The Isle of Wight *c.*650 to *c.*1150: the localisation of a landscape?

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Abstract

The thesis aims to increase the profile of the Isle of Wight in early medieval studies by presenting a nuanced account of the characteristics and development of its landscape during the period *c.*650 to *c.*1150. Research presented is multi-disciplinary drawing on evidence from landscapes, buildings, archaeological interventions, historic maps, and documentary records, which have been synthesised for the first time for the Isle of Wight and assessed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Core datasets include the Historic Environment Record, the Portable Antiquities Scheme, documentary sources, historic mapping, church archaeology and place-names. The central theme is exploring the progressive 'localisation' of the landscape over time, examining how the Isle of Wight conforms to or diverges from existing scholarly models of early medieval landscape, such as the minster hypothesis, the multiple estate model, and frameworks of settlement development and relationships. Reconstruction of landscape regions provides the background for exploring these themes. Analysis of place-names identifies primacy of some topographical names. Relationships between superior and local churches generally support the minster model, but one case study raises issues regarding its application. Examination of the multiple estate hypothesis identifies central areas, and complementary peripheral areas which became individual manors. There is evidence for settlement shift, stabilisation and former economically-specialised sites but no apparent 'village moment'. Proto-urban centres are examined with one town existing by 1086. Landscapes of continuity and of colonization are identified; the 'core-periphery' model provides a model of landscape development. Boundaries were formalised during the study period: *parochiae* and parishes, extensive estates and manors. Physical background provided both opportunities and limitations for landscape and settlement development. The thesis emphasises the importance of local studies in landscape research and findings will inform further investigation within Wight and beyond, in landscape reconstruction, development of local churches, fragmentation of extensive estates, and development of settlement patterns.

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Abbreviations

ASC	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Swanton 1996): referenced using the year and manuscript recension cited, *e.g.* ASC103 E
BL	British Library
CASSS	The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: https://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/catindex.php
ECW	*The Early Charters of Wessex* (Finberg 1964)
HE	*Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (McClure and Collins 1994); referenced using Bede's book and chapter numbers
HLC	Historic Landscape Characterisation (Basford 2008; Loader 2008)
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
IWCRO	Isle of Wight County Record Office
IWHER	Isle of Wight Historic Environment Record
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme: https://finds.org.uk/users
PASE	Prosography of Anglo-Saxon England: https://pase.ac.uk
PRO	Public Record Office (now National Archives)
S	*Anglo-Saxon Charters: an annotated list and bibliography* (Sawyer 1968)
TRE	*Tempore Regis Edwardi:* in or before 1066
TRW	*Tempore Regis Willelmi*: in 1086
VW	Life of Wilfrid (Webb 1983); referred with the appropriate chapter numbers

Author Declaration and Copyright Statement

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university. All sources are acknowledged as References.

This thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and due acknowledgement must always be made of the use of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis. Except where stated, all photographs of landscape features, artefacts and buildings presented here have been taken by the present author.

John Margham

Chapter One

Introduction

The study of the Isle of Wight in the early medieval period is a relatively neglected field in the context of wider historical and landscape history research. One of the aims of this thesis is to redress this imbalance. Kate Mees (2019) did not include the Isle of Wight in her study of Early Medieval Wessex and Ryan Lavelle (2007, 3-4) stated that 'Although viewed as part of Hampshire in Domesday Book, the Isle of Wight is not central to this work as there is little evidence that kings paid much attention to it, if they could help it' and consequently it 'does not feature prominently in this study'. Another aim is to review previous work and add to this substantially with new research to present a coherent account of landscape development. The time-frame of *c.*650 to *c.*1150 has been chosen for the focus for two reasons. Firstly, the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the Isle of Wight have been published in a synthesis, as has the documentary history of the Island from the mid-twelfth century onwards.[1] Secondly, the study of principal themes is more appropriately seen in a context that includes Early Norman England. However, some themes need to be examined in a greater time depth. This is particularly appropriate for the study of settlement, where earlier evidence will be cited as this has contributed to the early medieval settlement pattern.

The sub-title of this thesis is 'the localisation of a landscape?' In the early medieval English landscape this concept involves the following processes which will be investigated for the Isle of Wight:

1. The apparent existence of extensive *parochiae* (mother parishes), each served by a central 'minster', which became fragmented with the provision of local churches serving much smaller areas;
2. The apparent presence of extensive secular estates with 'central areas' at their core having spatially dispersed administrative functions complemented by outlying settlements and areas with some specialised functions of

[1] 'The Island' is local usage which will be followed hereon. This is exemplified in *Mansfield Park* [1814] where it was said of Fanny Price that 'She thinks of nothing but the Isle of Wight, and calls it *the Island*, as if there were no other Island in the world' (Austen 1966, 54).

production. These become fragmented resulting in the development of number of individual, more self-contained, manors; and

3. The perceived concentration of the dispersed functions of ‘central areas’ at urban ‘central places’.

Localisation is central to this thesis as this concept is embedded in academic debates of much wider geographical significance than the Isle of Wight. The thesis draws upon research from this wider early medieval world to place the Island into this broader context. Such scope is also necessary due to the limitations of evidence from the Island, for example the lack of excavated early Anglo-Saxon settlements. A consequence of this is reliance on place-name evidence to address partially this knowledge gap. As part of this process, the thesis will engage with a range of academic debates and concepts of wider geographical significance, namely ‘islandness’, the minster hypothesis, the multiple estate model, place-name chronology, the interpretation of Domesday Book, continuity and colonization, settlement dynamics, urban origins, and the relative roles of physical background and human agency in landscape history. These are all concepts of which the author was aware before commencing the present work, with this thesis providing the opportunity for further exploration of these through application to the Island. Quantitative analyses will also be applied to data from the Isle of Wight where appropriate. Research will be drawn upon from many academics in these fields, such as John Blair, Alan Everitt, Margaret Gelling, Helena Hamerow, Glanville Jones and Tom Williamson. Thus insights from research concerning the wider early medieval world will inform the investigation of the development of the Island landscape. Findings from the range of detailed local studies presented in this thesis will in turn contribute to broader academic debates.

Despite evidence limitations, it appears that the early medieval landscape was not significantly different from ‘mainland’ Wessex and beyond. Whilst the Island is physically separate from the ‘mainland’, it was a significant component of the wider world of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and their successor state.

The specific objectives of this thesis are to:

1. Define the historic landscape regions of the Island;
2. Investigate the development of local church provision and assess the appropriateness of the ‘minster hypothesis’ to the Island;
3. Investigate the development of individual manors and assess the appropriateness of the ‘multiple estate model’ to the Island; and
4. Formulate a model of the development of the settlement pattern of the Island from the mid-seventh to the mid-twelfth century.

The structure of the thesis

The literature review will examine previous research on the Island in the early medieval period then its geographical context is explored. Physical geography will provide the background for definition of historic landscape regions and evidence for communications during the study period. This will be followed by thematic investigations of religious sites and lordship and boundaries in the landscape. Settlement will be investigated before examining the apparent dichotomy between continuity and colonization. It will conclude by drawing together these themes and present a model of landscape and settlement development. The structure of chapters is as follows:

Research about the Island will be reviewed in Chapter 2 with a particular emphasis up to 1982. This date marks the publication of both *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of the Isle of Wight* (Arnold 1982) and *Insula Vecta: The Isle of Wight in the Middle Ages* (Hockey 1982), the last two major studies of medieval Wight. This literature review will commence with the Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, followed by outlining work on development of ecclesiastical structures. The county place-name volume will be reviewed before examining early work on Anglo-Saxon land charters and their bounds. Previous work on landscape and settlement will be addressed before outlining excavations at Carisbrooke Castle, followed by a brief summary of research after 1982.

In Chapter 3 the Anglo-Saxon charters relating to the Isle of Wight will be presented, along with assessments of their ‘authenticity’ and delineation of their bounds. Domesday folios relevant to the Island will be introduced, the evidence for the

division into two Hundreds reviewed, and the pattern of landholding and tenure outlined. Use of place-name evidence and church dedications will be introduced. The thesis also draws on archaeological sources. These consist of records kept by the Isle of Wight Council's Archaeology and Historic Environment Service in the Historic Environment Record (IWHER) and the British Museum's on-line database of metal-detected finds, the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). Historic Landscape Classification (HLC) mapping will also be cited where appropriate.

The location of the Isle of Wight, its physical geography and geomorphology will be briefly examined in Chaper 4 before reviewing mapping of geology, soils and agricultural land classification. Wight's historic landscape regions will be defined. This will be related to the Island's physical background and will be informed by a range of information regarding historic land use, including Anglo-Saxon charter bounds, place-names, documentary evidence and historical ecology. The identification of five landscape regions and sub-areas will be followed by an overview of communications, defining road and track networks and connections with tidal waterways and the wider world.

In Chaper 5 evidence for the existence of churches before *c*.1100 will be presented before an outline of the 'conversion' of the Isle of Wight. Evidence for superior churches will be presented and a quantitative model applied to identify nine examples. Architectural and documentary evidence for the development of local churches up to the later twelfth century will be discussed along with evidence for proprietary origins and relationship to manorial centres.

The identification of superior and local churches will be related to the 'minster hypothesis' in Chapter 6 and an assessment made of the validity of this model to the Island. This will include presentation of two case studies. The study of the superior church of Carisbrooke will be shown to be largely compatible with the 'minster hypothesis', whereas the Shalfleet study is problematic.

The 'multiple estate' model will be discussed in Chapter 7, outlining its development and application in other areas of Britain. Criticisms of the model will be reviewed, in particular the rigorous critique by Gregson (1985). Its application will be explored

through three contrasting case studies of Carisbrooke, Brading and Calbourne, highlighting varying degrees of correspondence with the published model.

Sources for identifying the development of early medieval settlement will be discussed in Chapter 8. Due to limited archaeological evidence, emphasis will be placed upon place-names. The wider development of place-name studies will be reviewed before presenting the evidence from the Island of topographical and habitative names. An investigation of place-names reflecting land-use will follow: woodland, seasonal occupation, ‘colonization’ and economic specialisation. A series of nine case studies in differing parts of the Island will relate place-name evidence to archaeology and inferences from Domesday Book, citing environmental evidence where available. Concepts of settlement continuity and colonization will be introduced, to be developed in the following chapter.

The themes of settlement continuity and colonization will be explored in turn in Chapter 9. The idea of landscapes of continuity will be developed in relation to concepts of central areas and persistent places, including discussion of arable cores, estate demesnes and settlement morphology. Carisbrooke, the only settlement with urban traits in 1086, wil be discussed to illustrate the development of this ‘central place’. Landscapes of colonization will be investigated through two case studies: Swainston (encompassing clayland within Calbourne parish), and south-eastern Wight (an area of lighter soils).

Chapter 10 will integrate the evidence from previous chapters providing an overview of settlement and landscape development in the early medieval period. Due to evidence limitations, inferences will be made from wider research. This will include the apparent impermanence of Early Anglo-Saxon settlement, economic development and some settlement nucleation in the Mid Anglo-Saxon period, and evidence for a later ‘village moment’. The structure of this chapter will follow the identification of different types of continuity: settlement, population, and territorial organization but will also discuss areas of ‘colonization’. This will be followed by the presentation of a nuanced model of settlement development from the Romano-British period to the twelfth century. The objectives outlined above will be evaluated and recommendations for further work outlined before drawing overall conclusions

and outlining implications of the research presented for early medieval landscape history.

Chapter Two

Previous work on Early Medieval Wight

Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to review previous research on the Island relevant to the themes of this thesis. The emphasis is on studies up to 1982 which saw the publication of the last two major studies of medieval Wight: *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of the Isle of Wight* (Arnold 1982) and *Insula Vecta: The Isle of Wight in the Middle Ages* (Hockey 1982). Although referring to a period before the mid-seventh century, Arnold's book, based on his doctoral thesis (Arnold 1979), provides important archaeological background to the present study. Evidence from these early excavations is important as no broadly contemporary settlement sites have been excavated. Hockey's study comprises essays about the post-Conquest medieval period. Other significant publications dating from the early 1980s are *The Vectis Report: A Survey of Isle of Wight Archaeology* (Basford 1980) and *The Cartulary of Carisbrooke Priory* (Hockey 1981a). A brief summary of research since 1982 concludes this literature review.

Anglo-Saxon and Early Norman Wight: Research to 1982

The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries

Arnold (1982) provided a history of excavations of the various sites, most from the nineteenth century, which are summarised here. In 1815 Thomas Cooke along with four companions opened a Bronze Age barrow on Arreton Down. Excavation of another barrow there was referred to in a paper read to The British Archaeological Association that year. Two further barrows were excavated by Thomas Wright and Ernest Williams in 1853, and the remains of another barrow were excavated in 1956 (Arnold 1982, 75; Alexander *et al.* 1960). These interventions found evidence of secondary early medieval burials, within or around the Bronze Age barrows.

In 1816 John Dennett, a local inventor and antiquary, observed objects that had fallen from a damaged barrow on Shalcombe Down and excavated a further barrow there (Dennett 1845, 151; Arnold 1982, 81), again finding secondary burials. Along with Sir Leonard Holmes, Dennett investigated the Chessell Down cemetery in the

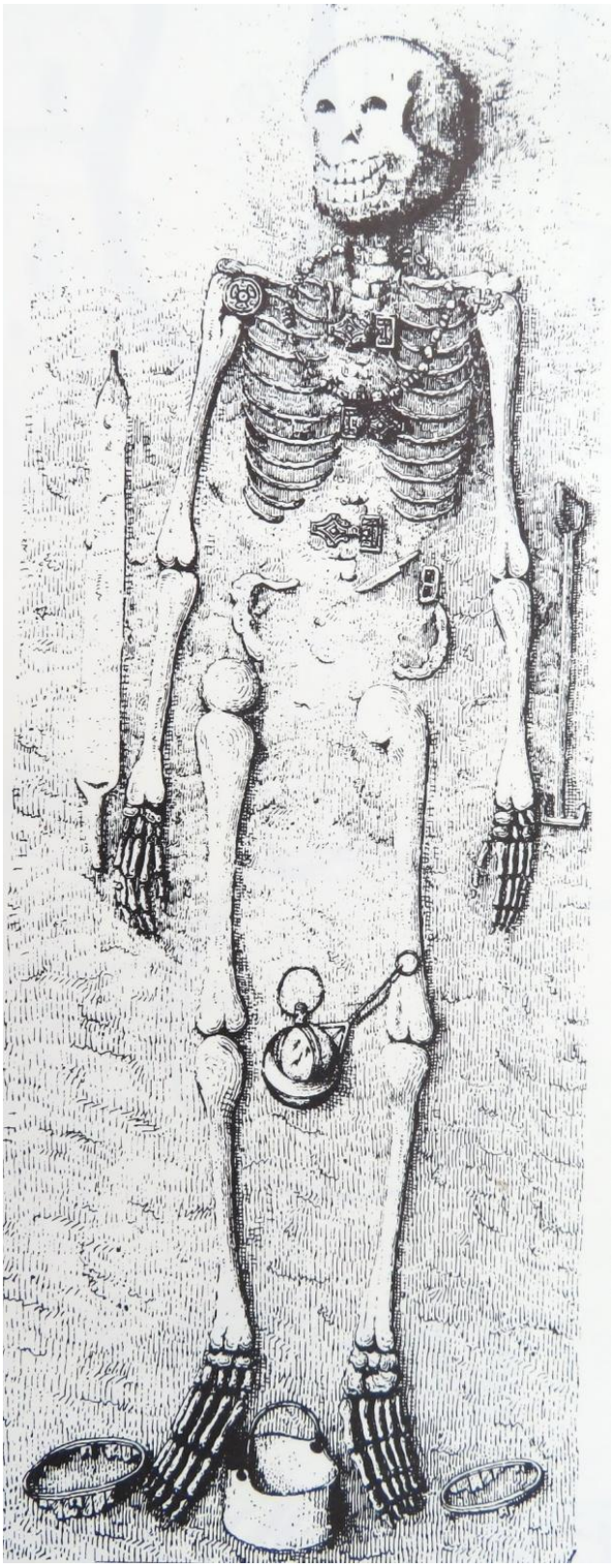


Fig 2.1: Chessell Down, plan of grave 45 reproduced from Smith 1868 (Arnold 1982, fig. 22)

same year. The results were later recorded in the journal of the Reverend John Skinner who made three visits to the Island, in 1817, 1818 and in 1831, on each occasion excavating at Chessell Down. This journal is now held by the Isle of Wight County Archaeology and Historic Environment Service. Dennett used Skinner's work in prepaing a paper he presented to The British Archaeological Association (Dennett 1845; Arnold 1982, 13). Arnold notes that the cemetery was excavated again in 1855 by George Hillier, 'who undoubtedly made the greatest contribution to the present confusion about the site' (Arnold 1982, 15). Hillier (1856) produced an inventory of the graves he excavated in his *History of the Antiquities of the Isle of Wight* (Hillier 1856), now held by the Isle of Wight Record Office (Arnold 1982, 13-14). The burials excavated in the nineteenth century were catalogued by Arnold (1982, 19) who comments that 'Given the eccentricity and dishonesty of the excavators there must always be doubt about the accuracy of the reconstruction of the cemetery'. Arnold (1982, 19-37) listed 113 burials - six cremations and 107 inhumations, most of the latter having grave goods.

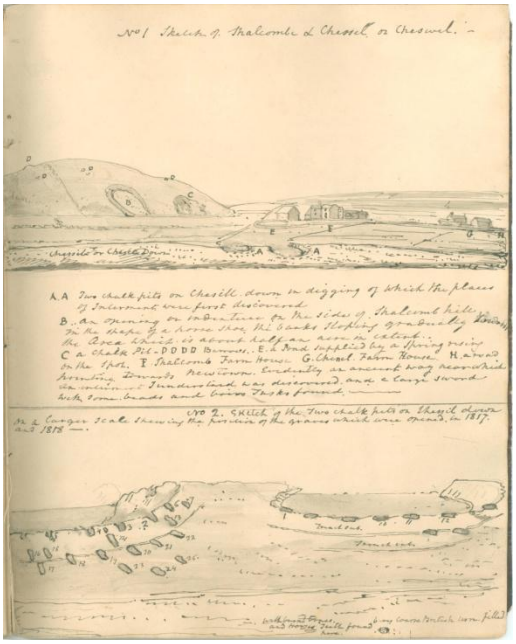


Fig. 2.2: Extract from Skinner's journal showing excavated graves on Chessell Down (Isle of Wight County Archaeology and Historic Environment Service)



Fig. 2.3: Great square-headed brooch from Chessell Down grave 45, now in the British Museum

Hillier, along with Ernest Wilkins, who was instrumental in setting up Newport museum (Bingham and Cooper 2015, 50), also excavated a barrow containing two Bronze-Age graves on Bowcombe Down in 1854 (Arnold 1982, 90). Hillier's plan records two large and eleven small barrows aligned along the ridge of the down (Arnold 1982, 89-90). The large barrows were a Bronze Age bowl-barrow 'situated at a point where the crest of the down is reduced to a narrow neck' providing the focal point of the cemetery, and another to the south-west excavated by Hillier (Tomalin n.d.; Arnold 1982, 90). Hillier did not excavate the large bowl barrow as it appeared disturbed (Arnold 1982, 90), but he went on to excavate small barrows nearby of Anglo-Saxon date, itemising their contents in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (Hillier 1855, 34-50). Arnold lists these as two single inhumations with grave goods, six single cremations without additional grave goods, one possible cremation and two instances of nothing found under barrows (Arnold 1982, 90-1). In 1859 members of the Isle of Wight Museum Society came to Bowcombe Down to excavate the large Bronze Age bowl barrow in advance of racecourse construction (Tomalin n.d.). They found 'secondary Anglo-Saxon burials, one cremation and eleven inhumations' with associated grave goods (Arnold 1982, 91-4; Wilkins *et al.,* 1860, plate 20).

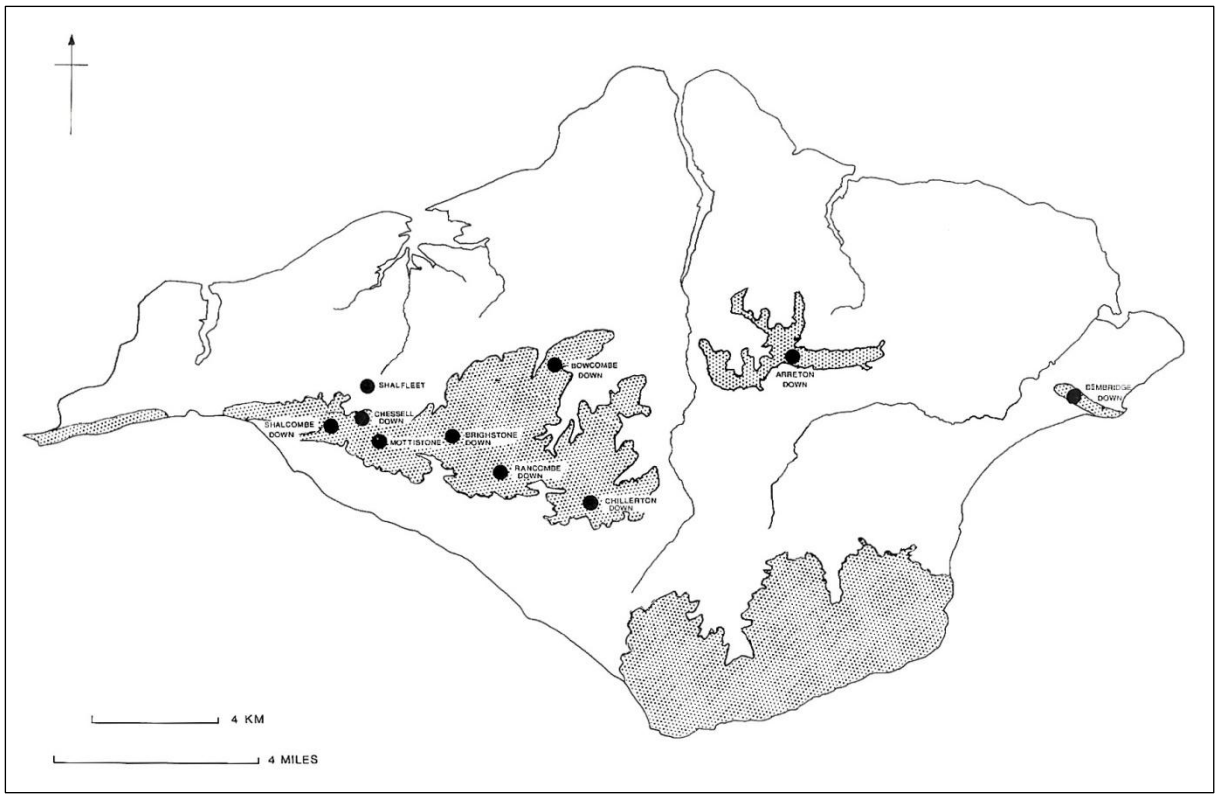
The Reverend Edmund Kell, Newport's Unitarian minister (Bingham and Cooper 2015, 49) reported to the British Archaeological Association in 1856 inhumations found at the Harboro barrow on Mottistone Down (Arnold 1982, 88). In 1863 he wrote to the journal describing an urn and bones found at the highest point of Bembridge Down in the previous year, during the construction of the fort.

David Morris and Fred Mew, associates of archaeologist Gerald Dunning, excavated a barrow on Chillerton Down in 1931 (Mew 1934, 76-7). This appears to be the location of a fragment of Anglo-Saxon pottery found in a rabbit scrape recorded by G. Sherwin in 1938 (Arnold 1982, 80). David Tomalin conducted further excavations on Bowcombe Down in 1979 near the now ploughed out large bowl barrow, recovering five cremations and seven inhumations, two of the latter having associated grave goods (Tomalin n.d.). Excavations in the interior of Carisbrooke Castle between 1976 and 1982 identified three Early Anglo-Saxon high-status inhumations but these were not included in Arnold's corpus (Young 2000, 86-97).

Arnold (1982) provides an account of burial rites which were predominantly inhumations. Chessell Down is the only site consisting entirely of primary burials, *i.e.* a new rather than reused burial site. Bowcombe Down consisted of burials focussed on a large Bronze Age barrow, while those at Shalcombe Down and Arreton Down were secondary burials in Bronze Age barrows. The finds from these excavations are now held in diverse locations. The British Museum has the most prestigious artefacts, with others held at the Isle of Wight Archaeology and Historic Environment service or displayed at the Guildhall Museum in Newport. Carisbrooke Castle Museum has reproductions of artefacts from Young's excavations there of the three high-status inhumations. Much material would not have been retained from earlier excavations and some has been lost (Arnold 1982, 17), leading to a bias in analysis undertaken. The same can be said for the variable standard of recording of the excavations in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Despite these difficulties, Arnold (1982) collated evidence from various excavations to produce a catalogue of artefacts.

Where dating can be given for the various sites based on artefact typology, Arnold gives a range from the late fifth to the early sixth century, with some sites continuing in use through the sixth century. Illustrations in Arnold's corpus have been examined

by the present author to assess the validity of his dating in the light of the chronology developed by Hines and Bayliss (2013, fig. 8.16, tables 8.1, 10.1), and is discussed in Chapter 6 (Appendix 2.4).



Map 2.1: The early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the Isle of Wight (Arnold 1982, fig. 1). Land over 200ft is stippled.

All of the burial sites in Arnold's corpus are situated on the Island's central chalk ridge (Map 2.1), except for the Little Chessell inhumation, although its artefacts have now been reassigned to Chessell Down on the chalk ridge (IWHER 402). Bembridge Down was included in Arnold's corpus, but no artefacts were reported from the site of the two inhumations and the now lost urn found some distance away appears to have been prehistoric (IWHER 1124). A summary of all known Early Anglo-Saxon burial sites on the Isle of Wight is given in Appendix 2.1.

There is arguably an inherent bias in the exploration of early medieval burial sites, as early barrow diggers would have been attracted to upstanding monuments on the chalk downland. This was certainly the case at Arreton Down with its extant Bronze Age barrows, and Bowcombe Down where the now ploughed-out barrows were prominent in the 1850s (Arnold 1982, 89). This may have led to the over-representation of early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites associated with barrows, in

contrast to lowland sites, as well as under-recording of burials beyond the periphery of barrows. An exception to the sites marked by barrows is Chessell Down where the cemetery site adjoins two chalk quarries, with extraction of marling material leading to excavations in the early nineteenth century. However, the place-name probably meaning 'hill where chests or coffins were found' implies previous awareness from at least as early as *c.*1200 when the name was first recorded (Arnold 1982, 14, 18; Mills 1996, 38).

It is now known that Bronze Age barrows were not restricted to the chalk-lands of the Island (Basford 1980, map 6). However, excavations of Bronze Age barrows on the southern chalk downland have not recovered early Anglo-Saxon burial sites. This may suggest that the apparent distribution of such burial sites, largely restricted to the Island's central chalk ridge and its margins, reflects early medieval activity, rather than being a function of antiquarians only excavating on the central ridge. Arnold (1988, 41; 1997, 55) postulated that cremations were carried from the south of the Island for interment at sites on this ridge. This can be questioned through more recent discoveries recorded in the PAS database, which raises the possibility of a burial site on the southern chalk (Appendix 2.2).

Churches and Parishes

Studies of churches and parishes on the Isle of Wight commenced in the first half of the seventeenth century, when Sir John Oglander planned a history of the Isle of Wight but his work was not published until the later nineteenth century (Long 1888). The information of most value for the present study is Oglander's comments regarding links between mother and daughter churches, such as the twice yearly attendance of the people of Yaverland at Brading church, who were '*to acknowledge Bradinge for theyre mother church*' (Long 1888, 183). The same can be said of Sir Richard Worsley's *The History of the Isle of Wight* (Worsley 1781). His transcriptions include Domesday Book and the return made by the Dean of the Island to the bishop of Winchester in 1305 which provides information about the status of churches and chapels (Worsley 1781, appendix I, LXXXI). Worsley's book also contained a map depicting parish boundaries (Haywood 1781). In 1796 Charles Tomkins published *Tour to the Isle of Wight*, where most of the medieval churches are illustrated as line

drawings (Tomkins 1796). These illustrations appear to be generally good depictions but with some inaccurate details.[2] Some additional illustrations of church architectural features no longer exist were made by Sir Henry Englefield (1816). This book provides the only evidence for a hood-moulded doorway in the south aisle of Calbourne church (Stone 1891, II, 14). Sir Stephen Glynne visited the Isle of Wight on six occasions between 1825 and 1863, producing written descriptions of medieval churches. Glynne published nothing in his lifetime, but publication of his 1825 antiquarian journey by the current author includes observations about church architecture and his notes on churches he visited (Margham 2019a, 2021a).

The first editions of the Ordnance Survey maps, 6-inch and 25-inch scale, of the Island were published in 1862/3. Although both Andrews (1769) and Haywood (1781) had mapped parish boundaries, with the exception of tithe apportionment maps, these maps provided the first accurate depictions of these boundaries. They reveal a multitude of detached portions of parishes, and provide information regarding acreages, ranging from the 58 acres of Yarmouth to the 9,192 acres of Arreton. Percy Stone published the two volumes of *The Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight* in 1891. Volume I encompassed East Medine Hundred and volume II West Medine Hundred, with the first half of each volume being an historical and architectural account of medieval churches (Stone 1891). Stone (1891, II, 161-2) also includes appendices containing documentary sources such as a 1205 concord regarding the patronage of the chapel of Shorwell. His illustrations, church plans and architectural drawings are important resources, but there are inaccuracies. For example, the line drawing of Brighstone church's north arcade depicts it with slightly pointed arches when this is not the case (Stone 1891, II, plate LXVI). J. Charles Cox's volume on the Island churches contains useful information including observations about Bonchurch's Romanesque doorway (Cox 1911, 40). The Hampshire 'Victoria County History' volume covering the Island (Page 1912) includes accounts of parish churches and several ground plans by Percy Stone. Baldwin Brown published a short account of the evidence for Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman fabric at Arreton church in his *The Arts in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1925, 442). The early fabric at Freshwater church had not been recognised then. Accounts of both Arreton and Freshwater churches are given in the Taylors' *Anglo-*

[2] For example, depiction of Shalfleet's tower crenelations does not accord with what can be seen today, although this could be due to changes post 1796.

Saxon Architecture (Taylor and Taylor 1965). This builds on Baldwin Brown's account of Arreton and documents the nave at Freshwater (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 30-1, 246). Derek Renn (1969) published an overview in the county journal in 1969, of Anglo-Saxon and Early Norman architecture, also architectural sculpture. This summarised pre-Conquest architectural evidence at Arreton and Freshwater. He also mentioned Carisbrooke's single-splayed windows, the late eleventh-century capital at Godshill, evidence for potentially early fabric at Newchurch and Calbourne, Shalfleet's Romanesque fabric, Romanesque architectural sculpture at Binstead, Brading and Whippingham, documentary evidence for a former round-headed doorway at Mottistone, and a now lost twelfth-century capital from Yarmouth (Renn 1969, 267-70). In the same volume the Hutchinsons (1969) published a paper on the figure at Binstead reset in the south wall of the churchyard.

Patrick Hase completed his doctoral thesis at Cambridge in 1975, *The Development of the Parish in Hampshire, particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Hase 1975). While concerned with the development of local church provision in mainland Hampshire, it included a case study of Carisbrooke. Hase (1988; 1994) drew upon his research in two subsequent publications discussing mainly documentary evidence for Carisbrooke's minster church.

Dom Frederick Hockey of Quarr Abbey was a great contributor to the understanding of medieval Wight. His paper on tithe patterns provides information that can be used for reconstructing William fitzOsbern's landholdings immediately after the Conquest, and the Battle Conference paper explored fitzOsbern's endowment of Lyre Abbey with Island churches (Hockey 1960; 1981c). Hockey (1981a; 1981b) published the cartulary of Carisbrooke priory and provided an unpublished English translation. The following year saw the publication of his *Insula Vecta: The Isle of Wight in the Middle Ages* (Hockey 1982), which includes invaluable information on church development. The first chapter argued for a series of mother parishes with north-south boundaries based on the regularity of parish boundaries suggested that these were planned by Bishop Daniel of Winchester in the first half of the eighth century while bringing the Island under the jurisdiction of his see (Hockey 1982, 2).

Place-Names, Anglo-Saxon Charters and their Bounds

The Isle of Wight does not have an *English Place-Name Society* county volume but does have a publication of comparable quality in Helge Kökertiz's *The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight* (1940).[3] As well as the gazetteer of place-names for each civil parish, the book has an extended introduction discussing such issues as the interpretation of place-names, the place-name *Wihtgaræsbyrg* [4] and lost place-names. Whilst some of the historical interpretation and chronology of certain types of place-name has now been superseded, there is still much information in the introduction that is of great value to the researcher. Examples include hundred names and evidence for medieval beacon sites. Kökeritz also discussed charter bounds in some detail, and discussing the place-name evidence for the location of estates mentioned in lost charters (Kökeritz 1940, lviii-lix, 144-6).

Kökeritz built on the first systematic study of the Anglo-Saxon charter bounds undertaken by Grundy (1921; 1926). He also provided transcriptions of almost all of the charter bounds relating to estates on the Isle of Wight. Kökeritz (1940, 26) excluded the Staðe charter as he saw it as referring to an area in mainland Hampshire adjoining Titchfield due to the mention of *Ticcanfelda* (Kökereitz 1940, 26). This charter has been identified by the present author with Fishbourne on the Isle of Wight, on the basis that *Ticcanfelda* refers to land held by the church at Titchfield, the mention of Chillingwood Brook a stream on the Island, and the commencement of the bounds at *wareðe* 'shore', with bounds often starting at the northern extent of an estate (Margham 2007, 130; 2012). Forsburg (1950) published some observations regarding the location of bounds in the Bathingbourne area. Both Finberg (1964) and Sawyer (1968) catalogued Anglo-Saxon charters in a wider geographical context, southern England and the whole of England, respectively. In this thesis Sawyer's reference numbers will be used when mentioning extant charters.[5] Finberg included references to 'lost' charters, which were not indexed by Sawyer (1968), and will be referred to by the numbers given by Finberg (1964) using

[3] An English Place-Names Society volume for the Isle of Wight is now in preparation (Richard Coates, pers. comm.). Mills (1996) provides information on place-names depicted on the then-current 1:50,000 map.
[4] Probably a corruption of **Wihtwaraburh* 'the stronghold of the men of Wight' (Kökeritz 1940, lii).
[5] S842, confirmation of a bequest by earlderman Æthelmær of various estates in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight by Æthelred, AD982: this charter mentions four estates on the Isle of Wight. Following the usage in Margham (2003; 2007) these will be referenced thus, *Heantune* (Branstone) S842i, Bathingbourne S842ii, *Meolocdune* (Ashey) S842 iii and *Staðe* (Fishbourne) S842iv.

his ECW (Early Charters of Wessex) numbers. Some charter bounds were first plotted by Arnold (1975) in his undergraduate dissertation.

Landscape and Settlement

Frederick Hockey's *Quarr Abbey and its Lands* (1970) is concerned with the period after the foundation of Quarr in 1132 and provides invaluable insights into medieval land use. Ten years later *The Vectis Report* was published by Basford (1980), which provides an overview of the archaeology of the Island based on the Sites and Monuments Record, now known as the Historic Environment Record, and includes essays by various other contributors. One was Rob Scaife who completed his doctoral research in the same year with *Late Devensian and Flandrian Vegetational History of the Isle of Wight* (Scaife 1980). Much of this information, derived from the study of pollen preserved in peat deposits and in buried soils, is of more relevance to pre-historians due to the truncation of bog profiles through the cutting of peat. It does however contain some information about the environmental history of the first millennium AD. Nick Cahill (1980) also completed his Leicester MA thesis at this time: *Conquest and Colonisation on the Isle of Wight*. This purports to have identified a series of late seventh-century *burhs* at estate centres of Freshwater, Calbourne, Carisbrooke, Arreton, Newchurch and Brading through examining settlement morphology. These identifications were based on the work of Hoskins (1960) in East Devon at sites such as Thorverton. Cahill's thesis also contains information about the wider landscape which has been developed by the present author to identify historic landscape regions.

