

**THE ANGLO-SAXON CHARTER BOUNDS
OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT
PART 2: THE EAST MEDINE**

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Abstract

This paper is the second of a two-part study of the Anglo-Saxon charter bounds of the Isle of Wight. The primary aim of the study is the reconstruction of the landscape in the later Anglo-Saxon period. Charters defining estates in the eastern half of the Island are examined: Bathingbourne, Branstone, Ashe, Fishbourne and Wroxall. The charter bounds are located in the modern landscape, inferences made about the Anglo-Saxon landscape, and the bounds related to Domesday Manors. The identification of Linlande, which may have been located on the Island, is discussed. The study concludes with an examination of the charter boundary clauses in relation to other sources, to produce a reconstruction of the landscape of the Isle of Wight in the later Anglo-Saxon period.

Introduction

There are four extant Anglo-Saxon charters documenting estates in the eastern half of the Isle of Wight. Three of these include Old English boundary clauses (S 1662, S 1663, S 842) ¹, with the last of these three defining four separate estates on the Island. All three of the charters with bounds include estates centered on Bathingbourne. These charters date from the second half of the tenth century. The latest charter (S 1391) was produced in the mid-eleventh century and documents an exchange of estates. It does not have a boundary clause but can be reconstructed from topographical evidence and later documentary sources.

The boundary clauses in Anglo-Saxon charters provide invaluable contemporary information about the landscape once they have been defined in the modern landscape. This evidence can be used in conjunction with other sources to produce a reconstruction of the appearance of the various landscape regions of the Isle of Wight for the later Anglo-Saxon period.

The Charter Bounds of the East Medine

S 1662, Bathingbourne and Linlande

This was a charter of King Eadred (951x955) concerning two hides at Beaddingaburnan (Bathingbourne) and one hide at Linlande (unidentified). It is a fragmentary text recorded in the Evesham cartulary. The text of the charter has been erased to make room for later entries, starting with S 1663. Only the bounds and the list of witnesses have survived. The bounds of Beaddingaburnan are followed by the bounds of Linlande (Birch 1024; Finberg 1964, no.72).

The Bounds of Bathingbourne

Dis synd þara twegra hyda land gemæra to Beaddingaburnan. ærest of þam stanihtan forða suþ 7lang dices. oð þone suþ healf on ðone stan. þonon west 7lang díc on tidearding mor. of þære díc norð 7lang mores be healfan more on þam gemyþum. west 7lang beaddingaburnan on þone stanihtan forðan. 7seo ut læs mid oprum mannum gemære. (Birch 1024).

These are the boundaries of the two hide estate at Bathingbourne. Starting from the stony ford south along the ditch to the south side to the stone thence west along the ditch to Tidheard's moor. From that ditch north by the side of the moor to the confluence west along the Bathing Bourne to the stony ford. And the outlying pasture common with other men ².

Identifying the Bounds (Fig 1)

The bounds of Bathingbourne in S 1662 have been discussed by Kökeritz (1940,145) and some comments have been made by Forsberg (1950,209-10).

The stony ford is the point where Bathingbourne Lane now crosses the stream by a small bridge, to the north of Bathingbourne Farm. From this point, the bounds of Bathingbourne would have followed the line of the stream in a south-easterly direction, curving round to a southerly direction. This stream, from the site of the ford, forms the parish boundary between Godshill and Newchurch. The stone cannot be identified in the modern landscape, but would appear to have been in a location near the stream some 280 metres to the north of Bobberstone Farm. Such a location marked the southern limit of Bathingbourne Farm in 1838 (IWCRO JER/T/158,159; see below). It may very well be an identical location to that of 'the other stone' in the bounds of S 1663, which would place the stone on or near the path running northwards from Bobberstone, rather than alongside the stream. The 'stone' element in the place-name Bobberstone may be fortuitous. The early spellings, commencing in the mid-fifteenth century, are ambiguous (Mills 1996,30-31). The vast majority of 'stone' place-name suffixes on the Isle of Wight are derived from Old English *tūn*, but Bobberstone may be a parallel for Mottistone, where the suffix is derived from Old English *stan*, 'stone'. From the stream, the bounds of S 1662 went westwards along a ditch. There is however a locally prominent ridge (an outlier of sandrock beds within the ferruginous sands) between these two watercourses. It would appear that a location is missing from the bounds of S 1662 in this area, with the omission of *Aðulfe's hylle* (see S 842ii, below). The boundary between the north flowing stream in the Bobberstone area and the ditch terminating at *tidearding mor* has been reconstructed through reference to the tithes apportionment for Godshill parish (IWCRO JER/T/158,159). The southern boundaries of Bathingbourne Farm and Lessland Farm in 1838 have been plotted in this reconstruction. It is perhaps significant that the southern boundary of Bathingbourne as defined in 1838 forms a significant lynchet between Lessland Lane and the footpath between Green Acres Farm and Bobberstone. To the west of Lessland lane, after a further 425 metres, the *dīc* in the bounds of S 1662 also formed part of the southern boundary of Lessland Farm in 1838. The western end of this ditch is identified as part of 'Tidheard's Moor', and from the end of this ditch, the bounds run north along the stream by the side of the moor. *Tidearing mor* can thus be identified with *Tidelingham* (Hockey 1991 map 4, nos. 1,65,69,70,155,180-189), an area of rough pasture which was also known as *Ryde Mede*. The 'moor' place-name is preserved locally in Moor Farm, 400 metres to the west of the confluence of the *dīc* and the stream flowing northwards. The bounds of S 1662 then follow the stream northwards, along the line of the Arreton/Godshill parish boundary. 'The confluence' is the point where this stream meets the stream flowing westwards from the starting point of the bounds. From here, the Old English bounds describe the boundary as running 'west'. As Kökeritz has pointed out, "The word *west* in west *7lang beaddinga-burnan* must be an error for *east* or possibly a corruption of *þ' eft* (then back); the second survey in Hyda [S 842], which seems to deal more or less with the same piece of land has *eft* here" (Kökeritz 1940,145). The bounds thus follow the stream, named as the Bathing Bourne, back to the starting point of *þone stanihtan fordan*. The stream here also forms the parish boundary between Arreton and Godshill. This reconstruction of the bounds of S 1662 is coterminous with the combined areas of Lessland Farm and Bathingbourne Farm as defined by the Godshill tithes apportionment of 1838.

The Anglo-Saxon Landscape of Bathingbourne

The bounds of S 1662 provide limited information about the landscape in the tenth century. The starting point of the bounds was obviously a ford, which was at an unspecified later date replaced by a small bridge. *Tidearding mor* is the only location in the bounds which tells us much about the contemporary landscape. This would have been an area of rough pasture where reeds could have

been obtained, as is suggested by its later name of *Ryde Mead*.

Bathingbourne, Domesday Book and outlying pasture

The last part of the Old English boundary clause of S 1662 can be translated as 'And the outlying pasture common with other men'. The Domesday Book entry for Bathingbourne is described as "The Down and Bathingbourne" (Munby 1982,39c). It would appear that *Ladone* of Domesday was the location of the outlying pasture belonging to Bathingbourne in the mid tenth-century. By 1066, The Down and Bathingbourne paid tax for four hides, suggesting that 'The Down' had been developed into a permanent settlement from being the outlying pasture a century or so earlier. The outlying pasture of Bathingbourne was therefore chalk downland so must have been situated at least 2½ kilometres beyond the bounds of S 1662. It has been suggested that *Ladone* can be identified with Down Court, high up in the southern chalk massif (Kökeritz 1940,252-3). If this identification is correct, then the outlying pasture of Bathingbourne was 6 km beyond the bounds of S 1662. With the possible exception of *Linlande* (below), Bathingbourne is the only instance of an Anglo-Saxon boundary clause relating to the Island itemizing detached pasture.

The varied history of the ownership of Bathingbourne between the mid-tenth century and 1086 is outlined under S 1663 (below).

Linlande

The second set of bounds in S 1662 relate to 'the third hide at Linlande':

7 þis is þara þriddan hiwiscas land gemære æt linlande. of linlande norð weard suð 7lang mearce on þone herpað. suð 7lang herpaþs on þone ricsihtan mere. þón west on þa mearce. þón norð 7lang mearce on þa hæþenan byrgenan. of þam byrgenum norð 7lang mearc on þæne stan. þonon east on linlande norðweard. 7 seo ut læs 7 seo wudu læs mid oþrum mannum gemære (Birch 1024).

'These are the boundaries of the third hide at Linlande. From the north part of Linlande south along the boundary to the highway. South along the highway to the rushy pond then west to the boundary. Then north along the boundary to the heathen burial place. From that burial place north along the boundary to the stone. Thence east to the north part of Linlande. And the outlying pasture and the woodland pasture common with other men'.

It is not certain whether *Linlande* relates to an estate of one hide on the Isle of Wight or elsewhere in England. The phrase 'the third hide' does however suggest that *Linlande* may have been located in the vicinity of Bathingbourne. Also, there is a reference to outlying pasture in the bounds of *Linlande*, which is similar to the reference in the bounds of Bathingbourne in the same charter. This suggests that *Linlande* was in a geographically similar area to Bathingbourne. Kökeritz has suggested that "If the first *n* were an error, *linlande* might refer to Lessland" (1940,145,note 1). There are however two reasons why *Linlande* cannot be identified with Lessland:

1. The reconstruction of the two hides of Bathingbourne in S 1662 includes the whole of the area of Lessland Farm
2. The bounds of *Linlande* in S 1662, although describing an area of one hide (Lessland Farm being approximately half the area of Bathingbourne as defined in S 1662), do not accord with the topography of the Lessland area. No mention is made of ditches or streams, both of which would have featured prominently in the bounds of Lessland.

The phrase 'And the outlying pasture and the woodland pasture common with other men' appended to the bounds of *Linlande* give some guidance to the location of this one hide. Assuming that a parallel is valid with the similar phrase appended to the bounds of Bathingbourne in S 1662, then 'the outlying pasture' must relate to chalk grassland, and this resource would not have existed

within the bounds of *Linlande*. The reference to 'the outlying pasture' therefore indicates that *Linlande* itself was not situated within the area of the lateral chalk ridge or the southern chalk massif. Similarly, the reference 'the woodland pasture' indicates that there was no wood-pasture available within the bounds. This reference to 'the woodland pasture' implies that *Linlande* was not situated within the extensive wood-pasture area of the Island north of the lateral ridge. A location within the Island's southern vale is the only possibility, in an area without direct access to chalk grassland.

The distribution of place-names with a -land suffix may be of relevance in locating *Linlande*. Many -land place-names relate to settlement sites within the 'northern lowlands' of the Island, which was predominantly an area of clayland heaths and wood-pasture. These locations can be excluded as *Linlande's* wood-pasture was at some distance beyond its bounds. The only two instances of -land place-names in the 'southern vale' are Lessland and Wackland. Lessland was not the location of *Linlande* (above). Wackland can also be dismissed as it is bounded on the north side by the River Yar. No mention is made of a watercourse in the bounds of *Linlande*. A river such as the Yar would surely have featured in the bounds if they related to Wackland.

Linlande would thus appear to be a lost place-name. The bounds indicate that it was not situated in an area with significant watercourses, that it was partially bounded on the eastern side by a roadway of more than local significance (*suð 7lang herpaps*), and a 'heathen burial place' lay on its western boundary.

Gelling (1978,157) has discussed the term *hæthenan byrgels* 'heathen burial-place': "There is no general correlation between this boundary-mark and tumuli, so it seems probable that the reference is to Anglo-Saxon pagan cemeteries the position of which was remembered in the ninth and tenth centuries, though there were no mounds to mark the graves". All of the known pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites on the Isle of Wight were situated on, or just beyond the margins of, the lateral chalk ridge. The former existence of burial sites on the northern margins of the southern massif is however a possibility. It would therefore appear that *Linlande* was probably on the northern margins of the southern vale, or possibly on its southern margins. The reference to outlying pasture in the bounds of *Linlande* does not disqualify it from being in physical proximity to chalk grassland. The Domesday entry for 'Knighton and the Down' (Munby 1982,39c) refers to a location immediately to the south of the lateral chalk ridge which would appear to have had downland pastures at Down Court, 11 kilometres away to the south-west (Kökeritz 1940,253). Knighton would not have had access to chalk downland immediately to the north, as this was part of the Asheby estate (see S 842iii).

Linlande has thus not been identified, but would appear to relate to a lost place-name on the Isle of Wight. It was situated within the southern vale of the Island, probably on its northern margins adjoining the lateral ridge, with an important road forming part of its eastern boundary. The identification of *Linlande* with a specific location and of its bounds may possibly lead to the discovery of a lost pagan Saxon burial site.

The place-name of *Linlande* is of interest regarding the history of the landscape within the Anglo-Saxon period. The first element *lin* is Old English 'flax' (Sweet 1896,108). *Linlande* therefore means 'land where flax is grown'. One meaning of -land in settlement names is 'newly cultivated land' (Gelling 1984,245-9). This raises the possibility that at *Linlande* an area which had not been cultivated within living memory had been prepared for the production of flax at the time the place-name was formed. The latest date for the origin of this place-name would be the mid tenth century, ie. the date of the charter. Gelling suggests that -land place-names were formed from the seventh century onwards (Gelling and Cole 2000,279), so *Linlande* may have been a settlement site of some antiquity by the time S 1662 was formulated.

S 1663, Bathingbourne

This was a grant made by Eadwig, king of the English and ruler of many peoples round about

(955x959), to his theign Æthelgeard. It consisted of five *mansae* at *Beaddingaburnan* (Bathingbourne) in the Isle of Wight, free of all but the three common dues (Finberg 1964,no.86).

The Bounds of S 1663

Dis synd þa gemære to beaddingaburnan. Ærest of beaddingaburnan east 7lang díc on þone stan. þonon suð 7lang þes grenan weges on þone oðerne stan. of þam stane on þone sandihtan hærepof. þonon on risc mere. of risc mere on stan beorg. þón. on holan broc. of holan broce on beaddingaburnan. siþþan norð 7lang beaddingaburnan on þa east langan dic (Kökeritz 1940,144).

'These are the boundaries of Bathingbourne. Starting from the Bathing Bourne east along the ditch to the stone. Thence south along the green way to the other stone. From this stone to the sandy highway. Thence to the rush pond. From the rush pond to the stone hill. Then to the hollow brook. From the hollow brook to the Bathing Bourne. Then north along the Bathing Bourne to the eastern long ditch'.

Identifying the Bounds (Fig 2)

The bounds of S 1663 have been discussed by Grundy (1926,103-4), Kökeritz (1940,144-5) and Forsberg (1950,209-10).

