gutter between the chancel and south chapel with the rather higher valley gutter between the nave and south aisle. The nave walls are higher than the walls of the chancel and south chapel and were higher than those of the south aisle before the restoration of 1866–7; thus it is not surprising to find a short section of quoining at this point. The quoin itself is largely rendered, but one detail of some interest may be seen. At a point 3 ft. 0 in. (0.91 m) below the eaves there is a string course $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (11 cm) thick along the south wall of the nave. The string can be seen for a length of 1 ft. 4 in. (0.41 m), but if it passes further along the wall, it is now hidden by the east wall of the south aisle. The string finishes flush with the angle, and there is no indication that it was returned along the east wall of the nave, though this wall is thickly rendered. The string is broken away throughout its surviving length and its full section cannot be seen. However it is clear that the string was chamfered on its upper side and square-cut on its lower edge. The function of this feature is uncertain. Although for the sake of convenience it has been described as a string-course, it is by no means certain that this was its original purpose; it is for instance possible that it was the lowest stone of an early east gable of the nave, at a slightly lower level than the present gable. There is also nothing to indicate the

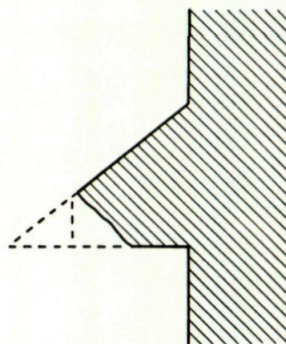
1. Elevation



2. Plan



3. Profile



0 4 8 in.

0 10 20 cm

Scale (Profile)

0 3 6 ft

0 1 2 m

Scale (Elevation and plan)

Fig. 7. Elevation, plan and profile to illustrate the string-course visible at the south-east quoin of the nave just below the eaves. The elevation shows the east walls of the nave and south aisle, with a section through the roofs of the chancel and south chapel. The plan shows the position of the string-course in relation to the roofs of the nave, chancel, south aisle and south chapel. The string-course is indicated by the letter A, while the letter B indicates the valley-gutter between nave and south aisle and letter C the valley-gutter between chancel and south chapel. The profile of the string-course is shown at a larger scale. In its present form the string-course is damaged and the dotted lines show possible alternative profiles.

date of this feature, but it is at least possible that it is of Anglo-Saxon origin.

The surviving Saxon masonry displays a considerable variety of stones, with several types of sandstone and limestone. Most striking is the dark-brown ferruginous sandstone,

several blocks of which appear in the quoins; a few scattered pieces of this material also occur in the rubble walling. The jambs of the west archway and the quoins also contain several much weathered blocks of a green stone from the Greensand. However, most of

the freestone dressings are of limestone, which occurs in the quoins and in the jambs of the archway, and is used exclusively in the head of the archway and in the high west window. The rubble walling also consists mostly of limestone, but in addition contains ironstone blocks, some uncut flints and a few burnt flints. Several types of limestone appear to be present in the freestone dressings and in the rubble walling. Most of the freestone dressings are probably Binstead Stone from the Bembridge formation, although Professor Jope has noted in the jambs of the west archway and in the rubble walling a few pieces of the Quarr stone from the same formation (Jope 1958, 246-247; Jope 1964, 115-117). The limestones found in the rubble walling are probably for the most part from the Bembridge and Portland beds. None of the limestones used in the fabric have however been palaeontologically identified.

This considerable variety of stones, coupled with the presence of a substantial amount of Roman tile in the fabric, suggests large-scale re-use of Roman building materials. Three stones do indeed contain holes which look as if they are sections through the lewis-holes of blocks of Roman stone that have subsequently been cut in two. The best example is to be seen in a large stone in the south-west quoin of the nave about 4 ft. (1.22 m) below the eaves, while other possible examples are found in the lowest stone of the south-west quoin of the tower (south face) and in the north-west quoin of the tower (west face) at a height of about 7 ft. (2.13 m) from ground level.

About twenty years ago R. M. Butler (1955) suggested that the Saxon porch at Titchfield was built of many of the stones from the inner front of the Land-Gate of the Roman fort at Portchester, some five miles distant from Titchfield (Fig. 2). Butler's suggestion was based on the similarity between the stones used in the porch at Titchfield and in the inner arch of the Water-Gate at Portchester, for which Butler proposed a Roman

date. However the Water-Gate has now been shown by excavation to be of late Saxon/very early Norman date, though probably itself built of re-used materials (Cunliffe 1975, 34-36; 1976, 7-14). Consequently Butler's suggestion, while it cannot be rejected out of hand, must be treated with considerable caution. It should however be borne in mind that there a number of other suitable Roman sites within reach of Titchfield, including the sites at Bitterne on the Itchen and at Botley on the Hamble, the possible road station at Wickham, and the newly discovered settlement at Fareham. However all these sites, like Portchester, are some distance away from Titchfield, and the most likely source of the building materials may be an as yet undiscovered villa site somewhere in the lower part of the Meon valley. (The known Roman sites in this part of Hampshire are shown on the map published by Soffe and Johnston 1974, 100).

The existence of a religious foundation at Titchfield in Anglo-Saxon times implies the existence of domestic buildings for the community, whether of wood or stone, but any visible trace of such buildings has now disappeared. The modern churchyard is of substantial size, stretching for some distance from the church on the north, east and south sides. It seems likely that the archaeological evidence may have been destroyed or at least extensively damaged. A thorough examination of the walls of the church and of other walls in the neighbourhood has not brought to light any examples of carved Saxon stonework at Titchfield.

FURTHER WORK

In view of the early date of Titchfield church, it is important that any future opportunities for archaeological observation in and around the building should be taken. In particular there are two specific areas in which further work could usefully be undertaken:

(1) The removal of the plaster from the west face of the blocked window in the west

gable of the nave has shown that it would be feasible to unblock this window entirely; it is hoped that this will be done at the first available opportunity.

(2) It was suggested above (p. 30) that the east wall of the nave may contain original masonry above the chancel-arch. This suggestion could be tested by the removal of an area of plaster from the east face of this wall. This would not only reveal whether or not the wall was original, but might also reveal traces of the original chancel-arch or of the abutment of the chancel walls; in addition it might be possible to show whether the tile bonding-course visible at the west end of the church passed round the whole building.