Landscapes of Defence

Stuart Rigold (1969) carried out several excavations at Carisbrooke Castle. He argued for the origins of the 'Lower Enclosure', underlying the curtain walls, as a Roman fort. This interpretation was challenged by Young (1983; 2000) but was supported by Tomalin (2002) and Margham (2015) on the basis of morphological similarities with known late Romano-British structures such as the eastern gateway at Caerwent and the presence of small semi-circular bastions. A synthesis of the archaeology of Carisbrooke Castle was published by Young (2000). This reviewed

previous investigations undertaken from the 1920s onwards and published Young's excavations between 1976 and 1980, which identified a late Anglo-Saxon phase within the later castle curtain walls. This was interpreted as a *burh* based on the presence of large timber buildings which appeared to predate the castle (Young 2000, 5). They established that the first post-Conquest phase of the castle was an enclosure in the north-east corner of the 'Lower Enclosure' evidenced by massive ditches, with the present motte-and-bailey dating to *c.*1100 (Young 2000, 5).

Anglo-Saxon and Early Norman Wight: Research since 1982

Much of the research on early medieval Wight since the late 1980s has been conducted by the present author. This includes studies of Domesday population (Margham 1989), the parishes of Thorley and Freshwater (Margham 1991; 1992), settlement morphology of Carisbrooke (Margham 1993), church dedications (Margham 1997), the origin of Brading church (Margham 2000), place-names (Margham 2008; 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2013b; 2015b; 2016b; 2017a), Anglo-Saxon charters and their boundaries (Margham 2003; 2006; 2007, 2012c), landscapes of governance and defence (Margham 2013a; 2015a; 2017b), the road network (Margham 2016), early Norman churches (Margham 2014), Romanesque architecture (Margham 2018a; 2018b), a study of a hide farm (Margham 2019b), a population history to 1800 (Margham 2021b), and co-authorship on Carisbrooke's probable Anglo-Saxon sculpture (Margham and Tomalin 2022).

Work by other researchers published after 1982 has significantly added to knowledge of early medieval Wight. Heather Edwards (1985; 1988) reviewed the authenticity of the early land charters of Wessex, two of which purport to document grants of substantial estates to the Bishop of Winchester in the early ninth century: S274 Calbourne and S281 Shalfleet. Arnold (1990) revisited his material on the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries which includes an analysis of cemetery locations. A.D. Mills (1996) published a book on the place-names of the Isle of Wight which supplements Kökeritz. As mentioned above Chris Young (2000) produced a monograph on twentieth-century excavations at Carisbrooke Castle. Jamie Sewell (2000) published a study of Carisbrooke's parish boundary, concluding that there was good evidence for the existence of Carisbrooke's *parochia* (mother parish) by the mid to late Anglo-

Saxon period with its boundary being defined in the latter period. The Wootton-Quarr project was primarily concerned with the inter-tidal archaeology of a length of the Island's north-east coast (Tomalin *et al.* 2012). The main focus of recording was the numerous wooden structures and post alignments, some of which were found to date from the early medieval period, an example being a fish weir on Binstead Beach with stakes dated to cal AD890-1040 and cal AD810-1020 (Darrah and Loader 2012, 217). The volume includes a wide range of information on the archaeology and landscape of the project area's hinterland and a study of the place-names of north-east Wight (Margham 2012b). Two 'productive' sites, concentrations of early medieval coins and associated metalwork, have been identified: 'near Carisbrooke' (Ulmschneider 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003) and 'Shalfleet parish' (Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013). An MA thesis reviewed the nineteenth-century investigations of early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites and evaluated new finds from the PAS (Salter 2010). This reinforced the perception that the Isle of Wight was a place of wealth and importance in this period and that some of the recorded finds 'support its strong relationship with Kent and the Continent' (Salter 2010, 1). The 'Jutish' nature of early Anglo-Saxon settlement in Kent, southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight has been re-evaluated (Sørensen 1999; Kruse 2007). Richardson (2011) investigated 'non Saxon identity' south of the Thames. The extent of cultural similarity between the Isle of Wight and southern England between 450 and 700 was undertaken through examining brooches in a York University MA thesis (Holbrook 2014), while Harrington (2020) analysed Chessell Down's (female) grave 45.

Although not specifically about the early medieval period, other relevant research includes: the revision of the buildings of England survey with the publication of a volume for the Isle of Wight (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006); Historic Landscape Classification (HLC) based upon the morphology of modern boundaries (Basford 2008); and the applicaton of HLC to late eighteenth-century mapping in a Bournemouth University doctoral thesis examining Island medieval and early modern settlement (Basford 2013). Three relevant books of charters have been published since 1982: Quarr Abbey (Hockey 1991), the Redvers family (Bearman 1994) and Winchester New Minster (Miller 2001). An important unpublished source is the database of property holdings created by a former County Archivist (Webster 1975-1999; Basford 2021). This is largely concerned with the later medieval and modern

periods but provides information about manorial descents in the post-Conquest period.

An invaluable resource has been the introduction of the PAS on the Isle of Wight in 2003 (Basford 2007). The work of the Finds Liaison Officer (FLO) in conjunction with metal detectorists has facilitated the detailed recording of the second ‘productive’ site to be identified on the Island (Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013). Understanding of the development of early medieval cemetery sites was advanced in 2005 when Mid-Saxon inhumations were excavated adjoining Shalfleet church (Trott 2007). An early medieval wooden causeway across the eastern Yar at Alverstone has been investigated along with the environmental history of the location (MOLA 2015).

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed previous research, revealing a wealth of studies from the seventeenth century onwards which is supplemented by newer forms of data such as excavation and the PAS. These will inform the themes addressed in the present thesis.

Chapter Three

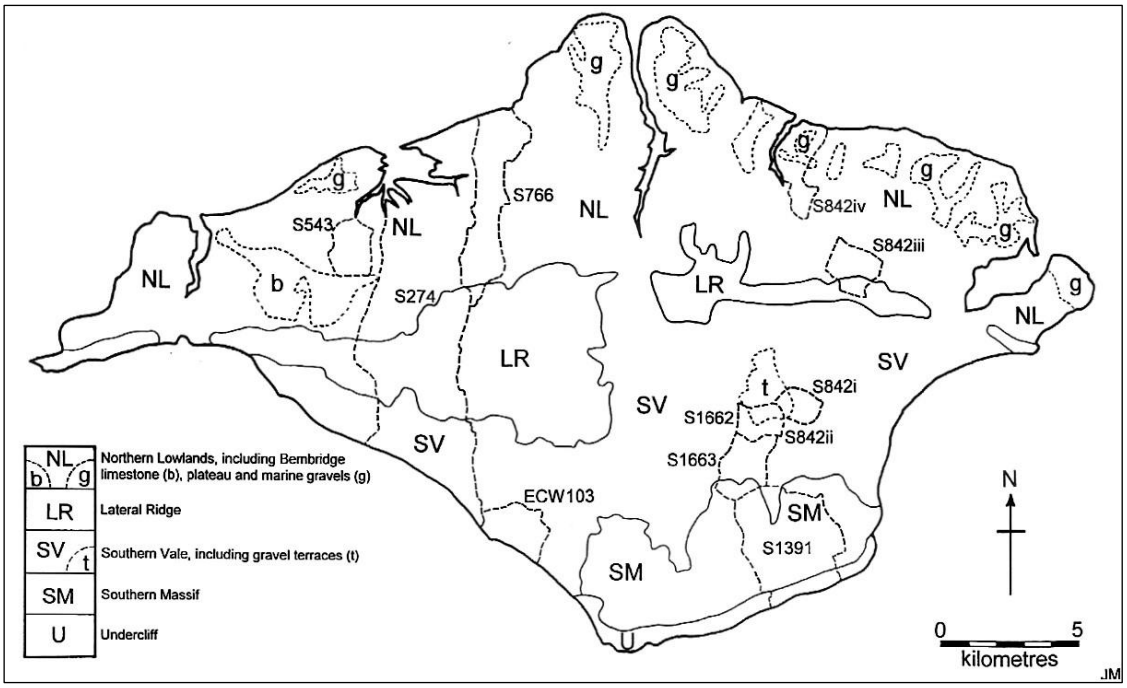
Source Material: Documents, Place-names and Archaeology

Introduction

This thesis has drawn on a wide range of primary sources. In this chapter, an overview will be provided regarding broadly contemporary sources of Anglo-Saxon charters and Domesday Book. The latter will be used to define the two main Hundreds in 1086, the administrative sub-division of shires with judicial, fiscal and military functions (Williams and Martin 1992, 1433). Whilst the publication of local place-name surveys was mentioned in Chapter 2, the use of these resources in this present research will be outlined here, including the study of church dedications. Archaeological information has been obtained from two databases, the HER and the PAS, and the development and biases in both will be considered. Finally, Historic Landscape Characterisation has been drawn upon and this mapping and its limitations will be discussed.

The Anglo-Saxon Charters of the Isle of Wight

The south of England has a relatively high number of Anglo-Saxon land charters with appended boundary clauses. The whole of Yorkshire has only four such documents, compared with over 200 examples from the counties of Dorset, Hampshire and Wiltshire (Le Patourel 1993, 99). There are 14 known charters relating to landholdings on the Island, seven of which have extant bounds, including two charters with more than one set (Map 3.1; Appendix 3.1). Three charters are ‘lost’ (Appendix 3.1), but some information about them is recorded in the late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century *Annales Monasterii de Wintona* (Luard 1865; Finberg 1964).



Map 3.1: Isle of Wight- Landscape Regions (defined in Chapter 4) and reconstructed charter boundaries. However, ECW1 (Brading and Yaverland), ECW4 (Whippingham, *Muleburnam* and *Banewadam*), S281 (Shalfleet) and S1662 (*Linlande*) not mapped (Margham 2007, fig. 8)

Early Charters: Seventh to Ninth Centuries

Four of the five charters purporting to date to the ninth century or earlier document substantial areas granted to the bishopric of Winchester, but there are issues with their authenticity (Edwards 1988, 155-60, 163-4). ECW1 is a 'lost' charter supposedly issued by King Ine of Wessex (688x726) of 30 hides in *Ewereland* (Yaverland) and 50 hides in *Breredinges* (Brading). This was possibly one of the estates granted to Bishop Wilfrid by King Cædwalla which devolved to Winchester (Chapter 7, p.205; Finberg 1964, 217). ECW4, a grant of a total of 87 hides by Cuthred, king of Wessex (740x756), is perhaps the most problematic as two of the three place-names mentioned cannot be located with certainty. The 22 hides in *Wippingeham* (Whippingham) were located to the east of the Medina estuary, perhaps broadly coterminous with Whippingham parish of 4,611 acres (Map 5.2; Page 1912, 197). The 40 hides of *Muleburnam* and 25 hides of *Banewadam* are unidentified. Kökeritz (1940, lviii-lix) stated that whilst 'any attempt to identify the names *Muleburnam* and *Banewadam* with modern Wight names must of necessity be conjectural' it is possible that '*Muleburnam* may have referred to the upper course of the eastern Yar in Whitwell', whilst *Banewadam* could have been the former name

of St Lawrence (Kökeritz 1940, lix). This tentative suggestion raises the possibility that the 87 hides of ECW4 documented a large block of land to the east of the Medina estuary and its headwaters, extending from north to south across the Island. S274 is purportedly a grant of 30 hides in *Cawelburnan* by King Egbert in 826. Along with ECW1 it is possible that this estate represented the quarter of the Island given by Cædwalla to Wilfrid in the late seventh century (Finberg 1964, 217). It is likely that S274 was created in the tenth century to provide Winchester with title for Calbourne, rather than an early ninth-century transaction (Edwards 1988, 156). S281, the apparent grant by Egbert of 40 hides in *Scealdanfleote* in 838, is a likely ninth-century fabrication (Edwards 1988, 160) and will be discussed in the case study of Shalfleet (Chapter 6).

The only one of these estates which from later evidence can be shown to have belonged to Winchester is that delineated in S274.[6] Walkelin, Winchester's bishop, held Calbourne in 1086, when it consisted of 32 hides (Williams and Erskine 1989, 52v). It remained Winchester's until seized by the crown in 1284 (Page 1912, 218). There is no evidence for Winchester's interest in the areas of ECW1 and ECW4 apart from the *Annales Monasterii de Wintona* (Luard 1865, II, 6) and of S281 other than the charter itself (Sawyer 1968, 141).[7] Edwards (1988, 163) concluded that 'It is possible that Winchester did at one time possess charters in which Ine and Cuthred granted these estates [ECW1, ECW4], and that these charters were authentic, but the evidence cannot be said to establish more than a possibility'. Assuming that Winchester did hold estates in east Wight (ECW1), central Wight (ECW4) and Shalfleet (S281), their alienation can perhaps be explained by their seizure in this strategically important area by the crown in the late Saxon period (Fleming 1985).

The last 'early' charter is found in King Alfred's will (873x888; S1507). Alfred left *Eaderingtune* (Arreton) to his younger son Æthelweard (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 175), rated at four hides when held by King Edward in 1066 (Williams and Erskine 1989, 39v). Alfred also bequeathed *Welig* to his youngest daughter Ælfthryth. This appears to be Wellow on the Island, a two hide estate held of the king in 1066

[6] Winchester had possession of Wroxall from 1043x1044, which may have formed part of ECW4 only for the duration of the life of Osgod, with whom Bishop Ælfwine arranged an exchange of Adderbury (Oxfordshire: S1392). By 1066 Wroxall was held by Gytha of (deceased) Earl Godwin (Williams and Erskine 1989, 39v).

[7] The exception is the virgate of Rowborough held by the Abbot of Winchester (New Minster) of King Edward *TRE* adjoining Brading and thus within the probable bounds of ECW1.

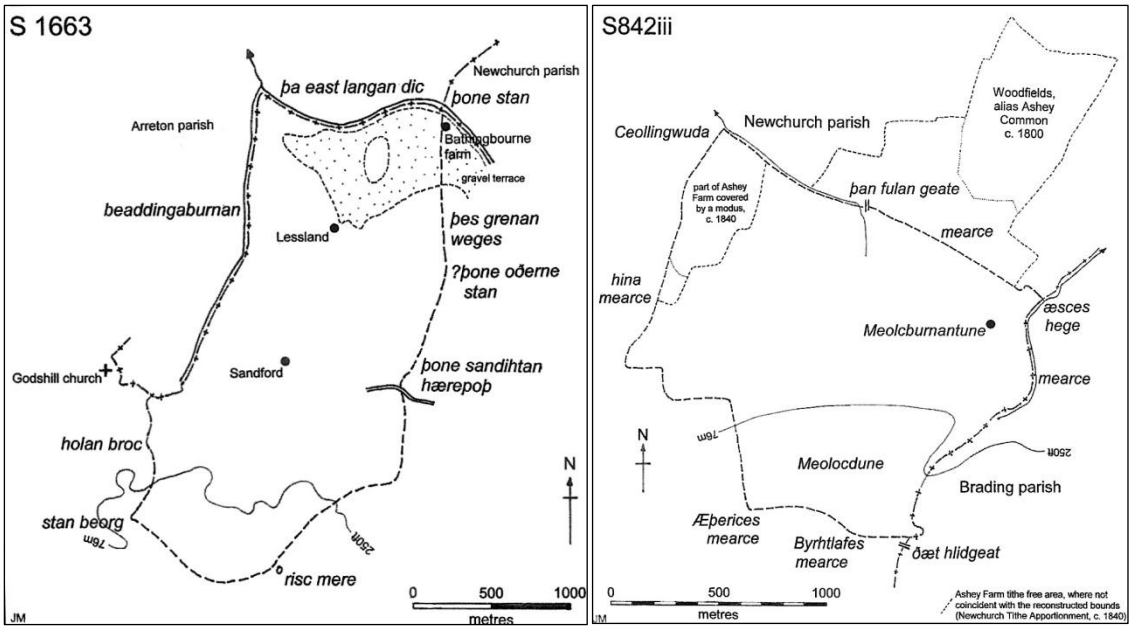
(Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 177; Williams and Erskine 1989, 52), but locations in mainland Hampshire, Somerset or Wiltshire are possibilities (Margham 2006, 100).[8]

Later Charters: Tenth and Eleventh Centuries

The later charters, dating from the mid-tenth century onwards, with the exception of *Linlande's* bounds (S1662), can be identified with estate centres and their bounds have been mapped (Map 4.1; Margham 2003, 2006, 2007, 2012c). This includes two charters without boundary clauses, the 'lost' Atherfield charter (ECW103) and the exchange of five hides at Wroxall (S1391). Atherfield was reconstructed by the present author through place-names and mapped areas of Brighstone (detached; part of the Calbourne estate, discussed in Chapter 7) within Shorwell parish (Margham 2006, fig. 2). The Wroxall estate was reconstructed with reference to later medieval documentation and the 1851 estate map (Margham 2007, 132-4). The unnamed one hide in *Vexta insula* (S543) can be identified as Ningwood (Margham 2006, 80).

This corpus of charters largely documents grants or confirmations of relatively small estates to individuals, such as the five hides of Bathingbourne to Æthelgeard (S1663; Map 3.2), or to the Church, *eg.* the three estates of two hides each and one of one hide at various locations to Winchester New Minster (S842). With the exception of S1663, charters with larger hidages are associated with the Church: the five hides of Watchingwell confirmed to the nuns of Wilton (S766), the restoration to Winchester of the 30 hides at Calbourne (S821), the total of seven hides confirmed to the New Minster (S842), and the exchange of five hides at *Wrocceshele* (Wroxall: S1391).[9] The exception to this is the two hides at Atherfield granted to the church of Winchester (ECW103).

[8] Another 'Wellow' was bequeathed to the eldest daughter, Æthelflæd.
[9] The hidage is not stated in S1391 but the granting of the charter in 1043x1044 strongly suggests that this estate was coterminous with the five hides of *Warochesselle* in 1066 (Margham 2007, 131-2).



Map 3.2: S 1663 Bathingbourne- a reconstruction (Margham 2007, fig. 2)

Map 3.3: S 842 Ashey- a reconstruction (Margham 2007, fig. 5)

Domesday Wight

Hampshire and Isle of Wight Folios

Domesday Book entries for landholdings on the Island are found in the folios for the county of Hampshire, which along with Berkshire, Kent, Surrey and Sussex, formed Circuit 1 of the inquisition (Golding 1989, 1). The presentation of the information about the Island is somewhat anomalous. It is arranged in two blocks, with some of the royal holdings, in the eastern half of the Island, listed separately at the end of the *Terra Regis* (lands of the king) section, under the heading of 'The lands mentioned below lie in the Isle of Wight' (folios 39v- 40). The rest of the royal lands are documented at the end of mainland Hampshire entries (52 to 52v) and are in the western half of the Island. This contrasts with the landholdings of the tenants-in-chief being together under the appropriate heading in the latter section (52v-53v), regardless of their location (Golding 1989, 3). These entries are likewise followed by 'The lands of the King's thegns' in both halves of the Island (53v to 54). It would appear most likely 'that the original intention of the compilers was to include the island holdings in the county as a whole, but this arrangement was abandoned at an early stage in favour of treating the island as an independent administrative unit' (Golding 1989, 3). This inconsistency is significant, providing evidence for the hundredal geography in the late eleventh century which will now be outlined.

The Domesday Hundreds

The later medieval hundreds of the Isle of Wight, West and East Medine, were not recorded until 1181 (Kökeritz 1940, 3). Although this division into two almost equal halves has been claimed as a twelfth-century development (Kökeritz 1940, 2-3), it is very likely that these two hundreds predated this but with different names (Map 3.4; Margham 2013a, 8-9). Domesday mentions Bowcombe Hundred at the start of the *Terra Regis* section (52), also at the head of the lands of William fitzStur (52v) and towards the end of 'The lands of the King's thegns' (54). Bowcombe Hundred contained an ecclesiastical hundred: 'In Calbourne Hundred, which lies in Bowcombe Hundred' which consisted of the 32 hides of Winchester's estate (52v). This hundred would appear to have originated after the restoration of Calbourne to Winchester by Edgar (S821, 963x975), the charter enumerating 30 *mansae* at *Etdrethecumb, i.e.* within 'Bowcombe'. Another manor named Calbourne, held by William fitzStur in 1086 (52v), identified with Westover adjoining Calbourne village, was not included within the ecclesiastical hundred. This also suggests a recent origin of the bishop's hundred then.[10] A third named hundred was *Hemreswell*, consisting of only three landholdings of the King's thegns in the western half of the Island (54); this was also within Bowcombe Hundred. Apart from these apparent anomalies within the bounds of Bowcombe, the Domesday evidence is largely consistent with a division of the Isle of Wight into two hundreds separated by the Medina. None of King William's lands to the east of the Medina were specified as belonging to a hundred, which can be contrasted with those to the west which are recorded as being in Bowcombe Hundred. The manors of William fitzStur are headed as being within Bowcombe Hundred but this listing commences with all of his holdings to the west of the Medina, followed by those to the east. Jocelyn fitzAzor's manors are not mentioned as being within particular hundreds, but the entries for his lands starts with those to the east of the Medina, followed by his lands to the west. The only inconsistency amongst the entries for William I's tenants in chief is to be found in the holdings of William fitzAzor with Bonchurch, east of the Medina, listed with his two manors to the west, followed by his remaining manors to the east. It can be concluded that, despite this inconsistency, 'It would appear that the Isle of Wight did

[10] The term manor will be used for landholdings from 1066 onwards. Before this date, landholdings will be referred to as estates. As Blair (2018, 400) has pointed out, when the Normans invaded they invented a 'dwelling centred word', *manerium,* to describe an economic, architectural, administrative and legal entity.

consist of two main hundreds in the later eleventh century, Bowcombe hundred to the west of the Medina, and an unnamed hundred to the east' (Margham 2006, 100).



Map 3.4: John Speed's map of *Wight Island* (1611) shows the division of the Island between the two hundreds of West Medine and East Medine. The bounds of the ecclesiastical hundred of Calbourne are depicted on Map 7.4. The Isle of Wight was divided broadly equally in terms of hidage as well as area. 192 hides were recorded *TRE* (in 1066), of which 110¼ were in Bowcombe Hundred, and 81¾ in that later known as East Medine. Two manors in the latter hundred were not assessed in hides: allowance must be made for 'beneficial hidation' and un-named manors on the Isle of Wight enumerated in mainland Hampshire Domesday Book entires (Margham 2013a, 13).

Domesday Landholding and Tenure

Domesday Book folios itemise 124 named landholdings on the Island. All can be identified with reasonable confidence in the modern landscape. The only other land holdings in the folios relating to the Island which cannot be located are three unnamed small areas of land, two plots of land held by the fitzAzor brothers from which come three ploughshares, and Wulfnoth's half a virgate held of the king (53 and 54). However, the Domesday folios for the Island are not a complete record of lands held. Mainland Hampshire information includes references to manors of

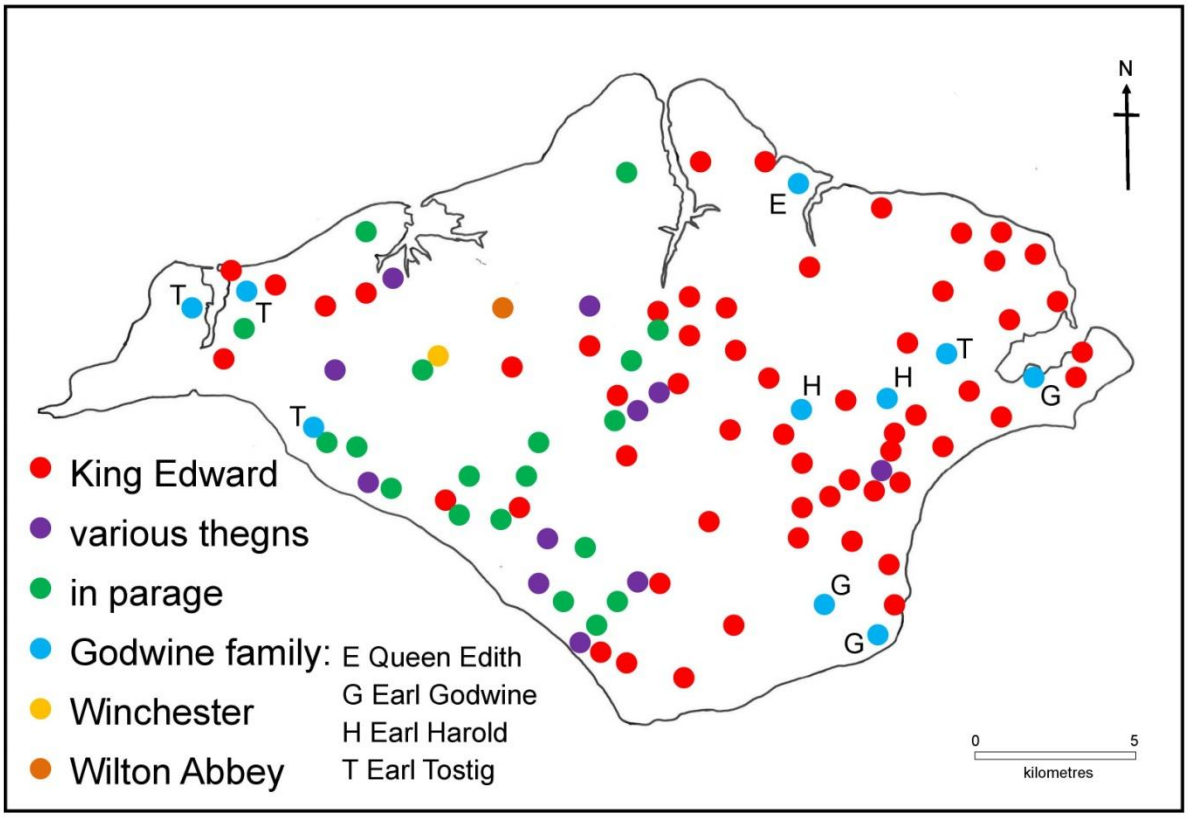
Breamore (39), Eling (38v), Holdenhurst (39), Ringwood (39) and the canons of Twynham (Christchurch) (44) all holding un-named lands on the Island, totalling 20 hides, along with two berewicks which 'were wanting'.[11]



Fig. 3.1: Luccombe Farm was the centre of a small manor with one ploughland and a recorded population of 6 bordars and 2 slaves in 1086 (39v)

The named landholdings include entries for adjoining locations, with Atherfield, Dungewood and Walpan (52v) being an example, locations a distance apart such as Niton and *Abla* (Apse) (40), and multiple entries for the same place-name such as Nettlestone and *Scaldeford*. Shared place-names either represented locations with a shared manorial centre after the Conquest, as would appear to have been the situation at Shanklin (53), or locations separated by a relatively short distance such as Luton (52v and 54), with Luton Farm and Chawton Farm being 0.8km apart.

[11] Combley Farm, on the northern flank of the 'lateral ridge' in Arreton parish may be an example of a mainland outlier. Its potentially 'early' topographical place-name and location would suggest an old-established settlement site by 1086, although it may have formed part of Arreton's four hides.



Map 3.5: Landholders on the Isle of Wight *TRE*

Most landholdings on the Isle of Wight consisted of relatively small areas of land *tempore regis Edwardi* (*TRE*; 'In King Edward's time). Most common were single-hide holdings, with 30 instances, with many being smaller than this. Only seven manors were rated at four or more hides: four hides in Afton (52), Arreton (39v) and Bowcombe (52),[12] five in Wroxall (39v), six in Shalfleet (53v), 15 in Freshwater (52) and 32 in the bishop of Winchester's Calbourne (52v). It is, however, possible that the two unhided estates held by King Edward in the eastern half of the Island, Merston (53) and Yaverland (39v), were extensive. Domesday Book provides a picture of some substantial manors, with the vast majority encompassing relatively small areas.

Domesday folios provide information about those with an interest in manors, pre-Conquest and in 1086. The distribution of landholders *TRE* is shown in Map 3.5. The category of 'in parage' (Williams and Martin 1992, 1434) refers to Domesday entries where the primary landholder *TRE* is not mentioned in the text, although the majority of these manors were probably held of King Edward.[13] The analogous situation in

[12] A probable instance of 'beneficial hidation', with 15 ploughlands being recorded.
[13] Implied by the primary landholder of several of these manors being King William in 1086.

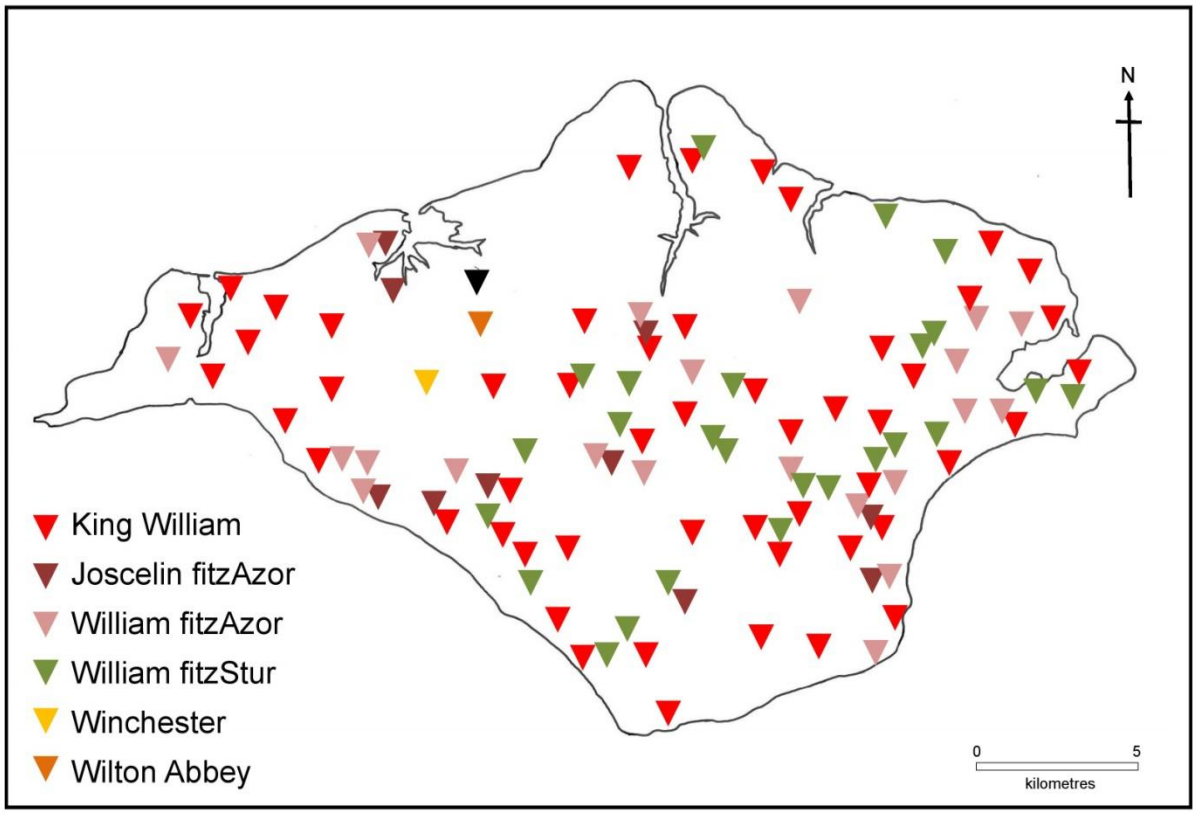
1086 is depicted in Map 3.6. As William fitzOsbern held palatinate authority[14] from 1067 to 1071 a third map (3.7) is a reconstruction of the primary landholders' manors in this period. This is based on the assumption that fitzOsbern's holdings reverted to the crown after the rebellion of his son Roger of Hereford in 1075 (Margham 1993, 8-13).[15]

Most landholdings *TRE* were of King Edward, either held directly by him, or held of him by thegns. There were other high-status 'landowners'. Earl Tostig had an estate consisting of four manors in the West Wight, and one at Nunwell in the East. His brother Earl Harold held two manors in the eastern half at Heasley and Kern, and their sister Queen Edith held Wootton. Earl Godwin, who died in 1053 (Barlow 2002, 67), is recorded as holding the three manors of Bonchurch, Wroxall and Woolverton in the eastern half. Most lands held directly by various thegns were in the western half, as were all manors recorded as 'in parage' with the ultimate 'landowner' not being recorded, along with manors held 'in parage' of King Edward, with a combined total of 26 landholdings. This contrasts with the eastern half of the Island which had no instances of lands 'in parage' but 48 instances of lands held in *alod* (freehold).[16] Does this contrast indicate a tenurial difference between the two primary hundreds, or merely reflect different terminology used during the Domesday inquest in the two halves of the Island? The former would appear to have been the case, as land in parage does not apparently have any connotations of being freely held, whereas land held in *alod* does (Williams and Martin 1992, 1431, 1434).

[14] An earl exercising the 'king's power as his deputy, not only administratively, but even to the extent of holding all the royal demesne land' (Wightman 1962, 7)

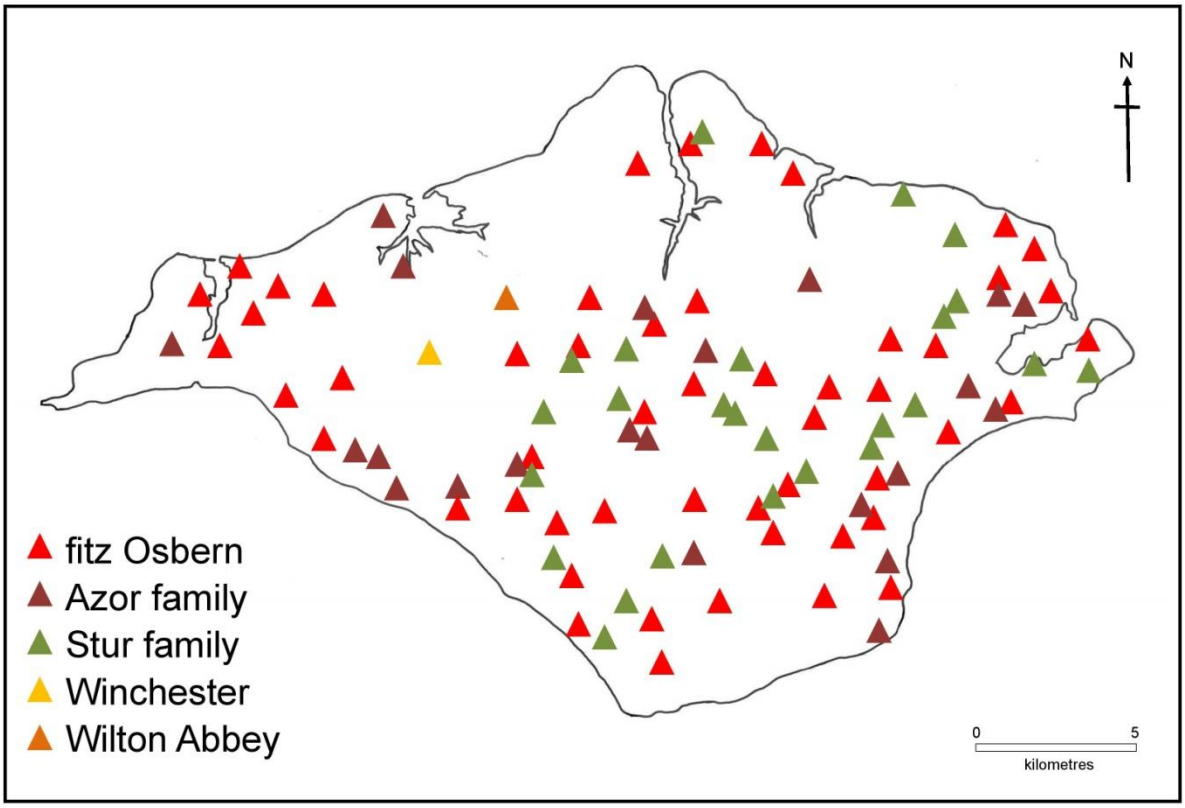
[15] The loan to fitzOsbern of Bowcombe is documented in the Domesday account of Amesbury (Wiltshire) where it is recorded that 'These [lands] in Amesbury Earl William gave in return for the loan of Bowcombe' (Williams and Martin 1992, 162).