The starting point for the bounds differs from the other two charters relating to Bathingbourne (S 1662, S 842ii). The bounds of S 1663 commence at the confluence of 'Bathing Bourne', the stream running northward from south of Moor Farm, and the westwards flowing stream from Bathingbourne, at a point east of Budbridge. From this confluence the bounds follow the Arreton/Godshill parish boundary eastwards along the stream. The next point on the bounds would appear to be in the vicinity of 'the stony ford', the starting point of the bounds of S 1662 and S 842ii. It is described as *þone stan* 'the stone' and would appear to refer to a location just to the north of the ford which was called Stone on the maps of 1775, 1781 and 1785 and more recently known as Stone-shell (Kökeritz 1940,145). The bounds then run southwards 'along the green way', which is the modern metalled road known as Bathingbourne Lane, which after 550 metres turns abruptly to the west at Green Acres Farm. The line of the road however continues southwards as a footpath. Kökeritz has commented on *þes grenan weges* that "... it is tempting, indeed, to identify this OE boundary mark with (ditch from) *Grenewaye* gate (to Frenche myll brooke) 1576 Wor, and (the Packeway from Frenchemyll to) *Grenewaye* 1577 Wor." (1940,145). The next point on the bounds, *þone oðerne stan* 'the other stone' may very well be identical to *ðone stan* 'the stone' in the bounds of S 1662, which would appear to have been located just to the north of Bobberstone. In his work on S 1663, Grundy commented that: "The 'other' stone was probably at or near the modern Bobberstone ... in the name of which the full name of the old stone may survive" (Grundy 1926,104). From 'the other stone' the boundary of S 1663 continues to 'the sandy highway', which was identified by Grundy as the line of the road from Shanklin to Godshill, where the place-name Sandford, preserves something of the description of the road from the tenth century. The alignment of the bounds on approaching the eastern end of Sandford would appear to have been preserved by a length of hedgerow to the north of the road, with the bounds crossing the road just to the east of the chapel. To the south of the road the bounds of S 1663 continued in a southerly direction, probably following the green lane in the modern landscape, which formed the eastern boundary of Redhill Farm in 1838 (IWCRO JER/T/158,159). From the southern end of this green lane, the bounds may very well have followed the line of a sunken way upslope to the west towards the next location in the bounds, the *risc mere* 'rush pond'. There is a small pond in the modern landscape to the north of Gat Cliff and the 1:25,000 map of 1985 indicates a larger one to the east. This is now dry, but a spring is marked at this location on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey six-inch map. Both of these sites are in the area of landslip on the northern slope of the southern massif. Either of these sites or a former pond in the same area may very well have been the 'rush pond' in

the bounds. The bounds of S 1663 would therefore have followed the northern pale of Appuldurcombe Park, which in its present form originated much later than the tenth century, but would probably have formed the northern boundary of Wroxall in the mid-eleventh century (S 1391, below). Beyond the 'rush pond', the next point in the bounds is *stan beorg* 'stone hill'. Kökeritz said that this may "refer to the conspicuous hill on which Godshill church now stands" (1940,145) but a more plausible suggestion is the prominent carstone hill immediately south of Sainham. This location accords well with the next point on the bounds, *holan broc* 'hollow brook'. This can be identified with the small but relatively deep valley running northwards from north-east of Sainham to the eastern end of Godshill village. The road running north-east to the northern end of this valley is named 'Hollow Lane'. From 'hollow brook' the bounds of S 1663 go on to *beaddingaburnan*, which in these bounds relate to the stream to the east of Moor Farm which forms the Arreton/Godshill parish boundary. The starting point of the bounds is at the confluence to the east of Bud-bridge.

Forsberg (1950,209-210) has argued that the bounds of this charter relate to an area within Newchurch parish rather than within Godshill parish, ie. further to the east. This hypothesis is based upon the argument that the stream-name *beaddingaburnan* (in S 1662, S 1663 and S 842) must all relate to the same stream, ie. the stream which runs northwards from French Mill, then north-west passing the hamlet of Bathingbourne. Whilst it is acknowledged that the present reconstruction necessitates two streams in the area having been named *beaddingaburnan* (Figs 1, 2 and 4), it is quite possible that the two watercourses on the margins of the estate would have been referred to as *beaddingaburnan* in different charters. The other boundary markers in S 1663 make less sense if the estate had been located within Newchurch parish, and it is unclear why an estate in the Princelett/Whitley Bank area should have been referred to as Bathingbourne.

The Anglo-Saxon Landscape of Bathingbourne

The bounds of S 1663 give some information about roads in the tenth century. Bathingbourne Lane, and its continuation southwards which is now a footpath, was described as *þes grenan weges* 'the green way'. This can be contrasted with *þone sandihtan hæreþop*, 'the sandy highway', a more important road which now forms part of the main road from Shanklin to Godshill. Before the advent of road metalling, 'sandy' would be an apt description of the road surface in this area, in this area of ferruginous sands. The place-name Sandford was first recorded in 1086, but the *-ford* element may have been used to form this place-name long before the eleventh century (Cox 1976; Gelling 1984,67; Copley 1986,70).

S 1663 and Domesday Book

The bounds of the five hides of S 1663 include three Domesday manorial sites, Bathingbourne, Lessland and Sandford. The inclusion of the Sandford area in Bathingbourne was only temporary (below). Sandford with Week was rated at three hides in 1066 (Munby 1982,39c). This area would appear to be identical with the southern part of S 1663 and accords with the opinion of the late S.F. Hockey that Week, Domesday *Wica* and *Wyk* in the *Nomina Villarum* of 1316, was in the vicinity of Appuldurcombe, rather than referring to Week Farm (personal communication). The place-names Week and Sandford are used interchangeably in references to the area in the charters of the Redvers family (Bearman 1994).

Bathingbourne from the mid tenth century to 1086

The history of the land ownership of Bathingbourne from the date of S 1662 to the time of Domesday Book is quite convoluted and is outlined here:

1. King Eadred (951x955) granted the two hides of Bathingbourne to a now unrecorded individual (S 1662). Reconstruction of the bounds indicate that these two hides included Lessland, and in addition to the two hides the grant included 'the outlying pasture common with other

men', which was probably an area of chalk downland.

2. King Eadwig (955x959) granted five hides of Bathingbourne to Æthelgeard (S 1663). Reconstruction of these bounds indicates that the five hides included Lessland and Sandford. There is no mention of outlying pasture in this document.
3. Bathingbourne was acquired by Lufa (Finberg 1964,no.125).
4. Bathingbourne was included in the 13 hides of land which was forfeited to the crown by the criminal Lufa (Finberg 1964,no.124; S 842).
5. The 13 hides which had been forfeited by Lufa were bought from the king by ealdorman Æthelmær for 100 mancuses of gold (Finberg 1964,no.125; S 842).
6. The will of Æthelmær (971x982) bequeathed the 13 hides of land which had been purchased from the king to Winchester New Minster. This bequest was confirmed by king Æthelred in 982 on the death of Æthelmær. This included the two hides of Bathingbourne which were almost coterminous in area with the two hides of S 1662 but with the eastern boundary being the same as S 1663 between Bathingbourne and Bobberstone, ie. following the 'green way', rather than the stream. There is no mention of outlying pasture in S 842.
7. The estates belonging to the New Minster which were bestowed by William I on his officers were said by Dugdale to have included Bathingbourne (Kökeritz 1940,26) ³, but the alienation of Bathingbourne from the New Minster must have pre-dated 1066. By this date 'The Down and Bathingbourne' were held by Odo from King Edward in freehold. This estate paid tax for four hides but would not have included Lessland, as this was accounted for under two other Domesday entries. Sandford with Week was held by King Edward as a separate manor (Munby 1982,39c).
8. In 1086 The Down and Bathingbourne were held by the king in lordship.

S 842, Heantune, Bathingbourne, Meolocdune and Stathe

This charter dates from 982, being issued by Æthelred, King of all Albion, to the New Minster at Winchester: Confirmation of a bequest by the earldorman Æthelmær [Finberg 1964,no.125, 971x982], who had purchased from the king, for 100 mancuses of gold, certain lands forfeited by a criminal named Lufa, and subsequently left them to the Minster, where he lies buried, 2 manentia [hides] at Heantune, 2 at Beaddingaburnan (Bathingbourne), 2 at Meolocdune and 1 at Stathe, all in the Isle of Wight, also in Portsea Island at Frodingtune (Fratton) and at Suggincgwyrthe (Segenworth in Titchfield), with a hay-mead between the River Meon and the mill leat of King's Mill; free of all but the three common dues (Finberg 1964,no.132) ⁴.

The bounds of Heantune (S 842i)

Ðis sind þara twegra hida landgemæra to Heantune: ærest, on þone stænihtan ford east, andlang herpaðes; of þan herpaðe, swa hit gemearcod is, to ðære fulan dic; of þære fulan dic to wynnangeate; of wynnangeate andlang mearce, on þa stanynan hlyfan; of þære hlyfan, andlang mearce, on þa oðre stænenan hlyfan; of þære hlyfan innan þa widan dic forð, andlang dic, on Beadingaburnan, to þære ealden hide ðe to niwan mynstre ær hyrde on Wintanceastre; þanon on gerihte up andlang burnan eft on þone stænihtan ford (Edwards 1866,219-220).

'These are the boundaries of the two hide estate of Heantune. Starting from the stony ford east, along the highway. From that highway as it is marked out, to the dirty ditch. From the dirty ditch to the meadow (or pasture) gate. From the meadow (or pasture) -gate along the boundary to the stony shelter. From that shelter along the boundary to the other stony shelter, from the shelter into the wide ditch forward, along the ditch to the Bathing Bourne, to the old (or main) hide formerly belonging to Winchester New Minster. Thence straight up along the stream returning to the stony ford'.

Identifying the Bounds of Heantune (Fig 3)

The bounds of Heantune have been discussed by Kökeritz (1940, 145-6).

The bounds start at 'the stony ford', which can be identified with the ford at Bathingbourne, which is also the starting point of the bounds of Bathingbourne in S 1662 and of Bathingbourne in this charter. From the ford the bounds follow the highway (*herpaðe*) eastwards, which is the road running in a north-easterly direction from Bathingbourne, and crossing the Arreton to Lake road, continuing towards Newchurch. This length of road also forms the parish boundary between Arreton and Newchurch. The dirty ditch (*fulan dic*) is likely to be the watercourse which flows westwards towards the Yar on the south side of Watery Lane. The bounds follow this watercourse eastwards to *wynnangeate*. This can be identified with Winford Farm, which lies immediately to the north of the 'dirty ditch' at Winford Cross. Kökeritz (1940,146) points out that "It is a noteworthy fact that *Felicia attewenforde* 1302 Ct is also called *Felicia attewingate* in the same year and in the same court-roll". The bounds then run 'along the boundary'. This is the eastwards continuation of the 'dirty ditch' beyond Winford. This ditch, which is dry in summer, formed the southern boundary of an area of heathland c.1800, and the eastern part of this boundary (before reaching the road running north from Apse Heath) consists of a double ditch. The next point in the bounds, *þa stanynan hlyfan*, is best translated as 'the stony shelter'. There are a few occurrences of *hlif* 'protection, shelter' in place-names, and one other instance in charter bounds, but apparently no other instances of 'stony shelters' (Margaret Gelling, personal communication). This shelter cannot be located in the modern landscape, but would appear to have been somewhere at the intersection of this ditch/boundary and the modern road. Similarly, 'the other stony shelter' (*þa oðre stānenan hlyfan*) cannot be located. It may have been near the crossroads at Apse Heath. From this shelter, the bounds went 'into the wide ditch forward, along the ditch to the Bathing Bourne'. This was the watercourse running from Princelett westwards to the Bathing Bourne. From this confluence, the bounds followed the stream back to 'the stony ford'.

Heantune does not exist as a modern place-name but the bounds encompass an estate which is centred on Branstone. The area has relatively subdued topography, so 'the high tun' may have referred to the highest part of this estate in the area of Branstone Cross. By 1086 the area was known as *Brandestone*, the first element of the place-name being the personal name Brandr (Mills 1996,33).

The Anglo-Saxon Landscape of Heantune

The place-name *wynnangeate* 'the meadow (or pasture) gate' refers to a gate giving access to meadow or pastureland. In c.1800, an area of heathland lay to the east of Winford. It is uncertain whether the gate here in the tenth century was giving access to heathland, or to improved pasture/meadowland. The two instances of 'stony shelters' apparently refer to man-made structures, as there are no naturally occurring rock outcrops in the area. These may have had a pastoral use, perhaps being shelters for livestock or for people tending stock. The boundary to the west of the first stony shelter was the southern limit of an area of heathland c.1800, and the second shelter would appear to have been located in the Apse Heath area, which retained an area of heathland well into the nineteenth century (Ordnance Survey six-inch map, first edition). It is quite possible that these stony shelters related to the pastoral use of this heathland, which may very well have been much more extensive in the tenth century.

The bounds of *Heantune* refer to 'the old (or main) hide formerly belonging to Winchester New Minster'. This hide cannot be located accurately, but was somewhere near the confluence of 'the wide ditch' and the Bathing Bourne. It may refer to land within *Heantune*, to land within Bathingbourne, or to land to the south of 'the wide ditch'.

Heantune and Domesday Book

By 1086 the estate was known as *Brandestone*. It was no longer held by the New Minster. Before 1066 two free men had held Borthwood, Branstone and Lessland from King Edward in freehold as two manors, and in 1086 they were held by William, son of Azor. There is a discrepancy between the two hides of *Heantune* in 982 and the 1 hide and 1 virgate of Borthwood, Branstone and Lessland in 1066/1086 (Munby 1982,53b).

The Bounds of Bathingbourne (S 842ii)

Dis synd þara twegra hida landgemæra æt Beadinga burnan: ærest on þæne stanihtan ford; of þan forða suð, andlang herpaðes, to Aðulfes hylle suð, andlang þære hina mearce, to þære widan dic west, andlang dic on þone mor norð, andlang mores for mid on Beadinga burnan andlang streames eft on þane stanihtan ford (Edwards 1866,220).

'These are the boundaries of the two hide estate at Bathingbourne. Starting at the stony ford, from the ford south along the highway to Athulf's hill south, along the monks' boundary to the wide ditch west, along the ditch to the marsh north, along the marsh onto the Bathing Bourne along the stream returning to the stony ford'.

Identifying the Bounds of Bathingbourne (Fig 4)

The bounds of Bathingbourne have been discussed by Kökeritz (1940,145-6) and commented on by Forsberg (1950,209-10).