DISCUSSION AND DATE

C. R. Peers (in Page 1908, 230-231) was the first to draw attention to the Anglo-Saxon character of Titchfield church, stating that 'it is possible that this building may have its origin in the ninth century or even earlier'. It was however Baldwin Brown (1925, 191-194) who first put forward reasoned arguments for an early date. Baldwin Brown argued that while the church did not display any specially early features, it yet lacked the characteristic features of later Anglo-Saxon architecture. On these grounds he tentatively assigned the porch to the latter part of the eighth or to the first part of the ninth century. It is the contention of the present writer that Baldwin Brown was quite right in assigning a pre-Danish date to the church, but that there is in fact good reason for thinking that it may have been built at a date still earlier than he proposed, perhaps as early as the late seventh century. A. R. and P. M. Green in their account of the church (1951, 22-24) did indeed suggest the possibility of a late seventh-century date. In the following discussion some of the points briefly made by the Greens are amplified and various additional arguments for an early date are advanced.

The arguments for an early date fall into

three main categories. First the west porch is itself a distinctively early feature. Secondly, like many early churches, Titchfield exhibits the influence of Roman craftsmanship, coupled with the absence of the characteristic features of later Saxon architecture. Thirdly, there are a number of parallels, both in general form and in constructional technique, between Titchfield and the group of early churches in Northumbria. These points will now be discussed in turn, and the evidence will then be reviewed in the light of the historical context described in the Introduction to this paper. At this stage it should however be stressed that there is at present no precise system for dating Anglo-Saxon churches. The arguments for an early date at Titchfield are based entirely on parallels with other churches believed to be of early date, but there are so many gaps in our knowledge that the conclusions drawn must necessarily be tentative.

The west porch is a feature commonly found throughout England in churches dated to the seventh and eighth centuries. There are examples from the early 'Kentish' group of churches at St. Pancras, Canterbury (Kent) and Bradwell (Essex). North of the Humber early western porches can be seen at Corbridge (Northumberland), Monkwearmouth (Durham), Bardsey and Ledsham (Yorks, West Riding). Further examples may be noted at Deerhurst (Gloucs) and Brixworth (Northants). These structures are all of similar size and proportions to Titchfield, and can be ascribed with little hesitation to the pre-Danish period. The west porch was subsequently superseded by the west tower, and, with the possible exception of St. Augustine's Canterbury, there are no known examples of the west porch dated to the late Saxon period. (For details, including measurements, of the various porches mentioned in this paragraph see Taylor and Taylor 1965, *passim*; reference should also be made to this work for any church mentioned in the ensuing discussion when no specific reference is given.)

The earliest churches in both Kent and Northumbria exhibit clear indications of the influence of Roman building technique. At Titchfield a feature of especial interest is the use of a bonding-course of tile passing right through the wall. Roman tile was normally re-used in much more haphazard fashion in Anglo-Saxon buildings. The familiarity with the Roman technique and the readiness to make use of it are features suggestive of an early date. The only other known example of bonding-courses of tile in this manner in Anglo-Saxon England occurs at Reculver (Kent), founded in 669. Another feature which may indicate Roman influence is the west archway, the appearance of which suggests that the builders may have had a Roman model in mind.

We may also note that the extensive re-use of Roman materials provides some support for an early date. Roman remains were quarried for building-stone throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, but the wholesale re-use of Roman materials is particularly characteristic of the earliest churches (Jope 1964, 97-100). Before the arrival of Christianity there was apparently no Anglo-Saxon stone building tradition and hence no quarrying tradition. On the other hand substantial remains of Roman buildings must still have existed and would have been the obvious source of supply to masons looking for suitable building materials. Professor Jope (1958, 246-247) has observed how, by contrast with Titchfield, later Saxon churches in Hampshire almost invariably made use of Quarr stone from the Isle of Wight for free-stone dressings. A similar pattern was observed at Winchester during the excavation of the Old Minster. The earliest phase, probably Cenwealh's *ecclesia pulcherrima* of about 648, had foundations and footings entirely of re-used Roman materials, whereas the later phases did not make use of Roman materials (Biddle 1970, 318).

As a corollary to the 'Romanizing' character of early Saxon churches, it is a canon of

interpretation that the earliest churches are distinguished by the absence of those features commonly regarded as characteristic of Anglo-Saxon architecture, such as long-and-short quoining, pilaster-strips, triangular-headed doorways and the like (Fletcher 1963-7). This certainly holds good at Titchfield where such features are notably absent from the surviving parts of the Anglo-Saxon church.

In southern and midland England there appear to be no surviving churches which present close parallels to Titchfield. There are however a number of similarities between Titchfield and the early churches of Northumbria. Among the various early porches listed above (p. 33), it is to the northern amples, particularly Corbridge and Monkwearmouth, that Titchfield bears the closest resemblance. The porch at Monkwearmouth (Pl. 6) retains an open west archway, which is of similar proportions to the arch at Titchfield, though much more elaborate. With its thin rubble walling and side-alternate quoining the porch at Titchfield produces a general effect strikingly reminiscent of Monkwearmouth. Rather more fragmentary remains of a similar structure survive at Corbridge, where the original west archway is now blocked and mutilated. At both Corbridge and Monkwearmouth there were windows high up in the west wall of the nave above the roof of the porch. At Monkwearmouth, two early windows can be seen a little below the level of the nave gable, while at Corbridge an early single-splayed window survives high up in the gable in precisely the same position as at Titchfield.