[16] 'ALOD, allod (Old German *alod,* Latinized). Land held by freehold. *Allodarii* are usually regarded as tenants in freehold' (Williams and Martin 1992, 1431). Whilst there are no instances of parage in the eastern half of the Island there are two occurrences of alod within the western half: Loverstone (53) and *Weristetone* (53v), probably Brighstone (Mills 1996, 33-4).



Map 3.6: Isle of Wight primary landholders in 1086

By 1086 much of the Isle of Wight was held by King William, either directly in lordship (royal demesne), or from him by the king's thegns (Map 3.6). The king's tenants-in-chief, with extensive landed interest in the Isle of Wight, were William fitzStur, and Joscelin and William fitzAzor. There are several instances in which estates had been divided between the fitzAzors by 1086, for example Chilton on the south-west coast, where one hide held by Ælfric *TRE* was divided equally between them (53v). Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, held the 32 hides of Calbourne (52v) and Wilton Abbey held Watchingwell, but with the hidage reduced from 3 to 2½ 'because half [a hide] is in the king's park' (52v). The remaining few manors were apparently held by the king's thegns where the text does not specify of whom the land was held, such as the one virgate of Lea (53v). These manors were presumably held from the king, but the Domesday folios are not explicit about this. In addition to information about hundredal structure, landholding and tenure, Domesday Book provides a wealth of statistical information about individual manors. Recorded population figures and structure are cited in Chapter 7. Some inferences can be made from comparing Domesday statistics, for example the relationship between the number of hides *TRE* and ploughlands in 1086. Such statistical information will be used in the various case studies presented in Chapters 8 and 9.



Map 3.7: Isle of Wight primary landholders 1067-1071, a reconstruction

Place-Names and Church Dedications

This thesis draws extensively upon place-name evidence in the study of early medieval land-use and settlement. The two county surveys, Kökeritz (1940) and Mills (1996), were introduced in Chapter 2. Various categories of place-names are presented in Appendices 8.3 to 8.8, which inform a substantive part of Chapter 8. These names have been tabulated using the following format: modern name (or earlier name if 'lost'); six-figure map reference; earliest record of name and date; place-name elements; references; and comments. The limitations of place-name evidence will be addressed in Chapter 8.



Fig. 3.2: The vegetation alongside the watercourse adjoining Merston Manor reflects its low-lying position represented in the place-names of *Messetone* and *Merestone* 'the farmstead by the marsh' first recorded in Domesday Book (Mills 1996, 71)

Church dedications are cited where appropriate, for example the apparent significance of parish names derived from the dedication of the local church (Chapter 9). Appendix 5.7 presents this information for Island churches of medieval origin. Medieval dedications have been taken from Arnold Forster's (1899) study of English church dedications. Whilst in need of revision, no comprehensive survey has since been undertaken. Supplementary information presented in Appendix 5.7 does, however, suggest that most of Arnold Forster's 'ancient' (medieval) dedications of Island churches are correct. The exception is Niton, listed as St John the Baptist, whereas there is good evidence for a dedication to St Michael in the thirteenth century (Hockey 1981, no.39). The medieval dedication of Shalfleet church is unknown, with the present dedication dating from 1964 (Margham 1997, 91).



Fig. 3.3: Niton church as depicted by Tomkins (1796). This was St Michael's church in the thirteenth century, perhaps reflecting its slightly elevated position in relation to the village, and now dedicated to St John the Baptist.

Archaeology

Isle of Wight Historic Environment Record (IWHER)

The IWHER originated in the 1970s when Vicky Basford was employed by the County Archaeological Centre to create a Sites and Monuments Record, culminating in publication of *The Vectis Report* (Basford 1980). The database has subsequently been developed and computerised and is managed by Becky Loader, Senior Archaeologist. There are inevitably biases in the IWHER, such as the location of fieldwork and building development, chance finds and deriving information from published sources. The IWHER includes records of individual finds which would now be included in the PAS database, including much of what is known about the 'productive site' in the Bowcombe Valley since metal-detected finds there largely predate the introduction of the PAS.

Portable Antiquities Scheme

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the PAS was introduced on the Isle of Wight in 2003. This is largely concerned with the systematic recording of metal detectorists' finds. The PAS, whilst providing a wealth of information about early medieval Wight, has its own biases, such as the degree of recording of finds, arable fields rather than pasture being chosen for metal detecting rallies and metal detectorists returning to locations which have previously produced artefacts (Frank Basford, pers. comm.; Robbins 2012, 2013; Okasanen and Lewis 2020, 112-3). Mapping of PAS records reveals a distinct bias towards the western half of the Isle of Wight (Frank Basford, pers. comm.). Robbins (2013, 56-7) in her study of bias specific to the Isle of Wight identified seven stages in the creation of the database: deposition, preservation, survival, exposure, recovery, reporting and recording.[17] All of these issues need to be kept in mind when analysing the PAS record.

Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC)

Work on HLC was completed in 2005 (Basford 2008; Loader 2008). This mapping of types of 'historic landscape character' involves examination of 'the present-day

[17] A study of Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, argued that seventh- and eighth-century coin distributions were broadly representative of losses rather than detectorists' searching (Costen and Costen 2016, 3).

landscape … using modern Ordnance Survey maps and characterised according to the features presented into landscape “types”. These “types” are classified in advance of mapping and are defined by the broad characteristics exhibited by areas of land with similar past uses’ (Turner 2007, 16-17). The most significant types of historic landscape identified on the Island for an early medieval study are former open-fields, enclosure of downland, and enclosures from waste, common and heath. There is, however, a degree of uncertainty in this mapping (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.), an example being Loader (2008, map 53) entitled ‘*possible* extent of enclosures of open fields with medieval parishes’ (present author’s emphasis). This HLC mapping was based on contemporary sources of information. As part of her PhD research Basford (2013) also produced HLC mapping based on the unpublished six-inch scale Ordnance Survey (1793-4) sheets and refined some HLC interpretations.

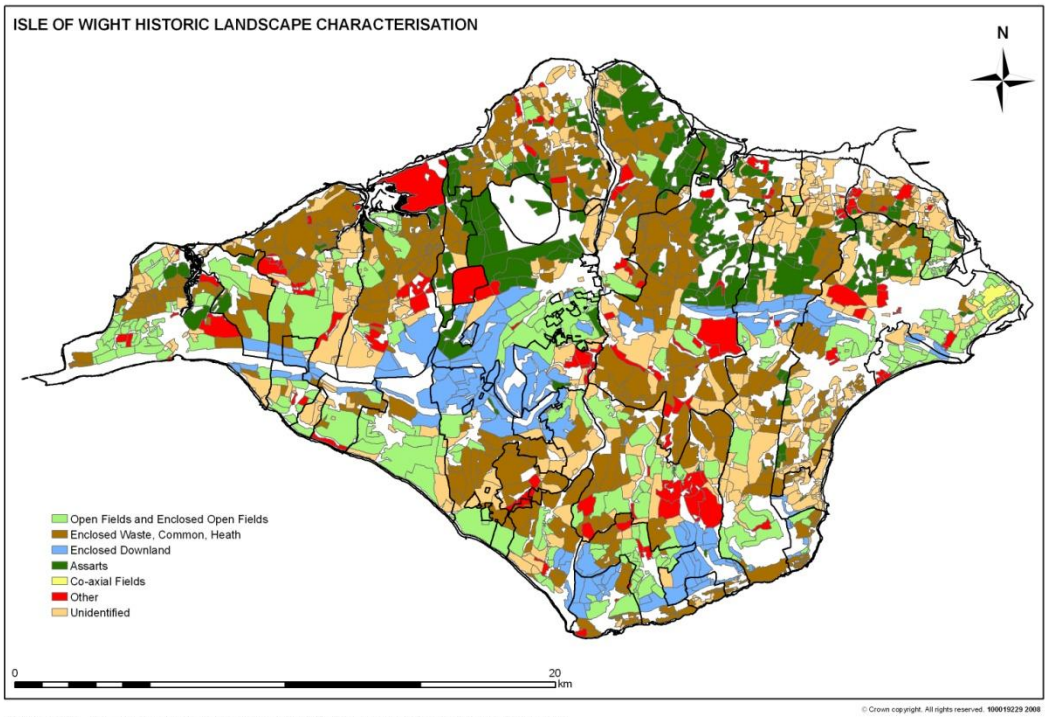


Figure 63. Enclosure processes in all HLC Phases with Medieval Parishes

Map 3.8: An example of HLC mapping of the Isle of Wight showing enclosure and parish boundaries from 1862/3 Ordnance Survey 6-inch and 25-inch mapping (Loader 2008, fig. 63)




Figs. 3.4 and 3.5: Contrasting landscapes- the valley floor of the eastern Yar adjoining Alverstone Farm and chalk downland above Limerstone Farm

Conclusions

Information drawn upon for this thesis is inevitably multivalent. Each has its own limitations and biases, for example charter bounds documenting the peripheries of estates, and information in the IWHER partially reflecting information recovered during modern settlement development. These diverse data sources, despite their limitations, will be used to produce a synthesis of the current state of knowledge of the development of the early medieval landscape. This will be prefaced by the definition of landscape regions and an overview of communications in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

The Isle of Wight: A New Synthesis of Geography, Landscape Regions and Communications

Introduction

This chapter presents findings of the present author's study of the Island's landscape. Whilst these were initially published in 2003, the chapter gives an extended and more detailed account. This thesis will show that the physical geography of the Isle of Wight had a significant effect on early medieval landscape development, including marine and terrestrial communications. The regions defined below provide a characterisation of the Island's landscape developed from earlier work (Margham 2003, 17-25), identified with reference to both their topography and human agency. The location and topography of the Island will be outlined, alongside the mapping of geology, soils and Agricultural Land Classification. The academic debate regarding the relative importance of physical constraints and human agency will be reviewed before historic landscape regions are defined. Five main regions are identified in this chapter, with two of the 'lowland' regions having significant sub-divisions. In subsequent chapters these regions will inform the analysis of cemeteries and churches, estates and manors, settlement, and continuity and colonization in the landscape. Definition of discrete landscapes will be followed by appraisal of communications in and around the Island: coastal communications, the early medieval road system, and evidence for a system of look-out places which may have included warning beacons in the early medieval period. The concept of 'islandness' will be briefly addressed.

Physical Geography and Geomorphology

Location

The Isle of Wight extends 36.5km west to east and 21.3km north to south encompassing 384 square kilometres (Hopson and Farrant 2015). It is located off the southern coast of England, separated from Hampshire by the Solent (Map 4.1) Distances from mainland England vary from 1.2km towards the western end of the Island to Hurst Spit to 4.8km towards the eastern. To the north of the Solent the major estuary of Southampton Water extends 16km inland with its tributaries. The

entrance to Portsmouth Harbour is 7km north-east of the northern coastline, with Langstone and Chichester Harbours adjoining further east. Smaller estuarine inlets on the Hampshire coast, from west to east, are Lymington River, Beaulieu River, and the now silted-up Titchfield Haven, all of which are within 6km of the Island's northern coast. The peninsula of the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset, with Poole Harbour to its north, is 24km to the west of the Isle of Wight and the headland of Selsey Bill in Sussex 20km to the east.



Map 4.1: The location of the Isle of Wight in Southern England, with county and place-names from Domesday Book (Treharne and Fullard 1969, 13)

Solid and Drift Geology

The solid geology is entirely sedimentary (Map 4.2; NRC 2013). A major topographical feature is the lateral chalk ridge, running west to east from the Needles to Culver Cliff. North of this ridge the Hampshire Basin forms a syncline, extending under the Solent to the chalk-lands of Dorset, Hampshire and Sussex. Much of the area to the south of the lateral ridge consists of an eroded anticline terminating with the chalk downland in the south of the Island. This southern massif terminates in a

discontinuous inland cliff demarcating a narrow coastal strip known as the Undercliff. This landslide area was activated by coastal erosion with sea level rise *c.*10,000 BP (Pope 2003, 57). A significant area for human settlement in terms of crop marks, and medieval settlement sites on its periphery, to the north of the Island's chalk ridge is the area of Bembridge limestone in the Thorley/Wellow area.

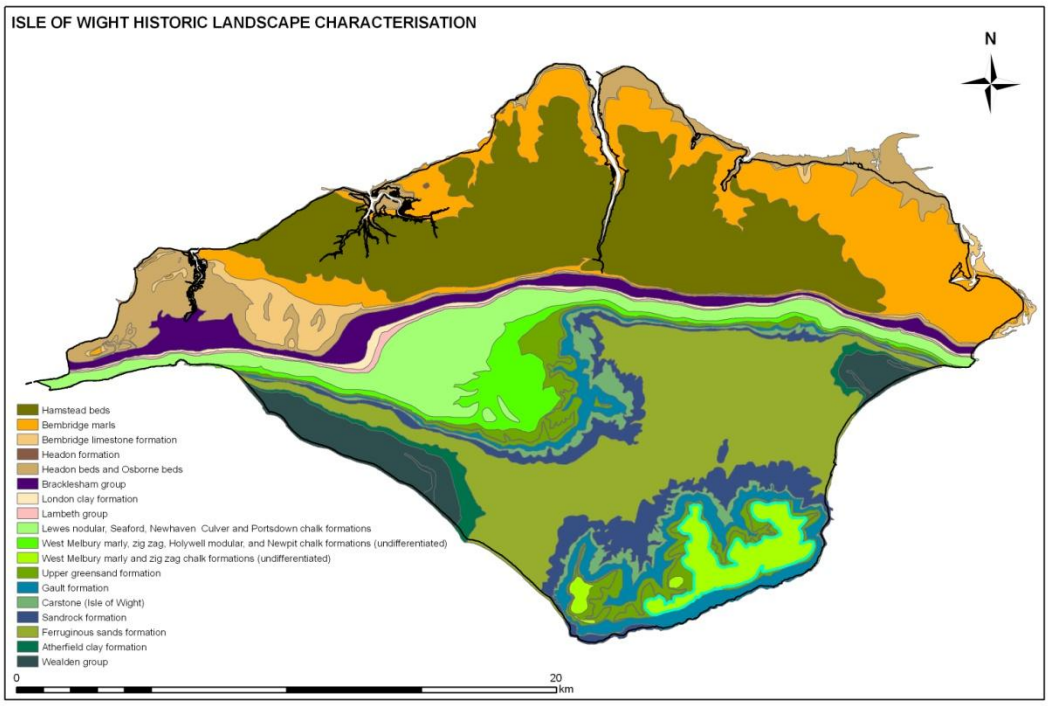


Figure 2. Solid Geology

Map 4.2: Isle of Wight solid geology (Loader 2008, fig. 2)

The solid geology of the Isle of Wight varies in date from the most recent, the Oligocene beds of much of the north of the Island within the syncline, through to the oldest, the lowest of the unconcealed strata within the former anticline being the Wealden clays along the south-western and south-eastern coasts. The Island shares much of its geological structure with the Isle of Purbeck to the west. The connecting chalk ridge was breached before the Flandrian transgression, a period of sea level rise, possibly during the late Devensian (Hopson and Farrant 2015, 104).

Three types of superficial deposits overlie the geological structure (Map 4.3; Hopson and Farrant 2015, fig. 35): clay-with-flints capping some chalk downland, terrace deposits capping locally prominent hills adjoining the north coast, and watercourses bounded by alluvial deposits throughout the Island. An extensive area of gravel

terrace deposits associated with the middle course of the eastern River Yar forms part of the latter. In addition to these geologically recent deposits, there are substantial areas of landslip, mainly on the western and northern slopes of the southern chalk massif, and throughout the Undercliff. Smaller areas of landslip occur along the Island's northern coastline to the west of the mouth of the Medina estuary.

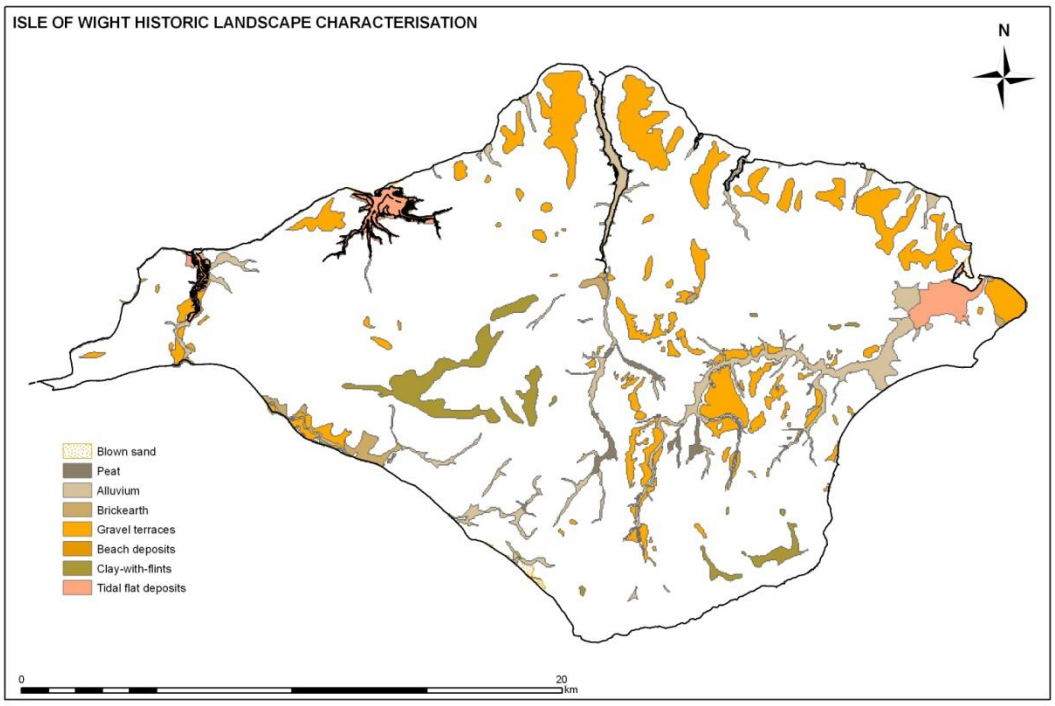


Figure 3. Drift Geology

Map 4.3: Isle of Wight drift geology (Loader 2008, fig. 3)

Drainage

The geological structure of the Isle of Wight trends from west to east whereas the drainage pattern runs approximately south to north, although the eastern Yar flows from south-west to north-east (Map 4.4). This is a product of long-term erosion with the reduction of the southern anticline between the two upland areas of chalk. The drainage pattern is superimposed, the lateral ridge being breached in the west at Freshwater Bay by the western Yar, near the centre by the Medina, and by the eastern Yar in the Brading area. The far west beyond the western Yar is known locally as the Freshwater Isle, with a corresponding area in the East Wight beyond the eastern Yar, the Bembridge Isle. Shorter watercourses running directly into the sea drain the north-western portion of the Freshwater Isle, the south-west and south-

east coastal areas. These have incised the relatively soft geological structure in these areas, known locally as chines (Margham 2012a, 7).

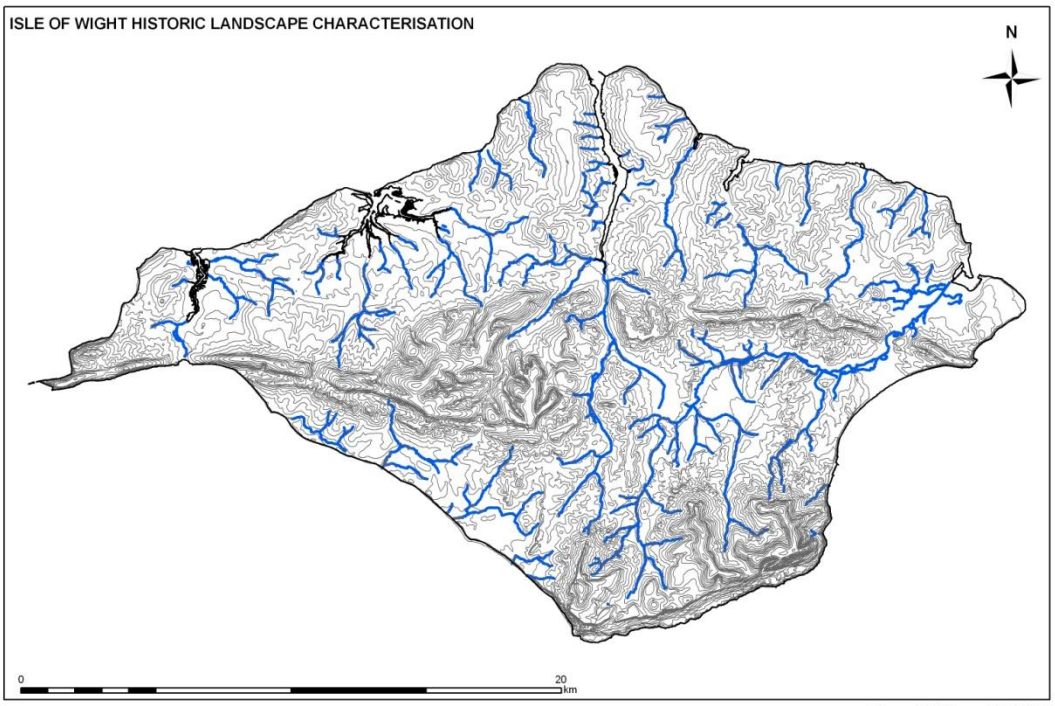


Figure 4. Drainage and Relief (contours at 10m)

Map 4.4: Isle of Wight relief and drainage (Loader 2008, fig. 4)

Coastal Erosion

Much of the coastline of the Island is subject to erosion. Map evidence in the vicinity of Grange Chine on the south-west coast indicates recession of approximately 130m between the 1790s and 1970s (Basford 1980, 71). Along this coastline some time in or after 1680 a tenement 'which stood and belonged to the grounds called Leap Place [Shepherd's Chine] were taken down and set up at Cashyd by reason of the washing away the land within 2 roods, where the said tenement stood' (IWCRO JER/T/BAR Swainston Rentals). Coastal recession along the south-west coast may have been in the order of 650 metres from the late eleventh century to the present day.[18]

[18] This estimate assumes a relatively constant rate of recession but this process may be episodic (Tomalin, pers. comm.).

Estuaries

The rise in sea level after the most recent glaciations resulted in the lower courses of river valleys flowing into the Solent becoming tidal estuaries. The most prominent is the Medina estuary, extending southwards 7km from the Solent with its tidal limit adjoining the late twelfth-century town of Newport. To the west, the mainly tidal Yar defines the eastern limit of the 'Freshwater Isle'. An eastern arm of this estuary existed into the eighteenth century, formerly known as Thorley Haven (Margham 1991, 116). On the north-west coast, four tidal inlets meet and flow into the Solent at Newtown Bay. A smaller estuary, before silting up, emptied into the Solent at Thorness Bay. This was the *stiðes fleotes* 'stiff fleet' in the mid-tenth century (S766; Margham 2006, fig. 3).[19] Another former creek emptied into Gurnard Bay. To the east of the Medina, the small estuary at King's Quay is largely silted up. The upper course of Wotton Creek was converted into a tide mill pond. This estuary was *fugel fleote* 'bird fleet' in the bounds of *Stæðe* in the tenth century (S842; Margham 2012b, fig. 8.32). Further to the east the former Barnfields Haven has silted up. Towards the Island's eastern extremity was the huge tidal area of Brading Haven, the estuary of the eastern Yar. This survived several attempts at drainage, being finally reclaimed with the coming of the railway to Bembridge in 1877-80 (Page 1912, 157) leaving today's Bembridge Harbour as a vestige. Alluvial deposition along the lower course of the Yar suggests that it was formerly tidal for several kilometres inland (NRC 2013).

[19] Alternatively 'creek of a man named Stith' (Margham 2006, 86).





Fig. 4.1: The Medina estuary from the air, looking northwards

Fig. 4.2: The western Yar estuary adjoining Freshwater church

Geology, Soils and Agricultural Land Classification Mapping

Geological mapping, mapping of soils and agricultural land classification have informed the present author's recognition and definition of the Island's landscape regions so will be briefly reviewed.

The modern 1:50,000 geological map (NRC 2013) is the successor to a history of geological mapping extending back into the nineteenth century. This gives more detail than previous maps especially for drift (superficial) deposits. There is a strong correlation between geology and relief.



Map 4.5: The soils of the Isle of Wight (Jarvis *et al.* 1984)
See Appendix 4.1 for key and soil descriptions

Soils have been mapped at a smaller scale than geology. The 1:250,000 map covers South-East England (Jarvis *et. al.* 1984). There is a close correspondence between soil series and geological mapping (Map 4.5; Appendix 4.1).

The Agricultural Land Classification map was published with a scale of 1:63,360 (MAFF 1969). There is no Grade 1 (excellent) agricultural land. Grade 2 (very good) is restricted to relatively small areas: inland from the south-west coast, part of the Bowcombe valley, and either side of the mid-course of the eastern Yar in the Arreton and Hale Common area. Much of the area between the lateral ridge and southern chalk massif is classified as Grade 3 (good to moderate). North of the lateral ridge is predominantly Grade 3, with some areas of Grade 4 (poor) adjoining the north-west coast. Other areas of Grade 4 land are chalk downland and alluvial areas alongside the rivers Medina and the eastern Yar, including former Brading Haven. There are some areas of Grade 5 (very poor) land mainly associated with the areas of landslip of the Undercliff and Bouldnor Cliff on the north-western coast, and some of the chalk downland in the vicinity of Culver Cliff. Although there is correspondence between the Agricultural Land Classification and relief, geological and soils mapping,

the survey presents the situation in the late 1960s. It does not necessarily reflect the early medieval period, before field under-draining of and other agricultural improvements.

Landscape History and Physical Background

The influence of physical background on landscape development has been much debated over the past few decades. As the identification of the landscape regions of the Island is based primarily on geomorphology, this will be reviewed.

Rippon (2008) provides an overview of the debate regarding the relative importance of the physical background in landscape studies up to the publication of his *Beyond the Medieval Village*. Subsequently, Williamson (2013) added to this, notably with the publication of *Environment, Society and Landscape in Early Medieval England*. The issue of the significance of physical background in development of landscape regions will be discussed primarily with reference to these two studies.

Although the role of physical factors in landscape history had previously been emphasised, for example in the work of Alan Everitt (1977, 1986), by the 1990s there was a general consensus that it was human actions that were entirely responsible for variations in landscape character and the rejection of 'environmental determinism', that physical environment dictated settlement patterns and land use (Rippon 2008, 11). This consensus has been challenged by Tom Williamson. His *Shaping Medieval Landscapes* examined open-field development in eastern England and identified a correlation between the distribution of 'regular' open-fields and heavier clay soils (Williamson 2003, 191). The significance of the 'natural environment in moulding social, economic and agrarian arrangements' (Williamson 2002, 21) also features in Williamson's study of post-medieval agriculture and 'is a direct challenge to the increasingly dogmatic prevailing orthodoxy of social agency being the sole cause of landscape change' (Rippon 2008, 11). Simon Draper's (2006, 122) study of the landscape of Roman and early medieval Wiltshire also addresses this, stating that the physical landscape of a region is fundamental to 'understanding its settlement and society. This may sound obvious to many, but we are only now emerging from a period in landscape studies when it became almost fashionable to downplay

environmental factors in favour of social and cultural explanations for change, for fear of being branded an adherent of "environmental determinism"'.

Williamson (2013, 2) considered the relative importance of physical conditions and human agency, demonstrating the significance of physical geography, geology, hydrology, soils and climate in the pattern of human interaction with the environment. He does, however, qualify this:

> The arguments presented in this volume do not merely involve a reassertion of the importance of physical geography in the shaping of medieval settlement, and to some extent of medieval social institutions. They also … involve a dissolution of what I believe to be an entirely false dichotomy between 'human choice' and 'geographical determinism' (Williamson 2013, 4).

Choices of where to settle were conditional on practicalities: 'Landscapes are a consequence of human agency, but agency exercised knowledgeably, in a real world' (Williamson 2013, 4). This more nuanced approach will be developed in this study, commencing with application of Alan Everitt's definition of the *pays* (distinctive landscapes) of Kent to the varied landscapes of the Island. Concluding his study of Kentish settlement, Everitt (1986, 338) asks 'what basic qualities differentiate one type of *pays* from another [?]':

> In many ways it is considerations of geology and soil type that are paramount; yet essentially it is a whole range of local circumstances, operating together, that mould the character of an area as a settlement zone: land forms, altitude, contours, fertility, water supply, cultivability, woodland cover, drainage, aspect, shelter, rainfall, warmth, accessibility, proximity to river or sea coast, and so on.

Such factors will be taken into account in defining the landscape regions of the Isle of Wight.

Diverse Landscapes

The diverse landscapes of the Island will be defined with reference to the early medieval period, but with information from earlier and later periods cited where appropriate. These broad contrasts were apparent to early modern commentators who noted the wide variety of different landscapes. Camden (1637, 273) writing in the later sixteenth century, recorded that:

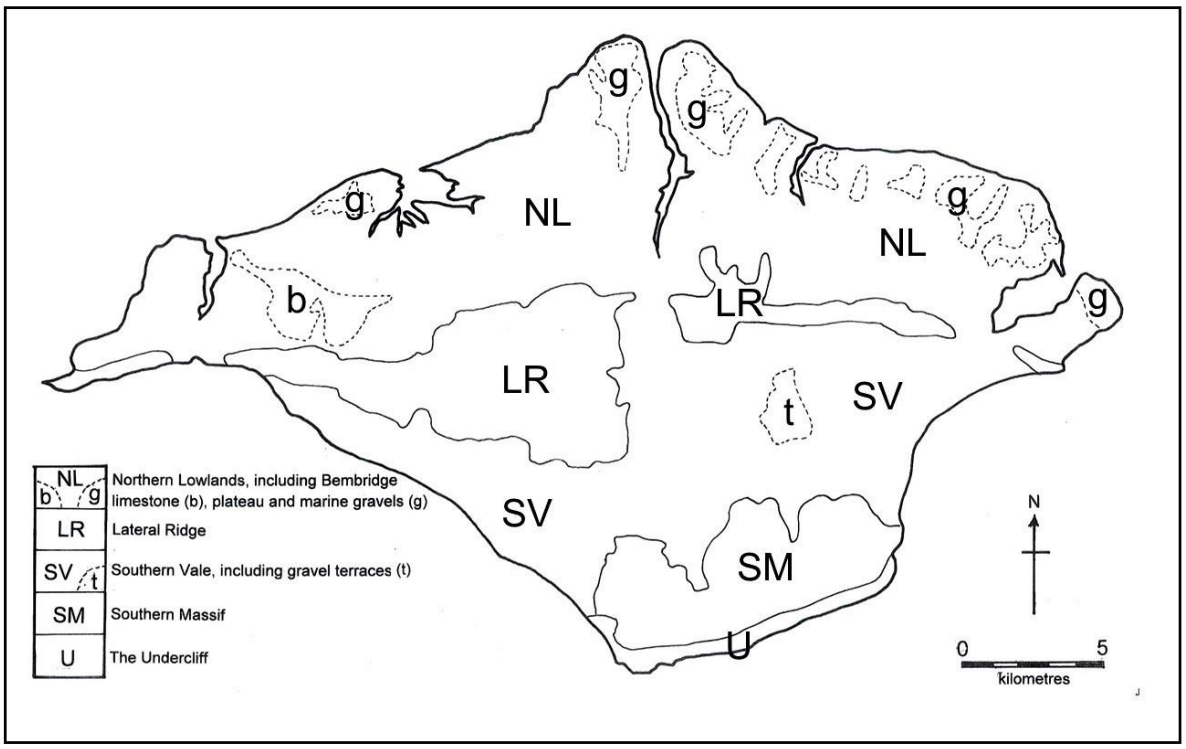
> *Through the midst thereof runs a long tract or chaine of hills, yeilding plentie of pasture, and forrage for sheepe. The wool of which, next unto that of Lemster and Coteswold, is esteemed best, and in speciall request with clothiers, whereby there groweth to the inhabitants much gaine and profit: the North part is all over greene with meddows, pastures and woods: the South side lieth wholly in manner, bedecked with cornefields enclosed where at each end the sea on the North-side doth so inbosome, encroach within it selfe, and it make almost two Islands*.

A late eighteenth-century visitor commented on the great variety of soil types: 'The variation of the soil of this island is beyond description. They may be truly termed the vagaries of Nature...' (Hassell 1790, 174). Modern soil mapping (Jarvis *et al.* 1984) and other factors have been used by the present author to define a series of discrete landscape regions, each running east to west following the topographical grain.

These areas are relatively small when compared with the more extensive *pays* elsewhere, for example those of South-East England defined in *The Fields of Britannia* project (Rippon *et al.* 2015, fig. 4.1).[20] It is therefore arguably more appropriate to refer to the discrete landscapes of the Island as Historic Landscape Regions rather than *pays* (Della Hooke, pers. comm.; Margham 2003, 18). These regions are essentially geomorphological areas, *i.e.* the result of physical processes. Using Everitt's criteria outlined above, five Historic Landscape Regions have been identified: the Northern Lowlands, the Lateral Ridge, the Southern Vale, the Southern Massif and the Undercliff (Map 4.6; Margham 2003, 17-25). All of these terms are the author's own, with the exception of the Undercliff, which follows local usage. To emphasise significant local variations in the relationship between the physical and environmental background and settlement history and avoiding oversimplification, sub-areas of the two major lowland regions have been identified. Basford's 15 HLC areas correspond with the present author's landscape region boundaries but with more sub-divisions (Loader 2008, fig. 8), whereas Basford's (2013, 5.9 and 5.10) 1790s 17 HLC areas have less correspondence. Tomalin's (2022, 79) study of Roman Wight largely accords with delineations presented here,

[20] A *pays* as mapped by Rippon *et al.* (2015, 45) is a sub-division of a major region, defined 'both in terms of their cultural characteristics … and their geology and topography. Such *pays* 'can include localised diversity in physical character'.

without the gravel ‘islands’ of the Northern Lowlands and Southern Vale, and the addition of the Wealden beds of the Southern Vale as sub-areas.



Map 4.6: The historic Landscape Regions of the Isle of Wight

The Northern Lowlands

This encompasses the whole of the northern part of the Island, from the Solent coast to the lateral chalk ridge. The solid geology dates predominantly from the Oligocene with the exception of narrow bands of Eocene sediments which widen out towards the western end of the Island, forming the bed rock of much of the West Wight. The southern limit of this zone is defined approximately by the 250ft (76m) contour with only small areas forming locally prominent hills rising above this internally. The Northern Lowlands are drained by streams flowing into the Solent. Much of the Oligocene beds have soils which are seasonally waterlogged with autumn cultivations essential (Jarvis *et al.*, 1984). The Eocene-derived soils immediately to the north of the chalk ridge are less homogenous due to the complexity of the underlying geology but the better drained can support arable usage (Jarvis *et al.,* 1984). The area of soils derived from Bembridge limestone of the Thorley area and the areas of plateau gravels and terraces adjoining the northern coast form important sub-areas so will be discussed separately.