The starting point of the bounds is the ford (now the bridge) over the stream at Bathingbourne. This is also the starting point for the bounds of *Heantune* in the same charter and of the bounds of Bathingbourne in S 1662. From this point the bounds follow the *herpaðes* (highway) southwards. This is the metalled road which runs southwards from the bridge at Bathingbourne. In the modern landscape, this road turns to the south-west after a distance of 550 metres from the bridge, by Green Acres Farm. However, the line of the *herpaðes* continues southwards as a footpath, rising over the flank of a small hill. This alignment from the ford site is also followed by the bounds of Bathingbourne in S 1663. The next point on the bounds of Bathingbourne in S 842ii is *Aðulfes hylle*, which must be this small but locally prominent hill, which is an outlier of the flanks of the southern massif composed of sandrock beds. The field-names relating to this hill in the Tithe Apportionment for Godshill parish are Great Hill, Banister's Hill, Mountains and The Hill (IWCRO JER/T/158). From *Aðulfes hyll* the bounds follow 'the monks' boundary to the wide ditch west'. The monks' boundary can be reconstructed through reference to the Godshill Tithe Apportionment. As with the southern boundary of Bathingbourne in S 1662, the southern boundary of Bathingbourne and Lessland Farms is consistent with an alignment from the hill to the area north west of Bobberstone to the 'wide ditch'. It is quite possible that the monks' boundary referred to here in the bounds of Bathingbourne is related to 'the old (or main) hide formerly belonging to Winchester New Minster' in the bounds of *Heantune* in the same charter. The *widan dic* is the watercourse running west-north-west into the stream which forms the parish boundary between Godshill and Arreton. This 'wide ditch' also formed part of the southern boundary of Lessland Farm in 1838 and is referred to in the bounds of Bathingbourne in S 1662. From this confluence, the bounds run northwards 'along the marsh', which is identified as *tidearing mor* in the bounds of Bathingbourne in S 1662. This part of the bounds follows a tributary stream of the river Yar, which forms the Godshill/Arreton parish boundary. This parish boundary and the bounds of S 842ii also follow the Bathing Bourne from the confluence with this stream as far as 'the stony ford', the starting point of these bounds. The Bathing Bourne also forms the northern boundary of S 1662 and S 1663, as well as the northern limits of Lessland Farm and Bathingbourne Farm in the Godshill Tithe Apportionment of 1838.

The Anglo-Saxon Landscape of Bathingbourne

The *herpaðes*, which runs southwards from 'the stony ford', is the southward continuation of the *herpaðes* in the bounds of *Heantune* in the same charter. The use of the word *herpaðes* implies that this was a road of more than local importance in the tenth century. There are two other instances of the use of this word in charter bounds relating to the Isle of Wight. The instance of *herpapes* in the bounds of *Linlande* (S 1662) has yet to be identified in the landscape. The bounds of Bathingbourne in S 1663 refer to *þone sandihtan hærepof* ('the sandy highway') in the Sandford area, ie. the road between Godshill to Shanklin, which is a major road in the modern landscape. The *herpaðes* which crossed 'the stony ford' at Bathingbourne and ran southwards to the Bobberstone area is a minor road and then a footpath in the modern landscape, and thus is of only local significance now. The same road was not attributed the same status however in the bounds of S 1663 where it was referred to as *þes grenan weges*, 'the green way'. The instances of *herpapes* in S 1662 (*Linlande*) and S 842 (Bathingbourne) are recorded as being aligned north to south. This may reflect the former importance of north-south routeways on the Isle of Wight within 'landscapes of colonization', providing access from the estate centres on the margins of the chalk to extensively used land within the southern vale.

The Bounds of Meolocdune (S842iii)

Dis sind þara twegra hida landgemæra to Meolcburnantune: ærest of þan fulan geate east, andlang mearce, oð æsces hege; of æsces suð andlang mearce, oð ðæt hlidegeat; of þan hlidegate on Byrhtlafes mearce west, andlang Byrhtlafes mearce oð Æþerices mearce; of Æþerices mearce norð, ofer dune, oð ðara hina mearce, andlang þara hina mearce of Ceollingwuda east; of þara hina mearce oð ðæt fulegeat (Edwards 1866,222).

'These are the boundaries of the two hide estate at Meolcburnantune. Starting from the dirty gate east, along the boundary to the ash hedge. From the ash hedge south along the boundary up to the swing gate. From the swing gate to Byrhtlaf's boundary west, along Byrhtlaf's boundary to Ætheric's boundary. From Ætheric's boundary north over the hill to the monks' boundary, along the monks' boundary to Chillingwood east. From the monks' boundary back to the dirty gate'.

Identifying the Bounds of Meolocdune (Fig 5)

The bounds of *Meolocdune* have been commented on by Kökeritz (1940,27). The estate is referred to as '*in loco qui appellatur at Meolocdune*' in the Latin proem of the charter, and as *Meolcburnantune* in the Old English bounds (Edwards 1866,218,220).

Kökeritz was unable to reconstruct the bounds of *Meolocdune*, commenting that "The survey evidently starts somewhere east of East Ashey at *þan fulan geate*, which was perhaps near the present Gate House, but *æsces hege* and *Ceollingwuda* are the only boundary-marks that can be safely identified" (1940,27). The key to the reconstruction of the bounds is the tithe-free area of Ashey Farm as depicted on the Newchurch parish Tithe Apportionment map of c.1840 (IWCRO JER/T/194). These were the demesne lands of Ashey which were later called Ashey Farm. The bounds of *Meolocdune* are consistent with the tithe-free area of Ashey Farm with the addition of a small area on the western side of the farm which was covered by a *modus*⁵, but excluding the northernmost part of Ashey Farm at the time of the Tithe Apportionment. The portion of Ashey Farm which was beyond the bounds of S 842iii consisted of the area immediately to the south of Gate House and Deacons and the area which was known as 'Woodfields alias Ashey Common' c.1800. The exclusion of Ashey Common from an estate centred on Ashey has a parallel in the spatial relationship between Ningwood Common and the bounds of Ningwood in S 543. In the case of Ashey Common, this area was within the post conquest manor of Ashey, which extended to the northern coast of the Island.

The starting point of the bounds of *Meolocdune* was *þan fulan geate*, 'the dirty gate'. This would appear to have been in the area to the south of Gate House. The evidence of the tithe free area in the Tithe Apportionment indicates that in the later Middle Ages the site of Gate House was on the northern boundary of the demesne land of Asheý. However, *þan fulan geate* would have been more appropriately located on the continuation of Gatehouse Road, which is an unmetalled track in the modern landscape. This track drops down the slope to the south of Gate House, and after 400 metres reaches a minor watercourse. 'The dirty gate' is an appropriate name for this wet, low-lying situation (which is now crossed by the reopened Havenstreet to Smallbrook railway line). From here a boundary was followed eastwards to *æsces hege* 'ash hedge' which can be identified with Asheý, now known as East Asheý Manor Farm, and as Asheý Farm in the Tithe Apportionment. The precise alignment from *þan fulan geate* to *æsces hege* cannot be reconstructed, but would appear from the bounds to have been relatively direct. The first post-conquest reference to the latter place-name is *Asseshey*, recorded in 1280. The precise derivation of Asheý is uncertain. The first place-name element would appear to have been OE *æsc* 'ash-tree', but the personal name *Æsc* is possible. The second element is probably OE *hege* 'hedge' although OE (*ge*)*hæg* 'hay, enclosed piece of land' is a possibility (Kökeritz 1940,25-26). In either case, the name refers to some sort of enclosure. Thus Asheý can be taken to mean 'the hedge or enclosure by the ash-tree' (Mills 1996,24). Earthworks adjoining the farm site indicate that Asheý was a focus of settlement in the Medieval period, and documentary sources imply a late fifteenth century depopulation (Beresford 1954,354). East Asheý Manor Farm and its associated earthworks are situated on the western side of the Newchurch/Brading parish boundary. From *æsces hege* almost back to the *fulan geate* the bounds of *Meolocdune* follow the limit of the tithe-free area of Asheý Farm c.1840, which south of the farm follows the parish boundary *oð ðæt hliðgeat* 'up to the swing gate'. The eastern boundary therefore follows the course of Monktonmead Brook up to its source and then along the dry valley alongside Eaglehead Copse onto the lateral chalk ridge. The 'swing gate' would have been located on the road which follows the line of this ridge. In a survey of manorial bounds of 1624 the site of *ðæt hliðgeate* was referred to as *The stile that leadeth out of Eagles hand* (Roy Brinton, personal communication). From the 'swing gate' Byrhtlaf's boundary was followed westwards to *Ætheric's* boundary. This would have been the line of the road on the southern flank of Asheý Down. From *Ætheric's* boundary, the bounds went 'north over the hill'. This change in direction is reflected in the line of the modern road, where the road following the lateral chalk ridge from Brading runs northwards for a distance of c.120 metres to meet the road from Asheý. From this point, the bounds of S 842iii appear to follow the limit of the tithe-free area in the mid nineteenth century down to the 'monks' boundary'. The 'monks' boundary' is the continuous hedgerow running in a north-north-easterly direction from a point 200 metres to the south east of Rowlands Farm. The monks' boundary would have formed the eastern boundary of Chillingwood in the tenth century. This boundary was followed until the watercourse flowing west-north-west from *þan fulan geate* was reached (ie. the upper course of Blackbridge Brook). The boundary with Chillingwood in the modern landscape is not particularly noteworthy, but its continuation towards Kempfill Farm is of more interest as the hedge contains spindle. This continuation was the pre-dissolution boundary between Kempfill (Quarr) and the manor of Asheý (Wherwell) (IWCAC photos and notes by Roy Brinton, SZ 573896: 1982). The directions given in the bounds *andlang þara hina mearce ..* are incorrect, as 'along the monks' boundary to Chillingwood east' should have read '.. to Chillingwood north'. There would also appear to be a word missing following 'Chillingwood'. *Ceollingwuda* certainly does not refer to the settlement site of Chillingwood farm, which lies 900 metres to the west of 'the monks' boundary'. It is also quite unlikely that *Ceollingwuda* refers to an area of woodland, as a location on a boundary where the alignment changes direction has to be a precise point in the landscape. It is quite probable that the Old English bounds should have actually read *andlang þara hina mearce oþ Ceollingwuda broc* (or *burnan*) *norð*, '...to Chillingwood brook north', as the stream now known as Blackbridge Brook would appear to have been referred to as Chillingwood

Brook in the bounds of *Stathe* in the same charter (Margham forthcoming). The bounds then returned to 'the dirty gate', following the line of the watercourse, which for three-quarters of this distance formed the northern limit of Ashey Farm c.1840.

The Anglo-Saxon landscape of Meolocdune

The two hides of Meolocdune consisted of the area of chalk downland now known as Ashey Down, and the area of clayland to the north of the lateral chalk ridge. This clayland area now consists of West Ashey Farm and East Ashey Manor Farm. The starting point for any reconstruction of the landscape of the area in the tenth century are the two place-names which refer to the estate in the charter, *Meolocdune* and *Meolcburnantune*. The first of the names is to be found in the Latin proem of the charter and can be interpreted as "the down where the grazing was good and consequently milk was got" (Kökeritz 1940,27) and must refer to Ashey Down. "*Meolcburnantune* is apparently the *tūn* on the *Meolcburna* (<OE *meoluc* 'milk', *burna* 'brook, stream'), ie. the river round which there were good pastures.." (ibid.). The *burna* referred to in this place-name is the upper course of Monktonmead Brook, the line of which forms the eastern boundary of Newchurch parish from its source south of Ashey Farm, northwards to the sea east of Ryde. Ashey Down was therefore an area consisting mainly of chalk grassland in the tenth century⁶. It is quite possible that this grassland was supporting sheep, which were exploited for dairy products, rather than cattle. The use of sheep for milk, cheese and butter products is well attested in Anglo-Saxon England⁷, and a document relating to the sixteenth century in Freshwater parish records the milking of ewes (Hockey 1970,56). Not all of the chalk downland of *Meolocdune* was necessarily chalk grassland. Just beyond the bounds of the estate to the east, the steep slope on the eastern side of the dry valley is at present occupied by Eaglehead Copse. When examined as part of a survey of woodlands in 1981, Eaglehead Copse was found to have a ground flora consisting of 33 ancient woodland vascular plant species (Hornby 1982). It is likely that this steep slope has had a woodland cover for several thousand years. The opposite side of the valley within the bounds of S 842 has a similarly steep slope. It is quite possible that the eastern flank of Ashey Down retained some woodland cover throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, which has subsequently been cleared. Although there is no mention of a road along the southern boundary of the estate, the reference to *ðæt hlidgeat* 'the swing gate' implies that there was a road or track here in the tenth century. It is quite likely that the line of the present road running east-west along the lateral chalk ridge from Brading and then along the southern flank of Ashey Down was a routeway at the time of the charter.

The pastoral nature of the clayland to the north of the down is also reflected in its tenth century place-name. How much of the estate north of the chalk ridge this referred to is uncertain. The name *Meolcburnantune* and the reference to *æsces heges* in the bounds imply that cattle were kept on enclosed pastures alongside the stream. Thus the immediate area around the estate centre (Ashey Farm) would appear to have had a pastoral use. It is also quite likely that some of this lower lying streamside land was enclosed meadow. *Abedestone* (Ashey) had 3 ploughlands in 1086, so some of the area to the north of the lateral ridge would have been used for arable crops in the tenth century. Two areas of ridge and furrow were recorded by the author during fieldwork (7/4/98) in the fields to the west and south-west of West Ashey Farm. Although this may very well have had a more recent origin than the tenth century, these two locations are consistent with the better drained areas just beyond the base of the chalk ridge being used for cultivation. There is very little woodland within the bounds of *Meolocdune* in the modern landscape. However, several areas of woodland existed in the West Ashey area, before woodland clearance associated with the replanning of the landscape by George Young in the 1850s. The largest of these was Inwards Copse, to the north-west of Ashey Farm (IWCRO map of 1771, J.L. Davies; personal communication, Roy Brinton). The 'monks' boundary' as it approaches the upper course of Blackbridge Brook borders Rowlands Wood. This wood was found to contain 25 ancient woodland vascular plant species in the 1981 survey (Hornby 1982). It is possible that this woodland continued over the

boundary in the past and that the area of Ashey Farm which was covered by a *modus* in the Newchurch Tithe Apportionment preserves the outline of this former woodland. There is however no reference to woodland in the bounds of the estate (unless *Ceollingwuda* refers to the area of woodland now known as Rowlands Wood, rather than the watercourse now known as Blackbridge Brook, which is unlikely), but this may not be significant. The map of the Isle of Wight produced by Thomas Milne in 1781 names a settlement site just to the east of Ashey Farm over the Brading parish boundary as Broadlee (Hampshire CRO facsimile). The recording of the place-name is late, but this may refer to a much earlier place-name with a *-leah* suffix, indicating a significant area of woodland or wood-pasture in the vicinity of Ashey Farm. Nearby Broadley Copse is named on the modern 1:25,000 map (1996). The area of Ashey Common is of interest, even though it was beyond the bounds of S 842iii. In the modern landscape some of the area to the north of Deacons Lane has a number of mature oak trees giving a parkland appearance to this pasture field. These isolated trees are indicated to be more numerous on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of the 1860s. The existence of these trees suggests an area of former wood-pasture. Within the bounds of the two hide estate of S 842iii, there is a similar area indicated on the first edition of the six-inch map. This is to the west of West Ashey Farm, in a shallow valley between the two areas of ridge and furrow referred to above. This was the area of Long Phillis Coppice, marked on the 1771 estate map (IWCRO, J.L. Davies survey), which was one of the areas of woodland which existed in this area, predating George Young's landscaping which included the construction of West Ashey Farm in 1859 (Roy Brinton, personal communication). Wood-pasture is attested for other areas within the northern lowlands of the Island and it is quite likely that these areas of woodland around Ashey shown on eighteenth and nineteenth century maps represents an area of wood-pasture in the later Anglo-Saxon landscape. The lowest-lying area of the two hides of *Meolocdune* is the area along the upper course of Blackbridge Brook. This was the probable location of *þan fulan geate*. A wetland environment can be envisaged for this area. On the clayland soils between the arable area to the north of Ashey Down and the low-lying area alongside this stream, an environment of wet heathland with wood-pasture can perhaps be envisaged, providing extensive pasture for *Meolcburnantune*. The estate survey of 1771 implies that Ashey Common was much more extensive at some time prior to this date, extending over the area to the south-east of Gatehouse and Deacons, up to Ashey Farm. Much of this area would have been within the bounds of S 842. This interpretation is supported by the presence of isolated and small clumps of oak trees within the present-day fields, which appear to have no connection with former field boundaries. Ashey Farm would have been at the southern apex of this extensive area of 'common'.