As mentioned above, the west porch is a general feature of Anglo-Saxon architecture in the seventh and eighth centuries, and it would be a mistake to press these parallels with Corbridge and Monkwearmouth too far. It is the constructional details that provide the strongest argument for Northumbrian influence at Titchfield. First we may note that the large side-alternate quoins at Titchfield

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH OF ST PETER, TITCHFIELD

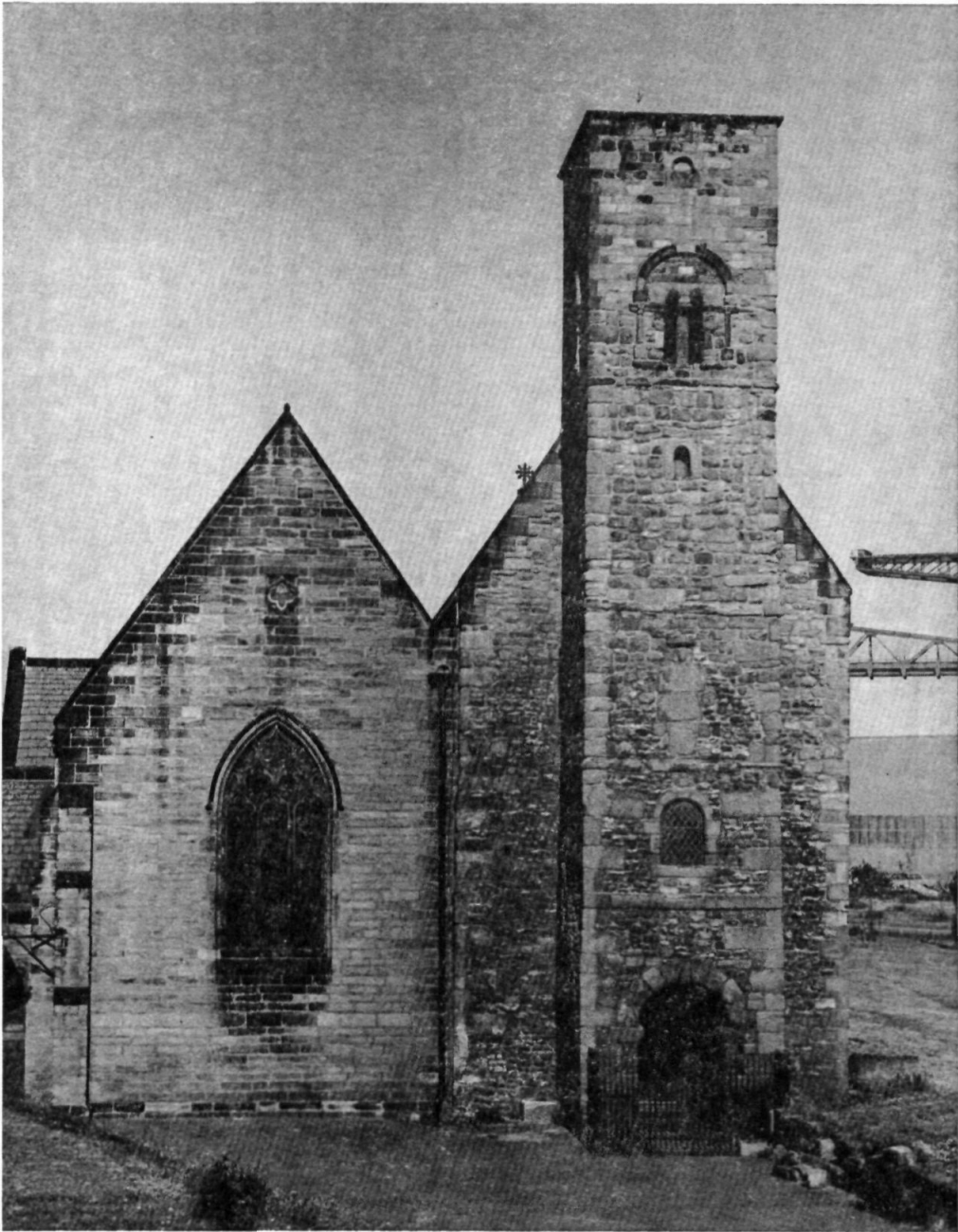


Plate 6. Monkwearmouth Church, County Durham, west end. The early porch was raised to form a tower in the late Saxon period, but the gable of the porch can be distinguished in the west wall of the tower.
(Photo. J. Robinson.)

are very similar in appearance to the megalithic side-alternate quoins which are one of the most characteristic traits of Anglian architecture. The technique contrasts sharply with the long-and-short quoining found in most later Saxon work in Hampshire and suggests an early date. Side-alternate quoining does re-appear in Anglo-Saxon churches of the area in eleventh century work such as Boarhunt (Hants), Bosham (top stage of tower), Singleton and Stoughton (all in west Sussex). However, whatever its date, Titchfield is certainly much earlier than the eleventh century.

The evidence of the window in the west gable of the nave is also valuable. Single-splayed windows occur throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, but Dr. Taylor has observed (1973, 166 and 169-170) that late single-splayed windows are mostly of small size while early windows are much broader. The window at Titchfield is similar to the windows of late seventh and eighth century date in Northumbria. The windows in these churches are normally built of well-dressed, fine-jointed masonry and present broad outer faces, with shallow internal splays. Examples may be seen at Escomb, Jarrow, Ledsham and Monkwearmouth. At no other time in the Anglo-Saxon period do we know of windows of comparable excellence or technique. There is however one feature at Titchfield which cannot be paralleled in Northumbria and that is the use of through-stone voussoirs. Through-stone jambs are frequent in early Northumbrian windows, and several of the early windows, for instance at Ledsham and Monkwearmouth, have thin monolithic outer heads and voussoirs passing through the whole of the rest of the wall. In fact the use of through-stone voussoirs for splayed windows is very unusual in Anglo-Saxon architecture. The only parallel that can be found is in the two side windows of the west tower at Brigstock (Northants), a church whose date is disputed. However the Taylors have drawn attention (1965, 100-105) to the points of

resemblance between the windows at Brigstock and the earliest work at Monkwearmouth, and Brigstock may itself be an example of Northumbrian influence in southern England. It is of interest to note that Brigstock is only a few miles from Wilfrid's foundation at Oundle.

The plain west archway at Titchfield retains no feature which would by itself serve to indicate its date. The absence of imposts is however of interest, for Dr. Gilbert has noted (1946, 162-163) how the lack of imposts is a feature that occurs in a number of early Northumbrian doorways. It may also be noted that the tilting of the springers of the arch can be paralleled in early as well as in late Saxon work. It occurs, for instance, in much more exaggerated form in the nave arcades at Brixworth (Northants). In Northumbria an example occurs in the Anglian tower excavated at York, a structure which is probably to be dated to the seventh century (Radley 1974).