Woodland and Wood-Pasture

The vegetation cover for much of the Island before prehistoric clearance was deciduous woodland (Scaife 1980, 269). Pollen evidence from Newnham Farm peat mire, which began accumulating in the late Neolithic, indicates that in this part of north-east Wight oak and small leaved lime were the most significant tree species with an understory of hazel and locally occurring alder (Scaife 2012, 142-4). The tree canopy in the modern landscape is dominated by ash, field maple and pedunculate oak, with the shrub layer dominated by hazel (Pope 2012, 18). The ancient woodlands survey by the Nature Conservancy Council quantified the occurrence of ancient woodland (vascular, *i.e.* flowering plant) indicator species (Hornby 1982; Pope 2012, fig. 3.1).[21] This emphasised the significance of woodland with 84% of the area of woodlands surveyed being within this region. Of 58 woods surveyed, 41 were in the Northern Lowlands and with one exception, all woodlands with more than 33 ancient woodland indicator species were to be found here (Hornby 1982). Parkhurst Forest, to the west of the Medina estuary, is the richest site on the Isle of Wight for ancient woodland lichens (Rose 1989; Chatters 1993, 54). It was one of five sites producing more than 50 ancient woodland indicator plant species, the others being Firestone Copse, Combley Great Wood, Hogleaze Copse and Briddlesford Copse. These four sites, in the north-eastern quarter of the Island, contain substantial areas of semi-natural woodland. This woodland is mainly around the coast and at the head of creeks and has been largely managed by coppicing (Pope 2012, 20). The Northern Lowlands also contain two tree species which are indicative of ancient woodland. Small leaved lime 'survives in a single small wood … and as a small group within a plantation …. at the western end of the Island.' (Pope 2012, 18). Wild Service is found in woods bordering the coast and estuaries (Bevis *et al.*1978, 50).

This woodland was an important part of the Island's economy in the medieval period. Underwood and timber structures recorded from the foreshore in the Fishbourne area show utilisation and possible woodland management from the Neolithic period to the thirteenth century (Darrah and Loader 2012, 192-231). For example a stake alignment in the intertidal zone which has been dated to the mid-Saxon period. The oak growth rings suggest that these were maiden trees growing under coppice, with

[21] The NCC survey has been updated to include woodland of less than 2 hectares; mapping highlights species that are strong indicators of ancient woodland (Brownscombe 2014, 7, 21).

faster growing wood suggesting growth from coppice stools (Darrah and Loader 2012, 210-13).





Fig. 4.3: View northwards to Alverstone model farm with the higher land beyond capped with gravels

Fig. 4.4: The Briddlesford Farm area gives an impression of a landscape of wood-pasture and ancient woodland

Domesday Book records salt houses at three sites (52, 52v, 53) which presumably burned wood to heat seawater. Bowcombe was probably producing salt on the west bank of the Medina estuary, Watchingwell had access to coastline in the Thorness area, and Whitefield manor either made salt on the northern shore of Brading Haven or on the north coast.

Amongst the many boundary markers mentioned in Anglo-Saxon charters within the Northern Lowlands is *ge clyppedan treowa*, a named (or 'embraced') tree, in the bounds of the Watchingwell charter of 968 (S766; Margham 2006, 86-90, n.20). Although this was a solitary tree, it may refer to the margins of an area of wood-pasture. Wood-pasture is a form of dual land use with trees and grazing.[22] Much medieval wood-pasture was common land:

> A typical wood-pasture common was grassland or heather with more or less thickly scattered trees and bushes. The grass was grazed by livestock ranging from horses to geese. Trees were cut for firewood and sometimes timber. The normal practice was pollarding, in order to produce repeated crops of wood (or occasionally leaves) without the animals eating the re-growth. Fuel could also

[22] Vera (2000) argued that a wood-pasture type environment was the essential component of the pre-Neolithic landscape, with canopies kept open by large herbivores. This function was taken over by domesticated animals maintaining open habitats. 'Wildwood' was only found on steeper, inaccessible slopes.

come from cutting bushes, even on commons which did not normally have trees (Rackham 1986, 121).

Wood-pasture was seldom mentioned specifically in contemporary documents. The Island's Domesday woodland appears to be under recorded, only quantified if it was of particular economic significance or denoting rights of access. Much recorded woodland was within small manors such as Barnsley with 'woodland at 1 pig' or larger estates, for example the bishop of Winchester's Calbourne with 'woodland for 20 pigs' (52v).These figures cannot be equated with the actual number of pigs but indicate that much woodland was likely to have been wood-pasture rather than continuous woodland cover. 'Woodland at 20 pigs' and 'woodland for fencing' belonging to Calbourne may refer to wood-pasture and coppicing respectively.[23]



Fig. 4.5: Alvington Manor Farm from the south-west with Parkhurst Forest to the north. Much of the enclosure landscape beyond the farm was formerly part of Parkhurst Forest. The lack of woodland recorded for Bowcombe manor in 1086 suggests Parkhurst Forest's foundation by then.

The Northern Lowlands also contains the only area which may have been a forest in the legal sense. It is not certain that Parkhurst Forest was ever subject to forest law, but in terms of historic land use can be regarded as a Forest. Richard de Redvers' foundation charter of 1189x1191 to his burgesses of Newport granted pasture rights

[23]Bond (1994, 130) suggested that 'woodland for fencing', recorded from locations in Wiltshire and Hampshire, may imply that grazing was reserved for demesne livestock and commoners had rights only of hedgebote (removal of wood removal for fencing).

there (Bearman 1994, no. 66). In addition to deer hunting in Parkhurst Forest by the Lords of the Island, the Northern Lowlands contained most of the Island's medieval deer parks. Wood-pasture was the characteristic land use in early parks, but not necessarily the only land use (Bond 1994, 143). Eleven medieval parks can be identified, with eight from this landscape region. One, possibly two, was established by 1086. Half a hide was taken at Watchingwell between 1066 and 1086 to form 'the Kings park'. This area, adjoining the south west of Parkhurst Forest, was later recorded comprising 350 acres (52v; Page 1912, 227). The 1774 field-name Park Hill on the eastern side of Ningwood Lake accords with a reference to a park at Shalfleet in 1278 (Basford 1989, 16; Page 1912, 272). The reference to *wullafes hlipan* 'Wullaf's leap' on the bounds of a mid-tenth century charter was located in this area (S543; Margham 2006, 80, fig. 1) and suggests that this park may have had an earlier precursor.

Wet Heathland

The northern part of the Island was dominated by heathland on both sides of the Medina estuary centred on Parkhurst Forest and Wootton Common (Chatters 1984, 6). Heaths adjoining Wootton Common are commemorated in medieval and later place-names: Heathfield Farm, Great and Little Lynn Commons, Standen Heath and Staplers Heath, with Dame Anthonys Common and Kemphill Moor further away (Pope 2012, fig. 3.4). This heathland would have been a combination of heather heath, gorse scrub, bracken and rough acid grassland. In the Calbourne area much enclosure had already taken place by the time of the 1630 Swainston survey with Heathfield Common partially enclosed (Chatters 1984, 12; Chapter 9).

Much former heathland was on acid wet clayey soils due to waterlogging (Chatters 1984, 5). Past botanical work has been invaluable in giving some idea of how extensive clay heathland was over the Northern Lowlands, particularly from areas now having little or none. Recording by Townsend in 1904 shows that Colwell Common had characteristics of wet heathland, and plants recorded by Gladys Bullock at Havenstreet in the 1930s included similar flora (Chatters 1988; Pope 1991). The place-name Havenstreet was 'the heather covered street' or 'the street running through heather-covered land' (Kökeritz 1940, 281-2).

Heathlands would appear to have been a significant component of the landscape by the later Anglo-Saxon period. In a tenth-century charter the bounds of *Meolcburnantune* (Ashey) include three instances of *mearce,* 'boundary bank'. Such features were usually restricted to open areas where there were no landmarks (S842iii; Klingelhofer 1990, 33; Margham 2007, fig. 5). It is quite likely that these refer to boundaries within heathland.

In the absence of surviving prehistoric earthworks on north Wight clay soils permiting soil sampling it is not certain when these extensive clay heathlands formed to replace partially the climax woodland cover.[24] The almost total absence of early Bronze Age barrows (Basford 1980, map 6) from this area is in itself significant, implying that exploitation of these lowlands was seasonal and extensive with population centres in the vicinity of the chalk downs where barrow clusters are found. It is suggested that clay heaths were developing during the Bronze Age (Chatters 1984, 9), paralleled with other heathland areas in southern England.



Dry Heathland

The areas of gravel capping on locally prominent hills and ridges formerly had dry heathland vegetation. The significance of these areas became apparent through the present author's plotting various habitative place-name types, in particular *-tūn* names,

Fig. 4.6: Whippingham church from the Medina estuary. The church is located on the margin of a gravel 'island', an area of former heathland.

clustering around gravel margins and often associated with springs (Margham 2003, 21; 2012b, fig. 8.31). Gravel areas greater than one square kilometre are plotted on Map 4.6 as sub-divisions of the Northern Lowlands. One of these 'islands' of dry heathland existed in the tenth century. The bounds of *Stæðe* include *þara hina mearce to Ticcanfelde* ('to the monks' boundary of Titchfield'), implying the presence of an open landscape (Margham 2012c, fig. 8.32; Pope 2012, 21). Two smaller

[24] The end point in natural succession of vegetation.

areas of plateau gravels retain some heathland: Headon Hill in the Freshwater Isle and Little Lynn Common, formerly part of the great expanse of heathland centred on Wootton Common. There is a record of heathland vegetation on St Helens Green. Nearly all the species recorded there by Townsend in 1904 have since been lost but indicated the former presence of short, dry acid grassland approximating to the area of gravel capping, having characteristics of heathland lawn as a consequence of being tightly grazed (Chatters 1988, 19).

The Bembridge Limestone Plateau

The only extensive outcrop of Bembridge limestone is in the Thorley and Wellow area (Fig. 4.7). Whilst there was little medieval settlement on this plateau, several Domesday manors were located on or just beyond its margins at Thorley, Wellow, Ningwood and Shalcombe (53v, 52, 54, 52v). It is exceptional in being the only area within the Northern Lowlands with an abundance of crop marks. The soil survey indicates that soils derived from Bembridge limestone are atypical for the Northern Lowlands, being easily worked, well drained fine loam (Jarvis *et al.*1984). It is likely that field boundary and ring ditch cropmarks indicate that this area was more intensively used than much of the rest of the region in later prehistory (Margham 1991, fig. 2). Thorley's seven Domesday ploughlands were located to take full advantage of easily worked soils. In the late twelfth century there were 200 acres of arable in Wellow, suggesting open-field use of Bembridge limestone (Bearman 1994, no. 78).[25]

[25] Some of the Bembridge limestone was common land for pasturing sheep in the sixteenth century (Margham 1991, 124). Tomalin (2022, 91-2) points out that tithe apportionment documents indicate there was a cereal growing and grazing rotation, explained by a combination of extremely fertile topsoil and soil depth rarely more than 0.3 metres.



Fig. 4.7: The Bembridge limestone plateau adjoining Churchills Farm. The face of a quarry is visible centre right just below the skyline.

The Pattern of Land Use

Whilst the dominant land use of much of the Northern Lowlands was wood-pasture and wet heathland, Domesday Book documents arable land use. In the 'Freshwater Isle' the 16 ploughlands imply development of open-field agriculture by 1086 (52, 53v; Margham 1994, 110-12). Ploughlands were recorded elsewhere, for example two in both Binstead and Luton (52v, 53). It is possible that the number of ploughs recorded for the heavy soil areas reflect the difficulties of ploughing clayland, such as the six in Whitefield (53), thus giving a false impression of the amount of arable. As a comparator, Wiltshire's northern clay vale had 'very high levels of recorded woodland and moderately large areas of pasture [which] may bear out this suggestion that a high density of plough teams may not necessarily imply a large area of cultivated arable here' (Lewis 1994, 177).

Meadowland was also a small but significant land-use. Ningwood's charter bounds include *mores heafde* 'the end (or head) of the marsh' (S543; Margham 2006, 80-83). This location is at the head of a *slades* 'shallow valley' on the clayland just to the north of the Bembridge limestone (Margham 2006, fig. 1). It would appear that this was meadowland. Small areas of meadow were recorded in 1086, for example four acres at Barnsley and at Preston, and six at Thorley (39v, 53, 53v).

Landscape diversity in the Northern Lowlands is attested by charter boundary clauses. The Ningwood charter (S543; Margham 2006, 80-82) includes *hyrst*, ‘wooded hill’. The confirmation of Watchingwell by King Edgar to Wilton Abbey in 968 (S766; Margham 2006, 86-90) features several significant boundary markers: in addition to a *ge clyppedan treowa* and a possible reference to heathland, there are two mentions of *ræwe* 'hedgerow' (Kökeritz 1940, 90-91). The overwhelming impression gained from diverse evidence is that much of the Northern Lowlands was extensively exploited. In addition to being an area where a Forest and deer parks could be established it also provided a suitable site for twelfth-century Quarr Abbey in 'a desert place', suited to a house of the Savignac order sharing similar ideals with Cistercians in selecting remote locations. The character of the area around Quarr is summed up in a document of *c*.1150 which refers to wood, meadows and pasture in the land of *Saldefluet* (Hockey 1991, no. 83).

The Lateral Ridge

The Lateral Ridge extends across the Island and is defined by the 250ft (76m) contour. It mainly consists of chalk downland but the intermittent greensand ridge to the south forms a prominent feature in the west from Compton to the Shorwell area, and the east south of Ashey and Bembridge Downs (Fig. 4.8). The gravel topped St George’s Down, also with greensand solid geology, rises to over 250ft (76m) as does a small area to the north of the chalk adjoining Staplers Farm. The term Lateral Ridge is somewhat of a misnomer in the area west of the Medina valley, where the chalk band is much wider, forming a dissected plateau. It does, nonetheless, form a topographical divide as does the narrower chalk ridge to the east and west. The ridge rises up to over 400ft (122m) in several locations [26] and the chalk plateau area to 702ft (214m) on Brighstone Down with other hill tops rising to over 500ft (152m).[27]

[26] From west to east Tennyson Down, Brook Down, Mottistone Down, Bowcombe Down, Arreton Down, Mersley Down and Ashey Down.
[27] Cheverton Down, Idlecombe Down, Newbarn Down and Chillerton Down.



Fig. 4.8: The view westwards from Coombe Tower in Brighstone parish with the chalk ridge on the right and the intermittent subsidiary greensand ridge on the left. The chalk cliffs within Freshwater parish can be seen in the top left of the photograph.



Fig. 4.9: The upper Bowcombe Valley looking north-eastwards, with Bowcombe Down on the skyline

The ridge is not a continuous feature with major breaks being a result of superimposed drainage, such as that created by the western Yar at Freshwater Bay, while the eastern Yar cuts through the ridge at Brading. In the centre of the Island, the River Medina has cut down to form a river valley between the chalk plateau to the west and St Georges Down to the east. There are other routeways through the

Lateral Ridge, all involving 'wind gaps' (cols), for example from Brook to Chessell. The Bowcombe Valley, running north-eastwards from Cheverton Shute to Carisbrooke, is the only major river valley within this region (Fig. 4.9). The ridge margins provide spring-lines, with streams flowing northward across the Northern Lowlands and southwards into the Southern Vale.

Soil mapping shows a complex situation. In the West Wight the downs have a thin loamy topsoil rich in organic matter, easily worked, similar to the soils to the south of this along the greensand ridge. In the plateau area soils are well suited to cultivation on the silty drift overlying clay-with-flints on the highest ground intermixed with well drained silty soils on the chalk itself. The northern flanks of this area have variably flinty and chalky silty soils. The southern margins have fertile, easily worked soils. To the east of the Medina gap soils on the chalk ridge are the well drained, silty soils with loamy soils with inter-bedded loams, sands and clays on the northern flanks. The only soils of the Lateral Ridge which present problems for cultivation due to poor quality rather than steepness are on the gravel capping of St George's Down. In the Bowcombe valley, there is a fine silty soil over the chalk drift of the valley floor extending to the lower slopes of the chalk downs. Adjoining this to the east is one of the few areas of Grade 2 land (Jarvis *et al.*1984; MAFF 1969).



Fig. 4.10: View eastwards from the Hatt, an early medieval assembly site, with Arreton at the centre of the photograph. The Lateral Ridge can be seen extending eastwards culminating in Bembridge Down on the skyline. Arreton Down is the site of a Bronze Age barrow cemetery which was reused in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

The Lateral Ridge has a long history of human activity, with the Longstone Neolithic long barrow on the greensand ridge above Mottistone, another long barrow and

putative mortuary enclosure on the downs in the West Wight, the various Bronze Age barrow cemeteries on chalk summits (Basford 1980) and earthworks indicating rectilinear fields on Ashey, Brook, Brading and Mersley Downs. Three early medieval land uses can be identified: woodland, grassland and heathland.

Woodland and Grassland

The climax vegetation was woodland. The exception is an area of grassland in the West Wight on Tennyson Down which may be a fragment of aboriginal chalk grassland (Pope 1985, 578-9). There is now very little deciduous woodland, and only two woods were identified as having more than 30 ancient woodland indicator species: Lynbottom Copse, and Eaglehead/Bloodstone Copse (Hornby 1982). A limited amount of woodland is attested in Anglo-Saxon charter bounds: the Calbourne and Watchingwell charters include *æscstede* (S274; S766): 'the place of the ash trees' identifiable with Ashengrove in a dry valley on the northern flank of the ridge (Margham 2006, fig. 3).

Environmental evidence from pollen suggests much chalk ridge woodland was cleared in prehistory (Scaife 1980, 271-3). Localised scrub clearance and mixed farming was apparent from soil samples in the late Iron Age, and arable with some pasture in the Romano-British period. From the medieval period onwards there was limited arable land use with the landscape being mainly pasture (Allen 2012, table 6.2). Some woodland remained with ancient coppice stools, probably now over 500 years old, on the margins of the chalk ridge at Eaglehead Copse (Pope 2012, 18). High Wood and Mudless Copse on the northern margins of the Lateral Ridge near Ashengrove together recorded 27 ancient woodland species (Hornby 1982).[28]

Pastoral land-use is illustrated by Compton Down: the confirmation of common pasture *c.*1190 mentions seven cows with calves and 100 sheep (Hockey 1991, no. 430). The chalk ridge also appears to have been used for pasture in the Anglo-

[28]The existence of more woodland on the Lateral Ridge during the early medieval period is hinted at by the name *Berdune* (Arreton Down), and the lost place-name *Codibear* on the hillside to the east of Newport. Both may contain the Old English place-name element *bær* '(swine) pasture' (Kökeritz 1940, 7, 178).

Saxon period. The bounds of the Watchingwell charter list *hrece leage middeweardre* 'the middle of the stack meadow', which refers to an open landscape to the east of Ashengrove (S766; Margham 2006, fig. 3). The charter granting *Meolcburnantune* (Ashey) refers to *Meolocdune* 'the down where the grazing was good and consequently milk was got' (S842iii; Kökeritz 1940, 27; Margham 2007, 126-130). This type of place-name evidence does not tell us whether it was sheep rather than cattle that were pastured on Ashey Down, although the milking of sheep occurred at Freshwater in the sixteenth century (Hockey 1970, 56).

Heathland

Three distinctive types of heathland survive in small areas: chalk heath; heathland on gravel deposits; and greensand heath. Chalk heath is a mixture of chalk grassland plant species with those of acid soils, dependent upon a superficial, often very thin layer of sand or loess (Rackham 1986, 283-4). Chalk heaths survive at Tennyson Down, Brook Down, Mottistone Down and Calbourne Great Down, all of which were formerly much more extensive (Chatters 1991, 74-5). Other areas of heathland were commonplace on the chalk downland, owing their presence to thicker, more gravelly deposits. The third type, greensand heath, was located on the greensand ridge (Chatters 1984, 8).

The Pattern of Land Use

The ‘long tract or chaine of hills, yielding plentie of pasture, and forrage for sheep’ which Camden (1637, 273) commented upon appears to have been an open landscape from prehistory. The location of Romano-British villas just beyond the margins of this region implies the continued use of the chalk downland as pasture, with some arable land use on the flanks attested by the field systems above Brading villa. In the sub-Roman period some localised woodland regeneration is a possibility (Dark 2000, 172; Rippon *et al.* 2015, 167). Chalk grassland can be seen as the dominant land use, with areas of woodland of 'grove' proportions on the steeper slopes. Arable land would have been restricted to the margins and the Bowcombe valley, although the continued use of rectilinear fields such as those on Brook Down and above the Brading villa site is possible.

The Southern Vale

The contrast between the land-use in the north of the Island and the area to the south of the Lateral Ridge has often been commented upon, with Hassell (1790, 123) noting 'The north part affords excellent pasturage and meadow grounds, while the south is a fine corn country'. This impression belies a variety of other land uses, all of which would have been far more extensive in the Middle Ages. The Southern Vale is a predominantly low-lying area between the Lateral Ridge and the Southern Massif. Much of the area lies below the 250ft (76m) contour although locally prominent hills and ridges are present. It is underlain mainly by Lower Greensand but with Wealden Beds along the south-west coast with a smaller exposure on the east coast. There are areas of superficial deposits with some areas of gravel and alluvium along the watercourses and gravel terraces associated with the eastern River Yar. The only extensive area of gravel terrace, centred on Hale Common, has been mapped as an area of particular significance. This is due to the presence of early habitative *-inga* place-names denoting settlement sites on the margins of the gravels, *ie.* Bathingbourne and Horringford (Mills 1996, 26, 61), and the profusion of rectilinear crop marks indicating the former existence of later pre-historic and Romano-British field boundaries south of Hale Manor Farm (IWHER 1797, 7015, 7039, 7049; Fig. 4.11).[29]

[29] An area of multi-period field systems with associated round houses defined by narrow ditches in contrast with wide lynchets on the chalk (Royall 2010, 34-5).



Fig. 4.11: The view south-westwards from Mersley Down over the valley of the eastern Yar within the Southern Vale. The glasshouses are located in the area of gravel terrace at Hale Common.

The Southern Vale is drained by the Eastern Yar and its tributaries, the River Medina, also streams in the Brook area of the south-west coast and the former headwaters of the Western Yar which have been truncated by coastal erosion. The south-east and south-west coastal areas are partially drained by the short streams cutting down through the Wealden Beds and Greensands known as chines. Much of the Southern Vale is Grade 3 agricultural land but there are significant areas of Grade 2 land; mainly in the Hale Common, Arreton and Merston area but also around Atherfield. Grade 4 land is restricted to alluvial deposits and wetland areas along the valleys of the eastern Yar and Medina, and in the Brookgreen area (MAFF 1969). The soils of the Southern Vale are dominated by the easily worked course loams derived from the underlying Lower Greensand. The exceptions are small areas of plateau gravel, and alluviums and gravels associated with larger watercourses and soils derived from the Wealden Beds, the latter with loam topsoil over a clayey layer where waterlogging can be problematic (Jarvis *et al.* 1984).



Fig. 4.12: View north-westwards across the south-western extremity of the Southern Vale towards the chalk cliffs at Freshwater. This area is known locally as 'The Back of the Wight' and is subject to rapid coastal erosion.

Arable Land

The 'fine corn country' commented upon by Hassell can be compared with the evidence for medieval arable land use in the Southern Vale. Ploughs and ploughlands were attested throughout the region in 1086. Many manors recorded small numbers of ploughlands, for example one in Merston and one in each of the three entries for *Scaldeford*, *i.e.* Hyde and Ninham (39v, 53). Manors on the peripheries had a larger number of ploughlands. Sandford with Week's twelve ploughlands are partially explained as being a centre of an extensive estate (39v). It appears that there was more land under the plough in the areas bordering the chalk downland than in the lower-lying areas toward the middle of the Southern Vale. A lease of Quarr's lands in Arreton in 1453 refers to the East Field, the South Field, the West Field and a close called *Horforeste*. This document illustrated the interrelationship between adjoining landscape regions as it included (downland) pasture for 60 sheep with the abbey flock: the shepherd was to fold his sheep with the others to manure the arable (Hockey 1991, no. 167). Although dating from the late medieval period, this may reflect an earlier situation.

Woodland

There is little woodland in the modern landscape, with only four areas being examined in the ancient woodlands survey. Three had fewer than 20 ancient woodland species, the exception being America Wood, an area of oak wood-pasture (Hornby 1982; Brough *et al.*1986, 163). Little woodland was recorded in 1086, being restricted to the margins of the area, such as 'woodland at 2 pigs' in Shanklin probably referring to the flank of the Southern Massif. The only recorded woodland in the interior was ‘woodland at 2 pigs’ at *Scaldeford* (53). Borthwood Copse, an area of ancient oak woodland, would appear to have been more extensive in the fifteenth century (Page 1912, 162; Brough *et al.*1986, 163).

Analysis of pollen cores from valley peat bogs at Gatcombe, Borthwood and Bohemia indicate continuous and extensive woodland clearance attributed to the Bronze Age (Scaife 1980). The immediate environment of these sites continued to be dominated by alder carr although arable pollen grains were well represented (Scaife 1980, 269). A total of 75 separate flint scatters have been documented indicating human activity in the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods which appears to reflect activity within a more open environment rather than continuous woodland (IWHER accessed July 2020).[30]

Meadow and Wetlands

Several small areas of woodland remain alongside the Medina, the eastern Yar and their tributaries. The most common tree species are willow, alder and birch. All had an economic use in the past, with willow for firewood and basket making, alders from ‘carrs' mainly used for fuel and charcoal, and birch providing firewood. Other areas alongside watercourses retain something of their former appearance as wetlands. The Wilderness in the upper Medina valley is a boggy area of woodland surrounded by marshy meadowland (Kettell *et al.*1979, 104), while the lower course of the Yar is bounded by a broad belt of wet pasture with willow, reed beds, and an abundance of marsh plants. Some of the peat deposits in this area are in the order of 20 to 30ft (6 to 9m) deep, such as Alverstone marshes. There were pockets of acidic flora around

[30] This can be compared with 94 from the Northern Lowlands.

the confluences of streams joining the Yar recorded in the mid-nineteenth century; Munsley Bog retains its distinctive flora (Kettell *et al.*1982, 317-9).

Wetlands of the Yar are mentioned in Bathingbourne charters: *tidearing mor*, *risc mere* 'rush pond', and *þone mor* 'the moor' (S1968; 1662; 1663; 842ii; Margham 2007, fig. 4). In 1086 we get a more systematic evaluation of the importance of these low-lying areas when meadowland was included amongst the assets of several manors. These ranged from Gatcombe's 26 acres, to six acres held between Atherfield, Dungewood and Walpan (52v). Moors referred to in post-Conquest documents were usually meadowland, being 'flat, low-lying areas bounded by watercourses, capable of producing a heavy cut of grass' (Hockey 1970, 71). However, 'moor' could have a different meaning referring to unimproved low-lying land which would have provided grazing for livestock (Pope 2003, 57). A grant made c.1200 to Quarr of part of Henry, son of Odo's land 'called *Tedelingeham* in his moor for making there a meadow' (Hockey 1991, no. 184) suggesting uses of 'moor' were interchangeable between meadow and rough pasture.

Heathland

Although much of the Southern Vale is now in intensive agricultural use, being naturally infertile, heathland was formerly an important landscape component (Chatters 1984, 4). Heathland appears to have become established by the early medieval period. For example, two instances of 'stony shelters', *þa stanynan hlyfan* and *þa oðre stænenan hlyfan* in the bounds of *Heantune i.e.* Branstone (S842i) seemingly relate to the pastoral use of dry heathland (Margham 2007, fig. 3). Analysis of pollen from peat sites indicates that soil deterioration was apparent at Bleak Down during the Bronze Age and heathland was expanding prior to *c*.1700 BC (Scaife 1980, 276-7). Borthwood Heath apparently developed at about the same time. In contrast, land adjoining Ninham bog was cleared of woodland in the Bronze Age but only developed into heathland in or after the Romano-British period (Chatters 1984, 9).

The Pattern of Land Use

The observation made by Hassell (1790, 123) that the Southern Vale was ‘a fine corn country’ was a generalisation, as the 1810 Ordnance Survey shows the areas of heathland towards its eastern margins. In the eleventh century the Southern Vale consisted of a mosaic of different land uses. The low-lying areas alongside watercourses were a mixture of meadowland, and unimproved 'moors' consisting of peat bog, reed beds and wet woodland. The higher land had small areas of woodland, areas of heathland and arable, the latter being centred on the more substantial vills on the region’s margins. Other areas of arable were located within the Southern Vale, including the Bathingborne area of well drained soils on an extensive area of river terrace.

The Southern Massif

The chalk downland of the Southern Massif was described in an account of the Island’s geology:

> Farther south, in the seaward angle of the Island, rises the dominating range of the Southern Downs; scarped and deeply indented on its inland side; smoothly rounded in the crest.... Here the highest grounds in the Wight, St Boniface above Ventnor reaching 787ft; St Catherine's, at the other end of the range,781ft; and Week Down, between them, falling not far short at 692ft (Osborne White 1921, 2).

The Massif is defined approximately by the 250ft (76m) contour. Much of the surface geology is chalk, with the three highest areas being capped by flint gravel. Underlying the chalk are Upper Greensand and Gault which forms the northern slope of the Massif, but the solid geology is obscured on steeper slopes by areas of landslip.



Fig. 4.13: View northwards from Niton Down within the Southern Massif. Down Court (centre right) was the location of Bathingbourne's outlying pasture documented in S1662.

The surface drainage runs northward following the major valleys dissecting the massif into the Southern Vale with the upper parts of the valleys between the chalk downland being dry. Dean Farm Whitwell is in one of these, the only instance of a place-name on the Island derived from Old English *denu* 'valley' (Kökeritz 1940, 267; Fig. 4.14).



Fig. 4.14: Dean Farm, located near the head of a valley within the Southern Massif

Denu place-names are ‘mostly used of long, narrow valleys with two moderately steep sides and a gentle gradient along most of their length’ (Cole 1982, 86), which describes the valley topography within the Southern Massif. Soils are varied, the higher areas of chalk downland have shallow, well drained silty soils, with the exception of the flint gravel areas, and easily worked, fertile soils on the lower chalk slopes. Lower down the valleys overlying the Gault there is greater clay content. The landslip areas along the northern margins have fertile, loamy soils with some impeded drainage but are moderately easy to cultivate (Jarvis *et al.*1984). Much of the Southern Massif is now Grade 4 agricultural land with Grade 5 land restricted to the tops of the downs (MAFF1969).

The place-name *Wrocceshele* (Wroxall), first recorded in the mid-eleventh century is best interpreted as 'the buzzard(’s) nook', implying an open landscape (S1391; Kökeritz 1940, 257). The historical record of land use is sparse before the mid-sixteenth century when sheep grazing rights were recorded for St Catherine's Down, its unenclosed landscape being subject to disputes over common rights (Hockey 1982, 212-3).

Heathland

Areas of heathland on the highest parts of the chalk downs were previously much more extensive. Peat formation on Bonchurch Down was sufficiently developed for it to be cut in the early nineteenth century (Englefield 1816, 37). Significant areas survive in the modern landscape on Wroxall, Luccombe and Bonchurch Downs (Chatters 1990, 71, 75) on flint gravel deposits. On Luccombe Down heathland would appear to have originated during the Bronze Age, indicated by soil profiles beneath round barrows (Chatters 1984, 9).

Woodland and Wood-Pasture

In the modern landscape only small areas of woodland remain.[31] Areas of woodland on the steeper slopes have been surveyed. Ancient woodland indicator species ranged from 20 in Rew Copse to 29 in Greatwood Copse above Shanklin (Hornby

[31] The exception being modern invasion of Holme Oak on the flanks of St Boniface Down.

1982). There are few woods on the chalk with a fairly rich flora and a lot of areas of woodland with much poorer floras, suggesting a comparatively recent origin for the latter (Colin Pope, pers. comm.). Nineteenth-century records of lichens in Appuldurcombe Park suggest the former existence of wood-pasture (Pope 1985, 580; Basford 1989, 16-7). Only small quantities of woodland were recorded in 1086: 'woodland at one pig' in Wroxall, and 'woodland at two pigs' in Shanklin (39v, 53).

Other types of land use were restricted to the Southern Massif margins, for example Whitwell's open-fields, two of which were still divided into furlongs in the 1838/9 Tithe Commutation (Whitehead 1911, 216). Domesday ploughlands were recorded for Luccombe, Stenbury, Wroxall, Niton and Shanklin, most of which were centred on the periphery of the Southern Massif (39v, 40, 53, 53v). Stenbury and Wroxall also had meadowland (39v).

The Pattern of Land Use

The Southern Massif is much less well documented than the Lateral Ridge, but various strands of evidence enable eleventh-century land use reconstruction. The highest parts of the chalk down had heathland over the flinty gravel deposits. The slopes and flanks had downland pasture, with areas of woodland on the steeper slopes and possibly some wood-pasture on the lower slopes. Arable areas were restricted to the margins in the Shanklin and Stenbury areas and in the valleys within the massif at Niton, Wroxall and probably Whitwell. Meadowland was located in these valley bottoms on the margins of the region.

The Undercliff

The southernmost landscape region is known locally as 'the Undercliff', being bounded to the north by an inland cliff for much of its length. The Undercliff has experienced much instability due to land slips and cliff falls and consists almost entirely of material derived from them. For example, a massive landslip occurred under Gore Cliff in the late eighteenth century, destroying a farmhouse and about 100 acres of land, and in 1810 and 1818 about 40 acres were lost in the area now known as 'The Landslip' (Whitehead 1911, 3). These were only two incidents which

had occurred for several millennia (Fig. 4.16).[32] Soils are moderately easy to cultivate but with impeded drainage (Jarvis *et al.*1984). However, due to the very broken nature of the ground, the few areas of the Undercliff still in agricultural use have been classified as being Grade 5 (MAFF 1969). Surface drainage consists of small streams flowing southward into the English Channel issuing from the base of the cliff.



Fig. 4.15: Recent land-slipping within the Undercliff has resulted in the closure of the road between Niton and Ventnor

Physically isolated, the Undercliff had its own identity long before the term came into use. In *c*.1173 a grant was made by Alwaric de Newton to Quarr for all the land he had *sub falasia* 'under the cliff' of *Neweton i.e.* Niton (Hockey 1991, no. 438; Whitehead 1911, 1). However, it seems that the usual term in the medieval period was *Underwath*, '(the place) below *Wathe* [ford]' (Mills 1996, 91), first recorded in William de Vernon's charter confirming possessions of Lyre Abbey1193x1217 (Hockey 1981, no. 4). *Southwathe* or *Wath* continued to be used to name the central

[32] A substantial landslip within Bonchurch parish in Autumn 2023 destroyed the 'Devil's Chimney', a cleft in the rocks giving footpath access to the 'Lower Landslip' from the temporarily closed Ventnor to Shanklin road.

part of the region, although the identification from the church dedication to St Lawrence came into usage in the mid-thirteenth century (Kökeritz 1940, 201-02).

The Undercliff was an economically peripheral area of the Isle of Wight throughout the Middle Ages.[33] Only two small Domesday vills of Bonchurch and Luccombe were located there, with the western area of the Undercliff otherwise consisting of outlying parts of manors elsewhere. Small amounts of arable land were recorded in 1086, with half a ploughland for Bonchurch and one in Luccombe (53, 39v). Speed's map of 1611 names the Undercliff as 'St Laurence Park' (Map 3.4). Basford (1989, 14) has pointed out that the map does not depict a park pale as the cliff would have formed an effective natural boundary.

Other indications of medieval land use in much of the Undercliff are hinted at by minor place-names in the St Lawrence area. The western side of the Old Park estate was known as 'The Warren' and an enclosure adjoining Woolverton was called 'Green Park' (Whitehead 1911, 248). The name Old Park, first recorded in 1628, may be connected with the acquisition of the estate by the Worsley family in the sixteenth century. This implies that there was already a park here at this time, and that the designation 'Old' may have come about to distinguish it from the Worsley's 'new' park at Appuldrcombe (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.). The existence of the park and related place-names is compatible with it being an area of chase rather than an enclosed park. The use of the Undercliff for hunting, but not exclusively so, would account for the former area of ridge and furrow alongside Flowers Brook (IWHER 3447).

The Pattern of Land Use

The overall impression of the Undercliff in the medieval period is a region which was peripheral to the Island in terms of the development of the landscape as well as being physically isolated. The probable use of the Undercliff as an area of chase and much of the area being outlying portions of manors support this observation, as does its identification in post-Conquest documents as *Underwath*. Botanical evidence suggests that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the Undercliff was

[33] This may not have been the case in the Iron Age as Basford (2013, 262) points out that, other than coins, more Iron Age material has been recorded from the Undercliff than any other part of the Island.

essentially a landscape of open, rocky rough grazing with very small wooded areas formed of groups of trees (Pope, pers. comm.).