On the summit of, and on the southern flank of the lateral chalk ridge, the bounds of *Meolocdune* refer to *Byrhtlafes mearce* and *Æperices mearce*. These two personal names would appear to relate to contemporary or former landowners in the area to the south of the ridge, whose properties abutted *Meolocdune*. Both of these individuals presumably held land in the Knighton area. Although Knighton has two entries in Domesday, the land tenure here in the time of King Edward was very fragmented (Munby 1982,39c,54a), so Byrhtlaf and Æperic and their properties can not be related to Domesday Book. To the west of the two hides of *Meolocdune* lay Chillingwood. The reference to *hina mearce* in the bounds indicates that Chillingwood belonged to a monastic church in 982.

Both *Meolocdune* and *Meolcburnantune* may relate to components of an earlier much more extensive estate which had become fragmented by the tenth century. The name *Meolcburnantune* may be seen as a parallel for Wootton (*wudu + tun*), ie. an economically specialized *tun* within a much larger estate with its caput elsewhere. Where such an estate centre would have been located in this part of the Isle of Wight is uncertain. Chillingwood is a possibility (an *-ing* place-name)⁸, but a location on the margins of the lateral ridge is more likely. Arreton, which features in King Alfred's will (S 1507) is a distinct possibility as a centre of an extensive 'multiple estate' in the eastern central part of the Island.

Meolocdune and Domesday Book

The estate of two hides is referred to as *Meolocdune* and *Meolcburnantune* in S 842iii. These names were not recorded in the Domesday survey. It is almost certain that the area was known as *Abedestone* in 1086. As Kökeritz has pointed out, "... its identification with *Meolcburnantune* and modern Asheby gives a plausible explanation of the fact that neither occurs in DB" (Kökeritz 1940,27). 'The abbot's *tūn*' would be an appropriate name for land which formerly belonged to the New Minster (ibid.,26). A parallel for this name is Abbotstone in Whiteparish (Wiltshire). This area was within the bounds of the three hides of Frustfield, which was confirmed as being in the possession of the abbey of Wilton in 968, along with Watchingwell and other properties (S 766). Its name is derived from its association with the abbess of Wilton (Finberg 1964,97). There is however a discrepancy between the two hides of *Meolcburnantune* in 982 and the one hide of *Abedestone* at Domesday. By 1066 an estate of one hide was held from King Edward in freehold at *Abedestone* (Munby 1982,39c).

The bounds of Stathe (S 842iv)⁹

Dis synd þara anre hida landgemæra æt Stæðe: ærest up of wareðe to þan stane æt þan geate; of þan geate suð, andlang mearce, on þara hina mearce, on Ticcanfelda; ðonne gyt suð, andlang mearce, to þan stane þe stænt æt bennan hamme; þanon east, andlang mearce, on þone heal; of þan heal suð, andlang mearce, to Hwatewisc; of Hwatewisce west on Ceolling burnan, andlang streames west, to ðæne widan dic norð; andlang dic, up on þæt geat; of þan geate, swa hit gemearcod is, on þone broc; andlang broces to fugel fleote; of þam fleote ut on sæ (Edwards 1866, 220).

'These are the boundaries of the one hide estate at Stathe. First up from the shore to the stone at the gate. From the gate south along the boundary, to the monks' boundary of Titchfield. Then still south along the boundary to the stone that stands at Benna's [river] meadow. Then east along the boundary to the nook. From the nook south, along the boundary to the wheat marshy meadow. From the wheat marshy meadow west to Chillingwood Brook, along the stream west to the wide ditch north, along the ditch up to the gate. From the gate as it is marked out to the brook, along the brook to the bird fleet. From the fleet out to sea'.

***Identifying the Bounds of Stathe* (Fig 6)**

It has been suggested that the estate of *Stathe* was coterminous with Binstead parish (Hockey 1982,8). This can be discounted, as the bounds of *Stathe* do not accord with features along Binstead's eastern boundary, which follows the course of Binstead Brook. There is no mention of this stream in the eastern bounds of *Stathe*, which consisted of a *mearce* 'boundary', probably an earthwork or hedge-bank. The bounds of *Stathe* have been plotted and discussed in a recent study (Margham, forthcoming). This identification of the bounds is summarised here.

The starting point of the bounds is the coast, '.. up from the shore'. The boundary running along the eastern side of Fishbourne Copse, then southwards through the site of Quarr Abbey, is compatible with other topographical evidence (below). '.. the stone at the gate' would appear to have been in a location to the south of the abbey site, on the Wootton to Binstead road. From this location, the boundary running south south-westwards is indicated on the six inch map survey of c. 1800 and on later maps, ie. 'south along the boundary'. The 'monks' boundary' of Titchfield is likely to have been the western boundary of Newnham Farm as indicated on the Binstead tithing apportionment map of 1848 (IWCRO JER/T/31A/1,2). A location on the south-eastern side of Firestone Copse on the boundary of Newnham Farm is suggested for the 'stone that stands at Benna's hamme', alongside the small stream that flows westwards into Blackbridge Brook. 'The nook' appears to have been the western side of the hill to the north of Coppidhall Farm. A location

in the vicinity of Pondcast Farm, to the south of Havenstreet, is consistent with the 'wheat marshy meadow'. The next reference is to Chillingwood Brook where the stream was followed westwards. It would appear that the stream now known as Blackbridge Brook was known as Chillingwood Brook in the tenth century. This observation is supported by an interpretation of the bounds of *Meolcburnantune* in the same charter (above). The 'wide ditch' may have been the ditch which is marked on the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of the 1860s which runs to the east of, and parallel to, the lower course of Blackbridge Brook. The point within Firestone Copse where five tracks meet is a possibility for 'the gate'. The brook referred to next is either Blackbridge Brook just before it joins Wootton Creek, or the small stream which flows westwards into the top of the creek. 'The bird fleet' must be Wootton Creek, from whence the bounds were followed out to sea.

The Anglo-Saxon Landscape of Stathe ¹⁰

Half the landward bounds of *Stathe* as reconstructed above consisted of *mearce* ('boundary'). The presence of such a length of earthwork boundaries implies that a substantial part of the area was open, rather than having a dense woodland cover, at least on one side of the boundary. It is likely that much of this open landscape was heathland, consisting of wet heath on the lower-lying clay soils and dry heath on the hill-top areas of gravel. Heathland on clay soils is now extinct in this part of the Island, but place-names and field-names attest to its former importance. Meadow would have formed another type of open landscape in the tenth century, but one which was much less extensive than heathland. This is mentioned in the bounds of *Stathe* as *bennan hamme* ('Benna's [river] meadow') and *Hwatewisce* ('wheat marshy meadow'). The third, and probably least extensive, type of open landscape in the later tenth century would have been arable land. The presence of some arable is implied in the reference to *Hwatewisce*, suggesting a wet, low-lying area where wheat had been planted.

Woodland is not mentioned specifically in the bounds of *Stathe* but may be referred to in the area to the south-east of Wootton Creek (*fugel fleote*) where the bounds run from the *gate swa hit gemearcod* is ('as it is marked out') to the brook. The use of this term in preference to *mearce* may be significant, perhaps indicating a landscape which was not open. This part of the bounds is within the present area of Firestone Copse, which is one of five areas of woodland on the Island having more than 50 ancient woodland vascular plant species (Hornby 1982). Firestone Copse also contains Wild Service-tree, another indicator of ancient woodland (Bevis et al. 1978,50). Woodland here in the tenth century may however have had a more open aspect than in the modern landscape, being an area of wood-pasture.

Stathe and Domesday Book

The place-name *Stathe* does not appear in Domesday Book and there were no other manorial centres which can be located in the immediate area. The place-name Fishbourne was not recorded until 1262 (Mills 1996,49). The estate of *Stathe* would therefore appear to have been administered from elsewhere in 1086. The most likely explanation is that it would have been included in the 32 hides of Calbourne (Swainstone), the bishop of Winchester's estate. The connection between *Stathe* and the church at Winchester originated with Æthelmær's bequest in 982 (S 842).

S 1391, Wroxall

This charter dates from 1043x1044 and records an exchange between Bishop Ælfwine, Bishop of Winchester and Osgod, involving Adderbury (Oxfordshire) and *Wroccesheale* (Wroxall).

"Here is stated in this document the agreement which Bishop Ælfwine and the community at the Old Minster made with Osgod when they let him the estate at Adderbury ¹¹ in return for the estate which he held at Wroxall in the Isle of Wight, namely that Osgod should enjoy the estate at Adderbury during his lifetime, and that after his death it should return to the Old Minster with its pro-

duce and its men and everything as it stands, just as it was when they let it to him" (Robertson 1956, XCVIII).

The hidage of the Wroxall estate is not given in the charter. The document was witnessed by King Edward, which would explain the statement in the Annals of Winchester that King Edward gave the minster five hides at *Wroccshele* (Luard 1865,25; Finberg 1964,159). *Warochesselle* paid geld for five hides in 1066 (Munby 1982,39d) ¹².

Reconstructing the Bounds of Wroxall (Fig 7)

There are no Old English bounds for Wroxall, the charter documenting the exchange of the two estates did not include boundary clauses. Wroxall was held by the Redvers family through the twelfth century and grants from this estate are well documented. This, in conjunction with other documentary sources and features in the landscape allow a reconstruction of the five hides of Wroxall in the mid eleventh century.

By 1086 Wroxall was held directly by King William and was later granted to the Redvers family. This grant presumably formed part of Henry I's grant to Richard de Redvers of the whole of the Isle of Wight in 1100. The Redvers certainly had lands in the area soon after 1100, for a gift by Richard de Redvers to Montebourg abbey included *et terram in insula de Wit nomine Sanfort* [ie. Sandford], 1100x1107 (Bearman 1994,2).

The grants made by the Redvers from Wroxall in the twelfth century can be listed in chronological order:

1. Earl Richard de Redvers 'made a partition' and gave 20 shillings of land in Wroxall to Quarr in 1155x1160. This can be identified with the Yard Farm area just to the south of Winstone (Hockey 1991,no.434).
2. In 1180x1186 a confirmation was made of a gift by Kenebald the minstrel of three properties on the Isle of Wight to Christchurch Priory. These properties included four solidates ¹³ of land in Wroxall. The properties also included the land of Winstone, implying that Winstone was not regarded as being part of Wroxall. The land had been given to Kenebald by Earl Baldwin I and this had been confirmed by Earl Richard I (Bearman 1994,no.55).
3. Richard de Redvers (Earl Richard II) made a gift of a marcate ¹⁴ in his manor of Wroxall to Quarr Abbey, 1188x1189 (Bearman 1994,no.63; Hockey 1991,no.453).
4. Richard de Redvers also made a gift of 100 solidates of land in his manor of Wroxall to Motebourg Abbey, 1188x1189 (Bearman 1994,no.65). This substantial area of land was probably situated on the western side of the valley in the Appuldurcombe area.

A picture is beginning to emerge of a substantial estate consisting of land on both sides of the upper course of the stream which was referred to further north as the Bathing Bourne in S 1662 and S 842ii and which also forms the Godshill/Newchurch parish boundary. The eleventh century estate of Wroxall was not confined to the area around Wroxall Manor Farm and the present-day village of Wroxall. The Span area, to the west of the stream, had at one time belonged to the de Aula family (Page 1912,174), but it is likely to have been part of the Wroxall estate before this.

The following reconstruction of the bounds of S 1391 follows the Old English convention of describing the bounds of an estate in a clockwise fashion. The starting point for this reconstruction is the south-western corner of the estate, on the south coast of the Island.

The western boundary of S 1391 would appear to have been to the west of the Godshill/Newchurch parish boundary. The start of this boundary may have coincided with the St Lawrence/Godshill parish boundary in the Undercliff area, then following this boundary westwards along the cliff top. This would include the Steephill area of the Undercliff within the Wroxall estate. The St Lawrence parish boundary then runs in a northerly direction up onto Week Down following the green lane on the eastern side of a coombe. The lane continues along the top of Week Down onto

Stenbury Down. This forms a topographical divide with the Domesday manor of Stenbury on the western side of the ridge and the Rew and Span Farm areas on the eastern side. The western boundary of Wroxall would then appear to have followed the ridge northwards from Stenbury Down and along the western pale of Appuldurcombe Park before the extension of the park to the west during the early 1770s. There is cartographical evidence for this extension. The map of the Isle of Wight by Isaac Taylor of 1757 shows the pale of the park before this extension and on the Appuldurcombe estate map of 1773 partially erased markings indicate the former western pale (Hampshire CRO facsimile; Basford 1989,37). This former western boundary of Appuldurcombe Park followed the line of the ridge to the top of Gat Cliff. The bounds would then have descended Gat Cliff in a north-north-easterly direction, to below the disused chalk quarry.

The north-western boundary of the Wroxall estate would appear have been the line of the southern boundary of Bathingbourne in S 1663, which coincides with the pale of Appuldurcombe Park. This boundary would also have formed the southern boundary of the Domesday manor of Sandford with Week. The boundary of Wroxall would have followed the bounds of S 1663 in a north-easterly direction probably to the eastern end of the sunken way or boundary ditch at SZ 546812 on the western side of the stream/parish boundary between Godshill and Newchurch. The boundary of Wroxall would have crossed the stream at the site of the modern footbridge. The bounds would have continued eastwards and perhaps followed the sunken track to the present-day B3327 (Ventnor to Whiteley Bank road), or alternatively followed the next field boundary to the south, which was the northern boundary of Yard Farm in 1851 (IWCAC, Appuldurcombe estate sale map).