The parallels that have been advanced for Titchfield are almost all with churches of early date, that is to say churches usually assigned to the seventh or eighth centuries. On the basis of these parallels it seems reasonable to suggest that Titchfield church belongs to the same period. At this point we may usefully re-consider Baldwin Brown's views. It was noted above (p. 33) that Baldwin Brown tentatively assigned the church to the late eighth or to the ninth century on the grounds that the church lacked those features characteristic both of early and of late Saxon churches. We have already seen that there are in fact close parallels to other early churches. Equally we may note that it is being increasingly appreciated that many of the features which Baldwin Brown regarded as characteristically late Saxon had already evolved as early as the beginning of the ninth century and perhaps earlier still (Taylor 1970). It seems likely that by the latter part of the eighth century building traditions had evolved in southern England that were

rather more distinctive in character than the work which we see at Titchfield. Consequently there is no real difficulty in setting aside the late eighth or ninth century date proposed by Baldwin Brown and suggesting instead a rather earlier date. Nevertheless it must be stressed that our knowledge of the evolution of Anglo-Saxon architecture in the eighth and ninth centuries is extremely limited, and we cannot exclude the possibility of a later date for Titchfield church, in the latter part of the eighth or in the ninth century.

As we have seen the closest parallels for Titchfield are found in the early churches of Northumbria. None of the features discussed would probably be sufficient in itself to indicate Northumbrian influence, but the cumulative evidence does suggest that this possibility warrants serious consideration. In view of the gaps in our knowledge we must be cautious in drawing conclusions. For instance it is difficult to make a comparison with the major early Anglo-Saxon building in Hampshire, the Old Minster at Winchester (Biddle 1970, 311–332). The complete ground-plan of the seventh century Old Minster church at Winchester is known from excavations, but at Titchfield only the plan of the west end can be established; all that can be said is that the west porch found at Titchfield is a feature absent from the Old Minster. Nothing is known of the constructional techniques used for quoins, doors and windows in the Old Minster. We also know very little of the early churches of Mercia, an area influential in Sussex at the time of Æthelwealh's reign and dominant in southern England after Ine's death in 726. However it is fair to say that in the present limited state of our knowledge, Northumbrian influence seems a distinct possibility at Titchfield. Having said that, it is of considerable interest to recall that the Meon valley may well have been evangelised by the Northumbrian prelate Wilfrid and was probably within his sphere of influence during the period of his mission to Sussex (681–686) and

during the reign of Cædwalla of Wessex (685–688).

The possible existence of Northumbrian influence should not cause us any great surprise. We have already mentioned the apparent absence of a stone-building tradition in England before the arrival of Christianity. Consequently in the seventh century kings and great prelates imported masons from abroad and moved them around freely. For instance Eddius Stephanus relates that after his consecration in Gaul in 664, Wilfrid 'returned to his own land with the singers Hedde and Aeona, and with masons and artisans of almost every kind' (VW, chapter 3). Bede recounts in his *Historia Abbatum* how Benedict Biscop imported masons and glaziers from Gaul to build his church at Monkwearmouth (Plummer 1896, 368). We also learn from Bede (HE V. 21) that in 710 king Nechtan of the Picts appealed to Ceolfrith, abbot of Monkwearmouth, for 'builders to be sent to build a church of stone in their country after the Roman fashion'. Part of the church constructed by these builders perhaps still survives at Restenneth, Angus (Simpson 1963).

Wilfrid founded many monasteries during the course of his career (Roper 1974, 61–63) and Eddius Stephanus describes in some detail the splendours of his building operations at York, Ripon and Hexham (VW, *passim*, especially chapters 14, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24 and 56). Nothing appears to have survived in Sussex from the time of Wilfrid's mission, but it is likely that Wilfrid imported masons to southern England. As we have seen, the architectural evidence for Titchfield church is compatible with a date in the second half of the seventh or in the eighth century, and there is thus every reason to think that at Titchfield we may have the remains of a church built by or under the influence of Wilfrid's mission.

However, even if we accept the tentative arguments for Northumbrian influence, it would be wrong to conclude that the church

necessarily dates from the years 681-688. Some of Wilfrid's masons may have stayed in southern England after his departure, and Northumbrian influence is likely to have remained strong in the area for a generation or more. We can scarcely doubt that Wilfrid remained in close touch with his foundations in Sussex and the Isle of Wight until his death in 709. In the seventh and early eighth centuries Wessex and Northumbria had a common interest in containing the rising power of Mercia, and contacts between the two kingdoms were not infrequent (Kirby 1965, 11-12). Later in the eighth century, Northumbrian influence in this part of England is perhaps less likely. Following the end of Ine's rule in 726, Wessex quickly fell under the domination of Mercia, while the power of Northumbria declined during the eighth century.

We may summarize these arguments as follows. The parallels which can be advanced for Titchfield church are with buildings of early date, and indicate the likelihood of a date in the late seventh or in the eighth century. The closest parallels are found in the early churches of Northumbria, and it is therefore suggested that the church may have been built by or under the influence of Wilfrid. Wilfrid's mission to Sussex and his subsequent period of influence in Wessex certainly provide an eminently suitable context for the type of church which we see at Titchfield, but in the absence of written records it will probably never be possible to assign a firm date to the fabric.

As a final point in the argument, it is worth noting that Titchfield church is dedicated to St. Peter. This dedication is especially characteristic of the seventh and eighth centuries, when St. Peter was the subject of great veneration both in England and on the Continent (Levison 1946, 33-36 and 259-265). For instance Eddius Stephanus records that all the churches which Wilfrid had founded up to 705 were dedicated either to St. Peter

or to St. Andrew (VW, chapter 56). At Titchfield the dedication to St. Peter can be traced back no further than the early fifteenth century² (see the extract from the *Rememorationum* cited on p. 12). It would therefore be wrong to place too much stress on this point, for dedications can change, and St. Peter was a common dedication at all periods.

THE FOUNDATION OF TITCHFIELD CHURCH

In the Introduction to this paper it was argued (pp. 10-11) that Titchfield was the site of a minster establishment. The architectural evidence provides support for this suggestion. The surviving remains of the church indicate a nave of considerable size and height, provided with an imposing west porch. In the seventh and eighth centuries the medieval parochial system had not yet evolved, and a church of such substantial dimensions could scarcely be other than a minster church.