Communications

The evidence for communications to and within the Island in the early medieval period is diverse, ranging from broadly contemporary sources, later medieval documentation, and inferences from early mapping. This account of includes evidence for a system of look-out locations which may have been beacon sites before they were so documented.

Coastal Communications

In the early eighth century Bede noted the unusual nature of the Solent's tides mentioning conflict between tides from different directions (HE IV 16). The Solent has two high tides in any one cycle, rather than one. He also includes the first specific mention of a sea journey to the mainland, with the escape of the Island's ruler Arwald's young brothers during Cædwalla's incursion in the 680s (HE IV 16).[34] Records of such journeys are inevitably rare but include that of three Island blind women seeking healing in Winchester after St Swithin's translation by Æthelwold at Winchester Old Minster on 15th July 971 (Webb 2000, 19-20). Journeys in the other direction, from the mainland to the Island, included that made by Æthelred II on his way to exile in Normandy in 1013-14 and Bishop Odo in 1082 who was attempting a similar journey when he was apprehended on the Island (Swanton 1996, 144, 214; Chibnall 1969-80, IV, 40-45).

[34] The brothers were first taken to *Ad Lapidem* which may be identified as Stone on the New Forest's south coast. Langlands (2020, 300-01) suggests this as the location of *Wihtbordessstan* 'the stone on the Isle of Wight (facing) border' where IV Edgar law code was proglumated.



Fig. 4.16: Storm over the Solent, with the New Forest to the left of the photograph and the Isle of Wight to the right

Once travellers had crossed the Solent to the Island disembarkation probably occurred at staithes (landing places) associated with tidal inlets, although beaching of boats elsewhere almost certainly happened. Such landing places can be envisaged at the coastal inlets along the north coast including the documented *Staðe* (S842iv). The only physical evidence for a staithe is a linear limestone rubble feature with landward-side posts near the low water line north of former Barnsley Haven, with C14 dating of cal AD 690-865, and cal AD 670-890 at 95% confidence (IWHER 1789; GrN-31047, SUERC-15516).[35]

Locations other than these along the northern coast can be suggested for the export of limestone. Quarr Stone was quarried in the Binstead area (Hopson and Farrant 2015, 132) and used for components of tenth- and eleventh-century churches in the Hampshire basin and along the Sussex coast (Jope 1964, 101). It had a similar distribution in late Anglo-Saxon sculpture, continuing into the late eleventh century

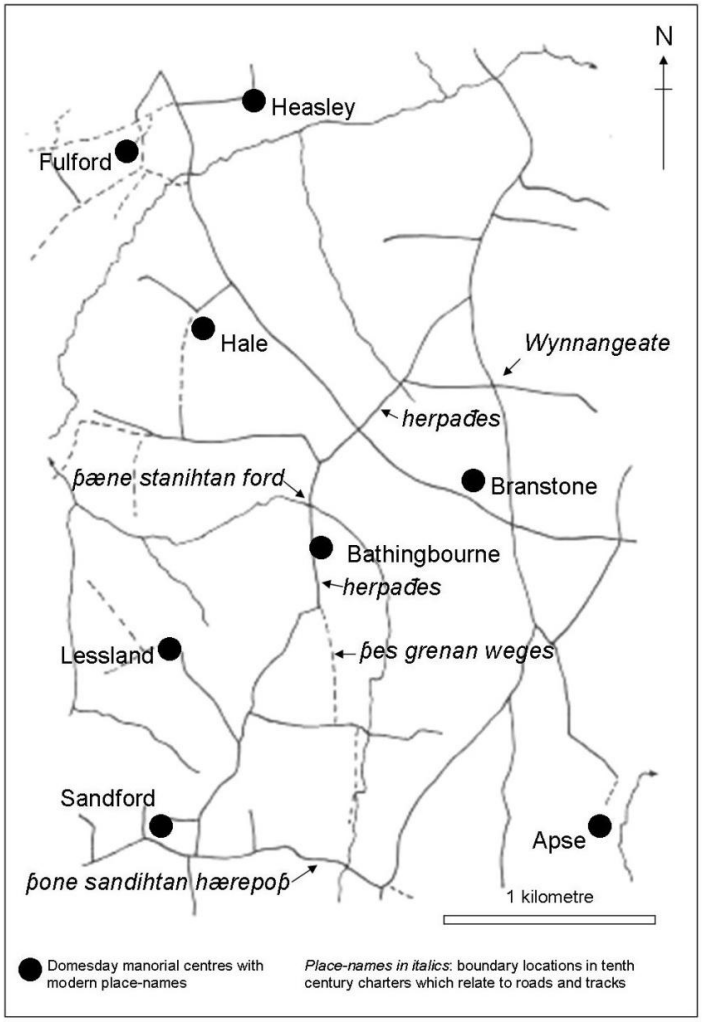
[35] Oglander recorded '*There belonged in those days* [in relation to the '*awntienest* towne' of *Bradinge*] *to St. Hellens and Barneslye 50 sayle of shipes, of Nettlestone Pointe, by act, a myle into ye seae, they had made a good harbour by casting up of ye beache on both sides, to be sene at this daye*' (Long 1888, 109-10) which appears to refer to this structure. It has not been confirmed that the rubble feature and posts are contemporary, but two more lines of posts on the same alignment at extreme low water *c*.800m from the other posts have been identified (Loader, pers. comm.), producing radiocarbon dates of 1252±24BP, 674-853 cal AD at 95.4% probability (SUERC-101366), and 1329±23 BP, 652-774 cal AD at 95.4% probability (SUERC-101362).

and beyond with a wider distribution (Anderson and Quirk 1964, 116-17; Tatton-Brown 1980, 213; 1990, 73). The quarries adjoin Binstead's foreshore where there was no convenient sea inlet, so beaching of boats can be envisaged (Tomalin 2012, 264). The two pieces of tenth- or eleventh-century stone sculpture at Selsey may be Headon Hill limestone, raising the possibility of export from the 'Freshwater Isle' in similar circumstances (Tweddle *et al.* 1995, 21).

Roads and Tracks

The earliest contemporary evidence for roads and tracks is found in Anglo-Saxon charter boundary clauses (Table 3; Margham 2006, table 1). These were mapped by the present author with the exception of unidentified *Linlande* (Margham 2003; 2006; 2007; 2012c). The geographical spread of estates provides information about three landscape regions (Margham 2007, fig. 8). Relevant terms are *ford, geate, lanan, herepaþ* and *weg* (Map 4.9; Margham 2016a, 53). With the exception of *ðæt hlidgeat* 'the swing gate' high up on the Lateral Ridge all these locations are within the Northern Lowlands and the Southern Vale. The first of these terms, *ford*, will be discussed below in a consideration of the wider corpus of place-names.

Two instances of *geate* 'gate' are on or adjoining modern main roads. *ðæt hlidgeat* can be located on the south-east flank of Ashey Down (S842iii: Margham 2007, 127) but it is uncertain whether this was on the ridgeway or provided access from it. *þan stane æt þan geate* 'the stone at the gate' (S842iv) 'would appear to refer to a location to the south of Quarr Abbey on the modern main road to Ryde from Wootton at Elenor's Grove' (Margham 2016a, 40-1; 2012c, fig. 8.32). Three other instances were apparently of local significance only. *Wynnangeate* 'the meadow/pasture gate' at Winford Farm (S842i) adjoins an area of former heathland depicted on the 1793/4 six-inch survey, seemingly providing grazing access (Margham 2007, 124, fig. 3). *þan fulan geate* 'the dirty gate' (S842iii) can be identified with a location on a stream, providing access to Upton from Ashey adjoining Ashey Common (Margham 2006, 126-9, fig. 5). It is possible that the common was more extensive in the tenth century and that this gate provided access. *þæt geat* on *Staðe's* bounds (S842iv) can be located within Firestone Copse, an area of ancient woodland (Margham 2012c, 282), the gate perhaps providing wood-pasture acess.



Map 4.7: The Bathingbourne area with roads in 1810 and Anglo-Saxon charter bounds locations (Margham 2016a, map 1)

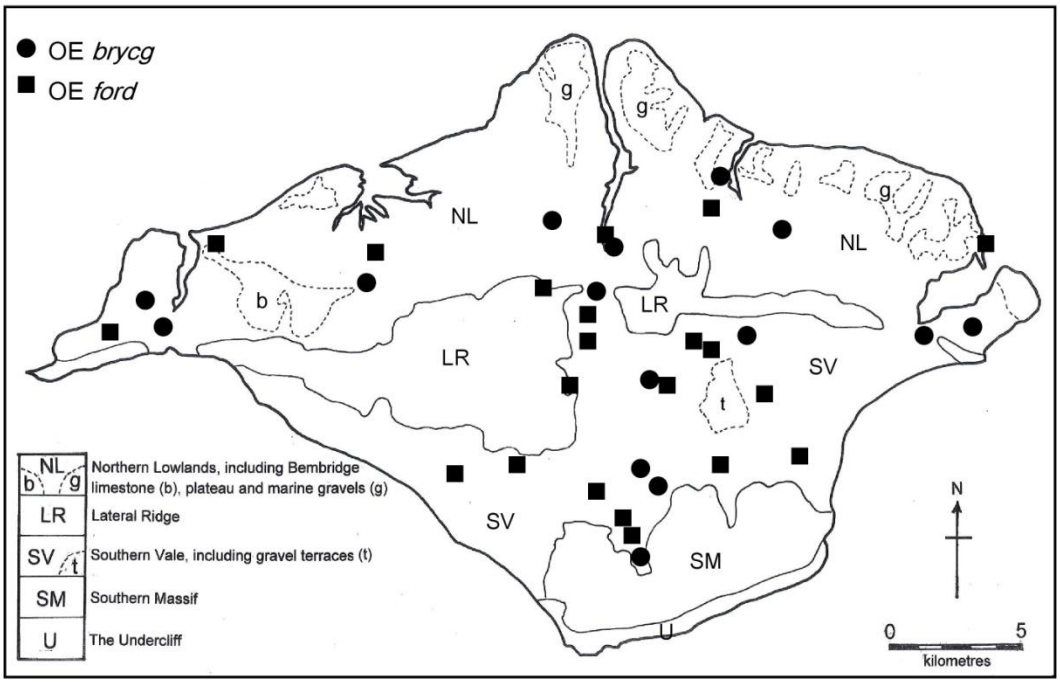
The bounds of 1 *mansa* in *Vexta insula* (Ningwood: S543: Kökeritz 1940, 207; Margham 2006, 80-1, fig. 1) include two *lanan* impling minor route-ways, one of which survives in the modern landscape. A ***herepaƌ*** may represent a through route of more than local significance, arguably including a military function (Langlands 2019, 16-18). ***þone sandihtan hærepoþ*** at Sandford forms part of the modern main road between Godshill and Shanklin (S1663: Margham 2007, 121-2) whereas the ***herpaeƌs*** at Branstone (S842i) and Bathingbourne (S842ii) are two lengths of the same road from Sandford towards Newchurch (Margham 2007, 123-5, figs. 3 & 4; Fig. 4.17). The location of the ***herpaƌ*** in the bounds of *Linlande* (S1662) has yet to be identified but appears to be on the northern margins of the Southern Vale (Margham 2007, 119-20). The one instance of *weg* was in the Bathingbourne area, where *þes grenan weges* in S1663 can be identified as a continuation of one branch

of the *herpaeđes* of S842ii to the south of Bathingbourne (Margham 2007, 117-18, fig. 2; Fig. 4.17).



Fig. 4.17: The 'green way' of S1663 joins the *herpaeđes* of S842ii at this location to the south of Bathingbourne

Road network components are revealed through place-names referring to water crossings (Map 4.8). Three mentions of 'the stoney ford' in S1662, S842i and S842ii all refer to the same location on the *herepađ* through Bathingbourne (Map 4.7; Margham 2016a, 53). There are twenty-one separate locations in the wider corpus of *ford* place-names, of which fourteen are depicted on through routes on the 1810 Ordnance Survey map (Margham 2016a, 40). Nine names were recorded in 1086, with six of these associated with through routes in 1810. The single instance of Old English *wath* 'ford' in the St Lawrence area of the Undercliff can be added to this corpus (Mills 1996, 90-1), referencing a stream crossing.



Map 4.8: Isle of Wight bridge and ford place-names (Margham 2016a, map 2)

Most watercourse crossings would have been fords rather than bridges in the early medieval period. However, the Domesday manorial names *Side* and *Sida* refer to the area in the Medina gap known as Shide, deriving from Old English *scīd* '(place at) the plank or foot-bridge' (Mills 1996, 95). Despite the apparently flimsy nature of the bridge here, along with *Durnford* adjoining the later site of Newport to the north, this was a significant crossing connecting the eastern half of the Island to the Carisbrooke area, recorded as *pontem de ssyde* in the thirteenth century (Mills 1996, 95). It is possible that other bridges existed, although no *brycg* place-names were recorded before the thirteenth century. A comparison of the corpus of *ford* and *brycg* place-names indicates the replacement of fords with bridges at various locations. Examples are *Durnford c.*1258, *Godesbidge* in the sixteenth century, and *La Rydeford* in 1331 probably the location of *Redebrigge* in 1471 (Margham 2016a, 40).

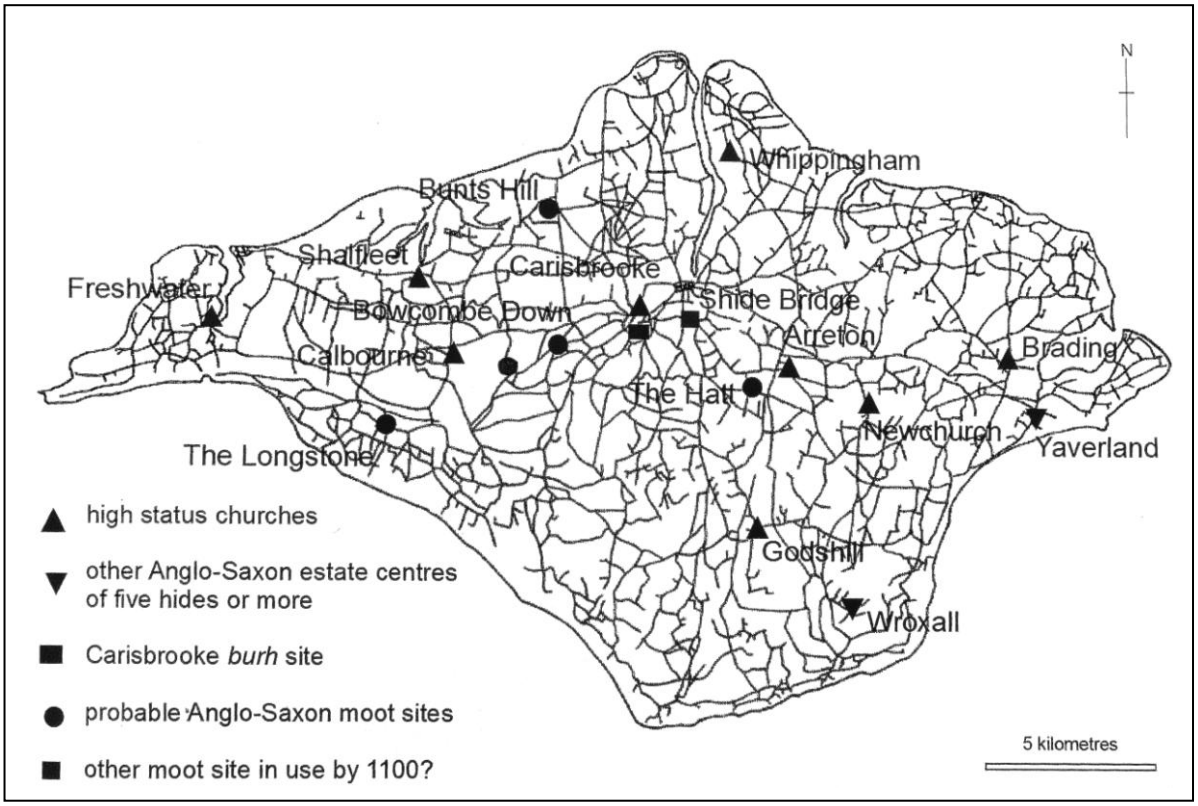


Fig. 4.18: The twentieth-century bridge at Shide. The medieval bridge provided access to the Carisbrooke area from the East Medine. This was the site of a footbridge recorded in the Domesday place-names *Side* and *Sida,* presumably adjoining a ford.

Some medieval place-names record roads rather than stream crossings. These are two instances of *weg* 'way' and four instances of *straet* 'street'. *Holeweye* provided access to the Undercliff area from Wroxall. The place-name *atteridweie* recorded in 1302 (Mills 1996, 86) gave access to the location alongside the eastern Yar from Merstone, now known as Redway Farm. Havenstreet was *Hethenestrete* in 1255 (Mills 1996, 57), on a route inland from the north-east coast. Rewstreet, *Rewestret* in the fourteenth century (Mills 1996, 87), is a settlement on a north-south road from the north coast which may have been associated with the Gurnard Romano-British 'villa' site. The *Terra de Strete* of the twelfth-century records land on the north side of the road eastwards from Newbridge (Kökeritz 1940, 84-5). The settlement predating the Bishop of Winchester's foundation of Newtown was *Stretley* in1254-5 (Beresford 1967, 445). Although there is no archaeological evidence for Roman roads on the Island, these *straet* place-names suggest this as a distinct possibility. Ann Cole's (2013, 22) analysis of such names shows 'that *straet* is generally a reliable indicator of a Roman road that was in use at the time of naming'.[36]

[36] These *straet* place-names can be contrasted with post-medieval names such as Arreton Street and Thorley Street representing settlement shift from Domesday manorial centres to locations alongside through routes exhibiting irregular two-row settlement morphology (Margham 2021c).

Evidence cited above provides information about early medieval roads and tracks in specific areas such as indicated by ‘ford’ place-names, and across relatively short distances, *e.g. herpaeð* in charter bounds. Contemporary sources cannot, however, provide a complete picture of the network. This can be approached from the first comprehensive mapping of roads and tracks, the1810 Ordnance Survey (Map 4.9). This was used to test the statement made by Christopher Taylor (1989, 110) that the modern road system in England was essentially complete by the eleventh century.



Map 4.9: Isle of Wight road system in 1810, high status churches and other Anglo-Saxon estate centres, the Carisbrooke *burh* and early medieval meeting places (Margham 2016a, map 5), with addition of Galibury Hump moot site

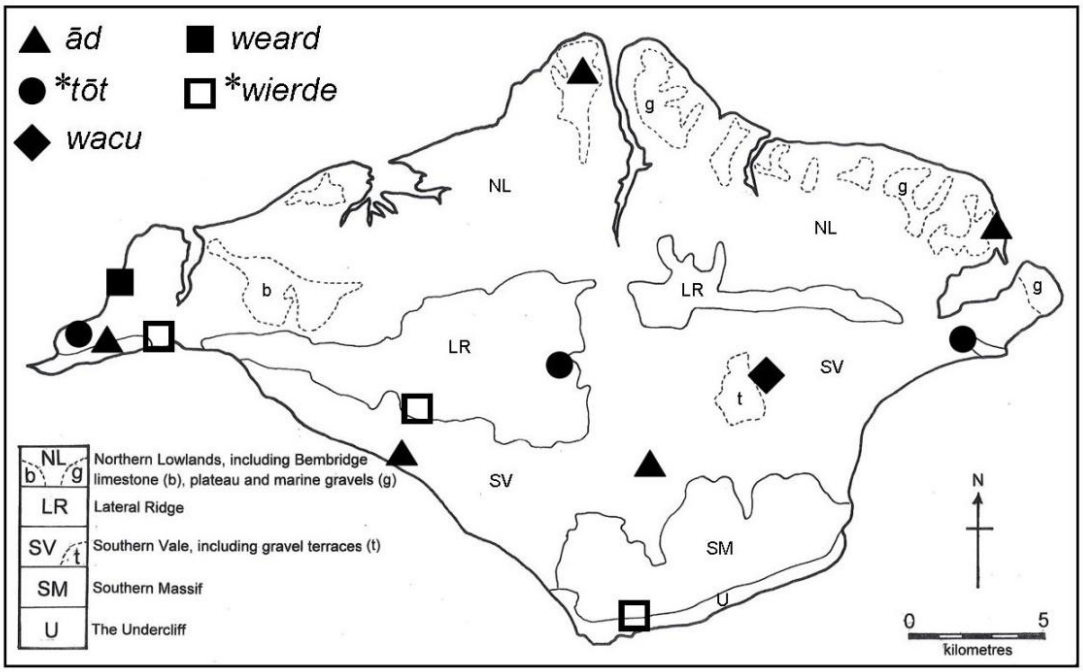
The plotting of high-status churches, other estate centres of five hides or more in 1086, and probable outdoor meeting places (Margham 2013b; 2016a, map 5) revealed 18 sites. Fourteen of these were route nodes with more than local significance, while three others were on or immediately adjoining through routes. This analysis does not prove categorically that the early medieval road network was identical to the situation in 1810, but indicates a broad correlation between the two periods. There were, nonetheless, inevitably changes during this time. For example, one instance of ‘lane’ in the mid-tenth century has largely been extinguished (S543),

although part of this route existed in 1810. One significant change before 1810 was the loss of part of the road from Carisbrooke Priory to Kitbridge and *Chimelord* [West Cowes] documented in 1270 (Hockey 1981b, no. 230). This redundancy may have been a gradual process initiated by the foundation of Newport in the late twelfth century. Carisbrooke would have consequently lost its status as the Island's 'central place', with the road directly from *Shamlord* to Newport taking on more significance.

Look-Outs and Beacons

The Island has been strategically important for at least two millennia (Hockey 1982, 81). Due to its relative wealth it was a desirable place for political control. Barbara Yorke (2018, 41) examined this in a review of seventh-century politics in the Solent area which 'suggests that competition to control the Solent was a major motivator of the aggression and alliances that are such a feature of the written sources'. At an earlier date artefacts from early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, especially Chessell Down, indicate a degree of material wealth that can be contrasted with that of mainland Hampshire and having some affinities with that of Kent (Brookes and Harrington 2010, 66; Harrington and Welch 2014, 192). This may explain the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry attributed to AD 530: 'Here Cerdic and Cynric took Wight, and killed many men at Wihtgar's stronghold [*Wihtgaræsbyrg*]' (ASC A). In the mid-seventh century, the Mercian royal house was active in the Solent region. The annal for 661 recording 'Wulfhere, Penda's offspring, raided on Wight, and gave the inhabitants of Wight to Æthelwald, king of the South Saxons, because Wulfhere had received him [as god-son] at baptism' (ASC E). Interest by Mercia was eclipsed by the ascendancy of Cædwalla, king of the Gewissae, who captured the Isle of Wight (HE 16; 686 ASC E), subsequently becoming part of Wessex. Although there is no documentary evidence for the Island's importance in the eighth century, two 'productive' sites reflect its wealth. Coin evidence from the 'near Carisbrooke' site suggests that this originated as a trading place *c.*700 to 710, and seemingly declined towards the end of the century (Ulmschneider 2003, 75). Coins from the 'Shalfeet parish' site suggest a start date of *c.*715x725 and intensive activity there probably ended in the third quarter of the eighth century (Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013, 20, 25).

The Island reappears in the documentary record as strategically important during Alfred's reign (871-899), when 'Then on a certain occasion the same year [896, under annal for 897] there came six ships to Wight and did great harm there' (ASC A). It has been argued that Brading Haven was the location of an incident recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the same year, when Alfred's new large ships were stranded by the outgoing tide whilst the smaller Viking ships escaped temporarily (Margham 2015a, 30-1). The Island features prominently in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle during the reign of Æthelred II (978-1016). Viking raiders used *Wihtland* as a base for raiding nearby Sussex and mainland Hampshire in 998 and returned there in 1001 bringing war-booty from Devon (ASC A, E). It is possible that Brading Haven was used by a Viking fleet whilst occupying their secure base in *Wihtland* after Martinmas in 1006 (ASC E). Æthelred departed from the Isle of Wight when going into exile in 1013 but tarried there for the Christmas festivities (ASC E). In 1022 Cnut 'went out with his ships to Wight' (ASC E). The Island also features in the events of 1052 following the exile of Earl Godwin and his family (ASC E), and in 1066 with the arrival of Earl Tostig's fleet, and the later stationing of Harold II's fleet (Margham 2015a, 17-18). Soon after the Norman Conquest the Isle of Wight was granted to William fitzOsbern by William I with palatine authority. FitzOsbern established a castlery centred on Carisbrooke (Chibnall 1969, 261; Margham 1993, 8-13). The last records of the Island's significance in the eleventh century are the apprehending of William I's half brother Odo when attempting to flee to Normandy in 1082, William I when he 'travelled to Wight because he wanted to go to Normandy' in 1085, and the use of the same route by Earl Robert of Normandy in 1091. Thereafter no reference is made to its strategic importance until the reign of King John (Margham 2015a, 18), with the exception of early in Stephen's reign (1135-1154) when Baldwin de Redvers used his Island base 'to intercept traders sailing between England and Normandy (Potter and Davis 1976, 45).



Map 4.10: Isle of Wight beacon and look-out place-names (Margham 2016a, map 4)

Given the strategic importance of Wight it is unsurprising that there is a wealth of place-name records indicating look-out and beacon sites from the thirteenth century onwards (Map 4.10; Margham 2015a, appendix 1). The elements **tot* 'look-out place'*, wacu* 'watch or wake'*, weard* watch' and **wierde* 'watch, look-out' may indicate locations of look-out places during the Viking Age, although not all are in coastal locations, with two having no view of the coast. It seems that some of these sites had the function of internal communication along established route-ways, for example Tolt Copse on the Lateral Ridge in Gatcombe parish was *Hetheitout* 'heathy look-out place' in 1349 (Kökeritz 1940; Margham 2015a, 28; Fig. 4.19). This can be contrasted with another **tot* place-name, *Totelande* (Totland) *c.*1240 (Kökeritz 1940, 102), apparently a look-out site on Headon Hill with extensive sea views over the western end of the Solent and beyond and the location of *Hetdone* beacon in 1324 (Margham 2015a, 28; Fig. 4.20). It cannot be assumed that these sites had beacons in the early medieval period. David Hinton (2014, 96-7) pointed out that 'No unequivocal Old English place-name or charter boundary mark uses "beacon" ' and that '*Tot*- names imply look-out points, but they could have been manned quite effectively by people using horns, horses, and perhaps rudimentary flags'. It is, however, possible that the Isle of Wight and southern England had a system of warning beacons at look-out places by the eleventh century (Baker and Brookes 2013, 180-1).



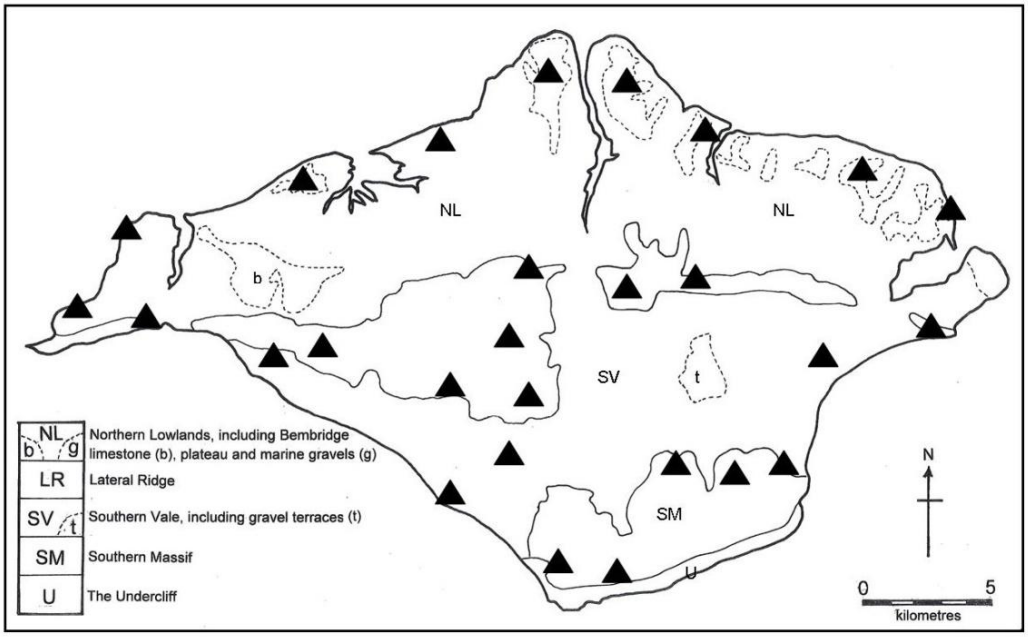
Fig. 4.19: A site at or near Tolt Copse (on the skyline) provided a vantage point overlooking the routeway from the south of the Island towards Carisbrooke



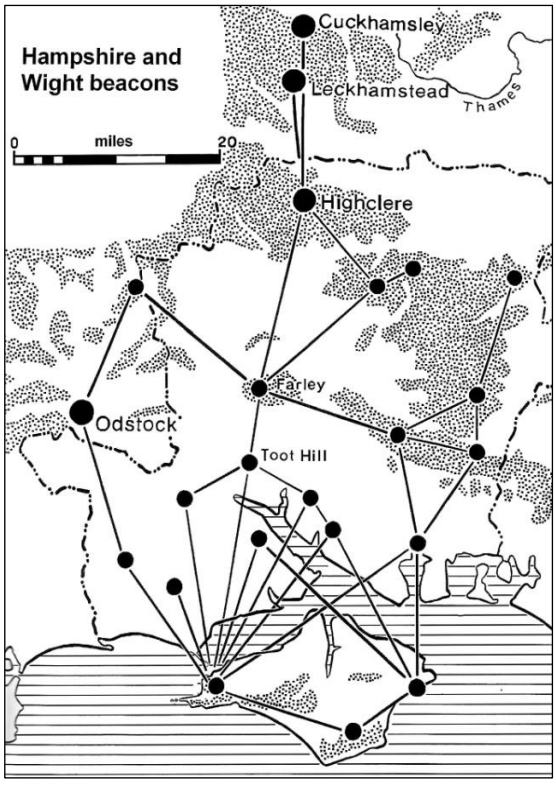
Fig. 4.20: The barrow on Headon Hill was the look-out and beacon site which gave its name to Totland at the western extremity of the Island

The place-name corpus includes five instances of *ād* 'beacon'. The Shide Bridge inquisition of 1324 describes the provision of 31 beacons, as 'they have been of old' (White 1930, 254), the sites of many of which can be identified (Map 4.11; Margham 2015a, appendix 2). Their antiquity is unknown, but three have place-name elements recording look-out sites: *Hetdone* (Headon), *Toteland c.*1240, a **tot* place-name, 'and two instances of **wierde, La Wyrde* in 1251 and 1324 (Coombe Tower site in

Brighstone) and *la Wyrde* of 1324, probably in a location above Weards Cottage in Niton' (Margham 2015a, 30), all locations overlooking the coast. Further beacon sites are known from early modern documentation, for example Nodes Farm in Northwood to the west of the Medina estuary on the gravel ridge (Mills 1996, 76-7; Margham 2015a, appendix 3).



Map 4.11: Isle of Wight beacon sites in 1324 (Margham 2015a, map 5)
de Langetote in Thorley not plotted as precise location unknown



The evidence of later beacon sites has been used to reconstruct an Anglo-Saxon beacon system for Hampshire and the Island (Map 4.14; Hill and Sharpe 1997). This envisages a comprehensive system enabling communication from the Island into Hampshire and beyond into Berkshire and the Thames Valley. The central point on the Isle of Wight is St Martin's Down, the beacon site of *Smeredone* in 1324. The western and eastern sitesare instances of **tot,* Totland

Map 4.12: A reconstruction of an Anglo-Saxon beacon system (Hill 1981, fig. 164)

and the now lost *Tothulle* in Yavereland parish of 1267 (Margham 2015a, appendix 1). Other reconstructions based on later evidence of visual communication between *ād* place-names for signalling from the Isle of Wight to Purbeck and beyond have been made by Shemming and Briggs (2013). Gower (2002) drew attention to the inter-visibility of **tot* and other 'look-out' locations along the line of Stane Street, implying an early medieval signalling system from Chichester to London. Such a system could easily have communicated with Island look-out points. Whether these included warning beacons cannot be proven definitively. Nevertheless, the Isle of Wight clearly had a significant role in guarding the coastline of southern England by the later Anglo-Saxon period.

'Islandness'

Unlike the Isle of Purbeck to the west and Selsey 'the seal's island' (Watts 2004, 536) to the east, Wight is a true island. Basford (2013, 23) asked 'do the cultural landscapes of the Isle of Wight, involving contrasts in settlement, economy and perhaps even society posess idiosyncratic features deriving from their "islandness"?' She concluded that Wight is not merely 'a severed piece of the Hampshire mainland' in having a distinctive identity, and a diversity of cultural landscapes within a small area which are 'closely linked to differences in terrain but also influenced by antecedent patterns and changing land uses, and possibly intensified by insularity' (Basford 2013, 298). Foley *et al.* (2023, 1808) examined 'islandness' in a global context, highlighting it as a contested concept due to variations in scale and remoteness/accessibility. They concluded that 'connection….rather than isolation, might be the key to understanding islandness, necessitating reflection on how cultures of mobility and immobility are being experienced'. As we have seen, the Isle of Wight was well-connected by sea with 'mainland' Hampshire and beyond in the early medieval period, so any concept of 'islandness' must be seen in this context.

Conclusions

The physical structure of the Island outlined in this chapter provides the background for historic events and landscape development in the early medieval period. Although human agency was a significant factor, physical structure provided not only

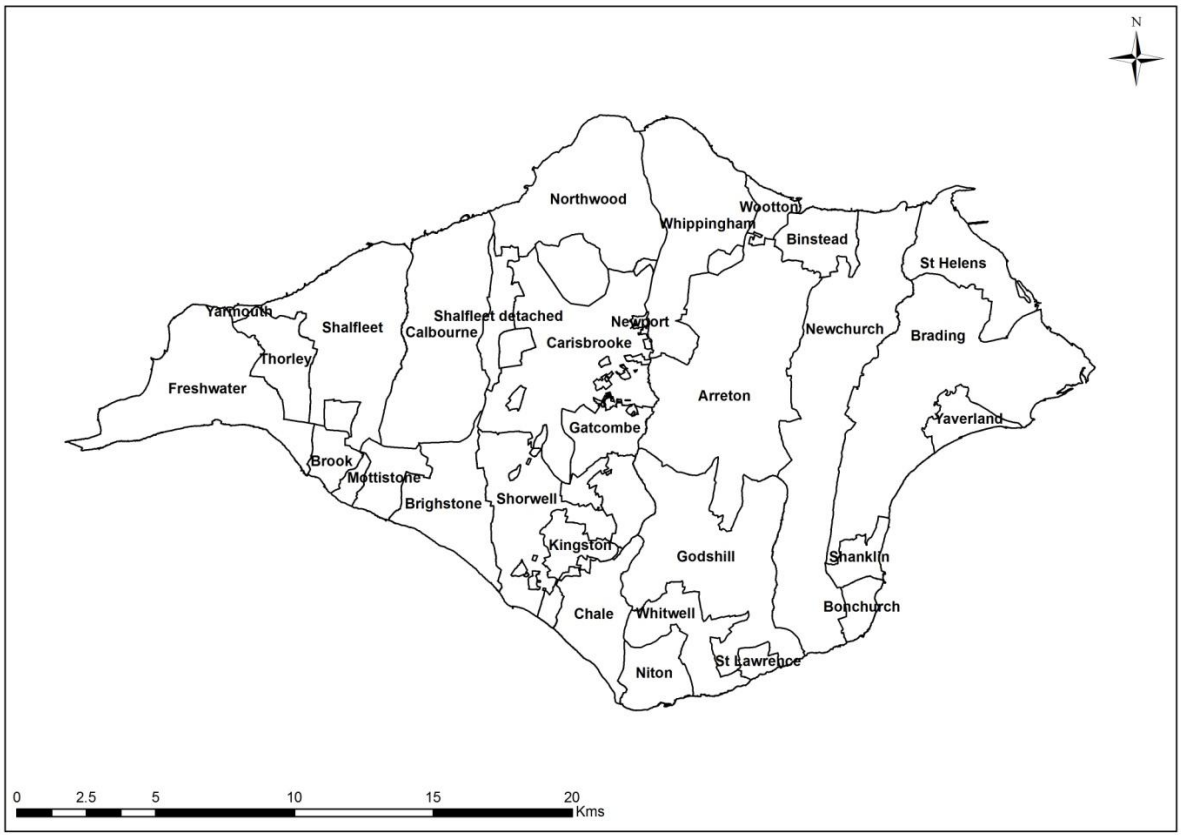
limitations but opportunities. These included locations for landing, the pattern of roads and tracks, and vantage points for protection of local and wider geographical areas. Identification of five historic landscape regions based on physiographic areas is much more than a reiteration of past ideas of physical determinism. Human agency will be shown throughout this thesis to have a significant effect on the development of these regions, but the limitations and opportunities provided by these diverse landscapes can be seen as interplay between a wide range of interlinked factors. The first of these themes to be explored is that of cemeteries and churches in the landscape.