From the road the boundary of Wroxall continued eastwards, following the northern boundary of Yard Farm as defined in 1851, with Winstone Farm to the north. Upslope of the now disused railway line, this boundary follows a deep sunken way for a distance of 100 metres. From the top of the sunken way the bounds of Wroxall followed the Yard Farm boundary up to the point on the northern flank of St Martins Down where six footpaths meet (SZ 558805). This point is actually within an area of land projecting from the land of Apse manor as mapped in 1851. It would appear that this small area of Apse manor had been transferred from Wroxall to Apse. From the point where the paths meet, the sunken way running up the slope in an east-south-easterly direction would appear to have formed the northern boundary of Wroxall. From the top of this sunken way the northern boundary of Wroxall as mapped in 1851 followed the break in slope/cliff top eastwards along the northern flank of St Martins Down. To the north and downslope lay Apse manor, which can be identified with the Domesday manor of *Abla* (Mills 1996,23). This manorial boundary is followed until the eastern boundary of Newchurch parish is reached. The continuation of this cliff top eastwards forms the Brading/Shanklin parish boundary.

From this point the bounds of Wroxall run south-south-east up onto Shanklin Down. To the east were the two Domesday estates of Shanklin. This boundary is also part of the western boundary of the reconstructed *parochia* of Brading (Margham 2000,fig 1). The boundary of Wroxall continues along Shanklin Down and then follows the Newchurch/Bonchurch parish boundary along the ridge of Luccombe Down. Although Bonchurch had been held from Earl Godwin before 1066 as had Wroxall, it was a separate manor in the Domesday survey. It is quite likely that the bounds of the estate of Wroxall followed the line of the Newchurch/Bonchurch parish boundary down the steep slope of Bonchurch Down and through the Undercliff area to the English Channel.

This reconstruction of the five hides of Wroxall in the mid- eleventh century defines an area bounded by ridges of chalk downland on both the west and the east sides. This area was centred on the site of Wroxall Manor Farm within the chalk downland and the valley running northwards from the Rew Farm area. The northern flank of St Martins Down also formed a strong topographical divide. The reconstruction also includes part of The Undercliff, ie. the areas of Steephill, Ventnor Farm and Littletown Farm, as mapped in 1729 (Whitehead 1911, maps facing pp.114,162,164). The area of The Undercliff was relatively isolated from the rest of the Island, but

was accessible from Wroxall via the line of the present B3327. Ventnor and Littletown Farms originated as portions of the manor of *Holloway*. "The farm *Holloway* was high up on the hill-slope near or in the pass between Rew Down and St Boniface Down, and this situation is expressed by the name, which means 'the hollow road' or 'the road in the hollow' (OE *holh* and *weg*)" (Kökeritz 1940,232). The former manorial name of this area was therefore derived through reference to the road from Wroxall.

Charter Bounds and Anglo-Saxon Landscapes

This and a previous paper (Margham 2006) have discussed the Anglo-Saxon charter bounds of the Isle of Wight. There are a total of ten sets of charter bounds which relate to estates on the Island (excluding *Linlande*), describing 84 separate locations, not including references to the sea. Charter bounds provide an invaluable contemporary description of landscape features from the Anglo-Saxon period, with those defining estates on the Isle of Wight all dating from the second half of the tenth century (with the possible exception of S 274). As charter boundary clauses describe features around the periphery of estates, they give very little information about the landscape of the interior of estates. Such information can be inferred from some of the names of estates, and this is also true for estates for which there are no boundary clauses. Such place-names will usually have been formed before the date of the charter in which they are recorded, but within the Anglo-Saxon period.

The landscapes of individual charters have already been discussed. Here, these will be related to the wider landscape of the Isle of Wight (Fig 8). This can be reconstructed for the medieval period using a wide variety of sources¹⁵. The landscape regions of the Island have been defined by Margham (2003) which provides a more detailed account than that summarized here:

The Northern Lowlands

This region encompasses the whole of the northern part of the Island with the southern limit being defined by the 76-metre (250 ft) contour. Much of the region overlies Oligocene geological formations that provide clayey, seasonally waterlogged soils. In the West Wight there are extensive areas of more easily worked soils derived from the underlying Eocene beds (Jarvis et al. 1984). A mosaic of land use can be reconstructed for the Northern Lowlands in the medieval period, the most extensive being woodland, wood-pasture and wet heathland. Most of the Island's ancient woodland is to be found in the Northern Lowlands. The assarting of woodland undoubtedly took place in the medieval period. This process may very well have been documented in the name for Ningwood recorded in 1086, *Lemincode*, *Le* being the French definite article, *-ode* a common rendering of OE *wudu*, and *-nimc-* standing for OE *niming* 'taking', referring to land taken into cultivation or enclosed (Kökeritz 1940,211). A substantial area of medieval woodland was probably the more open habitat known as wood-pasture, a form of dual land use with an area of land supporting trees, which were usually pollarded, and pasture, consisting of grassland or heather, for the grazing of animals (Rackham 1986,121). It was in wood-pasture areas that parks for the nurturing of deer for hunting were established after the Norman Conquest. Of the nine deer parks mapped by Basford (1989,15) six were within the Northern Lowlands, to which can be added three more possibilities¹⁶. Substantial areas of wet heathland formerly existed within the Northern Lowlands, centred on Parkhurst Forest (which also consisted of wood-pasture) and the Wootton Common area (Chatters 1984,6). Meadow and arable formed smaller but economically significant areas. Arable land use was most developed in the West Wight, particularly in the Freshwater Isle area and the light soils derived from Bembridge limestone of the Thorley/Wellow area. The latter and the areas of plateau and marine gravels adjoining the northern coast have been identified as significant sub-areas within the region. The significance of these areas of gravel became apparent with the plotting of settlement names, in particular *-tūn* names which are clustered around their margins.

These gravel 'islands' had a vegetation of dry heath, small areas of which survive in the modern landscape.

The Lateral Ridge

The Lateral Ridge is aligned east to west, forming the Island's most significant topographical divide, and is punctuated by three major gaps. It consists mainly of chalk downland but includes the subsidiary upper greensand ridge to the south of the chalk. The 76-metre (250 ft) contour has been taken to define the ridge. The term Lateral Ridge is something of a misnomer in the area to the west of the Medina gap as the band of chalk is much wider here, forming a dissected plateau. The main land use over at least the past millennium was unenclosed chalk grassland, maintained by the pasturing of sheep, which is well documented in various medieval sources (Hockey 1970;1991). The Lateral Ridge was also the location of three distinctive types of heathland habitat, which exist in small areas in the modern landscape, but were formerly more extensive: chalk heath, and heathland on gravel deposits on chalk and on the upper greensand ridge. Woodland may have formed a more significant part of the landscape in the medieval period, hinted at by the former name of Arretton Down, *Berdune*, and the lost place-name of *Codibear* on the eastern flank of the Medina gap. Both of these names may relate to swine pasture (Kökeritz 1940,7,178).

The Southern Vale

The Southern Vale is a predominantly low-lying area between the Lateral Ridge and the Southern Massif. Much of this landscape region lies below the 76-metre (250 ft) contour, although locally prominent ridges and hills are present. The area is underlain mainly by lower greensand that has produced coarse loam soils. Wealden beds are exposed along the south-western coast with a smaller area on the east coast. The soils here are heavier. There are various areas of superficial deposits, with gravel terraces associated with the eastern Yar. The only extensive area of gravel terrace has been mapped as an area of particular significance as these well-drained soils have provided a focus for early place-names. Arable agriculture is the most significant component in the modern landscape and was certainly important in earlier times, being well documented in Domesday Book and other medieval and early post-medieval sources. It can also be inferred from surviving field patterns suggesting the former existence of open fields in some areas. Apse Heath is a modern place-name indicating the former significance of dry heathland on greensand soils, this land use being an important component of the medieval landscape. In 1522, for example, the third manor of Hyde contained 40 acres of arable, 25 acres of pasture, 10 acres of arable, and 100 acres of fern and brush (IWCRO F.F.). Very little woodland of any significance was recorded for this region in Domesday Book and later manorial records enumerate only small areas of woodland. There was however sufficient woodland in the Kingston area in 1441 to create a deer park, when a license was granted to empark 300 acres of woodland and pasture in the parishes of Kingston and Shorwell (Basford 1989,16). Small areas of wet woodland alongside watercourses such as those in the modern landscape had an economic importance in the medieval period, as would more open habitats in similar locations. The more open habitat of wet pasture and meadow would have been more extensive in the Anglo-Saxon landscape. The manor of Gatcombe adjoining the Medina valley, for example, had 26 acres of meadowland in 1086 (Munby 1982,52d). The six-inch scale drawings for the first Ordnance Survey mapping of the Isle of Wight, which was commenced in 1793, also indicate the continued existence of wet pasture and meadow alongside watercourses throughout much of the Southern Vale at this latter date. Such areas were often referred to as 'moors' (Hockey 1970,71), whereas the area to the south-east of Brading Haven is referred to as marsh in various medieval documents. Meadow would also have been located alongside the headwaters of streams that drain the Wealden beds along the south-west coast entering the sea via features known locally as chines.

The Southern Massif

To the south of the Southern Vale lies the chalk downland of the Southern Massif. The 76-metre (250 ft) contour has been taken to define the limits of this landscape region. Much of the surface geology consists of chalk, but some of the underlying upper greensand and gault form its northern margins, with the solid geology obscured on the steeper slopes by areas of landslip. The Southern Massif is drained northwards by streams which have formed long, narrow valleys, with the upper parts of the valleys being dry. The land use of the Southern Massif is not well documented until the sixteenth century, when the unenclosed nature of the landscape provided plenty of opportunity for disputes over the grazing of sheep on St Catherine's Down (Hockey 1982,212-3). A much earlier record of land use on the Southern Massif is provided by the name St Martins Down, a corruption of *Smerdone* first recorded c. 1240. This means "the hill or down where butter is produced' (ie. with rich pasture)" (Mills 1996,91). *Smerdone* may very well refer to the production of sheep milk, and provides a parallel for *Meolocdune* (Ashey Down) on the Lateral Ridge recorded in 982 (S 842iii). Chalk grassland grazing would have been complemented by the rougher grazing provided by heathland on gravel deposits, an area of which exists in the modern landscape on the summit of St Boniface Down. Woodland today is largely restricted to small areas on steep slopes. The evidence of Domesday Book suggests that only small areas of woodland existed in the medieval period, so a similar pattern of woodland distribution is quite likely. There is evidence to suggest that one of the more low-lying areas on the margins of the Southern Massif did have an area of wood-pasture¹⁷. Parkland established at Appuldurcombe in the sixteenth century appears to have included an area of ancient woodland. Other types of landscape in the medieval period would also have been restricted to the margins of the Southern Massif. Examples of these are the open fields of Niton and Whitwell, and the two Domesday manors which included areas of meadowland (Margham 2003,24).

The Undercliff

The most southerly landscape region of the Isle of Wight is that known locally as 'The Undercliff', being bounded to the north for much of its length by an inland cliff. It is a well-defined region, which before the development of modern communications was relatively isolated from the rest of the Island. The Undercliff has a well-documented history of landslips. The soils are moderately easy to cultivate but the agricultural potential of The Undercliff has always been restricted by the very broken nature of the ground. Some arable land use was attested by Domesday Book, but The Undercliff remained a region with a largely extensive pattern of land use until residential development in the nineteenth century. Speed's map of the Isle of Wight, dating from 1611, labels The Undercliff as 'St Laurence Park', but Basford (1989,14) points out that no park pale is shown on Speed's map and that the inland cliff would have formed an effective barrier. Botanical evidence from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century suggests that The Undercliff remained essentially an open, rocky rough grazed landscape with groups of trees forming very small wooded areas (Colin Pope, personal communication).

Landscape Regions and Charter Bounds

Table 1 categorizes all the features in the ten sets of boundary clauses, a total of 91 locations (excluding *Linlande*). Six of these locations appear in two categories, such as 'the wheat marshy meadow' (S 842iv), which appears under 'marshes and moors' and 'hedgerows, pasture and meadows'. Some of the boundary markers are duplicated, for example the bounds of S 274 and S 1581 (Calbourne) are almost identical. Such instances have only been counted once, with two or more references given in Table 1 to a single feature in the landscape. An example of this is 'the stony ford' at Bathingbourne, which is mentioned in three sets of charter bounds. When references to the sea and the shore are deleted and all of the above taken into account, there is a total of 84 separate

locations. The amount of information that can be provided about each landscape region is uneven, due to the degree of definition in various boundary clauses and the survival of only ten clauses, when presumably many more once existed. Thus there were 40 separate locations in the Northern Lowlands, 9 on the Lateral Ridge, 33 in the Southern Vale and 2 on the Southern Massif. Locations within The Undercliff are not mentioned, although the reconstruction of the bounds of Wroxall (S 1391), which has no extant boundary clause, does include part of this region.

Coastal features: With the indented nature of the Island's northern coast, coastal features were mainly recorded on the margins of the Northern Lowlands, where post-glacial sea level rise has formed estuaries. Such coastal features may have had an economic importance in the later Anglo-Saxon period. It is possible that *fugal fleote* 'bird fleet' in S 842iv (ie. Wootton Creek) was used for the taking of birds for food. The two instances of features recorded on the Island's south-west coast represent the use of chines as boundary markers, where such features also formed medieval parish boundaries.

Valleys and watercourses: Mentions of valleys and watercourses were likewise restricted to the two major lowland landscape regions. The preponderance of these was recorded in the Bathingbourne and Branstone areas, with four boundary clauses surviving for a relatively low-lying area. The minor watercourses, the ditches and streams of this area in the valley of the eastern Yar can be contrasted with the slightly more undulating topography of the Northern Lowlands where boundaries associated with minor watercourses were mainly referred to as slades and brooks. The term *bourne* was used of larger streams in both of these landscape regions.

Marshes and moors: Moors were associated with slades in the Northern Lowlands and with the watercourses of the Bathingbourne area within the Southern Vale. They were therefore wet, low lying areas such as Tidheard's moor (S 1662), now an area of rough pasture, which was later known as *Ryde Mede* (Hockey 1991, map 4). Some of these areas were probably used as meadows, '... the "moors" of the Isle of Wight are flat, low-lying areas bounded by watercourses, capable of producing a heavy cut of grass' (Hockey 1970,71), whereas others were predominantly rough pasture, which can be inferred from the Ordnance Survey maps of 1793 onwards.