The factors which determined the original choice of Titchfield for the establishment of a minster church must now be considered. The royal character of the minster foundations of Hampshire has recently been established by Dr. Hase (see above, p. 12), and the existence of a royal estate at Titchfield is thus likely to have been one of the principal factors. In the light of the evidence that all the mother churches in Hampshire which can now be identified were founded on royal estates, Dr. Hase (1975, Preface) has suggested that the establishment of minster churches in Hampshire was a deliberate act of policy by the royal house of Wessex. He considers that Cenwealh (643-672), Cædwalla (685-688) and Ine (688-726) are the kings most likely to have been instrumental in this work. This accords well with the argument put forward in this paper for an early date, perhaps in the late seventh century, for the construction of Titchfield church.

It is striking that Titchfield is now the only church in Hampshire known to contain masonry above ground-level of pre-Danish

date, although the foundations of the cathedral church at Winchester have been excavated (Biddle 1970, 311–321). Indeed there is little surviving Anglo-Saxon masonry of early date in the whole of central southern England. In the counties surrounding Hampshire, there is nothing which can be firmly dated to the pre-Danish period in Sussex, Surrey or Berkshire; in Wiltshire part of the church at Britford perhaps dates from the ninth century, while in Dorset the church of Lady St. Mary at Wareham, destroyed in 1841–2, may have been of early date. It is difficult to say how far the absence of surviving remains of early date is significant. On the one hand it may be that Titchfield is the only chance survivor of many similar early churches; it is certain that many early minsters developed into important centres at a later date and were replaced by larger churches. On the other hand it may be that many early minsters were either smaller and/or more poorly built than Titchfield or that they were built in wood. Though there is no archaeological evidence for this, there is literary evidence to show that not only village churches but at least some more important churches were built in wood during the Anglo-Saxon period. No adequate treatment of the literary evidence has yet been published, but Zimmermann (1958, 426–443) has set out most of the relevant material. It will be easier to comment on this question if and when archaeology can establish the character of other early minster churches in southern England; in the meantime it is not possible even to consider whether or not Titchfield may be regarded as a typical minster church in southern England. If Titchfield was a larger and better built structure than most other early minster churches, it is probable that the cause should again be sought in a deliberate act of royal policy. The precise sequence of events which lies behind the complex historical background described in the Introduction to this paper is uncertain. However it is clear that the Meonware retained a degree of separate identity and that the Meon

valley was the subject of contention in the late seventh century, the date suggested as that most likely for the construction of Titchfield church. As a reasonable working hypothesis it might thus be suggested that a church of impressive proportions was built at Titchfield as part of a royal programme of assimilation or pacification of the Meonware. In order to see how a policy of pacification could be linked with the foundation of churches, we need only read Bede's account of Cædwalla's conquest of the Isle of Wight and its subsequent evangelisation by disciples of Wilfrid (HE IV. 16).

Titchfield lay at the head of the Meon estuary until it was reclaimed in the seventeenth century and therefore enjoyed good waterborne communications with other early religious sites. Estuary sites were indeed much favoured for the foundation of early religious establishments. Perhaps the best example is the joint foundation of Monkswearmouth and Jarrow (Durham), one beside the Wear and the other beside the Tyne. Nearer to Titchfield there was a seventh century establishment at Bosham (Sussex) in Chichester Harbour (HE IV. 13), while on Southampton Water the existence of minster foundations at Eling and at Southampton (Fig. 1) has recently been established by Dr. Hase (1975, 73–95 and 124–180). Another advantage of the site may have been the possibility of transporting building materials by water or the existence of a substantial Roman building near at hand (p. 32).

With its position at the lowest crossing-point of the Meon, it is likely that there was a settlement of some kind at Titchfield before the establishment of a minster church. However, like most of the small towns of Hampshire, very little can be said of the origins and growth of the settlement (Hughes 1976, 133–137). It is not clear how far the town owes its development to the existence of an Anglo-Saxon minster church or the minster church to the existence of an important settlement. A market was certainly

in existence at Titchfield by the time of the Domesday Survey in 1086 (p. 11). The existing market-place lies directly to the west of the church, and it was possibly the existence of a minster church which first led to the establishment of a market. The example of St. Albans may be cited as a town which grew up round a market-place at the gates of a religious establishment. There have as yet been few opportunities for archaeological investigation at Titchfield and observation during rebuilding at several sites in the town has not produced any pottery of earlier date than the thirteenth century (Hughes 1976, 133).

CONCLUSION

In recent years the importance of the early churches in Northumbria for the subsequent development of Anglo-Saxon architecture has been increasingly appreciated. For instance it was in this part of England that 'Escomb fashion' jambs were first used. Dr. Taylor (1970) has now demonstrated convincingly how closely this feature is linked to the characteristic Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips and long-and-short quoins. Dr. Taylor suggests that these features were evolved by Northumbrian masons working in the Midlands or the South when faced with the need to build walls of small rubble rather than the roughly-faced squared stone so readily available in Northumbria. However actual examples of churches which can be ascribed to Anglian masons working outside Northumbria are rare. We have mentioned the Scottish church of Restenneth (p. 37), but south of the Humber we can point to very little evidence for the presence of Northumbrian masons. At the Mercian churches of Brigstock and Barnack (Northants), both of uncertain date, there are windows which appear to display Northumbrian technique (Taylor 1970, 38). It is difficult to add further examples, and Titchfield would thus be of considerable interest if we are correct in seeing Northumbrian influence.

This study has shown the positive results that can be obtained by applying the method of 'structural criticism' advocated by Dr. Taylor (1972). At a casual glance Titchfield church is perhaps an unpromising subject for study. However by means of a detailed examination of the surviving fabric and a small amount of archaeological investigation, coupled with a study of the historical evidence (including such features as the parish boundaries), it has been possible to build up a much fuller picture of Titchfield church and of its position in the area in Anglo-Saxon times. It has been established that Titchfield was the site of an 'old minster' enjoying influence over a wide area. The minster church itself was an imposing structure, probably of early date and perhaps associated with St. Wilfrid. However the possible Northumbrian influence and connection with Wilfrid should not be allowed to over-shadow the more concrete results of this study.