Chapter Five

Superior Churches and Local Churches

Introduction

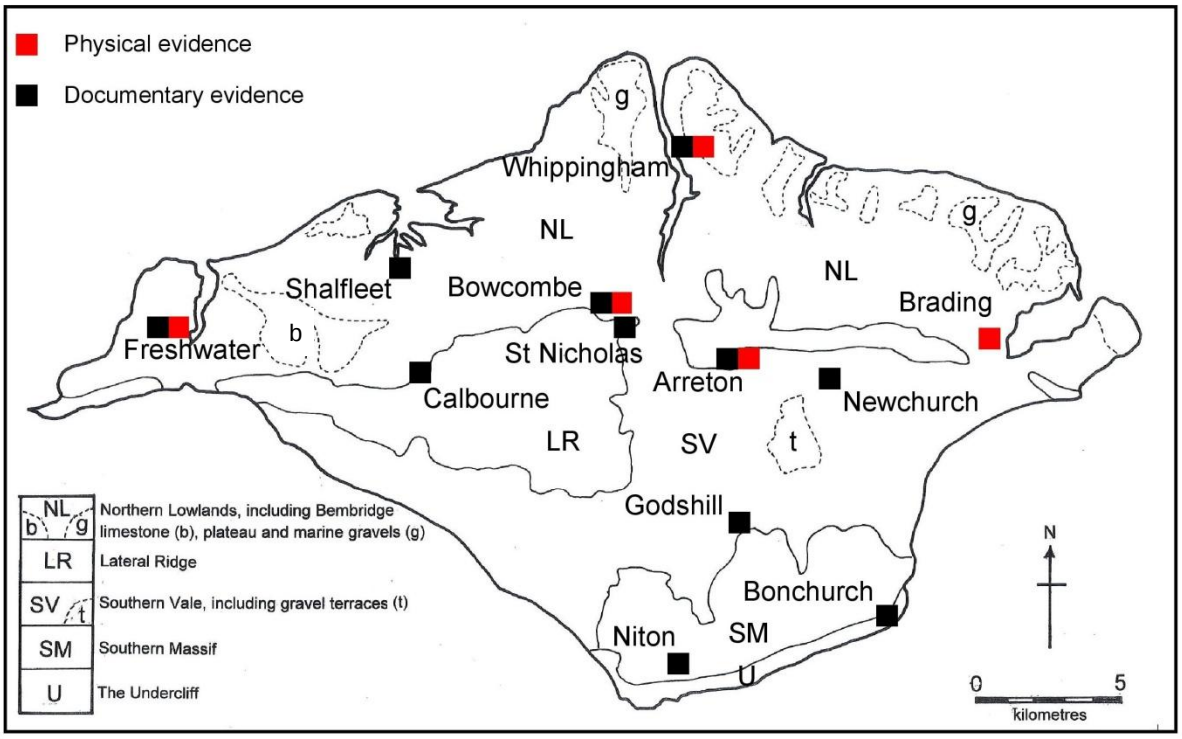
A major theme of this thesis is landscape localisation in the early medieval period. An important component is the development of local churches. Processes through which local churches came into existence will be examined and will inform discussion of the validity of the 'minster hypothesis' for Wight in the following chapter. However, before this can be approached, it is necessary to review evidence for existence of churches by the late eleventh century, give account of the documentary evidence for the introduction of Christianity in the late seventh century, and identify superior churches, including discussion of terminology in the 'minster hypothesis' debate. A framework for this analysis is the pattern of medieval parish boundaries (Map 5.1).



Map 5.1: The parish boundaries of the Isle of Wight, as depicted on Ordnance Survey 6-inch and 25-inch maps of 1862/3, including foreshores down to the low water line. With the exception of Newport which became a parish in the mid-nineteenth century, the map represents the boundaries of 29 later medieval parishes. Map provided by Vicky Basford.

Isle of Wight Churches to 1100

The existence of churches by the late eleventh century can be demonstrated through documentary evidence, architecture and ecclesiastical sculpture (Map 5.2). Evidence for the existence of twelve churches by 1100, along with landholders in 1066 (*TRE)* and 1086 (*TRW*) is summarised below (Table 5.1).



Map 5.2: Evidence for Isle of Wight churches to *c.*1100

Church	Evidence	*TRE* landholder	*TRW* landholder
Arreton	DB; Lyre; AS fabric	King Edward	King William (demesne)
Bonchurch	DB place-name; AS fabric?	held of Earl Godwine	William fitzAzor
Bowcombe/Carisbrooke	DB; Lyre; AS sculpture	King Edward	King William (demesne)
Brading	pre 1100 sculpture	held of King Edward [Whitefield and Brading]	William fitzStur [Whitefield] William fitzAzor [Brading]
Calbourne	DB; former AS	Bishop of Winchester	Bishop of Winchester

	fabric		
Freshwater	DB inferred; Lyre; AS fabric	Earl Tostig	King William (demesne)
Godshill	Lyre; sculpture	King Edward	King William [Sandford with Week] (demesne)
Newchurch	Lyre	held of King Edward	King William [Knighton] (demesne)
Niton	Lyre; font?	held of King Edward	King William
St Nicholas	DB	Dunna [Alvington]	King William [Alvington]
Shalfleet	DB; pre-1100 tower?	Eadric	Joscelin fitzAzor
Whippingham	Lyre; AS sculpture	held of King Edward	King William

Table 5.1: Isle of Wight churches to *c.*1100 and landholders in 1066 and 1086

Various strands of evidence for churches existence by 1100 will be examined: documentary sources, namely Domesday Book and churches granted to Lyre Abbey by William fitzOsbern, Anglo-Saxon church fabric, pre-Conquest sculpture and late eleventh-century architectural sculpture.

Documentary Evidence

Four Island churches are mentioned explicitly in Hampshire Domesday folios, under the manorial headings of Arreton, Bowcombe, Calbourne and Shalfleet. The church itemised in Bowcombe manor can almost certainly be identified with St Mary's Carisbrooke, and this identification will be justified in Chapter 6. Arreton and Bowcombe churches were held by the Norman abbey of Lyre. Calbourne was the centre of a large estate which belonged to the bishop of Winchester; Shalfleet was in lay hands but not a Lyre church.

In addition, Domesday Book provides circumstantial evidence for the existence of three more churches. Bonchurch is attested by its place-name *Bonecerce* (53). The

existence of the church at Freshwater is implied: 'Of these 15 hides [of Freshwater] the Abbey of Lyre holds 3 virgates' (52), which probably included a church associated with this land-holding. Domesday Book implies that Carisbrooke Castle had a chapel, first explicitly named as being dedicated to St Nicholas in the foundation charter of Quarr Abbey (1132x1135) to which it was granted (Hockey 1991, no. 1). The presence of the castle by 1086 is revealed by the Domesday entry for Alvington manor which '[was] then [assessed] at 2½ hides; now at 2 hides, because the castle stands on 1 virgate' (52v). The account of the manor of Shalcombe, nine kilometres to the west of Carisbrooke Castle, reveals that 'St Nicholas has of King William 1 hide in SHALCOMBE [*Eseldecome*]' (52v). Documentary evidence implies St Nicholas was founded between 1066 and 1086 if it did not predate the foundation of the castle. St Nicholas parish is a misnomer, with the one hide of Shalcombe in 1086 forming the largest part of its endowment of lands. Its remaining endowments were several but all very small areas scattered through much of the western half of the Island.

Mention has already been made of the granting of churches to Lyre Abbey by William fitzOsbern who was granted palatine authority over the Island by William I, probably from 1067 until his death in 1071 (Margham 1993, 8-13). These grants are evidenced in later documentation in Carisbrooke Priory's cartulary, recording that he 'gave' several churches on the Island to Lyre. This meant that Lyre benefitted by receiving income from tithes and other dues and had the authority to appoint incumbents. Domesday Book states that 'The Abbey of Saint-Marie of Lyre has in the Isle of Wight 6 churches, to which belong 3 hides and 2½ virgates of land' (52v).

Two Lyre churches, Arreton and Bowcombe, are documented in Domesday Book, while a third at Freshwater is implied. Later documents in Carisbrooke's cartulary record other Lyre churches. In *c.*1145 Arreton, Freshwater and Godshill are listed, and a fuller list in 1155-8 of 'the gift of earl William' includes Newchurch, Niton and Whippingham (Hockey 1981a, nos. 17, 11). It would appear that a total of seven churches on the Isle of Wight, rather than the six of Domesday Book, were given to Lyre by fitzOsbern between 1067 and 1071. All of these were located within manors held by the king in 1086, most being in the royal demesne (Table 5.1). These royal acquisitions presumably happened after the revolt of the son of Wiliam fitzOsbern, Roger of Hereford against William I in 1075/6 who had inherited the late earl's

possessions and authority (Margham 1993, 9). This can be contrasted with the other churches known to exist by 1086, all but one of which (except St Nicholas) were in manors held by the fitzAzor brothers or by William fitzStur.

Architectural Evidence

In addition to documentary evidence for churches by 1086, there is church fabric of Anglo-Saxon workmanship at Arreton, Freshwater and possibly Bonchurch, while antiquarian drawings suggest its former existence at Calbourne. Anglo-Saxon sculpture has recently been recorded at Carisbrooke, Whippingham and possibly Godshill. There are also items of late eleventh-century sculpture at Brading and Godshill.[37]

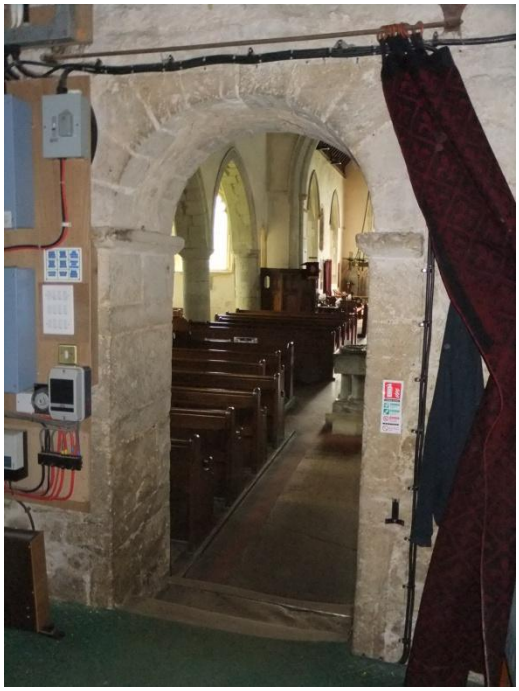


Fig. 5.1: External view of the western doorway at Arreton

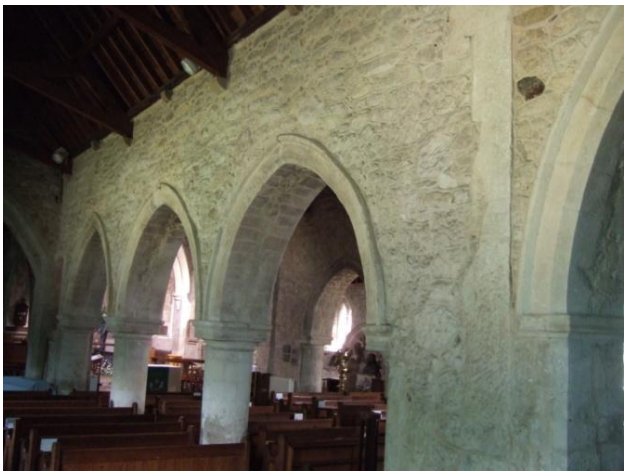


Fig. 5.2: The north-western long and short quoin of Freshwater's nave and late twelfth-century north arcade

Arreton church has fabric of Anglo-Saxon workmanship defining the nave (Appendix 5.1), although it has been argued that this, and the north wall of the chancel, dates from the early twelfth century (Fig. 5.1; Margham 2014, 9). Freshwater's nave contains three long and short quoins (Fig. 5.2; Appendix 5.1), and Bonchurch's nave has a south wall only 2ft (0.62m) thick which is suggestive of Anglo-Saxon workmanship (Margham 2014, 13; Taylor 1978, 760; Fig. 5.3). Calbourne church

[37] The dating and significance of this tower-nave is discussed in the Shalfleet case study (Chapter 6, pp.169-71).

experienced a ‘vigorous restoration’ in 1838-42 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 102) which destroyed two hood-moulded doorways, both being recorded in illustrations. One was in the north wall of the north transept (Fig. 5.4; Tomkins 1796), the other in the south wall of the south aisle (Englefield 1802, reproduced in Stone 1891, II, 14). The locations of these two doorways suggest that they may have been repositioned, although a formerly cruciform ground-plan is a possibility. It is uncertain from the illustrations whether these doorways were Anglo-Saxon or Romanesque, although their proportions suggest the former.[38]





Fig. 5.3: The straight joint in the north wall of Bonchurch’s nave, indicating that the church has been extended westwards

Fig. 5.4: Tomkins’ (1796) illustration of Calbourne church, showing the hood-moulded doorway in the north transept

Sculptural Evidence

The north wall of Carisbrooke’s churchyard contains a slab depicting a larger than life-sized right hand in low relief (Fig. 5.5). This has been interpreted by the present author as a *manus dei*, the right hand of God, appearing to have formed part of a late Anglo-Saxon rood, the closest parallel being the rood now reset in the west wall of Romsey Abbey’s south transept (Margham and Tomalin 2022; Tweddle *et al.* 1995, Romsey 1). Three items of late Anglo-Saxon sculpture were identified in a study by the present author in the mid-nineteenth fabric at Whippingham (Fig. 5.6;

[38] Whilst associated with post-Conquest Romanesque architecture, hood-mouldings feature in one-third of the corpus of Anglo-Saxon architecture (Taylor 1978, 928).

Margham 2018a, 8).[39] A further fragmentary piece having similarities with one of the Whippingham sculptures was noted in the external wall of Godshill's north aisle (Fig. 5.7; Tomalin and Trott 2022, figs. 2b, 42). This may be the boss from the centre of a cross and if so might be pre-Conquest (Derek Craig, pers. comm.). There is no datable fabric at Godshill church before the fourteenth-century tracery in the east end (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 153-4).[40] However, capitals were found embedded in the tower after it had been struck by lightning. One of these remains in the church, a capital of late eleventh-century form (Fig. 5.8; Renn 1969, 267; Margham 2016g).



Fig. 5.5: The 'Carisbrooke Hand'



Fig. 5.6: Whippingham- 11th c stone sculpture



Fig. 5.7 Godshill- stone sculpture



Fig. 5.8: Godshill- late 11th c capital

The earliest feature in Brading church is a piscina attached to the south wall of the chancel (Fig. 5.9; Renn 1969, 269). The incised volute spirals have parallels with volutes in belfry-openings at Glentworth, Lincolnshire (Baldwin Brown 1925, fig. 192)

[39] A fragmentary inscription now built into the external wall of the porch pre-dates 1250 and may be of a pre-Conquest date (Okasha, pers. comm.).

[40] A recent re-evaluation of the fabric of Godshill church suggests that the western section of the north aisle wall dates from the thirteenth century (Tomalin and Trott 2022, figs. 1b, 42).

and tower arch capitals at Netheravon, Wiltshire. A late eleventh-century date can be suggested from these parallels (Margham 2016e). It is possible that Niton's tub font with its simple cable moulding also dates to the eleventh century (Fig. 5.10; Margham 2017f).

The potentially early date of Niton's font illustrates the important function of baptism for the newly-constructed stone churches in the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods. The right to baptism in local churches 'was never one of the central tenets of independent parochial status' (Blair 2005, 463). Blair sees the provision of fonts with a plain bowl or similar monolithic fonts with simple cable or arcade decoration as probably being an aspect of the 'Great Rebuilding' of churches when permanent local churches were constructed during the late eleventh century (Blair 2005, 461).[41] Niton's font, with simple cable decoration, is compatible with the fragmentary architectural evidence for a church pre-dating the Transitional Norman northern arcade (Appendix 5.1) and the relatively small area of the nave before the construction of this arcade.



Fig. 5.9: Brading's piscina



Fig. 5.10: Niton's font

[41] These tub fonts can be contrasted with the more elaborate later Romanesque fonts at Calbourne, Freshwater and Mottistone (Appendix 4.1), with only the latter being a local church. Northwood's plain tub font may suggest an earlier date for the presence of the church indicated by the mature Romanesque south doorway and Transitional Norman nave arcades.

There is thus evidence for the existence of twelve churches on the Island by 1100. Some of these would have been superior (*i.e.* of more than local significance) churches in the Anglo-Saxon period. Before these identifications are made, evidence for the coming of Christianity to the Island in the later seventh century will be reviewed. This not only provides background to the origin of Anglo-Saxon Christian pastoral provision but is relevant to the foundation of two Island churches.

The 'Conversion' of the Isle of Wight [42]

The narrative for the introduction of Christianity to the Island is provided by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* and further information can be gleaned from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid.*[43] Bede informs us that 'Daniel, the esteemed bishop of the West Saxons who still survives, communicated to me in writing something of the history of the church of his own kingdom, as well as that of the neighbouring kingdoms of Sussex and the Isle of Wight' (HE Preface). He records that Bishop Wilfrid taught the faith to the South Saxons during one of his periods of exile from Northumbria. Wilfrid was granted by King Æthelwealh of the South Saxons 87 hides at Selsey where he founded a minster (HE IV 13). Æthelwealh had recently been baptised in Mercia, acknowledging his subservient relationship with its king, Wulfhere:

> The king of this people was Æthelwealh, who not long before had been baptised in the kingdom of Mercia at the suggestion and in the presence of Wulfhere, who, when Æthelwealh came forth from the font, received him as a son. As a token of his adoption Wulfhere gave him two provinces, namely the Isle of Wight and the province of the Meonware in the land of the West Saxons (HE IV 13).

This episode is summarised in the annal for 661 in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* adding that 'Eoppa, the priest, at the command of Wilfrid and King Wulfhere, [was] the first of men [who] brought baptism to the inhabitants of Wight' (ASC E). This, although from a source collated in the later ninth century, raises the possibility of Wilfrid's involvement in teaching the Christian faith to the inhabitants of Wight before

[42] 'Conversion' is an ambiguous term. Bede's account documents the Island's institutional conversion, whereas 'Christianisation' better describes ideas permeating a society, a longer-term process (Winroth 2012, 103-4).
[43] Composed soon after Wilfrid's death in 710 (Stancliffe 2013, 21, 25).

his association with Cædwalla documented by Bede for the 680s.[44] It is, however, possible that Eoppa's mission was within Sussex rather than to Wight (Swanton 1996, 34, n.2).

Wilfrid was active again in southern Britain two decades later, this time in association with the still pagan Cædwalla, who for a short but dynamic period was king of the Gewisse (West Saxons). The latter's conquest of the Isle of Wight is dated to 686 by *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC E).[45] Bede's account reads:

> After Cædwalla had gained possession of the kingdom of the Gewisse he also captured the Isle of Wight, which until then had been entirely given up to idolatory, and endeavoured to wipe out all the natives by merciless slaughter and to replace them by inhabitants of his own kingdom,[46] binding himself, or so it is said, by a vow, though he was not yet Christian, that if he captured the island he would give a fourth part of it and the booty to the Lord. He fulfilled his vow by giving it for the service of the Lord to Bishop Wilfrid, who happened to have come there from his own people at the time. The size of the island is 1,200 hides according to the English way of reckoning, so the bishop was given 300 hides. Wilfrid entrusted the portion he had received to one of his clergy named Beornwine, who was his sister's son, assigning to him a priest called Hiddila, to teach the word and administer baptism to all who sought salvation (HE IV 16).

The account continues with the story of the two younger brothers of Arwald, the king of the Island. They escaped to the 'the neighbouring realm of the Jutes' where they were captured and condemned to death. Due to the intercession of the abbot and priest of *Hreutford* (Redbridge) they were baptised, thus allowing their entry 'to the eternal life of the soul' after their execution. Bede concludes his account:

> In this way after all of the kingdoms of Britain had received the faith of Christ, the Isle of Wight received it too, yet because it was suffering under the affliction

[44] Eoppa may be identified with Eappa, who along with his colleagues Padda, Burghelm and Oiddi baptised the South Saxons at the time of, or after, Æthelwealh was baptised at the court of Wulfhere (HE IV 13). Eappa would appear to have become the first abbot of Selsey (HE IV 14). Yorke (2018, 37) notes that the date of 661 is too early, and suggests a date of 664 based upon the relative chronology of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the tradition that Wine was bishop of Winchester for three years.

[45] Sharpe's (2020) reappraisal of Cædwalla's brief career dates this to Autumn 688.

[46] The Latin word used by Bede was: 'The term *exterminare* literally means 'to drive out' but Bede, who used it in four separate passages of the HE, does seem to have had in mind something of the more murderous meaning of the present day …. In each instance he clearly envisaged considerable violence to have taken place. The term must, therefore, carry at least some weight of 'to get rid of', if not necessarily 'to wipe out'' (Higham 1995, 228-9). Cædwalla did not survive the subjugation of the Isle of Wight unscathed, as at the time of the flight of Arwald's brothers he was recovering from wounds that he had 'received during the fighting on the Isle of Wight' (HE IV 16).

> of alien rule, it had no bishop or see until the time of Daniel, who is now bishop of the West Saxons (HE IV 16).

The degree of ignorance of the Christian faith of the people of Wight in the 680s may have been exaggerated for rhetorical purposes by Bede or Bishop Daniel. The possibility of a mission to Wight by Eoppa has been mentioned, and Arwald and his kin must have been aware of events in the nearby province of the Gewisse, who were nominally Christian since the mission of Birinus and the establishment of the see at Dorchester on Thames in 635 (ASC E). The house of Arwald would not have been ignorant of events in Sussex, and from the time of the intervention of King Wulfhere's intervention would have been part of the Mercian *imperium*, and may have been subject to the authority of newly converted Æthelwealh, Wulfhere's protege.

Towards the end of his *Ecclesiastical History* Bede summarises the ecclesiastical situation in 'the year of our Lord 731' that 'At the present time ….Daniel and Forthhere are bishops of the West Saxons … The bishopric of the Isle of Wight belongs to Daniel, bishop of Winchester' (HE V 23). This passage implies that the Isle of Wight was in some way a separate entity from the see of Winchester, even during the time of Bishop Daniel.[47] In the period immediately after Cædwalla's intervention in 686 this can be explained by the personal influence of Wilfrid. A putative bishopric of Wight and the South Saxons was very short-lived, apparently not surviving after Wilfrid's recall northwards in the second year of the reign of Aldfrith of Northumbria, *ie.* 686-7 (VW 44). However, a connection with Selsey minster, in terms of pastoral care and administration of the 300 hides, would appear to have continued after Wilfrid's departure with the entrusting of this land to his nephew (HE IV 16). The Island was apparently not part of the revived diocese of Selsey in 705x709 (HE V 18) as Bishop Daniel would have been aware of this and thus recorded by Bede. Some degree of independence after the collapse of Wilfrid's see is implied by the separate mention of Wight in the passage relating to 731 with the bishopric of the Isle of Wight belonging to Daniel (HE V 23).

The significance of Bede's account of Wight's subjegation and the imposition of Christianity is directly relevant to the identification of superior churches. The important factor was the granting of a quarter of the Island to Wilfrid and the

[47] The see was relocated from Dorchester on Thames by Cenwalh (HE III 7).

subsequent entrusting of these 300 hides to his nephew Beornwine. Wilfrid was credited with the foundation of Brading church by Oglander's inscription in the front of the first parish register (IWCRO BRA/REG/COM/1). This possibility will be examined in the case study of Brading (Chapter 7), but here it is sufficient to note that Brading church had an extensive mother parish appearing coterminous with the area of a now lost charter of Ine, Cædwalla's successor (Margham 2000, 119, fig.1; ECW1). Further to the west, the charter for the restoration of Winchester's Calbourne estate by King Edgar in the tenth century (S1581) claims that it was 'first given by K[ing] Cenwalh and subsequently by K[ing] Cædwalla, but late usurped by some of the king's predecessors' (ECW109). The name of Cenwalh would appear to be anachronistic, as he reigned soon after the establishment of the see of the Gewisse at Dorchester on Thames (HE III 7). Finberg (1964, 216-17) comments that 'In the tenth century the Winchester clergy associated Cædwalla's name with a grant or confirmation of 30 hides at "Drethecumb" [Calbourne] in the Isle of Wight. They may have found this place-name in a genuine early document: it is not recorded elsewhere'. It is potentially significant that the combined areas of the Brading mother parish and the reconstructed Calbourne estate accounts for 26 percent of the Island's area (Margham 2006, fig. 4). It is possible, as Finberg (1964, 217) has pointed out, that these lands 'perhaps merely reflect the devolution of some of the estates originally given to Wilfrid'. Evidence has already been cited for the existence of Calbourne and Brading churches by 1100, both of which had superior status.

Superior Churches: Minster, Mother Church and *Parochiae*

So far, the term superior church has been used as a generic term referring to churches of more than local significance. Terminology used for such churches in the early medieval period will now be examined and other terms used by modern researchers will be defined enabling the use of more precise terms from here on.

Sarah Foot (1992) examined a wide range of documentary sources from the seventh century to the mid-tenth century monastic reform to ascertain which terms were used to describe churches. The Latin term most commonly used was *monasterium*. This is not easily defined: 'there was no kind of religious community or church bereft of religious community, which was not at one time or another called a *monasterium*'

(Brooke 1982, 697). What can be ascertained from Foot's analysis is that for this period it is inappropriate to make a distinction between communities of monks and those of secular clerks, so the modern term monastery is not appropriate (Foot 1992, 214-5). The Old English translation of *monasterium* was *mynster.* The term 'minster' is used by modern historians referring to superior churches of early origin. Foot concludes that 'The very nature of the word 'minster' … has much to commend it, for it was used contemporaneously to encompass a very wide diversity of houses: I therefore commend it as the most appropriate word for describing pre-reform religious houses in England' (Foot 1992, 225).

The situation after the monastic reform of the tenth century was somewhat different. The reformed Benedictine houses can be referred to as monasteries in the modern sense (Foot 1992, 225). This can be contrasted with churches in the late Anglo-Saxon period which were not monastic in the strict sense and had pastoral responsibilities over extensive areas. Whilst these have been referred to as 'minsters' in much of the literature - for example the 'secular minsters' identified from Domesday Book by Blair (1985) - the term 'mother church' is preferred here. This follows the usage by Hockey (1982, 1-13) in discussion of the development of local churches and Patrick Hase (1975, 13; 1988; 1994), whose research was centred on south-western Hampshire but included studies of Carisbrooke and its *parochia*.

The term *parochia* originally meant a bishop's diocese and was commonly used in this sense until the mid twelfth-century (Blair 1988a, 1). It is, however, often used in modern literature meaning a more extensive area than a parish, for which a mother church or minster had pastoral responsibility (*e.g.* Croom 1988; Kemp 1988). This usage will be adhered to here, with *parochia* meaning an extensive area encompassing several settlements centred on a mother church, which in the late Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest periods became fragmented with the establishment of local churches.[48]

[48] The term *parochia* here is not intended to anticipate support for the 'minster hypothesis' and its application to Wight, but merely to establish a consistent terminology.

Domesday Book and Secular Minsters

The starting point for the identification of minster and mother churches on the Island is Domesday Book, itemising churches mentioned within its folios. It is inherently likely that churches listed in Domesday were of more importance than those omitted, as these had a greater income. Blair (1985) identified six criteria enabling the identification churches of superior status in Domesday Book. These will be applied to the Island, even though this contemporary record of churches is not comprehensive. Blair terms such churches 'secular minsters',[49] being collegiate mother churches, staffed by clerics having pastoral responsibilities. Blair's criteria for these identifications are as follows, although only the first of these provides 'explicit evidence for collegiate life' (Blair 1985, 106):

(i) References to groups of *clerici, presbyteri* or *canonici*, where there is a fair presumption that they are resident …. Pairs of priests often occur and are accepted here, though the status of some such cases is doubtful.
(ii) Endowments of at least one hide or carucate.
(iii) Tenure of the church or its land separately from the royal manor, especially if the tenant is a royal clerk or other named ecclesiastic.
(iv) Separate valuations of churches and surveys of their assets
(v) Miscellaneous marks of status, including named dedications, eleemosynary [charitable] exemptions from geld, and (very occasionally) references to church-scot or rights over neighbouring churches or chapels.
(vi) Just under half of the greater Domesday churches are attached to royal demesne, and about a fifth to bishop's manors. Royal or episcopal ownership has not been used as a ground for inclusion, but has been held in favour of some doubtful cases (Blair 1985, 106).

Few of these criteria are relevant to the information about Island churches:

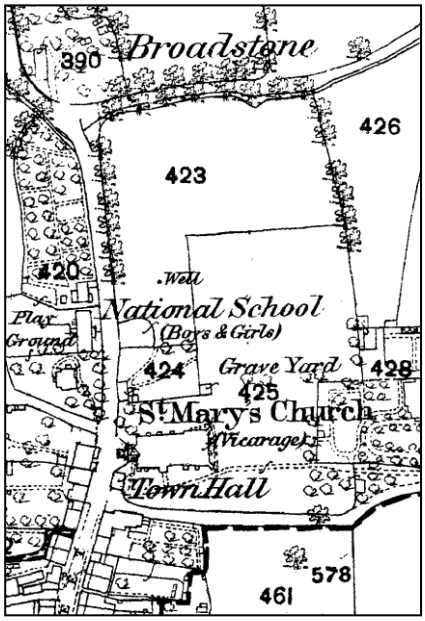
(i) Although there is later evidence for more than one priest at Carisbrooke, there is only mention of 'the priest' in Domesday entry for Bowcombe (52).[50]

(ii) None of the Domesday churches had an endowment of one hide or more. Arreton had one virgate (quarter of a hide) and an acre of meadow, Bowcombe one virgate, Calbourne half a hide, and the putative Domesday church of Freshwater three virgates (39v, 52, 52v).

[49] Whilst not consistent with the terminology used in this thesis, Blair's term 'secular minsters' will be used here.
[50] A study of the priests of Domesday Book in the western Midlands suggests the recording of individual priests was restricted to superior churches and that these priests had other clerics working under them (Bassett 2015, 216).

(iii) Three churches were held separately from royal manors. This may not be of any great significance regarding Blair's criteria, as these, Arreton, Bowcombe and Freshwater, had been granted to Lyre by fitzOsbern. Also, Calbourne had a church with half a hide within Winchester's estate, which was held by an individual, Mauger, but there is no indication whether he was a priest (52v).
(vi) Relationships to royal demesne can be summarised: Arreton and Bowcombe had been held by King Edward, Bowcombe having 'belonged to King Edward's farm' (52v). Arreton, Bowcombe and Freshwater were held by the king in 1086, with the 15 hides (TRE) of Freshwater having been held by Earl Tostig, in 1086 in the crown's demesne (52).

Identification of 'secular minsters' clearly requires supplementing from other sources. One approach is to examine the topography of church sites using later evidence to identify possible 'minster' enclosures, which has not previously been undertaken. All parish church and medieval parochial chapel locations were examined using the 1862/3 Ordnance Survey 25-inch map. These maps were compared with the unpublished1793/4 Ordnance Survey 6-inch maps. This survey depicts churchyard boundaries with a red line. Sites identified as putative 'minster' enclosures are Carisbrooke 3.78ha, Brading 2.22ha, Calbourne 1.12ha, Freshwater 0.6ha and Godshill 1.68ha (Map 5.3). In all cases churchyards mapped in 1793/4 formed only a small proportion of each possible enclosure.



Map 5.3: The putative minster enclosure at Brading as depicted on the Ordnance Survey 25-inch map of 1862/3

There is confirmatory documentary evidence for the existence of a substantial minster enclosure at Carisbrooke, which will be examined in the Carisbrooke case study (Chapter 6; Map 6.1). Brading's enclosure is bounded by roads on three sides, one of which, to the north, is Vicarage Lane (Map 5.3). The triangular enclosure at Calbourne is bounded on the western side by a road and on eastern side by a sunken lane, now a footpath. It is possible that this enclosure was also the site of the bishop of Winchester's manorial centre before the

provision of Swainston manor house on the eastern parish boundary in the twelfth century. The possible enclosures at Brading [51] and Freshwater are both rectilinear in plan so are compatible with minster enclosures mapped by Teresa Hall (2000, figs 49, 50) in Dorset. Godshill can be dismissed as a 'minster enclosure'. The churchyard forms the relatively flat top of a prominent hill, with surrounding steep slopes.

Such evidence for the identification of possible minster enclosures is circumstantial, except in the case of Carisbrooke. What is needed is a more rigorous approach, using various evidence strands. One such strategy was developed in a Dorset study which will be applied here.

Identifying Minsters: A Quantitative Approach

Hall (2000) used a statistical approach to identify minster churches in Dorset, due to the paucity of relevant written sources documenting pre-Conquest minsters there. Recognising that 'the possession of a single characteristic [of minster status] may have little significance: it is only when many characteristics occur together that higher status is implied' (Hall 2000, 4), she devised a scoring system with various indicators under literary, economic and physical characteristics headings, combining pre-Conquest with later evidence (Hall 2000, 4-7; Table 5.2 below). Each characteristic was given a numerical score, the scores weighted according to their relative importance, scores being added up providing a figure for each church.[52] Thirty-seven churches were identified with a score of ten or more, the maximum at Wimborne being 62. Scores were ranked and divided into two groups, 20 or more identified as minsters, 10 to 19 classified as possible minsters (Hall 2000, table 3).

This lack of early literary evidence for the existence of minster churches is also true for the Island, so Hall's quantitative approach was adapted for identification of such churches (Margham 2016a, 55). The only difference between Hall's approach and the one presented here is that Hall's 'pre-Conquest church reference' was replaced

[51] A bronze casting, once gilded, with late eighth-century interlace was found in the Hardingshute area, approximately 1.5km north-west of Brading church. This appears to have been part of crozier 'with an ecclesiastical or at least a ceremonial function' (Youngs 1999; Loader, pers. comm.).
[52] Scores range from 10 (religious community before 950) to 1 (length of nave 50ft plus; Roman remains or site).

with ‘church reference pre-1071’, thus including churches ‘given’ to Lyre by fitzOsbern which almost certainly existed by 1066. This means information from Wight is not entirely comparable with Hall’s tabulation. However, given the evidence presented above for the validity of the identification of the Lyre churches from later documentary sources and their implied existence by the mid-eleventh century, it is internally consistent for the corpus of Island churches.