Hedgerows, pasture and meadows: Hedgerows were a feature of both the Northern Lowlands and the Southern Vale, providing evidence for the enclosed nature of at least some of these two landscape regions. The *hamme* '[river] meadow' in S 842iv would appear to have had a similar function to the moors referred to above, whereas 'the wheat marshy meadow', also in the *Stathe* area, was surely an unsuitable place in which to grow grain. It has been argued that the one reference to meadow or pasture (*wynnangeate*) within the Southern Vale may refer to an area of heathland (S 842i). There are two possible references to wood-pasture in the charter bounds of Watchingwell (S 766), both containing the term *lege/leage*, a term derived from OE *lēah*¹⁸. The first of these is within the Northern Lowlands (*heort lege*) where wood-pasture is known to have been extensive. The name of the estate *hwætincg le* in the same charter, where the element *le* is an abbreviation of *lēah*, would also appear to be associated with wood-pasture in this landscape region¹⁹. The other instance of possible wood-pasture in S 766 was further south, within the Lateral Ridge. It may be that *leage* here does refer to chalk grassland, complementing the use of woodland of grove proportions on the chalk such as that recorded in the nearby place-name of Ashengrove (*æscstede* in S 274,766 and 1581). However, possible parallels for wood-pasture on chalk can be found in the medieval name of Arreton Down, *Berdune*, and the lost place-name of *Codibear* on the eastern flank of the Medina gap, as both may contain the OE place-name element *bær* '(swine) pasture' (Kökeritz 1940,7,178).

Roads, lanes and gates: A variety of terms are used in the boundary clauses of charters which reflect the status of roadways in the later tenth century. The two instances of lane are to be found in the Northern Lowlands, one of which remains a lane in the modern landscape. The term *herþaðes* 'highway', recorded three times in the Southern Vale, implies a route of more than local importance. 'The sandy highway' of S 1663 now forms the main road from Godshill to Shanklin

in the modern landscape at Sandford. *Heantune* was bounded to the north-west by a *herþaðes* (S 842i). This route continued southwards bounding the Bathingbourne estate (S 842ii) where it was also referred to as a highway. It was however considered of less importance as *þæs grenan weges*, ‘the green way’, in S 1663. This difference in status may be explained through reference to the modern landscape, where the road southwards from the bridge at Bathingbourne, formerly ‘the stony ford’, turns to the south-west after c. 550 metres, with the line of the road from the bridge continuing southwards as a footpath. The various references to gates in the charter bounds may have been associated with control of pasturing animals, within wood-pasture, heathland or on chalk downland.

Other linear boundary features: The term *mearce* ‘boundary’ referred to within the Northern Lowlands, Lateral Ridge and Southern Vale implies the existence of a landscape which was not heavily wooded, at least on one side of the boundary. The term ‘as it is marked out’ occurs in both of the two major lowland landscape regions. That in the bounds of Stathe (S 842iv) would appear to refer to an area which is now ancient woodland (Firestone Copse) which may have been wood-pasture in the tenth century, i.e. a more open environment. A similar interpretation is however unlikely to be valid for a low-lying area on the bounds of *Heantune* (S 842i).

Hills: A variety of different terms for ‘hill’ are used in the charter bounds, which are dependent on the form of the hill. In the Northern Lowlands, *hyrste* ‘wooded hillock’ accords well with the gentle topography of Park Hills (S 543) whereas the more pronounced form of Bunts Hill was described as *beorh* (S 766). On the Lateral Ridge the only reference in the bounds is *dune* but *Meolocdune* is the name of the estate, indicating the pastoral nature of this downland (S 842iii). Within the Southern Vale, *Aðulfes hyll* describes the gentle, rounded topography of this location (S 842ii) whereas *stan beorg* indicates a prominent hill within the Southern Massif (S 1663).

Stones, trees, pits and ponds: All of the stones forming boundary markers must refer to stones that have been erected, as prominent, naturally occurring boulders are absent from both the Northern Lowlands and Southern Vale. This is also true for the two instances of stony shelters in the Branstone area. It has been argued that these may be shelters erected having some connection with pastoral land use (above). The *lim pyt* (S 766) records one of the many now disused chalk pits in the modern landscape on the flanks of the Lateral Ridge. The tree referred to in the same charter (*ge clyppedan treowa*) may possibly be a feature in an area of wood-pasture within the Northern Lowlands²⁰.

Woodland: Evidence for wood-pasture has been discussed above. The boundary features listed here all refer to woodland rather than this more open landscape. *Hyrste* in S 543 is best translated as ‘wooded hillock’ (Hooke 1998,149) and can be related to the four instances of *hyrst* place-names within the Northern Lowlands in similar situations, implying relatively small areas of woodland. Chillingwood is also within this landscape region and is an area of ancient woodland in the modern landscape, and must represent a more extensive area of woodland. ‘The place of the ash trees’ (*æscstede*) suggests a small area of woodland on the flanks of the Lateral Ridge, similar to that which exists in the modern landscape here.

Other topographical features: Wullaf’s leap may refer to a deer leap, and if so may be evidence for an Anglo-Saxon precursor to a medieval deer park in the Shalfleet area (Margham 2006,81). The two instances of ‘moot mound/hill’ represent contrasting locations, Bunts Hill (S 766) a locally prominent hill within the Northern Lowlands, and the other, Gallibury Hump (S 274), a bronze age round barrow in a prominent position up on the Lateral Ridge. Whilst the forms of these two features are very different, their functions as meeting places within the Anglo-Saxon period were similar. Swines head (S 274,1581) cannot be identified with any certainty. It may represent a stream in the Southern Vale or a topographical feature on the Lateral Ridge.

Negative evidence: So far, the evidence assessed above has been concerned with what the boundary clauses of charters tell us about the later Anglo-Saxon landscape. What they do not tell us is also important. Two significant instances can be cited. Firstly, there are no references to

woodland on the boundaries of estates within the Southern Vale, where reconstruction of the landscape region suggests only limited, localized stands of woodland in the medieval period. Secondly, although there is a reference to some rather poor arable land on the boundaries of one estate (S 842iv), none of the boundary clauses mention open field furlongs. It can be inferred that, although open fields may very well have been established within some estates by the later tenth century, it would have been restricted to the core of such estates. This observation is compatible with what is known about open field agriculture on the Isle of Wight from later sources. Field systems were well documented for some areas, but the extent of open field agriculture was generally restricted.

Conclusions

The boundary clauses of Anglo-Saxon charters provide invaluable information about the landscape of the Isle of Wight in the tenth century. All the information that can be gleaned about the later Anglo-Saxon landscape is compatible with information from the medieval and later sources that were used to define the five landscape regions of the Island. After the Anglo-Saxon period, our next source of information is Domesday Book of 1086. This provides broad information about the landscape, but is not too specific as to locations. For example, the 26 acres of meadowland, which formed part of the assets of the manor of Gatcombe referred to above, were probably situated alongside the river Medina, but this is an assumption. The identification of landscape components in Domesday Book is even more problematic when we are dealing with larger estates. Relatively large amounts of arable and woodland were recorded for the bishop of Winchester's estate of Calbourne, which encompassed three landscape regions. It is only through reference to later sources that we can infer that much of the woodland was located within the Northern Lowlands and that most of the arable was just to the north and south of the Lateral Ridge. With the boundary clauses of Anglo-Saxon land charters we can be much more specific than this, enabling the precise identification of boundary features which were of great importance to people in the tenth century and which in many instances exist in the modern landscape.

Abbreviations

CRO County Records Office

ECW Finberg (1964)

F.F. Feet of Fines, card index in IWCRO of manorial records relating to the Isle of Wight in the Hampshire section of the Public Record Office

IWCAC Isle of Wight County Archaeological Centre

IWCRO Isle of Wight County Records Office

OE Old English

S Sawyer (1968)

The following abbreviations are used by Kökeritz (1940) and appear in quotations above:

Ct Court Rolls (unpublished) in Public Records Office

DB Domesday Book

Wor Worsley manuscripts in the possession of Francis Worsley of Twickenham at the time of publication (1940)

Notes

1 Anglo-Saxon charters are usually indexed using the numbers published by Sawyer (1968). This

convention is followed here.

2 *7seo ut læs mid oþrum mannum gemære* 'And the outlying pasture common with other men' refers to an area of common pasture beyond the bounds of the estate.

3 It has been claimed that the four estates on the Isle of Wight which were granted to Winchester New Minster in the will of Æthelmær (S 842) were amongst New Minster estates which were seized by William I, and were then bestowed on officers of his army:

"Ethelredus rex filius Edgari regis dedit novo Monasterio Wyntoniensi in insulâ Etha Meton cum duabus hydīs [Heantune]. Badingborn cum quatuor hydīs [Bathingbourne], Velokedune cum tribus hydīs [Meolocdune], Estede cum una hyda [Stathe] et hoc Wilhelmus abstulit, et militibus suis dedit (Rudborne, 'Historia major', quoted from Dugdale 2.428, footnote e)" (Kökeritz 1940,26).

4 The four estates on the Isle of Wight which were part of Æthelmær's bequest to the New Minster have been given the following reference numbers in Margham (2003): *Heantune* S 842i, *Bathingbourne* S 842ii, *Meolocdune* S 842iii, and *Stathe* S 842iv. This usage is followed here.

5 A *modus* was a private arrangement made between a vicar and a parishioner for the commutation of tithes paid in kind to a cash payment (Friar 1991,256).

6 The pastoral use of Ashey Down in the tenth century is of interest in the context of Drewett's survey of the down (1972). Remnants of 'Celtic' fields and ridge and furrow were mapped. The latter would appear to be of a relatively late date due to the absence of a reversed S-shaped plan.

7 Ælfric's Colloquy, a series of dialogues devised to teach boys Latin grammar dating from the tenth century, contains the following:

What do you say, shepherd? Do you have to work hard?

Yes, sir, I do. In the early morning I drive my sheep to their pasture and watch over them with the dogs, whether it is hot or cold, in case wolves attack them. Then I take them back to their folds, and I milk them twice a day. I move their folds and I make cheese and butter. And I am loyal to my lord (Cavill 2001,43).

8 Chillingwood probably means "'wood at the valley place or stream', from Old English *ceole* (or **ceolle*) with *-ing* and *wudu*. Alternatively the first element may be an Old English masculine name Ceolla, giving a meaning 'wood at Ceolla's place' (with *-ing*), or 'wood of the family or followers of a man called Ceolla' (with *-inga-*)" (Mills 1996,39). Regardless of its precise derivation, Chillingwood contains the element *-ing* or *-inga-*, both of which indicate a place-name formulated within the pagan Anglo-Saxon era.

9 The place-name *Stathe* means 'the landing place' (Mills 1991,308).

10 The later Anglo-Saxon landscape of the *Stathe* area is considered in more detail in Margham (forthcoming), where other sources are used to complement the information given in the boundary clause of S 842iv.

11 Adderbury (Oxfordshire) is referred to as *Eadburggebyrig* when it was mentioned in the will of Wynflæd along with other properties c.950 (S 1539; Mills 1991,2). It was bequeathed to Winches-

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ter Old Minster in 1015 in the will of the Ætheling Athelstan (S 1503). It was held by the bishop of Winchester in 1066 and 1086, as an estate of 14½ hides (Caldwell 1978,155a).

12 In the later years of Edward the Confessor Wroxall was held by the Countess Gytha, the widow of Earl Godwin of Wessex, who had died in 1053. The Domesday reference reads "Countess Gytha held it from Earl Godwin in freehold" (Munby 1982,39d). This implies that Wroxall had been obtained by Earl Godwin in or before 1053. The identity of Osgod is uncertain. He may have been an as yet unidentified individual who after exchanging the estate which he held at Wroxall for the Old Minster's estate at Adderbury, predeceased Earl Godwin, so that Wroxall was no longer in the hands of the Old Minster by 1053. It is however possible that the Osgod of the charter may have been Osgod Clapa, who was outlawed in 1046 "...then an explanation might be found for the state of affairs in 1086, namely that Osgod's forfeited estate of Wroxall had been bestowed by the king on Earl Godwine, while the Old Minster had regained possession of Adderbury. The chief objection to this is that Osgod Clapa is generally associated with the eastern counties only" (Robertson 1956,433). Another possible candidate is the Osgot who was recorded as a holder of land at *Scaldeford* in 1066 (ibid.), but this would not explain why there is no reference to him in the Domesday entry for Adderbury.

13 A solidate was an area of land with an annual value of one shilling.

14 A marcate was an area of land with an annual value of one mark (13s 4d).

15 The sources used by the author to define the landscape regions of the Isle of Wight are the soil survey of south-east England (Jarvis et al. 1984), 1:50,000 geological map (IGS 1976), 1:63,360 agricultural land classification map (MAFF 1969), ancient woodlands survey (Hornby 1981), Domesday Book-Hampshire (Munby 1982), references to landscape features published by Hockey (1970,1982,1991), references to landscape features in IWCRO card index, topographical descriptions of the Isle of Wight predating the mid 19th century, and papers about historical ecology published in The Proceedings of the Isle of Wight Natural History and Archaeological Society. The names given to the various landscape regions of the Isle of Wight are the author's own, with the exception of The Undercliff.

16 The six deer parks mapped by Basford (1989) within the Northern Lowlands are North Park, Shalfleet, Swainston, Watching Park, Wootton and Nunwell. Parks at Lee Farm in Shalfleet, Northwood Park in an area west of Cowes, and 'Old Park' at Quarr are possibilities (Margham 2003,41,note 2).

17 Recent research by Philip Masters for the Appuldurcombe Conservation Plan has produced references to Appuldurcombe Lodge from 1571 onwards. Masters considers this to have been a deer lodge in the area of present day Appuldurcombe Farm. He comments that 'its location is typical, overlooking land that was probably a deer lawn, with the main tree cover to the south' (Vicky Basford, personal communication).

18 *Lēah* can be interpreted as 'forest, wood, glade, clearing', with a later meaning of 'pasture, meadow' (Gelling and Cole 2000,237). Gelling suggests that the development of the meaning when *lēah* began to lose its senses of 'wood' and 'forest clearing' occurred in the tenth century (Gelling 1992,16). This development of meaning was influenced by a confusion with *læs* 'pasture, meadowland' (Gelling 1984,199). This confusion can perhaps be explained by both names being appropriate for wood-pasture. In discussing *leage/lege* in S 766, Margaret Gelling has indicated that *leage* is the dative of *lēah* which can be taken to have its latest sense of 'pasture' (personal

communication). However, the case for arguing that *leage* can refer to wood-pasture is strengthened by Della Hooke's observation that the very extensive landscape region of wood-pasture, the Weald of Sussex, Surrey and Kent, was often referred to as *Andredesweald* but was alternatively known as *Andredesleage* (Hooke 1998,145). In addition to the references to *lē(ah)* at Watchingwell in S 766, there are eleven settlement names within the Northern Lowlands which contain the place-name element *-lēah*, many of which may refer to wood-pasture.

19 Whilst *hwaetincg le* can be taken to mean 'the woodland clearing at the place wheat is grown' (Margham 2006,90), the growing of wheat in this wet clayland area was presumably sufficiently unusual to be recorded in the place-name within a wood-pasture environment. The estate centre, now known as Upper Watchingwell, is less than 1 km from Northpark Copse, which lies to the west just beyond the bounds of S 766 and within S 274 at Swainson. An interesting small-scale survival was recorded here during the 1981 Ancient Woodlands Survey, '.. a very unusual site being a wood-pasture relic (part of the former Swainston Park) and still being used for cattle grazing in 1981. It contains an exceptionally rich epiphytic flora, and is of importance as one of the best sites for lichens on the island ..' (Hornby 1982,25).