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I have also benefited from much kindness and hospitality at Titchfield, and I wish to place on record my gratitude to the Parochial Church Council for the co-operation and encouragement which I have received. Particular thanks are due to two successive incumbents of Titchfield, the Reverend N. A. L. Miller

and the Reverend T. W. W. Pemberton, and to Mr. P. V. Cousins, Messrs. E. and J. C. Draper, Mr. P. B. Hollins and Lieutenant-Commander M. R. Todd.

Last but not least, proper tribute should here be paid to William Stares, Francis Hall, Richard Reaves and Thomas Brock, who in 1677 stoutly resisted the proposal of the vicar to demolish the tower of Titchfield church (Appendix I, 2).

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR MODERN ALTERATIONS

This Appendix sets out the evidence provided by documentary sources and by illustrations for alterations to Titchfield church during recent centuries, in so far as they affect the development of the early church. The principal sources of evidence are the Titchfield faculty papers (HRO, Faculties) and vestry books (HRO, 37M73A, PV1/2/3). There is a good description of the church dated 10 July 1847 by Sir Stephen Glynne (Clwyd Record Office, Hawarden, *Sir Stephen Glynne's Church Notes*, vol. 28, fos. 31-33). Other sources are quoted below where applicable. In addition the following illustrations of the church before the restoration of 1866-7 provide useful information:—

A. A pencil sketch by N. W. Deckemant of the west end of the church, showing the south and west walls of the tower and the west wall of the south aisle, dated 16 September 1847 (Devon Record Office, East Devon Area, *Deckemant Drawings*, vol. 2, *S Hants*, p. 364). This sketch, though crude, provides valuable information and is reproduced as Plate 7.

B. A pencil drawing of the north side of the church by Joseph Moore, undated but probably to be assigned to about 1845-1850 (preserved in Titchfield church).

C. A pencil sketch of the north side of the church dated 14 July 1856 (HRO, local illustrations collection).

D. A pencil sketch of the south side of the church, undated but in the same hand as C (HRO, local illustrations collection, published in Hare 1974, 12).

E. A photograph dateable to 1863-1866 of the south side of the church (published in Morley 1934, 47; a better print is in the ownership of Titchfield Parochial Church Council).

F. A watercolour view dateable to between 1838 and 1859 of the interior of the church (preserved in Titchfield church).

G. A photograph dated 1859 of the interior of the church (HRO, local illustrations collection).

The following notes are not intended as a catalogue of all repairs. Only those records relevant to the study of the early fabric are listed here. For ease of reference in the body of the text, the evidence is set out in numbered sections:—

1. The first reference to the fabric of Titchfield church occurs in an exemplification of a Consistory Court decree dated 4 May 1622 (HRO, 37M73A, PW1), in which the mother church of Titchfield is stated 'to be and to have been for many years very ruinous and dilapidated' (*'matricem ecclesiam de Titchfeild predictam annis et mensibus arlatis fuisse et esse valde ruinosam et dilapidatam'*). The term *ruinosam* should not be taken to mean that the church was in ruins, but does indicate that it was in serious need of repair.

2. The cause of the trouble in 1622 is unknown, but in later times the tower seems

to have been a continuous source of trouble, doubtless because of the construction on top of the thin walls of the porch first of the upper part of the tower and then of the spire. The first references occur in the late seventeenth century. Inserted in the front of the first vestry book is 'An agreemt. for ye making of a tax for rebuilding of ye tower', dated 10 September 1668. This states that 'the said tower having been surveighed by three able workmen and according to their iudgement given thereupon found to be in such a ruinous condicion that it is very like to fall if not sodainly taken downe'. The Churchwardens' Presentments for 1668 also survive and report 'that our Steeple is in great danger of falling and wants speedy reparation' (HRO, Diocesan Records B/3). No rebuilding took place but presumably some work was carried out to make the tower safe. In 1673, the next year for which Churchwardens' Presentments survive, it is stated that 'we knowe nothing presentable'.

The question of demolition and rebuilding was raised again in 1677 and came to a head at a stormy meeting of the vestry on 16 April, when it was decided to retain the existing tower. The entry concludes 'Wee can therefore doe no more but pray that God would of his mercy prevent those mischiefs, with which the thinness, rottenness, cracks, and other defects of the said steeple seem to threaten us'.

There is one surviving structural feature which can probably be assigned to this period. In the west angles of the tower massive quarter-round blocks have been inserted (Fig. 3), rising from ground level to the first floor. These blocks are plastered, but the removal in 1974 of a small quantity of plaster showed that they were built of brick, probably of seventeenth-century date (I am grateful to Mr. J. C. Draper for giving me his opinion as to the likely date of this brickwork). It seems likely that the quarter-round blocks were inserted as strengthening during the period 1668-1677 or thereabouts.

3. A possible indication of further structural problems caused by the tower is given by the following entry in the vestry minutes for 11 May 1734, 'We also order a Support to

be put in the Bellfrey for Supporting the Same'.

4. The next reference is contained in a memorandum inserted in the vestry minutes, 'On Monday April the 24th 1831 the Church was put under repair, the Ceiling renewed and whitewashed, the Windows, Pillars, and Arches cleaned and restored, And the Saxon Arch as the West entrance which had been entirely concealed for more than a Century laid open, the Bellfry Floor being raised four feet, and the Wall on each side carried back'. It is clear that the west arch had been blocked for some considerable time, and it may well be that the original blocking had taken place in the late seventeenth century, perhaps at the same time as the insertion of the quarter-round blocks. Presumably the main entrance to the church before 1831 was through the south porch seen in the illustrations A, C and D. The present floor of the third stage of the tower is illogically placed on a level with the sills of the windows in the side walls, and it was probably this floor which was raised four feet. The reference to 'the Wall on each side (being) carried back' is obscure, but perhaps relates to boundary walls external to the tower.

5. A memorandum in the vestry minutes dated 25 March 1840 describes how the clock was repaired in 1840 and also mentions that repairs were carried out to the room in which the clock mechanism stood.

6. The vestry minutes show that extensive repairs to the tower became necessary in 1850. A meeting of the vestry was held on 6 June 1850 to consider an architect's report. The minutes of the meeting read as follows:—

'The report of the Architect employed to survey the Tower was read, and on the opinion of Mr. James Hewett a further examination of the foundation of the Tower was ordered at once.