This quantitative approach was applied to medieval churches and parochial chapels aiding the identification of minsters/mother churches (Appendix 5.2).[53] The table below extracts and ranks this information, using Hall’s criteria of scores of 10 or more to identifying high-status churches.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	total
Carisbrooke	-	7	-	3	-	-	5	3	5	4	-	-	5	-	-	1	1	34
Arreton	-	-	-	3	-	-	5	3	5	1	-	-	5	-	3	-	-	25
Freshwater	-	-	-	3	-	-	5	-	5	1	-	-	3	-	3	-		20
Newchurch	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	?	-	1	-	17
Brading	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5	2	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	16
Calbourne	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	1	-	-	5	?	?	-	-	16
Whippingham	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	5	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	15
Shalfleet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	11
Godshill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	11

Literary
1 Religious community before 950
2 Non-regular community 950-1150
3 Pre-conquest royal burial
4 Church reference pre 1071
5 Place-name in minster or church
6 Saint’s resting place
Economic
7 Domesday secular minster (after Blair)
8 Royal / ecclesiastical ownership TRE
9 Church value 1291: £10-20; £20+
10 Dependent chapels
11 Pensions from other churches (not chapels)
12 Receipt of churchscot
Physical
13 Size of parish: 3-5000a; 5000a+ (1801)
14 Cruciform church, pre-12C evidence
15 Saxon architectural remains
16 Length of nave, 50ft+
17 Roman remains or site

Table 5.2: Isle of Wight churches with a score of 10 or more using criteria adapted from Hall (2000, table 3) to identify superior churches

[53] This quantitative approach has proved valuable in analysing information from the Island, enabling judgements to be made about the relative status of churches in the data set, and facilitates some comparisons with Dorset churches.

This identifies nine churches as certain or possible minsters/mother churches from a data set of 30. Churches with the highest scores are Carisbrooke and Arreton, followed by Freshwater, all having indications of possible 'secular minster' status using Blair's (1985) criteria. Newchurch is a place-name first recorded in Henry II's charter confirming Lyre's possessions in 1155x1158 (Hockey 1981a, no. 11). The place-name may reference church rebuilding rather than a new foundation (Gelling 1981, 8) although a site-shift is possible (Morris 1985, 58). Brading church was not mentioned in Domesday Book, neither was it a church given to Lyre. A superior church could exist without documentation in 1086, such as the Lyre churches of Godshill, Newchurch and Whippingham. The site of Brading church was probably within one of the two Whitefield manors in 1086, both of which were held by William fitzStur, rather than the diminutive manor of Brading of less than a virgate which was apparently further south (Page 1912, 164; Chapter 7). The origin and development of Brading church will be discussed in Chapter 7. Calbourne was at the centre of the extensive estate belonging to Winchester, an ecclesiastical estate which may have originated as early as the late seventh century as we have seen (Chapter 3, p.46). It is probably significant that Whippingham is included amongst this list of superior churches; not only originating before 1071, but three items of eleventh-century stone sculpture have been identified there. A similar observation can be made regarding Godshill, although identification of its late Anglo-Saxon sculpture is tentative. The development of Shalfleet church will be addressed Chapter 6.

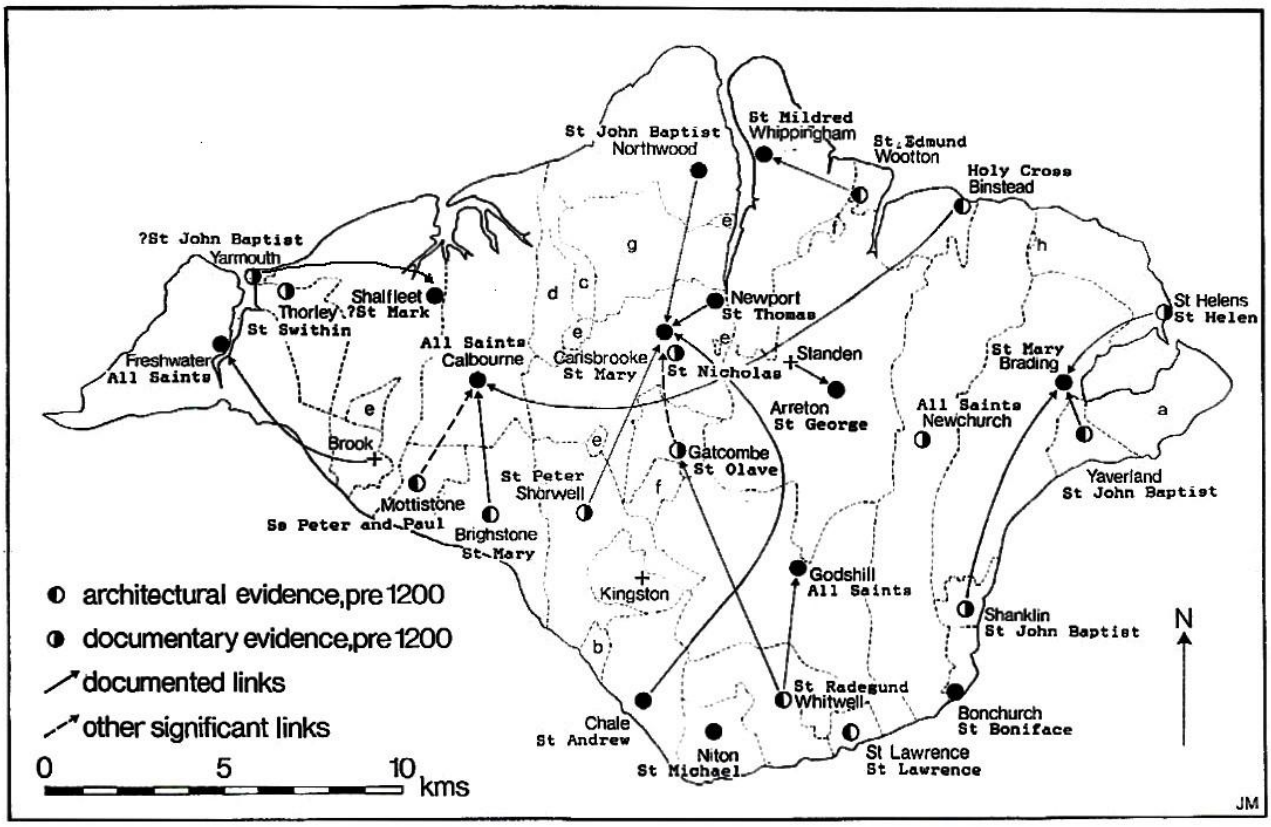
These nine churches can be compared with their values in the 1291 taxation of Pope Nicholas IV which was included in Hall's analysis. All of these churches were ranked within the first ten most valuable at this date (Appendix 5.3; Astle *et al.* 1802), suggesting continuity of relative status over several centuries.

Local Churches

Architectural and Documentary Evidence

This survey of local church development will be concerned with all those having a score of less than 10 in Appendix 5.3. The evidence for the existence of these churches before *c.*1200 will be briefly reviewed on a geographical basis,

commencing in the West Wight and progressing eastwards (Map 5.4; Appendix 5.2). More detailed information is presented in Appendix 5.1. Churches and parochial chapels within the case study areas of Carisbrooke, Shalfleet and Brading will be discussed more fully in Chapters 6 and 7.



Map 5.4: Isle of Wight parish boundaries as mapped by Haywood (1781); physical and documentary evidence for churches to *c.*1200, documented links between churches and medieval church dedications (Margham 1997, fig. 1 with addition of link between Shalfleet and Yarmouth churches).

The town of Yarmouth was founded *c.*1170 (Beresford 1967, 445) and the present parish church was in existence by 1193x1208 (Bearman 1994, no. 120). The record of a now lost Romanesque carving of a human head formerly built into a roadside wall which 'resembled work of the 1130s and 1140s at the cathedrals of Lincoln and Old Sarum' raises the possibility of there being a church pre-dating the town, but the apparent fineness of the carving suggests otherwise. Renn (1969, 269-70) suggested that it may have arrived as building material for the Henrician Yarmouth Castle, so apparently is not not evidence for a church pre-dating the town's

foundation. Neighbouring Thorley existed by 1155, evidenced by a confirmation of its grant to Christchurch's canons (Bearman 1994, no. 34). Yarmouth/Thorley parish boundary's configuration suggests that diminutive Yarmouth parish was formerly part of a larger unit. The reference to a pension of 13s 4d paid by the church of Yarmouth to Shalfleet in 1305 (Worsley 1781 appendix LXXXI) implies that both Yarmouth and Thorley were daughter churches of Shalfleet. Mottistone has a modified twelfth-century font, reused Romanesque architectural sculpture incorporated into the late medieval side chapel (Margham 2017k; Appendix 5.1), and the nave formerly had a round-headed western doorway (Stone 1891, II, 41). It may be significant in terms of a possible former connection with Winchester that Mottistone's dedication to St Peter and St Paul is shared with one of those of the Cathedral (Cahill 1980, 24). However, the site of Mottistone church lies beyond the reconstructed bounds of the bishop of Winchester's Calbourne estate (Margham 2006, fig. 4). The earliest datable fabric at nearby Brighstone, which was within the Calbourne estate, is the north aisle arcade dated as late twelfth century (Fig. 5.11; Margham 2015c). To the west of the Medina estuary, the parochial chapel of Northwood was first documented in 1181x1185 (Hockey 1981a, n. 43) and has late twelfth-century fabric (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 197). It is possible that the unadorned circular font recovered from the churchyard predates this fabric (Margham 2017g). The chapel of St Nicholas within Carisbrooke Castle was founded between 1066 and 1086 as we have seen (52v). The town of Newport was founded in the later twelfth century (Beresford 1967, 444) and the chapel of St Thomas there was first documented *c.*1200 (Hockey 1981a, no. 11). This building included Transitional Norman arcades until its complete rebuilding in the mid-nineteenth century (Stone 1891, II, plate XCIV). Along with Northwood, the chapel of Shorwell was first documented 1181x1185 (Hockey 1981a, no. 43). Gatcombe retains a grotesque Romanesque corbel reset over the porch (Fig. 5.12; Thompson 2008). Gatcombe's relationship with Whitwell church, which has twelfth-century fabric, implies its origin in or before the twelfth century (see Chapter 6):[54] Whitwell was endowed so that the rector of Gatcombe should say mass there and maintain the chancel (Hockey 1982, 6).

[54] Gatcombe's dedication to St Olave may suggest its origin within the eleventh century, even before the Conquest. This possibility will be explored in Chapter 6.





Fig. 5.11: Brighstone church from the north as depicted by Tomkins (1796) showing the late twelfth-century arcade before it was reopened

Fig. 5.12: The reset Romanesque corbel at Gatcombe

The foundation of St Andrew's Chale is dated very precisely as it was dedicated on 1st December 1114 when an agreement was made regarding its relationship with the mother church of Carisbrooke (Hase 1988, 61). The round-headed archway on the south side of the chancel may have formed part of its original fabric whilst the eastern-most bay of the south aisle was constructed is late twelfth-century (Margham 2017d). Niton was one of the seven churches granted to Lyre between 1067 and 1071 (Hockey 1981a, no. 4). The earliest datable fabric is the Transitional Norman north arcade. The font, as we have seen, may predate the late twelfth century (Margham 2017f).



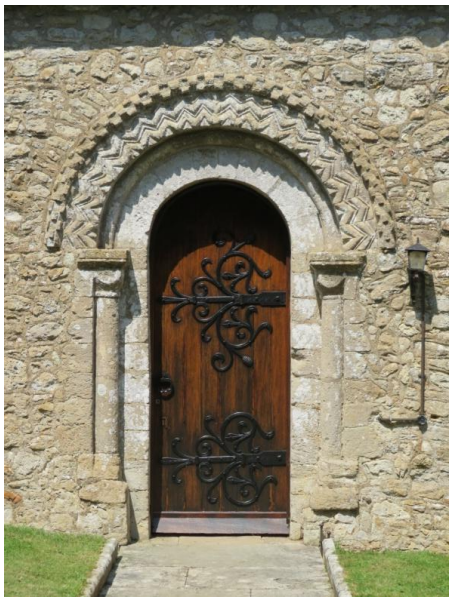


Fig. 5.13: The remnant of Whitwell's Romanesque chancel arch

Fig. 5.14: The south doorway at Wootton church

St Radegund's, Whitwell retains a section of chevron-moulded chancel arch along with its northern jamb (Fig. 5.13). The late twelfth-century nave arcade provides access to St Mary's chapel of ease for Godshill parish (Margham 2017i). A twelfth-century date is suggested for St Lawrence's nave walls although the earliest datable feature was an early thirteenth-century lancet existing until *c.*1830 (Stone 1891, I, 23). It is possible that the nave retains earlier fabric. The megalithic western quoins and relatively thin walls (Appendix 5.1) suggest construction in or before the early twelfth century. The earliest datable fabric at Wootton, the south doorway and the capitals of St Edmund's chapel, suggest construction in the late twelfth century (Fig. 5.14; Margham 2016h). Oglander claimed that '*This church was bwylt by Waltor de Insula in ye first yere of William ye 2nd, Anno Dom. 1087, according to an owld recorde that I haue sene*' (Long 1888, 197). Worsley (1781, 227) recorded a tradition that Wootton's first church was destroyed by fire and that the present church was built on the same site. If there is any substance to this, there may have been a timber predecessor to the present building. Nearby Binstead retains some of its herringbone fabric which may indicate construction not long after the Conquest (Fig. 5.15; Gethyn-Jones 1979, 5). Various items of Romanesque architectural sculpture are built into the mid-nineteenth century fabric, reset in the churchyard south wall, or are known from antiquarian records (Margham 2016c; Stone 1891, I, 9). The church at Bonchurch alluded to by its Domesday place-name has a Romanesque south doorway (Fig. 5.16; Margham 2016d) which may have been modified or reset in an earlier structure of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. The only extant fabric at St Helens church is part of the early thirteenth-century tower (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 246), the rest being lost to coastal erosion. The Cluniac religious house of St Helens, which originated between 1090 and 1155 (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 98), is shown by a 1581 record to have adjoined the church (IWCRO STH/66). The fabric at Yaverland is dated by the chevron ornament around the chancel arch. There is a very close parallel with the archway in the north transept of the Augustinian priory church at Portchester Castle which can be dated to between its foundation in 1133 and relocation to Southwick *c.*1144-53 (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967, 328). There is no dateable pre-Gothic fabric at Shanklin, but the chapel's foundation is documented during the episcopate of Henry of Blois at Winchester, *ie.* between 1129 and 1171 (Hockey 1982, 6). A foundation date towards the end of this period can be deduced

from an examination of the charters of the Redvers family (Bearman 1994, 61, no. 109).

There is thus evidence for the existence of 18 local churches by *c.*1200. Seven probably existed by *c.*1150, and a further seven may have done so. In addition to these, two medieval chapel sites were the centre of parishes when mapped in 1862/3. Brook's earliest fabric, before nineteenth-century rebuilding, was probably of the thirteenth century (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 100). Kingston is basically a thirteenth-century structure (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 159). There is no evidence from both of these for existence in the twelfth century, but this remains a possibility. In addition to churches which had parishes defined by maps in the late eighteenth and mid nineteenth century, Wight had a profusion of manorial chapels and oratories recorded from the late thirteenth century onwards and for which there is little or no archaeological evidence (Appendix 5.5). Most of these apparently had no responsibilities beyond manorial households although Standen, within the later parish of Arreton, was first recorded as *Ecclia de Standon* in 1291 (Astle *et al.* 1802, 211). Hockey (1982, 8-9) pointed out that it was 'as well endowed as many of the future parish churches'. The church of Standen may very well have originated by the twelfth century, but there is now no standing fabric at its site at Great East Standen.

Local churches in the Landscape

There is no direct evidence for the existence of any local Island churches before the late eleventh century. The limitations of this evidence is highlighted by research elsewhere in England, where earlier origins of local churches have been examined, raising the distinct possibility of the existence of some local churches on the Island before the Conquest. Evidence from a wider context can also be cited suggesting the possibility of replacement of timber churches with stone.

Evidence from excavation and study of church fabric suggests that from *c.*1050 onwards, new churches were built and older churches were rebuilt in stone (Blair 1987a, 275). Timber church phases were excavated at Rivenhall (Essex), Wharram Percy (Yorkshire East Riding) and Burnham (Lincolnshire) (Blair 2005, 390), and Old Byland (Yorkshire North Riding) had a 'wooden church' in 1086 (Blair 1987b, 67). Blair (2005, 392) pointed out that fragmentary evidence from various excavations

suggests that ‘timber churches … remained the norm in many if not most regions at the Conquest and beyond’. Greensted’s stave-church (Essex), dated dendrochronologically between 1063 and *c.*1100 (Blair 2005, 392) is a unique survivor. The tradition of a church destroyed by fire (Worsley 1781, 227) pre-dating the later twelfth-century church at Wootton on the Island may refer to a timber structure.

Wider documentary evidence also raises the possibility that local churches existed on the Island before documentary and architectural evidence suggests. Wills indicate two trends in the period 970 to 1066. Lands were granted to local churches which were already in existence, and there was a shift in emphasis from priests in minsters or household groups to priests serving individual churches. However, nearly all the surviving wills between 1000 and the Conquest are from East Anglia, so these may be atypical (Blair 2005, 270). It was in this late Anglo-Saxon period that concern was expressed to regulate the provision of local churches, representing a threat to minsters’ finances. Up until then any local churches may not have inconvenienced the minsters; it was only when landholders wanted parochial independence that we hear of laws reinforcing rights of mother churches (Blair 1988a, 11; 1988b, 57). King Edgar’s law code (959x963) stated that tithe payment was to be made to the ‘old minster’, but ‘If, however, there is any thegn who has on his bookland a church with which there is a graveyard, he is to pay a third part of his own tithes into this church’ (Whitelock 1955, 395). The code continues making provision for tithes for a church without a graveyard. An idea of the early eleventh-century situation can be gained from Æthelred's 1014 law code. Churches were classified under four headings- cathedrals ('head minsters'), ordinary minsters (mother churches), lesser parochial churches with a graveyard, and 'field churches' which lacked burial grounds (Morris 1989, 129). Churches in the last two categories can be regarded as of proprietary origin, *i.e*. 'private' churches founded by thegns which then aspired to parochial status. By the eleventh century possession of a church was an attribute of thegnly rank, for this, along with a cook-house, a fortified gatehouse and five hides of land defined his status (Williams 1992): possession of one's own church was an aspiration. Provision of churches of proprietary origin was well under way before the Conquest and this process continued into the twelfth century.

Whilst it is possible that some local churches were founded on the Island prior to 1066, evidence presented above is also consistent with foundations after this date. The proprietary church was as much a status symbol in Norman as in Anglo-Saxon society (Blair 1987b, 66). Although there had been few local studies by 1987, 'there are enough explicit references to make it quite clear that new churches continued to be founded in substantial numbers up to the 1140s, often on relatively small subinfeudated lay manors' (Blair 1987a, 271). Hase (1994, 69) observed that the diocese of Winchester local church foundations ended in 1171 with Bishop Henry of Blois' death. Subsequent to this date, only three or four parishes were established in Hampshire until the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Hase 1994, 71), although this would not have included manorial chapels which did not achieve parochial status.

Church Fabric and Ground Plans

The new building or replacement of existing wooden local churches in the late Anglo-Saxon and early- to mid-Norman periods usually involved the construction of simple, single or two celled buildings (Blair 1987b). Many of these consisted of stone fabric classified as period C3 by the Taylors in their corpus of Anglo-Saxon architecture (Taylor and Taylor 1965, xxv). They ascribed a date range of 1050-1100 to these churches, although the date range of 'Anglo-Saxon workmanship' can now be extended beyond 1100 in the light of more recent research, and was part of what Richard Gem (1988) has described as 'the great rebuilding'. These buildings can be seen as forming 'a school of minor churches, inhabiting the hundred years from the second quarter of the eleventh century to the second quarter of the twelfth, which is neither simply "Saxon" nor simply "Norman"' (Fernie 1983, 171). Blair (1987b, 68) pointed out that in the early Norman period in some churches contrasting Anglo-Saxon and Norman building techniques were intermixed, and that 'often we can reasonably deduce that one church was supervised by an English and another by a Norman master-mason'.

The Island local churches having fabric from this 'overlap' period are Binstead, Bonchurch and possibly St Lawrence, Mottistone and Niton. These can be contrasted with those with more mature Romanesque features such as elaborately

decorated doorways and chancel arches, seen at Northwood, Whitwell, Wootton and Yaverland.

Church	Nave dimensions internal	Comments
Binstead	37ft x 21.5ft	contemporary chancel 18ft x 16.5ft
Bonchurch	19.5ft x 12ft	nave subsequently extended westwards and chancel added, evidenced by straight joints
St Lawrence	29ft x 11ft	chancel added in 1842 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 248)
Mottistone	23.5ft x 16ft	
Niton	19ft x 10ft	
Northwood	48ft x 17ft	contemporary Transitional Norman north and south aisles
Whitwell	38ft x 19.5ft	south aisle may be contemporary
Wootton	34ft x 11.5ft	no division between nave and chancel, church extended eastwards in thirteenth century
Yaverland	31ft x 17ft	contemporary chancel 16ft x 15ft

Table 5.3 Nave dimensions of rural local churches: measured from plans and elevations in Stone (1891)

With the exception of Binstead, to be discussed below, this limited sample of church plans of two apparently contrasting dates within the late eleventh and twelfth century suggests that later churches had larger nave areas than earlier churches. With the exception of St Lawrence, with its megalithic quoins and thin walls, and the equally thin walls at Bonchurch, no local churches display features associated with Anglo-Saxon workmanship, so conclusions can only be tentative. It can, however, be suggested that these two apparent 'overlap' churches were originally constructed consisting of one cell only, having chancels added later.

The Development of Churchyards

An aspect of parochial life, and one which was more of an issue for mother churches than provision of local church fonts, was cemetery provision. The establishment of a local church with a cemetery, if unregulated, would have left the mother church without the financial benefits of soul-scot. The foundation of Chale church, with a cemetery, was recorded in 1114. It included the grant of half the sepulture to St Mary's Carisbrooke, with the provision that 'The priest of Chale would do all the duties of the church for the living and the dead' (Hase 1988, 61).

Provision of cemeteries around local churches, like the development of the churches themselves, can be related to the wider English context in the archaeological and documentary record in the late Anglo-Saxon period. An example is the establishment and enclosure of the cemetery at Raunds (Northamptonshire) which can be dated to the early eleventh century, associated with the church's extension (Blair 2005, 391). This was paralleled by a tenth-century erection of a church at Rivenhall (Essex) which was soon followed by rebuilding in stone and enclosure of the site (Gittos 2002, 201-2). This appears to be broadly contemporary with the enclosure of pre-existing cemeteries, where the newly-established boundary encompassed a significantly smaller area than the distribution of burials. There are further examples at Addingham (Yorkshire West Riding) and Thornton Steward (Yorkshire North Riding), although the chronology of this phenomenon is uncertain (Hadley 2001, 37; Pickles 2018, 294). This process may explain the existence of a mid-Saxon cemetery at Shalfleet beyond the bounds of the present churchyard (Chapter 6, p.172).

The law codes of Edgar and Æthelstan II both refer to local churches with and without cemeteries (Whitelock 1955, 395, 412). Local church cemeteries would need consecrating, presumably as Chale's was at the time of the agreement with Carisbrooke. This tradition of consecrating churchyards was well-established in England by the late tenth century, evidenced by the survival of the earliest documentary sources (Gittos 2002, 196). Helen Gittos (2002, 204) pointed out that churches with no burial rights may never have been enclosed. This appears to have been the case with Shanklin, Isle of Wight, which is shown as unenclosed and not having a churchyard on the 1793/4 six-inch survey (Map 5.5), but had an enclosed churchyard shown on the 1862/3 map. Apart from Chale, ten local churches have cemeteries whose existence can be inferred from sepulture payment recorded in the *Inquisitiones Nonarum* of 1340 (Vanderzee 1807, 115-17). There is no evidence for the date of origin of these ten cemeteries, although it is likely that some existed by the late twelfth century.

The newly-founded church at Chale was served by its own priest. This was not necessarily so for all local churches in their early years, even for churches with cemeteries. This possibility for the Island is raised by documentary evidence for the origin of Milford church within Christchurch's *parochia* (Hampshire). This was

founded by a certain Alvric between 1079 and 1087. The agreement made with Christchurch was that the dean was to send out a priest to say mass who was to be fed by Alvric (Hase 1988, 54). The agreement also stated that 'only Alvric's slaves and cottars should be buried there, and that they should pay 4d as sepulture' (Hase 1988, 60). This suggests the possibility that some of Island local church burial grounds which were in existence by 1340 originated as resting places of the lower stratum of society only, with high-status individuals being interred at the mother church.

Proprietary Churches

The Proprietary Origins of Churches

The documented origin of Chale church is a fine example of proprietary church foundation, in this case by Hugh Gernon of Chale manor (Hase 1988, 61). Hockey (1982, 3) has commented that

> The real beginning of the English parochial system is always seen in the establishment of rural chapels by the lords of the manors, normally to serve as private chapels for themselves and their family with the people of the manor. The influence of such a church would naturally be limited by the boundaries of the manor itself. It is here that we have to seek the origin of most of the smaller parishes of the Island.

The proprietary origin of all local churches cannot, however, be assumed. Blair (2005, 372) has reminded us not to be too dogmatic about the foundation of churches by lords or by peasants. The latter is a possibility for some Island churches. A further caveat for the proprietary origin of all local churches is the assumption that it is not always so that a church adjoining a manor house was the secondary element in this pairing (Blair 2005, 382). However, a large proportion of local churches on the Isle of Wight would appear to have been of proprietary origin. Hockey (1984, 4) pointed out that 'for a considerable number of the daughter-churches we can recover the names of the local lords who founded them and normally watched over the interests of their foundations' and listed nine such churches and their associated families.

Whilst documentary evidence for Island proprietary churches all dates from the post-Conquest period, Niton almost certainly originated before 1066 and on architectural

grounds St Lawrence is a distinct possibility. We have already seen that in the laws of Edgar and Æthelred II the existence of local churches was acknowledged and the ownership of five hides of land, a church and various other possessions entitled an individual to the status of a thegn before the Conquest (Williams 1992). Domesday Book records hundreds of instances of churches as manorial assets, mentioned alongside meadows, woods and mills, and these must be proprietary churches (Blair 2005, 385). After the Conquest there is evidence for the creation of such churches in landholdings smaller than five hides: 'This must have been stimulated by the post-Conquest loosening of tithe obligations to old minsters' (Blair 2005, 392). This was perceived as a problem by the English Church, for in 1102 a council forbade the foundation of new churches without sufficient support for church and priest 'which to one contemporary meant at least a ploughland' (Blair 2005, 408). St Lawrence, one of the smallest Island parishes consisting of 328 acres, cannot be identified in Domesday Book, but was poorly endowed with lands, mainly within the Undercliff with some downland above. Other local churches, either already existing in the late eleventh century or founded in the twelfth century, where the hidage in 1066 and the number of ploughlands in 1086 were recorded, can be itemised. This gives an impression of the resources which local churches could draw upon.[55] Each of these examples was endowed with less than five hides but largely with several ploughlands:

Domesday Manor	**Parish acreage**	***TRE hides***	***TRW ploughlands***
Gatcombe (52v)	1,401	4½	4½
Shanklin (53-53v)	675	4½	6
Thorley (53v)	1,582	4 1v	7
Wootton (40)	1,288	1	none recorded

Table 5.4: Local church parish acreages (Page 1912) with Domesday hidages and ploughlands for these areas. Wootton's acreage does not include detached portions in the Chillerton area.

Papal Reform- from Proprietors to Patrons

The term 'proprietary church' emphasises the role of local churches being part of the assets of a land holding and the personal property of the landholder. There was a gradual shift from ownership of churches to manorial lords becoming church patrons.

[55] Parish acreages from Page (1912), *TRE* hidage and *TRW* ploughlands from Williams and Erskine (1989).

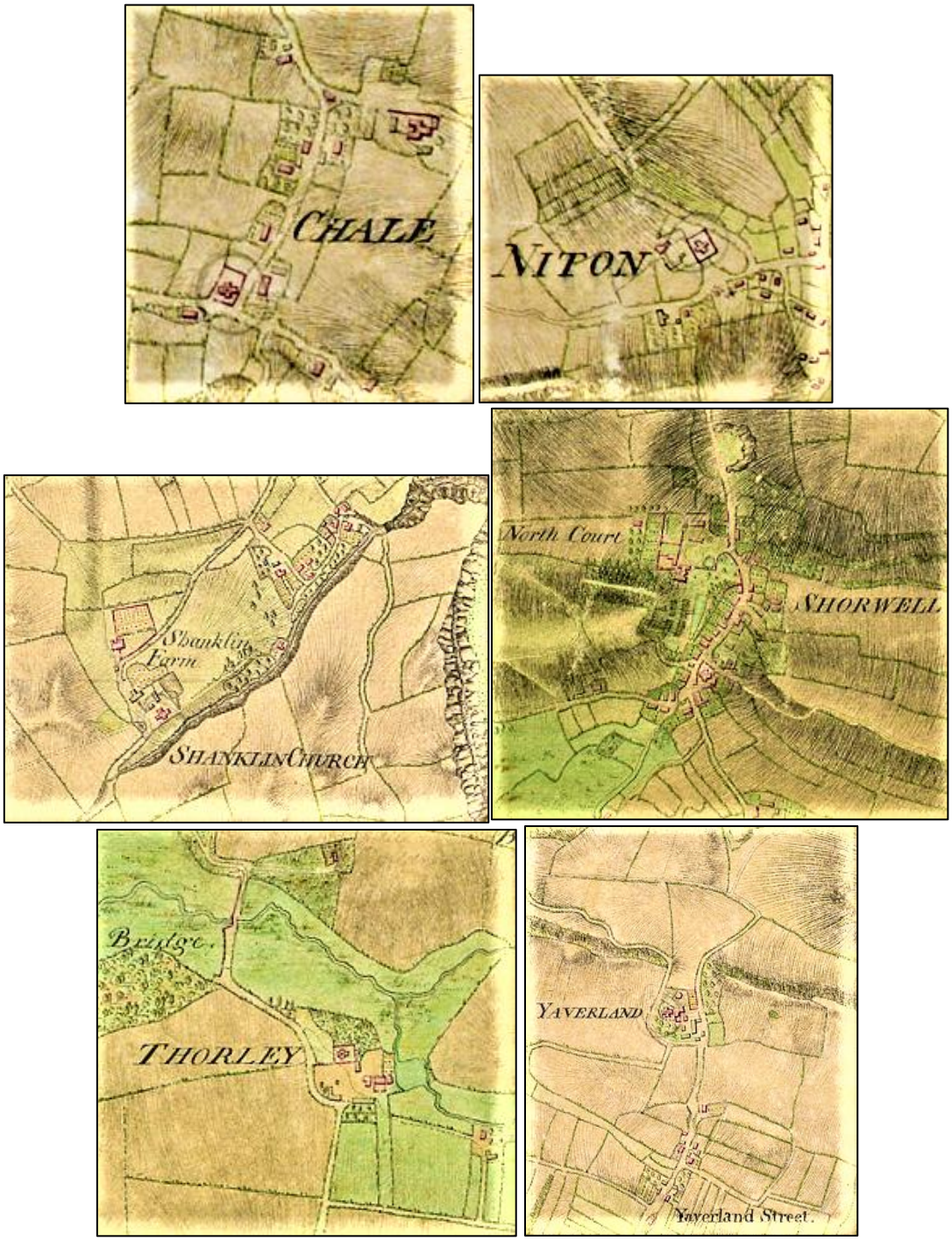
In the eleventh century the papacy was concerned about lay ownership of churches. A papal canon of Nicholas II at Easter 1059 stated that no cleric or priest was to receive a church from a layman, regardless of a payment being made (Tellenbach 1993, 286). This prohibition was subsequently repeated, but 'It is quite a different question if we ask how far these decrees were observed in practice' (Tellenbach 1993, 287). A canon of Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095 stated that 'No altars or tithes and above all no churches may remain in lay hands. Those who own them are to be warned and implored to give them up' under threat of excommunication (Tellenbach 1993, 289). However, large numbers of churches remained in lay hands into the twelfth century. Change did, however, come: 'In the end it was not ownership which came to be seen as the basis of the lay proprietor's rights but his services as founder, donor, and protector', with the transformation from owners to patrons being completed in the twelfth century (Tellenbach 1993, 290). By 1215 the Church 'regarded the owners of churches as "patrons"… and forbade them to interfere with their churches' property', although retaining the choosing of clerics (Orme 2021, 23). It is possible that the decline of the proprietor and the rise of the patron of local churches can be seen in the landscape, in the relationship between manorial centres and the location of the church.[56]

Local Churches, Manorial Sites and Enclosures

The Isle of Wight has thirteen local churches which are within 350 metres of a known manorial centre that probably existed in 1086 (Appendix 5.4; Map 5.5). Of these, nine adjoin manorial sites, eight of which have relatively well-defined boundaries, as indicated on the 1793/4 and 1862/3 six-inch maps. The ninth is Gatcombe, where presumably such boundaries were removed during post-medieval landscaping around Gatcombe House. Yaverland is the only instance of a local church within a distinct manorial enclosure, which may be explained by the record of Yaverland having been an estate centre *c.*700 (Chapter 3, p.45; ECW1). The other well-defined manorial enclosures have churches on or just beyond their peripheries, and at Mottistone, on the opposite side of the road. These spatial relationships strongly suggest that these churches were of proprietary origin. Blair (2005, 389) has

[56] The possibility of an increased distance between manorial centres and the location of churches founded after the Norman Conquest was discussed after the Society for Church Archaeology annual lecture delivered by Carenza Lewis on 26th September 2020.

commented on this sort of spatial relationship, saying that such churches ‘had to be accessible not only to inhabitants of the manor house, but also to people from outside it whose presence in the domestic zone was not necessarily expected or welcomed’. The church at Chale is 350 metres to the south-west of Chale Farm, the



Map 5.5: Examples of relationships between manorial centres and local churches in 1793/4 (not to scale). Niton, Shanklin, Thorley and Yaverland are in close proximity; Chale Farm is 350m to the north-east of the church, and Northcourt is 200m to the north-west of Shorwell church (Appendix 5.4).

probable Domesday manorial site. This raises the possibility that other churches such as Shorwell and Brook, both within 350 metres of their presumed Domesday manorial centres, also had a proprietary origin. It also suggests that churches or chapels may have been founded further away from manorial centres over time which could be partially explained by the move towards abolition of lay church ownership driven by the papacy and landholders becoming patrons rather than proprietors.[57]

This hypothesis is difficult to prove as the origin date of most local churches is unknown. With the exceptions of Chale and Shanklin there is no documentation contemporary with church foundation, the replacement of timber structures with more permanent stone buildings is likely in some instances, and dating of church fabric is very imprecise in most cases. However, some observations can be made. Niton church can be shown to have existed by 1071, and is just beyond the periphery of Niton Farm's site, the probable Domesday manorial centre. The Domesday place-name was *Neeton* 'the new *tūn'* (Mills 1996, 76). It is possible that the church originated with Niton's development in the late Anglo-Saxon period. St Andrew's Chale being 350 metres from Chale Farm seems located for the benefit of local inhabitants rather than just for the convenience of the founder, implied in the foundation document: 'Hugh Gernun said that the men of his fee were not parishioners either of the church at Carisbrooke or of anywhere else but that, by ancient custom, alive could go to whatever church they wished, and dead they could go wherever they wished for burial' (Hase 1988, 61). The origin of only two other churches can be dated with any precision, both to the mid-twelfth century: Shanklin and Yaverland (Margham 2018a, 7). Neither accord with this hypothesis, with Shanklin just to the south of the manorial centre of Shanklin farm and Yaverland in close proximity to the manor house within the manorial enclosure (Fig. 5.15). The increasing distance of new local church sites from pre-existing manorial centres remains a possibility in some instances, but one which cannot be resolved at present.