20 The translation of *ge clyppedan treowa* is problematic. Margaret Gelling suggests 'embraced tree', and if so perhaps refers to ivy (personal communication). Della Hooke thinks that the term includes 'to involve' and is not sure how this is to be interpreted (personal communication).

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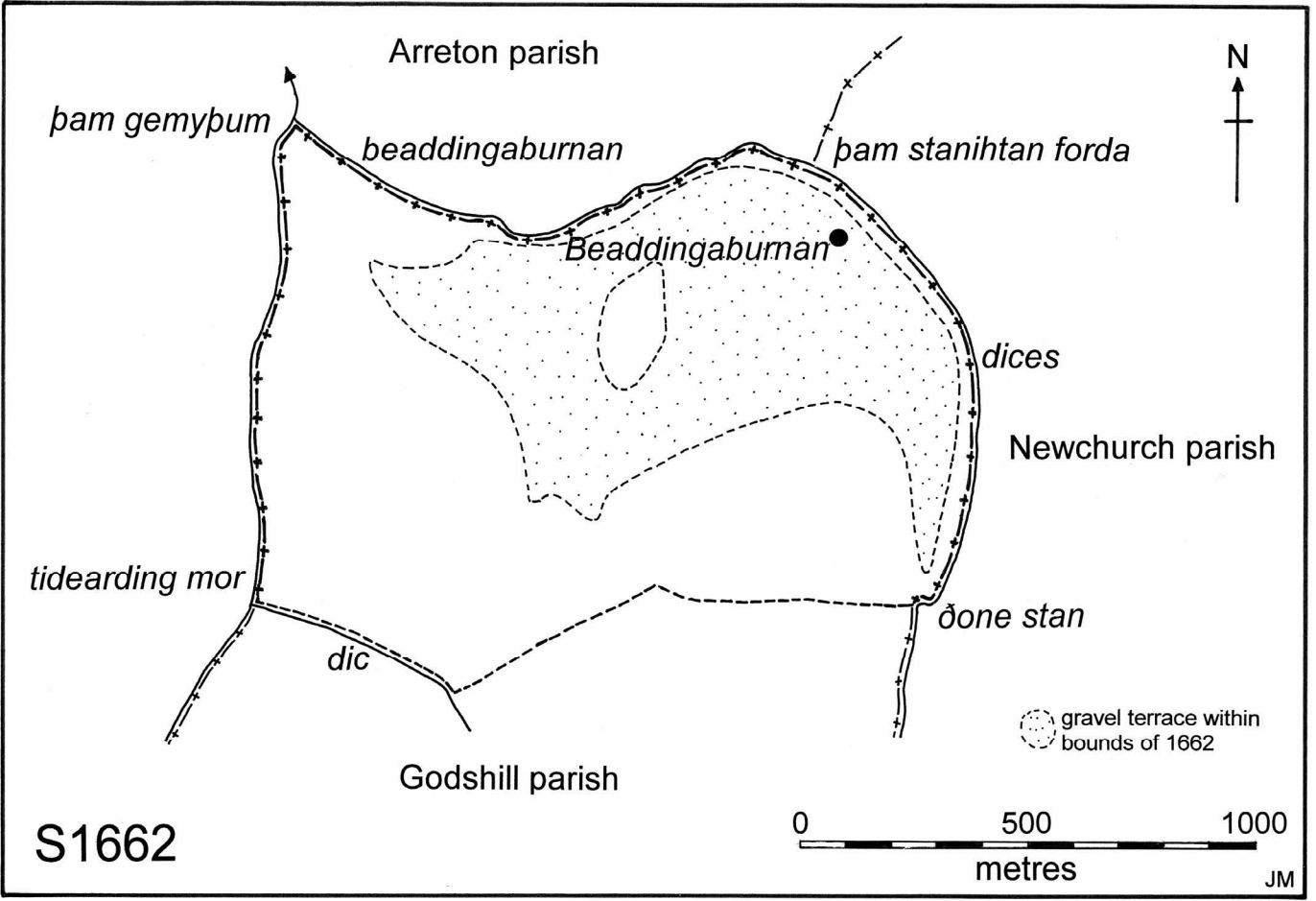


Fig 1: S 1662, grant of 2 hides at Bathingbourne by King Eadred, 951x955 A.D.

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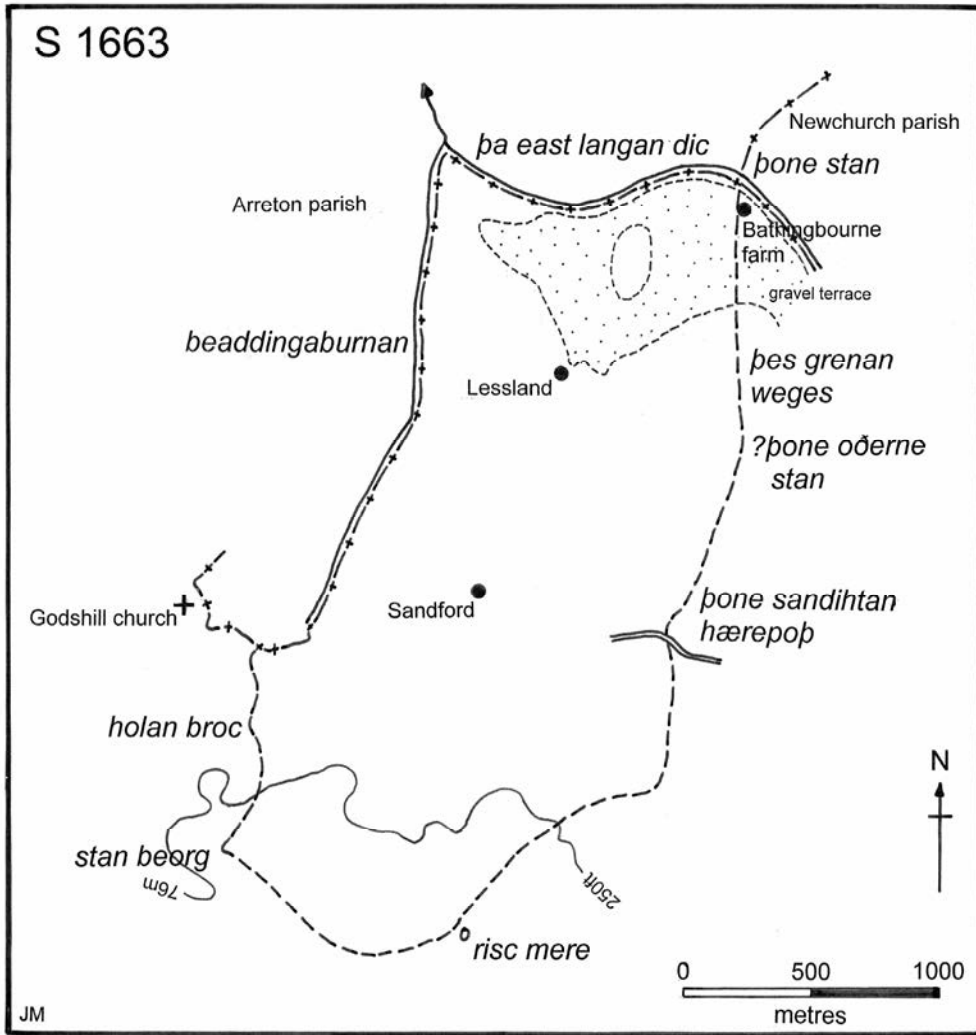


Fig 2: S 1663, grant of 5 mansae at Bathingbourne by King Eadwig to Aethelgeard, 955x957 A.D.

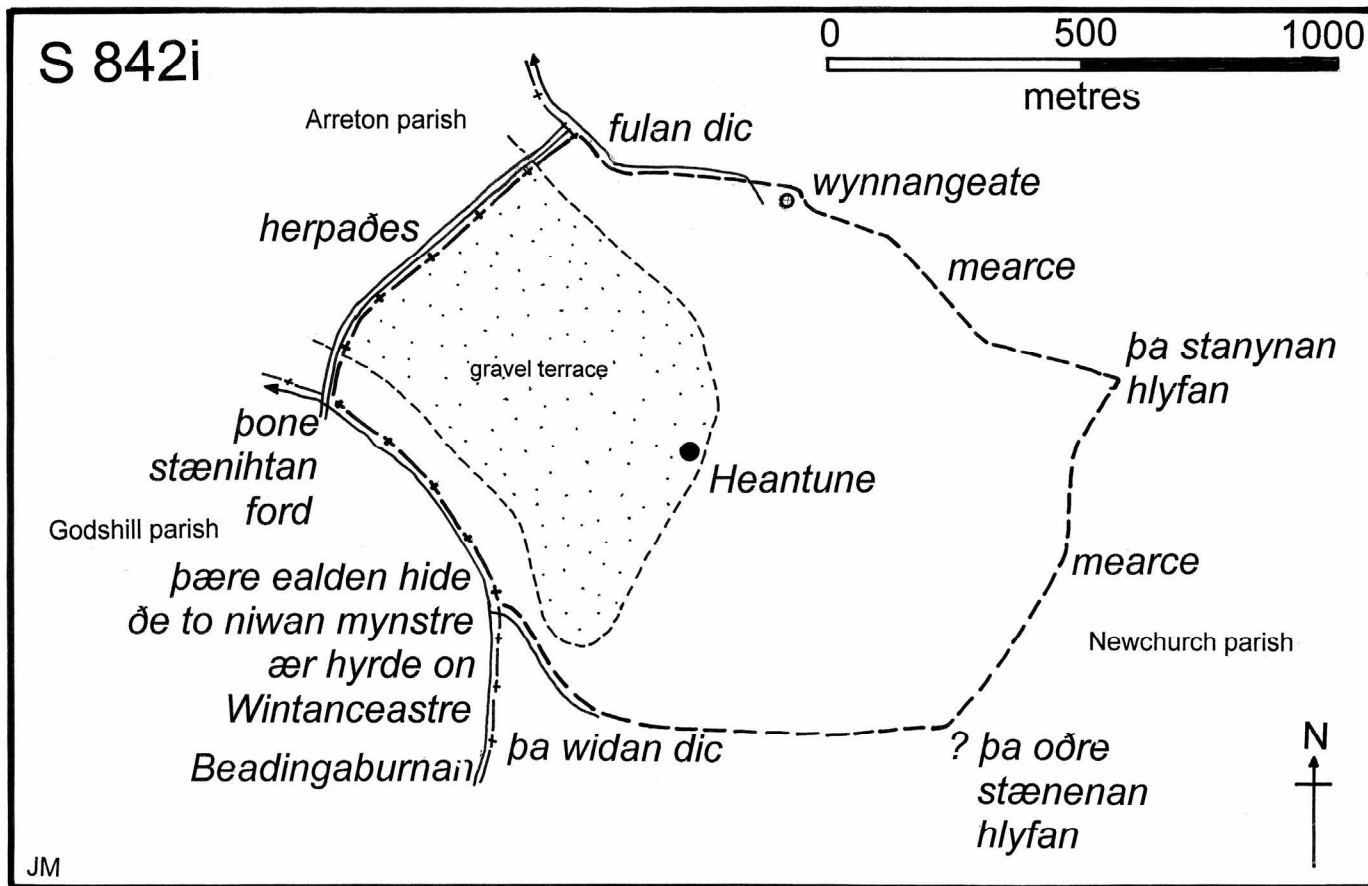


Fig 3: S 842i, confirmation by King Ethelred of a bequest by the eardorman Aethelmaer to Winchester New Minster of 2 hides at Heantune, 982 A.D.

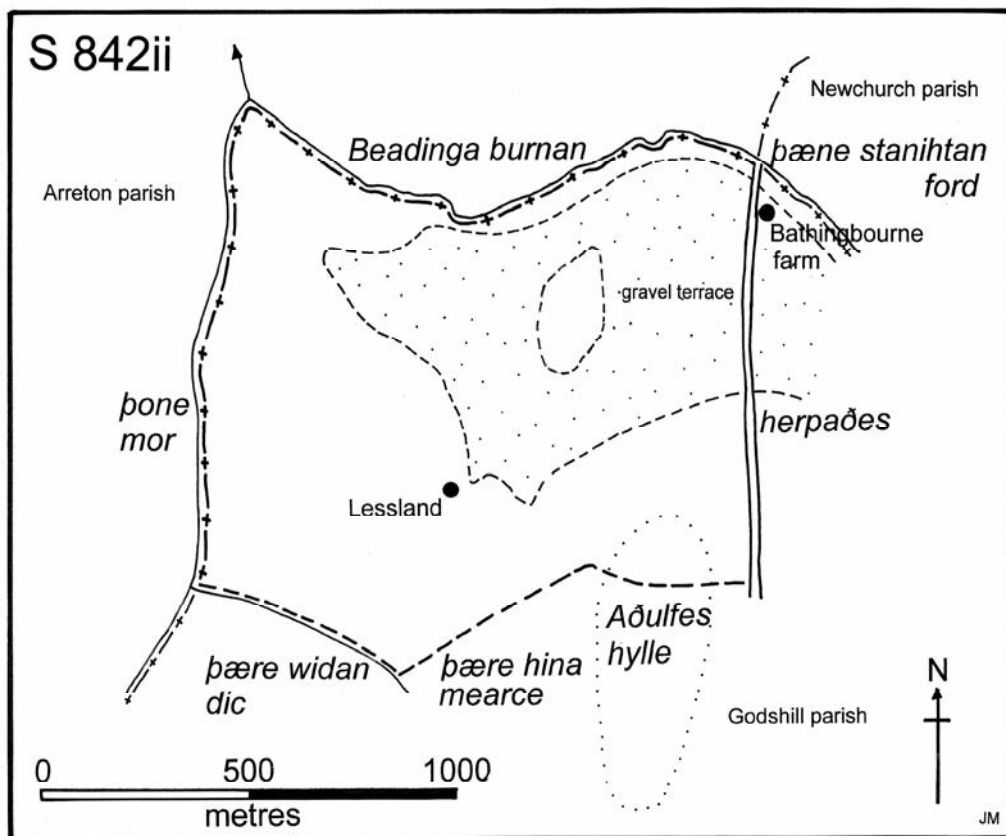


Fig 4: S 842ii, confirmation by King Aethelred of a bequest by the earldorman Aethelmaer to Winchester New Minster of 2 hides at Bathingbourne, 982 A.D.