—The Sexton dug down 3 feet, and bored with a Crow Bar 1 foot, and struck upon a Stone footing, which induced the Vestry to come to the Opinion that ye foundation was quite safe and secure.

—The Churchwardens proposed that the Tower of the Church should be cleaned by

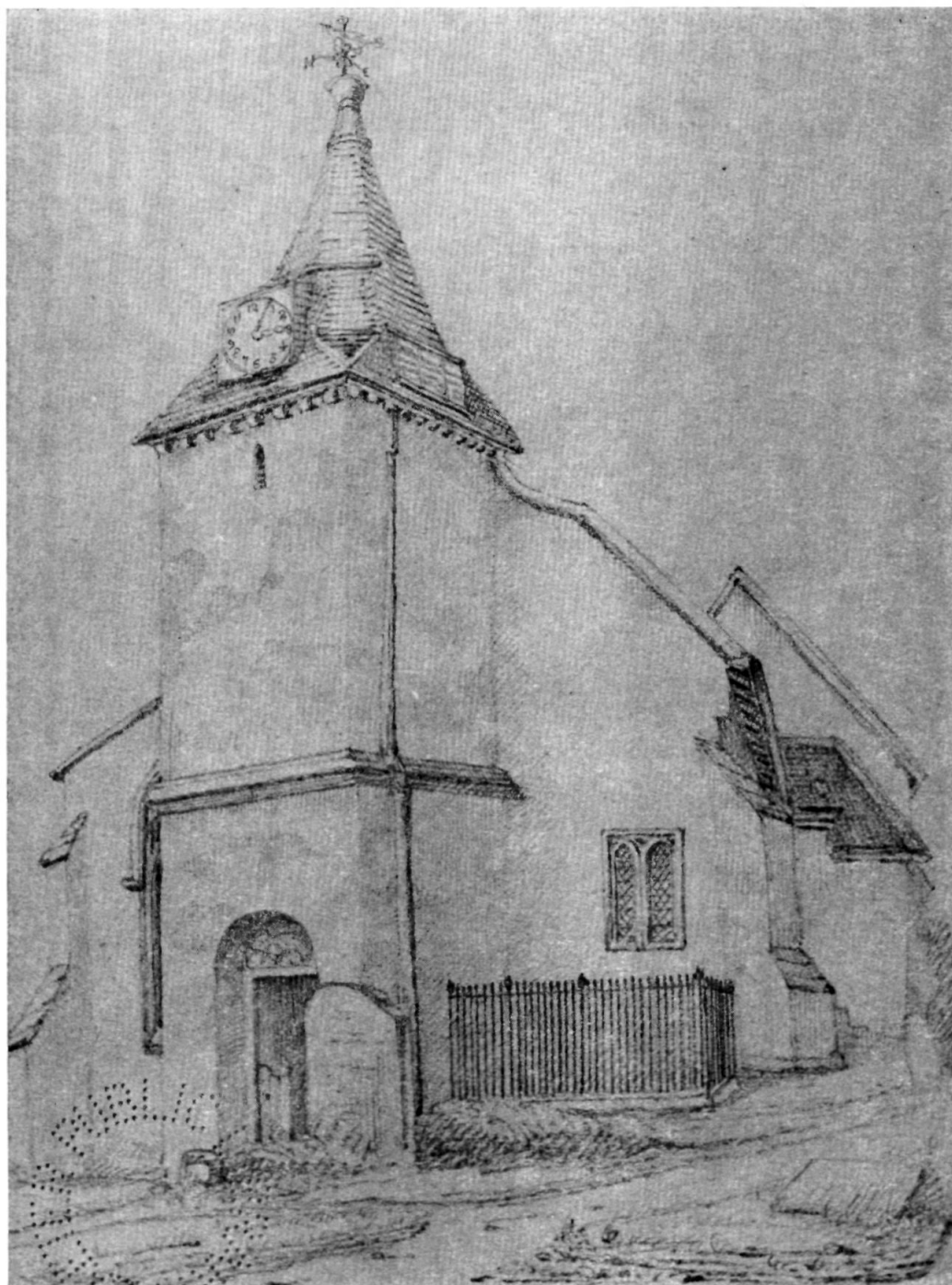


Plate 7. Drawing of the west end of Titchfield Church by N. W. Deckemant dated 16th September, 1847.
(Photo. East Devon Record Office, Exeter.)

removing the plaster, and the same be pointed with Cement according to the Specimen on the North side of the Church.

—With respect to the upright Timber and Cornice it was proposed, that if practicable with the safety of the Tower, the same should be removed, and Iron Stays substituted.

—It was then proposed by Mr. Rd. Wooldrige and seconded by Mr. Wm. Cawte that a rate in Aid of 1d. in the pound be granted to defray all the necessary expenses of the Tower; which was unanimously agreed to.

—Lastly. It was proposed by Capt. Stacker and seconded by the Revd. G. Morris, That the pointing of the Tower below the surface of the Earth should be attended to, as far deep as the same be found necessary'.

Brief references to further repairs to the tower are also found in the vestry minutes over the next few years (see vestry minutes for 22 April 1851, 9 October 1851, 13 April 1852 and 29 March 1853). At a meeting of the vestry on 20 December 1851 the vicar was thanked for his gift of 'Iron Gates to the Church Tower'. The latch of the gates still bears the date 1851.

The sketch of the west end of the church by Deckemant (illustration A, Pl. 7) shows the tower of Titchfield church shortly before the repairs of 1850 and explains the reference to 'the upright Timber and Cornice', and its substitution by 'Iron Stays'. The drawing shows a massive timber 'cornice' surrounding the tower at a height of about 14 ft (4.27 m) above ground level, whilst against the south wall, at a distance of 3-4 ft. (0.91-1.22 m) from the south-west quoin, a thin upright timber runs from ground level to the cornice and from the cornice to the corbel table at the top of the tower. The evidence of the Moore drawing (illustration B) shows that there was a similar upright timber against the north wall of the tower. This curious arrangement may perhaps date from the steps taken in the late seventeenth century to prevent the collapse of the tower.

It was doubtless in or soon after 1850 that the iron girdle, which now surrounds the tower at a height of 12 ft 6 in. (3.81 m) above ground level, was inserted (A in Figs. 4A-D). This girdle is coupled with iron straps to an

oak cross beam within the tower. Two further cross beams at higher levels are coupled with bolts to iron crosses (B in Figs. 4A and 4C).