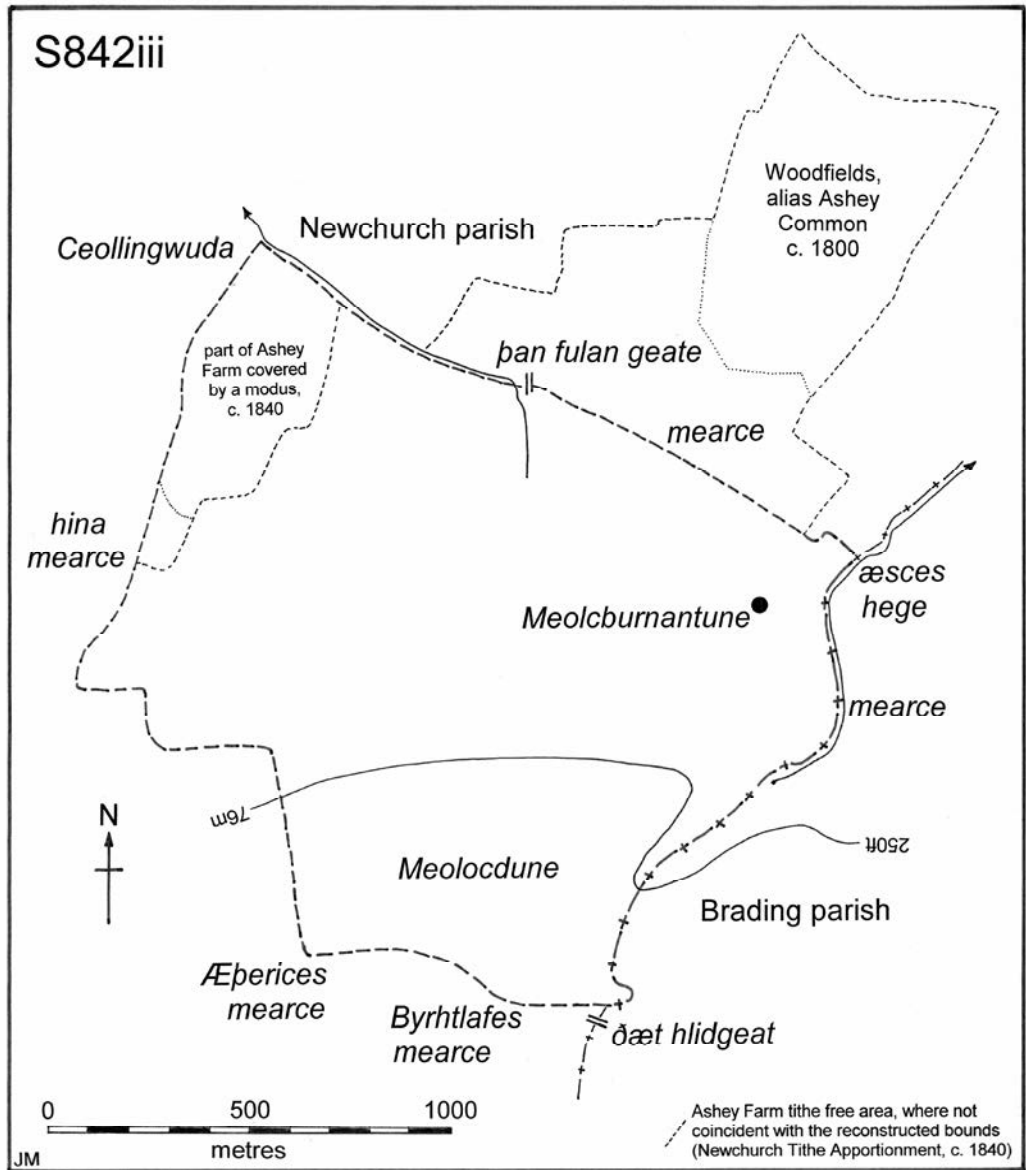


Fig 5: S 842iii, confirmation by King Aethelred of a bequest by the earldorman Aethelmaer to Winchester New Minster of 2 hides at *Meolodune*, 982 A.D.

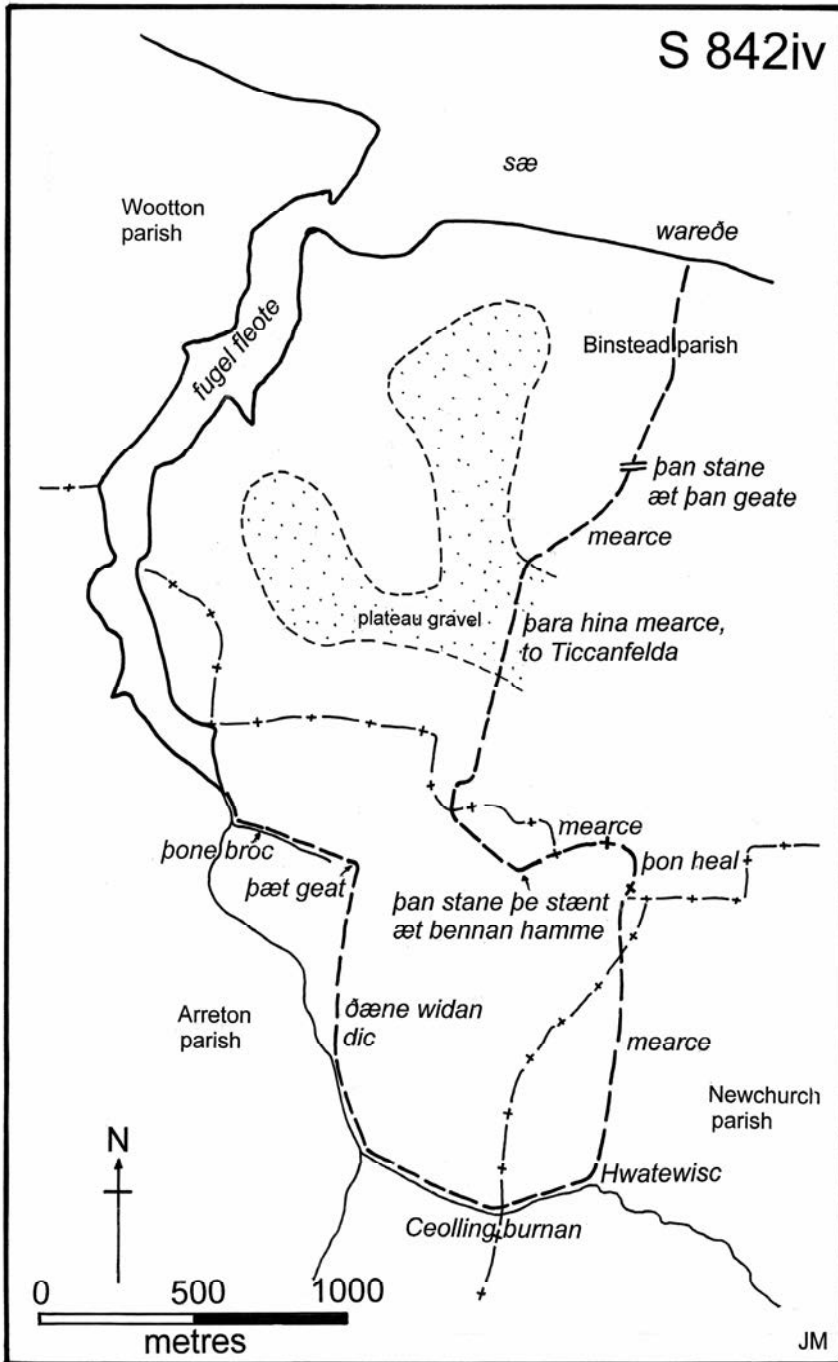


Fig 6: S 842iv, confirmation by King Aethelred of a bequest by the earldorman Aethelmaer to Winchester New Minster of 1 hide at *Stathe*, 982 A.D.

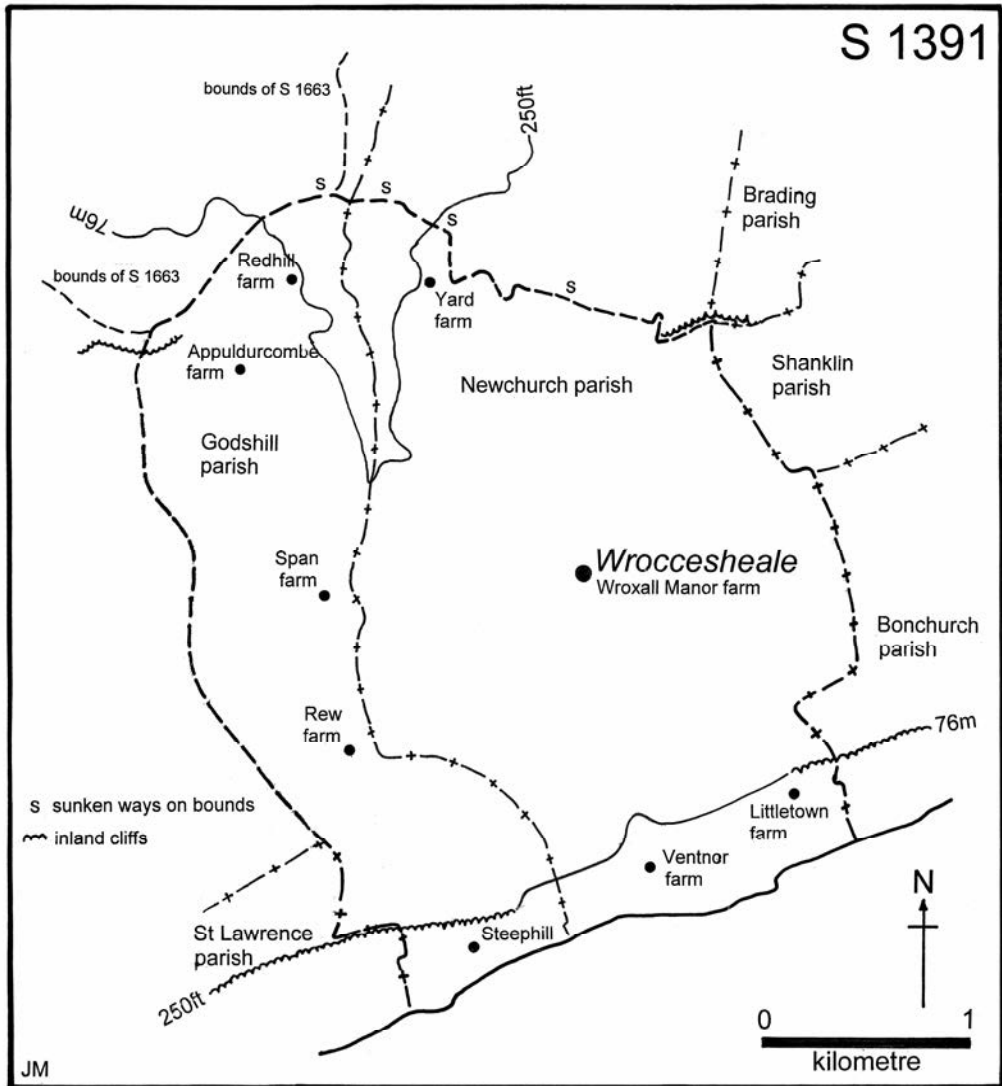


Fig 7: S 1391, exchange between Bishop Aelfwine of Winchester Old Minster and Osgod of Wroxall and Adderbury (Oxfordshire), 1043x1044 A.D.

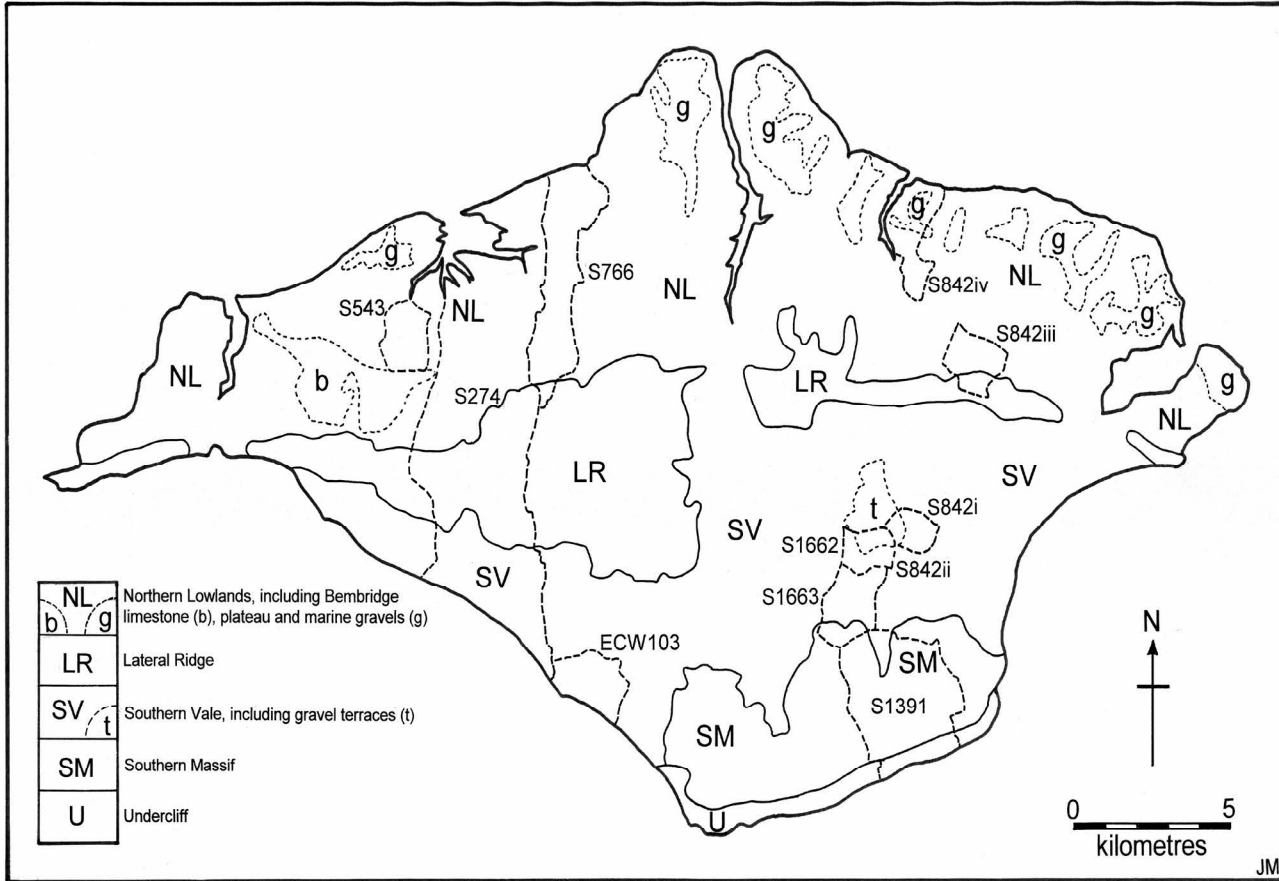


Fig 8: The landscape regions of the Isle of Wight and Anglo-Saxon charter bounds post dating 900 A.D.