The Deckemant drawing also shows that a wooden door-frame had been built into the rear of the west archway of the tower, presumably in 1831 when the archway was opened out. The short descriptive text accompanying the drawing states that the church 'bears the marks of violent plastering and whitewashing'.

7. A faculty dated 28 April 1866 was granted 'to restore, repave and enlarge the said Church by adding an Aisle to the same on the Southern side thereof and to repew the whole of the said Church'. In fact the work involved pulling down an existing south aisle and arcade of Norman date. Fortunately the principal features of this aisle were described by Glynne in 1847 and can be seen in the illustrations A, D, E, F and G. Further evidence (including detailed measurements) is provided by the faculties granted for the construction of galleries in the south aisle between 1793 and 1801. Glynne's account of the south aisle follows his description of the elaborate Norman west doorway, 'Another Romanesque door remains on the S. side of the nave, of a plainer character with 2 orders of arch mouldings & 1 shaft on each side. The S. aisle is original, though it has undergone some alterations & some late windows have been inserted. Within, the original Romanesque arcade on the S. of the nave has been sadly altered of late years in order to make room for the insertion of a gallery - the arches were formerly low, & the piers short, of circular form with square capitals - the arches are now quite changed by 2 being thrown into one - the responds have square abaci with indented ornaments'.

Externally the views A, D and E show a south porch apparently built of brick, and the Norman door described by Glynne doubtless opened from the porch into the aisle. Immediately to either side of the porch, doorways gave access to the galleries. There were also three square-headed Perpendicular windows, one on either side of the porch and one in the west wall of the aisle.

Internally the evidence of the faculties of 1793-1801 shows that the aisle was much



Plate 8. Titchfield Church, photograph taken during repairs in 1955. The photograph is taken from the west end of the nave and shows the east end of the north aisle, with a continuous foundation wall visible beneath the north arcade.

(Photo. Titchfield Parochial Church Council.)

narrower than the present aisle, being about 10 ft. 6 in. (3.20 m) in internal width. It is clear from the illustrations F and G, from Glynne's description and from the faculty papers that the arches of the original Norman arcade were removed at the time of the insertion of galleries in 1793–1801. Before the restoration of 1866–7, the arcade seems to have consisted of two arches of stilted or elliptical form, but the exact number of bays in the original arcade is unclear. The illustrations F and G show a round pier and a semicircular respond, the pier and respond being provided with multi-scalloped capitals

and square abaci of the second half of the twelfth century; fragments of a round pier and multi-scalloped capital are still preserved in the church at the east end of the north aisle. At the east end of the arcade there was a short length of walling backing the respond, and a substantial height of walling must have existed above the original Norman arcade before the alterations of 1793–1801. This probably indicates that the arcade was cut through the original Anglo-Saxon nave wall, but there is nothing to indicate whether any discoveries of interest were made in the course of the demolition of this wall.

8. At some unknown date, probably in the second half of the nineteenth century, a flight of steps was built against the north wall of the tower, and a doorway was cut into the first floor with its sill at a height of 12 ft. 9 in. (3.89 m) above ground level. The stairway is first mentioned in a description of 1908 (Peers, in Page 1908, 231). The stairway gives no indication of date, but the doorway is modern in appearance. It seems unlikely that the doorway could have existed before the removal of the timber 'cornice' in 1850. In the absence of any specific reference to the construction of the stairway, it is probable that this work was carried out during the restoration of the tower after 1850 or perhaps at the time of the general restoration of 1866-7. The doorway does not appear in the drawing C of 1856, but this evidence is of doubtful value, as the artist of C and D omitted modern accretions such as the doorways to the galleries.

9. In 1896 the bells were recast and rehung in an iron frame (faculty dated 3 September 1896). The rolled steel joists shown in Fig. 5 date from this time.

10. The *Victoria County History* (Peers, in Page 1908, 231) records of the Roman brick bonding-course that 'At a late repair it was found to go right through the wall'. The repair in question was probably the insertion

of the overflow pipe to the header tank of the boiler; this pipe is cut through the tile bonding-course close to the south-west quoin. A boiler was first installed in 1899 (faculty dated 19 October 1899).

11. Under a faculty dated 28 April 1905 the south porch of the Victorian south aisle was demolished and a vestry erected in its stead.

12. A. R. and P. M. Green (1951, 22) wrote that 'remains of the Saxon chancel-arch have been discovered in the lower part of the present arch'. No Anglo-Saxon work can be seen in the chancel-arch as it now stands, nor is there any record of repairs during which a discovery of this nature might have been made. It is difficult to see what led the Greens to make this remark.

13. In 1955 a large part of the floor of the nave and aisles (the area now floored in cork tile) was taken up as a result of a severe attack of dry rot. There was a cavity beneath the floor 2-3 ft (0.61-0.91 m) in depth. This cavity was filled with rubble and concreted over. Unfortunately no archaeological examination was made, but a continuous foundation wall was observed on the line of the present north arcade (information supplied by Mr. P. V. Cousins). This foundation wall can be seen in a surviving photograph (Pl. 8).

NOTES

1. The *Life of Willibald* mentions a monastery at *Waldheim* which is usually taken to be Bishop's Waltham (Holder-Egger 1887, 89). Further evidence for the existence of an early church at Bishop's Waltham has recently come to light in the form of a ninth-century cross-shaft fragment (now in the care of Winchester City Museum, information from Mr. A. B. Rance).
2. Goodman (1927, 42) recorded a thirteenth-century reference to the gift of 'the church of St Mary of Tychefelde' to Titchfield Abbey, but this is an error; reference to the original text of the Chartulary in the Winchester Cathedral Library shows that it was the abbey church which was dedicated to St Mary, and no dedication is given for the parish church.

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Abbreviations

- ASC *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (see below, Whitelock *et al.* 1961).
 HE Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (see below, Colgrave and Mynors 1969).
 HRO Hampshire Record Office, Winchester.
 VW Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi* (see below, Colgrave 1927).

In British Library

- Rememoratorium de Tychefelde*. Welbeck MS. I. A. 2, now deposited in the British Library, Loans 29/55.

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