[57] See footnote 56 above. A related phenomenon is 'a shift from the twelfth century whereby manorial sites became much more likely to be built more than half a kilometre from the main settlement', attributed to lord's greater need of privacy (Kilby 2020, citing Cambell 2013, 279-80).



Fig. 5.15: Yaverland church and manor house from the south-west

Non-Proprietary Local Churches

No local churches founded by the peasantry have been identified on the Island. However, there are two, possibly three, instances which would appear not to have proprietary origins. Bonchurch can plausibly be seen as an 'early' foundation, originating before the development of local churches from the late Anglo-Saxon period onwards, whereas Binstead church is arguably a late eleventh-century church founded by the bishop of Winchester for a specific purpose. The tradition recorded by Oglander of St Wilfrid founding St Helens church is a further possibility (Long 1888, 187).

Bonchurch - an early church site?



A review of the place-name, first recorded as *Bonecerce* in 1086 (53), concluded that there was no reason to reject its traditional etymology 'even though there are relatively minor uncertainties about its morphology' (Coates 1991-2, 45). The etymology published by Grundy (1921, 119), was the first element of the name being from St Boniface. Grundy also cited support for this from local folklorists.

Fig. 5.16: The south doorway at Bonchurch

The second element is Old English *cirice* ‘church’. The dedication was recorded as *St Boniface alias Bonchurch* in 1528 (Mills 1996, 31). This raises the possibility that the church originated in the eighth century, rather than being a later Anglo-Saxon foundation, although it is possible that the connection with St Boniface may be due to later relic acquisition. The relatively small parish of 565 acres (Page 1912, 155) is separated from the parish of Shanklin, a daughter church of Brading, by a substantial sunken way and the configuration of parish boundaries would suggest that if it was a daughter of a superior church then this would have been Newchurch. However, it is possible that Bonchurch was outside of any relationship with a superior church. The only documented link that it had with another church was with neighbouring Shanklin, which Worsley (1781, 202) recorded as ‘properly a chapel annexed to the Rectory of Bonchurch: it was formerly taken out of the parish of Brading where the inhabitants still bury their dead’. The connection between Bonchurch and Shanklin may not have been of any great antiquity when Worsley was writing.

Binstead - a special case?



Fig. 5.17: Binstead’s chancel from the south showing the herringbone fabric

The architectural evidence from Binstead of herringbone fabric in the chancel and the similar fabric surviving the rebuilding of the nave in the lower courses of the south wall suggests a date of construction in the late eleventh century (Appendix 5.1). The former quarrying of Quarr stone in the area to the south of the church may very well provide a context for the church’s construction. William II (1087-1100) granted land to Winchester cathedral to provide stone for its rebuilding, which commenced in 1079 (Fernie 2000, 119):

> half a hide of land in the Isle of Wight for the building of his church [Winchester Cathedral], just as my father [William the Conqueror] at his death [1087] had granted it to him for the good of his soul. Reserving my rents, I give him license to dig for stone not only there but also throughout my land on the island, in open country, and in woodland, that is if the woodland is so small that the horns

> of a stag can be seen going through it (Galbraith 1920, quoted by Tatton-Brown 1990, 72).

It is possible that Binstead church was founded to serve a community of quarry workers. Binstead retained a connection with Winchester through payment of a pension of two shillings a year to the sacrist of St Swithin's, Winchester (Hockey 1982, 8) and the rector of Calbourne, the former Winchester estate, claimed archidiaconal rights over Binstead (Worsley 1781, 226).

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that there is evidence for twelve churches on the Island by 1100. The application and adaptation of a statistical technique developed for Dorset has enables identification of nine superior churches. Putative 'minster enclosures' have been identified surrounding four of these, and some superior churches can be seen as 'secular minsters' from Domesday Book evidence. Wight had at least 18 local churches by *c.*1200, seven of which probably existed by *c.*1150 along with seven further possibilities. Many local churches appear to have a proprietary origin, although exceptions can be suggested. A model which may explain the development of local churches and their relationship to superior churches is the 'minster hypothesis'. This, and its relevance to the Island, will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter Six

The ‘Minster Hypothesis’ and the Isle of Wight

Introduction

The ‘minster hypothesis’ will be defined and previous debate about its validity will be critiqued. Two case studies will be presented, investigating the application of the ‘minster hypothesis’ to blocks of land with ecclesiastical centres at Carisbrooke and Shalfleet. The former will be shown to accord with the model whilst the latter is less certain.

The Hypothesis

The ‘minster hypothesis’ was developed by landscape historians in the 1970s and 1980s to explain the pastoral organisation of the Anglo-Saxon Church. It initially made a connection between two documented phenomena: the development of ‘minsters’ (*monasteria*) in the seventh and eighth centuries, and links between high-status churches and local churches apparent in later, largely post-Conquest sources. Accordingly ‘this model became the orthodox interpretation of the development of the parish - a system of monasteries and minsters providing pastoral care, which had subsequently declined under the pressure of local church foundation and monastic reform’ (Pickles 2018, 4-5). The origins of the hypothesis is found in a publication by William Page (1915), who set out a general model for the Church in Anglo-Saxon England (Pickles 2018, 4). This greatly influenced subsequent work, for example that by Patrick Hase (1975; 1988) on Hampshire, which argued for the ‘minsters’ of the early years of Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England becoming the mother churches of the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. The hypothesis was first summarised by John Blair (1985), stating that in the seventh and early eighth centuries kings created a system of religious communities to facilitate pastoral care (Pickles 2018, 7-8). The model became more nuanced with the publication of *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Blair and Sharpe 1992). This adaptation took into account local studies such as that by Patrick Sims-Williams in Worcestershire (1990, 115, 144-76) and the reservations published by Catherine Cubitt (1992, 200-11) in the *Pastoral Care* volume. It was acknowledged that superior churches were not necessarily founded at an early date,

with a more extended period of origin of a network of religious communities being envisaged, between the seventh and tenth centuries. It was also accepted that their primary function was not pastoral care provision, instead this being function which developed over time (Blair and Sharpe 1992, 1, 6). A more recent brief summary of the 'Minster Hypothesis' by Foot (2006, 228) succinctly summarised the later phase of the perceived process: 'From the tenth century onwards, those areas of pastoral responsibilities were fragmented as the parish system began to develop, although minsters retained some traces of their earlier position and original territory'. Foot (2006, 288) also pointed out that the hypothesis depends on assumptions about earlier ecclesiastical structures derived from the much later evidence, such as parish boundaries. The hypothesis had been subject to criticism by the time Foot was writing her *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England* (2006), and this will now be examined.

The Debate

The 'Minster Hypothesis' was subject to debate, most notably in a series of three papers in the journal *Early Medieval Europe* in 1995 and 1996. The hypothesis was criticised by Eric Cambridge and David Rollason (1995). Blair (1995) replied to their argument, pointing out that they presented a critique based on a simple and rigid version of the 'minster model' (Blair 1995, 194), rather than the more mature version. The third contribution was a case-study of parochial arrangements in Yorkshire by David Palliser (1996) which largely supported the validity of the model advocated by Blair. The following issues formed the debate's basis:

The existence of early non-monastic churches and single priest churches

Cambridge and Rollason (1995, 89-90) pointed out that there are contemporary sources, including the writings of Bede, indicating the presence of non-monastic churches, implying that church organisation was more diverse than the hypothesis suggests. Some of these churches, namely *oratorium*, may have been baptismal churches. They questioned the premise that churches served by a single priest, rather than a group of clerics based at a 'minster', did not exist or were rare prior to the tenth century (Cambridge and Rollason 1995, 90-1). Blair (1995, 195-6)

acknowledged that it cannot be proven that there were no independent small churches in the pre-Viking era, but the lack of references to them and the impression that all priests lived in communities strongly suggest that this was so.

The pastoral function of early church sites

Cambridge and Rollason (1995, 93-4) questioned the presumption that a pastoral function, such as that claimed for Breedon on the Hill (Leicestershire), was the norm in the pre-Viking period. Although it can be argued that some early *monasteria* were in missionary situations as evidenced by Bede, this has to be seen in the context of his own perceptions such as Cuthbert's early pastoral activities. Sims-Williams' (1990, 172, 395) research on the diocese of Worcester was cited to argue that systematic pastoral provision developed gradually from *monasteria* originally founded for other reasons. The perceived pastoral function from the time of foundation of *monasteria* was seen as derived from assumed continuity from such institutions to later parish churches (Cambridge and Rollason 1995, 95). Blair acknowledged that previous publications, including his own (Blair 1988b, 37-8), had overemphasised the pastoral motive for monastic foundations, 'whereas it must often have been a secondary or even incidental one' (Blair 1995, 207). Palliser (1996) concluded that in the cases of Beverley, Ripon and elsewhere, the most likely explanation regarding parochial arrangements is survival of early pastoral care provision, based upon head minsters before the parochial system was fully developed. Palliser (1996, 214) pointed out that it is unsurprising that there is often a lack of firm dating and conclusive documentary backing for this process, and quoted Blair's (1995, 200-1) observation that 'before the tenth century we can count ourselves lucky to find even a major church mentioned in any document at all'. He envisaged that some minsters with a pastoral function were created by kings in the tenth century, 'but it is going much too far to deny any role for minsters as centres of pastoral care before the Scandinavian invasions' (Palliser 1996, 214).

The role of bishops in pastoral care

Cambridge and Rollason (1995, 92-3) saw pastoral care not as the prerogative of early monasteries, but as primarily the responsibility of bishops, recognised by

Bede's letter to Egbert of York. Pre-Viking *monasteria* can be seen as having interacted with society in diverse ways, it being unclear whether this can be considered as 'pastoral care'. In discussing the issue of bishops' involvement, Blair acknowledged that 'It is a fair criticism that the "minster model" has forgotten bishops and their fundamental role in organising pastoral care', but quoted Cubitt (1995, 113) that there was not a simple dichotomy between dioceses and monasteries in the provision of pastoral care in the earlier period (Blair 1995, 203). A regional study cited by Blair (1995, 204) that involved bishops was that of Sims-Williams (1990, 168-72) where it was argued that a network of minsters within the diocese of Worcester was assembled piecemeal from diverse elements by various bishops in the eighth and ninth centuries. Further evidence for the involvement of bishops is to be found in canon 9 of the Council of *Clofesho* in 747,stating that priests should perform duties of visiting, baptism and teaching 'in the places and districts of the laity assigned to them by the bishops of the province' (Cubitt 1992, 196; Blair 1995, 205).

The date of origin of 'minsters'

Cambridge and Rollason questioned the apparent status of *eald* 'minsters' in the laws of Edgar, which mentions payment of tithe and church-scot to 'the old minster' (Whitelock 1955, 395). This, they argued, may be due to *eald* meaning 'eminent' or 'great' rather than old: 'It is possible …. that II Edgar represents not an ancient system in decay …., but rather a system of mother-churches, probably imposed by royal authority and as such not necessarily of pre-Viking origin' (Cambridge and Rollason 1995, 100). To counteract this interpretation, Blair (1995, 198) stated that Edgar's second law code which can only be seen as 'an attempt to guard the vested rights of 'old minsters' against the encroachments which were to become so evident, in other words to prevent existing large parishes from fragmenting into small ones'. Palliser (1996, 207) argued that the onus of proof should be on those denying earlier origins of minsters in late-recorded cases displaying many archaic features.

Defining parochia boundaries

Cambridge and Rollason argued that areas subject to churches - *i.e.* parishes as defined by their boundaries - were only established in the tenth century with tithe

payment, rather than being devolved from earlier *parochiae.* Blair acknowledged that proving such continuity is more difficult than that from early minsters, as it is arguable that it was the secular territory, rather than the *parochia*, which was the stable territory. It can often be demonstrated that mother churches retained rights over lands which had been alienated in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but the nature of the evidence is much more problematic in the pre-Viking period (Blair 1995, 203).

The Viking Age as a chronological divide

Cambridge and Rollason preferred to see church organisation created by late Anglo-Saxon kings, rather than an inheritance from the pre-Viking era providing a framework. This chronological divide, as they saw it, may have been transcended by adherents of the 'Minster Hypothesis' as evidence for early organisation of pastoral care. They argued that the reality was the foundation of mother churches on earlier church sites, and the fabrication of a claim to antiquity by these churches. Much of the apparent spatial coincidence from the pre-Viking period can be explained by the foundation of mother churches in locations such as the centres of hundreds (Cambridge and Rollason 1995, 102-3). Blair (1995, 197-8) reiterated the idea that after *c.*950 there is much support from legal and literary evidence and confirmation from various local studies, that mother parishes were disintegrating due to encroachment from below, rather than such institutions being formed anew. In addressing the institutional continuity issue, Blair (1995, 199) stated that diversity in local studies

> does not invalidate two general propositions: that a high proportion of the minsters founded before *c.*750 persisted as mother-churches through the next three or four centuries, and were amongst the 'old minsters' of Eadgar's law; and that the mother-parishes existing at the time of that law were the current stage in a territorial system which had been evolving since before *c.*750.

He concluded that a high proportion of mother churches from the tenth century had been minsters in the eighth and ninth centuries (Blair 1995, 203).

A new orthodoxy

Cambridge and Rollason (1995, 88) were concerned that ‘Given the difficult nature of the source materials … it is desirable that it [the hypothesis] should not harden into an orthodoxy which will itself influence the way these materials are viewed’. Blair agreed: ‘It would be folly to claim final answers: Cambridge and Rollason are quite right to resist the hardening of an orthodoxy, to point out the likelihood of regional and chronological diversity, and to stress the complexities of a problem which topographically-minded scholars may have conceived too simply’ (Blair 1995, 212).

The ‘minster hypothesis’ and local studies

Blair (1995, 199) asserted that ‘Local case studies are the essence of the debate’. A more recent study, of Yorkshire’s ecclesiastical organisation, states ‘the so-called “minster hypothesis” should be envisaged as a sum of the regional studies on which it is based: it should be considered the best approximation for Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical organisation, to be supplemented or adjusted through further regional case studies’ (Pickles 2018). With this in mind, and the issue that Cambridge, Rollason and Blair all agreed on, that the ‘minster hypothesis’ should not become an orthodoxy, two case studies are presented of differing areas of the Island as a new contribution to the debate about the model.

The ‘Minster Hypothesis’: Case Studies

The two case studies chosen are both blocks of land which can be shown to have extended from the north to the south coast centred on superior churches. Carisbrooke and Shalfleet have been selected for detailed study as the evidence for the application of the ‘minster hypothesis’ varies significantly and each has received varying degrees of attention in previous studies. The study of Carisbrooke provides the more comprehensive evidence of the two, with some of this having been examined by Hase (1975, 1988, 1994). Shalfleet, in contrast, is problematic in terms of the ‘minster hypothesis’ and has not received such attention until now.

Case Study: Carisbrooke

Carisbrooke is located near the geographical centre of the Isle of Wight, where the Bowcombe Valley opens up towards the Northern Lowlands and adjoining a gap in the Lateral Ridge. The manorial centre was at Bowcombe Farm, 2.2km to the south-west. St Mary's church, central to an extensive parish when mapped in 1862/3, is sited on the north side of a west-east through-route now known as Carisbrooke High Street and from its elevated site overlooks the village. The site is in turn overlooked by Carisbrooke Castle to the south. Like many superior churches, it was the location of a medieval priory.

Carisbrooke Priory

Carisbrooke Priory was founded on the site of a pre-existing church in the 1140s. The actual foundation was not recorded, but a document in its cartulary anticipates this (Appendix 6.1). Dating to between 1142 and 1147, a reference to the futures of the two clerks Stephen and Geoffrey at Carisbrooke church states:

> And if either of them changes his way of living for a monastic life, or at any rate after their days, the church of *Caresbroc* will remain in the hands of the church of Lyre and its abbot, freely and peaceably, to do with it as he wishes, either to hold it among the domains of Lyre, or else to send monks to it (Hockey 1981b, no. 2).

Monks were subsequently sent and the priory would appear to have been founded between 1147 and 1150. Due to the site's topography, the priory buildings were constructed to the north of the church. The site is marked in the modern landscape by Priory farmhouse and the weathering of the former cloister can be seen on the external north face of the nave. Inside the church, now broken in two and reset in the floor at the east end of the south aisle, is an incised tomb slab depicting a cleric. This appears to date from the second half of the twelfth century and represents a prior of Carisbrooke (Stone 1891, II, 20).

Carisbrooke Church

Carisbrooke church today consists of a nave with south aisle and porch, western tower and a vestry to the north of the nave (Fig. 6.1). The chancel was demolished in the sixteenth century to save Sir Francis Walsingham, who held the former priory lands, the expense of maintaining it (Stone 1891, II, 17). The core of St Mary's church is the nave with its south arcade of five arches. The south aisle dates from the later twelfth century, indicated by pointed arches and the carving of the capitals (Margham 2018c). Of a similar date are the nave north doorway and the older of the two arched recesses in the external face of the nave north wall (Stone 1891, II, plate LXXV). These features thus post-date the priory's foundation. An examination of the south arcade reveals that it was inserted into a pre-existing wall, partially cutting away two deep, single splayed windows (Fig. 6.2). This wall is 1.11m thick indicating a date in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. It is probable that both the north and east nave walls originated at this time, being a similar thickness. The earliest reference to the church and the place-name Carisbrooke is *ecclesiam sancte Marie de Caresbroc* in the agreement for Chale church's foundation in 1114 (Hockey 1981a, no.15). It could thus be argued that Carisbrooke was a relatively new foundation at this date, but there is good evidence suggesting that this was not the case.

Fig. 6.1: Carisbrooke church from the north-east



Fig. 6.2: Single-splayed window partially cut away by Transitional Norman arcade in the south wall of Carisbrooke's nave



The Domesday Book entry for Bowcombe mentions the existence of a church held by the monks of Lyre (52). The account indicates its association with nearby

settlement, including the ‘20 bordars’ messuages’ which belonged to the church. Whether this church was as at Bowcombe, or at Carisbrooke, at the lower end of the Bowcombe valley, some 2.2km to the north-east, will now be discussed.

A church at Bowcombe?

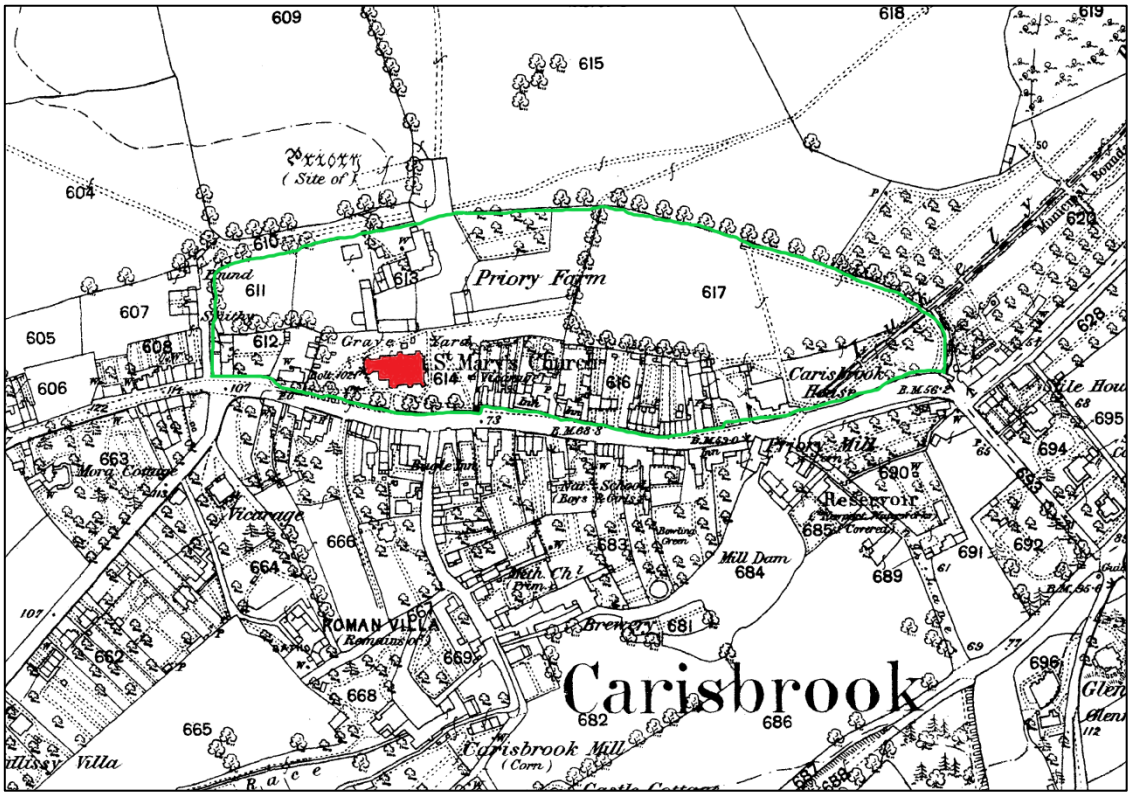
Some previous accounts have taken the evidence of Domesday Book literally, stating that the church was at Bowcombe, later relocated to Carisbrooke. For example Stone (1891, II, 15) stated that ‘they [the priests Stephen and Geoffrey] very promptly pulled it [*i.e*. the church at Bowcombe] down, providing for the good people of Buccombe [*sic*] in their new church of S. Mary at Carisbrooke proper’. A much more plausible argument is that this church was at Carisbrooke, with the place-name of the Domesday entry referring to the whole estate, rather than the immediate area around Bowcombe Farm. It would appear that the place-name *Caresbroc* in 1114 was the first recorded use of this name relating to the church within the Bowcombe estate. It is, however, possible that a church did exist at one time in the vicinity of Bowcombe Farm. A settlement site here in the early Anglo-Saxon period is implied by the topographical place-name (Margham 2012a, 8; Chapter 8), and pottery attributed to an early medieval date has been collected from this area (David Tomalin, pers. comm.). Possibly more significant is the discovery of an object which may have been a garnet-eyed *æstel* (a pointer used in reading a religious text akin to a Jewish *yad* used in Torah readings) by a metal detectorist. Unfortunately this was sold privately and was not subject to academic study, being a great loss to our knowledge of the object and to the history of the Bowcombe Farm area (Tomalin, pers. comm.). An argument against the existence of the earliest church of the estate being located at or near Bowcombe Farm is the observation that St Mary’s Carisbrooke is the only medieval parish church on the Island located near a Romano-British villa site, possibly implying some sort of ‘continuity’ of settlement or even religious function at Carisbrooke. However in the absence of further archaeological work at Bowcombe Farm and Carisbrooke, the ‘original’ site of a church serving Bowcombe’s estate remains unresolved.

The Hand of God

A strand of evidence that can be cited to support the existence of a later Anglo-Saxon church at Carisbrooke is a piece of stone sculpture now built into the north wall of Carisbrooke churchyard (Fig. 5.5). Stone (1891, II, 20) described that it 'probably formed part of a sepulchral slab: it belonged to a figure evidently cut in low relief'. This hand, 29cm long, has been identified in a study by the present author as a piece of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, probably representing the *manus dei*, the right hand of God (Margham and Tomalin 2022). A date range of *c.*950 to *c.*1050 can be suggested (David Stocker, pers. comm.). It is possible that it formed part of a grave marker akin to examples found in excavations at Winchester Old and New Minsters (Tweddle *et al*., 1995, Winchester Old Minster 2, New Minster 1). A more likely interpretation is that it was the right hand of God pointing down to Christ on the cross from a cloud as can be seen in the large stone rood at Romsey Abbey (Tweddle *et al*. 1995, Romsey 1).[58] Whilst this sculpture could have been brought down the valley from Bowcombe to be reused at Carisbrooke it is more plausible that it was produced for use at Carisbrooke's minster.

[58] The low-relief hands of Winchester Old Minster 2 and New Minster 1 date from the early eleventh and late tenth/early eleventh century respectively; the higher relief *manus dei of* Romsey 1 tenth century, and the defaced examples: Headbourne Worthy 1 and Breamore 1 tenth or eleventh century (Tweddle *et al.* 1995).

The Enclosure



Map 6.1: Carisbrooke- Ordnance Survey 25-inch survey map of 1862-3 with St Mary's church and probable minster enclosure highlighted

Another piece of evidence that can be cited to support the antiquity of the site of Carisbrooke's church is to be found in the local topography. An examination of detailed maps dating from the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries indicates a row of buildings and property boundaries along the south side of the High Street. This was complemented by settlement alongside Castle Street running southwards from the High Street and by the northern row of buildings to the east of the churchyard. These maps indicate the existence of a linear enclosure on the north side of the High Street which is significantly larger than the present day churchyard, with a frontage encompassing the length of the street (Map 6.1; Fig. 6.3; Fig. 6.4). Its area was 3.78 hectares and is comparable to the areas of other reconstructed enclosures containing superior churches in southern England (Table 6.1). Whilst it is the smallest of the enclosures shown in Table 6.1, the size of the Carisbrooke enclosure is more than eight times the area of the churchyard when first mapped in the 1790s.





Fig. 6.3: Aerial photograph of Carisbrooke church and minster enclosure from the west

Fig. 6.4: Lidar image of Carisbrooke village and the minster enclosure (to the north of the High Street)

Church	Enclosure plan type	Area of enclosure	References
Bampton, Oxfordshire	rectilinear	4.32ha	Blair 2005, fig. 23
Bere Regis, Dorset	rectilinear	8.62ha	Hall 2000, fig. 38
Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight	linear	3.78ha	OS 25 inch 1862/3
Deerhurst, Gloucestershire	rectilinear	8.40ha	Blair 2005, fig. 33
Fordington, Dorset	sub-rect.	8.12ha	Hall 2000, fig. 50
Irwine Minster, Dorset	sub-rect.	7.82ha	Hall 2000, fig. 49
Milborne Port, Somerset	sub-rect.	4.32ha	Hall 2009, fig. 8.3
Sherborne, Dorset	rectilinear	13.33ha	Hall 2000, fig. 49
Wimborne, Dorset	rectilinear	8.00ha	Hall 2000, fig. 29

Table 6.1: Comparison of superior church enclosures in southern England with areas calculated by the author from plans referenced above

The enclosure at Carisbrooke cannot be dated except in reference to medieval documentary evidence in the cartulary of Carisbrooke Priory. The most significant reference dates from April 1270:

> Notification by Isabella de Fortibus that she has quitclaimed to the prior and monks of Carisbrooke all her rights of going in and out and of carting in the road which lies through the middle of the monks' court-yard in Carisbrooke , from their south-gate to the north gate, so that they may close the way with no challenge or hindrance from the countess or her tenants, in such wise that the prior and monks leave her sufficient roadway, 40 feet wide, in perpetuity for passing in and out, for carting and hunting, viz. from the main road in Carisbrooke to the top of the monks' garden, going from west to north and then to the east by the side of the garden up to the road from the priory to Cutbrigge

> [Kitbridge] and Chimelord [W. Cowes]; and the monks have permission to have a gate, called in French a '*heyse*', at the entrance to this road next to the village (*vicum*) of Carisbrooke, in such a way that the countess and her tenants may go about their business through this gate without hindrance (Hockey 1981b, no. 230).

The road from the north of the Island was thus diverted around the west end of the enclosure, forming the back lane in the modern landscape to the north of Priory farmhouse. The road prior to 1270 ran through 'the middle of the monks' court-yard'. This indicates that the monastic enclosure continued to the east of the present-day churchyard (Map 6.1). It is likely to have extended to the eastern end of Carisbrooke High Street firstly following the line of the modern footpath and then following a relict boundary, the path and earthwork forming its northern boundary. It is likely that this enclosure was of considerable antiquity by 1270 and due to the association between the church and nearby houses in 1086 was in existence by the late eleventh century (Chapter 9).[59]

Priests and Clerics

Enclosures such as Carisbrooke's are associated with minster churches. The southern English churches in Table 6.1 are all identified as minsters. As has been discussed (Chapter 4) minsters could be monastic institutions in the conventional sense or secular minsters, staffed by clerics. There is no evidence from Carisbrooke for the presence of monks before the priory foundation in the mid-twelfth century, but there is good evidence for clerics before this date. The agreement regarding the foundation of Chale church mentions Almetus, Carisbrooke's priest, and the document was witnessed by 'Stephen clerk' (Hockey 1981, no. 15). Almetus was formerly part of the clerical community at Christchurch, probably being there in the 1080s, before moving 'to the prestigious post of priest of Carisbrooke and Dean of the Isle' (Hase 1988, 52). In the charter of Baldwin, earl of Devon, confirming to Hildearius, abbot of Lyre, all the churches, tithes, and lands on the Island, dating from 1142-47, we meet Stephen again, this time alongside another clerk called

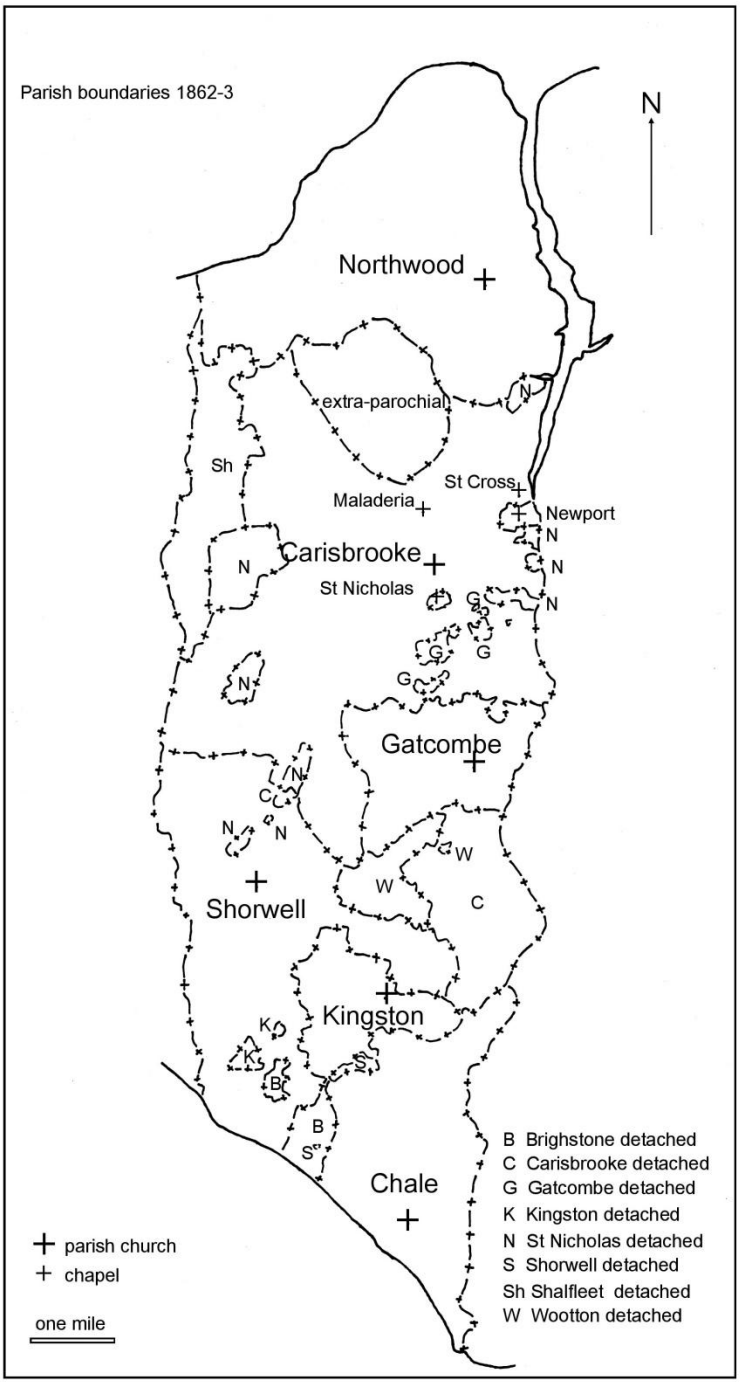
[59] The elevated site of the churchyard would mean that the line of the road extinguished in 1270 did not form a straight line with its alignment to the north of the enclosure. It is likely that on entering the enclosure the road veered to the south-east avoiding a steep descent. A gate pier at Carisbrooke House's entrance (Map 6.1) may indicate the former road's junction with the High Street (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.).

Geoffrey where provision was being made for their futures (Hockey 1981, no. 2). This shows that before the priory's foundation, Carisbrooke had two clerics in addition to a priest. What cannot be ascertained is whether Carisbrooke had clerks in 1086. If so, clerks could have been recruited to look after Lyre's interests after fitzOsbern's gift of Island churches. Alternatively, the existence of a number of clerics could reflect the Carisbrooke's pre-Conquest status as a 'secular minster'. Domesday Book records a priest at Bowcombe in 1086 (52). A study of Domesday priests in the western Midlands suggests that although churches of 'minster' origin often recorded the existence of a single priest, it was likely that he would have others working under him (Bassett 2015, 216). This is a distinct possibility for Carisbrooke in 1086, although Hampshire was in a different Domesday circuit to the Birmingham area, so this inference may not be valid. A strong strand of evidence, however, supporting the identification of a secular Anglo-Saxon minster at Carisbrooke is the former existence of an extensive *parochia*.

Carisbrooke's parochia: a reconstruction

Carisbrooke's *parochia* can be reconstructed from the evidence of its fragmentation, which can be traced from documentary and map evidence (Map 6.2). This dates mainly from the post-Conquest period but the process appears to have commenced in the tenth century. The *parochia* consisted of a land transect from the Solent to the English Channel. It was bounded by the Medina to the east and the bounds of Winchester's Calbourne estate to the west. Its area can be calculated as 24,030 acres (9,725 hectares).

Pre-Conquest Charters



Map 6.2: A reconstruction of Carisbrooke's *parochia*

Pre-Conquest charter evidence identifies losses of peripheral areas of Carisbrooke's *parochia*. In 968 King Edgar confirmed a grant of Watchingwell to Wilton Abbey (S766). The core of this area is shown on the 1862/3 six-inch map as Shalfleet (detached). The area of the grant was more extensive than this, including about two-thirds of what later became Great Park, Youngwoods Farm, and the Thorness area adjoining the coast (Margham 2006, 85-91). This became a detached portion of Shalfleet parish in the early twelfth century when Watchingwell was alienated to the lay lords of Shalfleet (Hase 1994, 77, n.73). On the south coast two detached portions of Brighstone parish had a similar history. Another charter of King Edgar, now lost, recorded the grant of two hides at Atherfield to Winchester (ECW103). This is represented by detached portions of Brighstone parish at Atherfield Farm and at Little Atherfield. The original grant was more extensive, consisting of the coastal strip between the bishop of Winchester's estate to the west and what is now Chale parish to the east (Margham 2006, fig. 2). The connection with Brighstone parish can thus be explained: Brighstone having been a

daughter church of Calbourne which in turn was the mother-church of the bishop of Winchester's estate. Neither Watchingwell nor Atherfield, granted by King Edgar to the Church, resulted in the foundation of local churches, but are the first documented instances of grants of land from within Carisbrooke's *parochia*.

Post-Conquest Chapels in the Carisbrooke Area

William fitzOsbern established Carisbrooke Castle on the site of an Anglo-Saxon *burh* (Margham 2015a, 24-5). By 1086 St Nicholas' chapel had been established there, witnessed by a Domesday Book entry: 'St Nicholas has of King William 1 hide in Shalcombe' (Chapter 5, p.113). Shalcombe was the largest detached portion of St Nicholas' 'parish'. All the other endowments were within Carisbrooke's *parochia*, explaining the numerous small areas of St Nicholas (detached) within and just beyond the bounds of Carisbrooke parish when mapped in 1862/3 (Map 6.2). Two other chapels were founded in the Carisbrooke area in the twelfth century, although both remained dependent upon Carisbrooke church. St Cross Priory, just to the north of the later site of Newport, was founded between 1141 and 1146 (Bearman 1994, no.19). Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester

> consecrated the chapel which is on the Island beneath the castle of *Karesbroc* in honour of the Holy Cross, of the apostles Peter and Paul and of St Swithun. But the cemetery which he has set aside is for the monks only and their ministers, who have renounced the world and have been professed at the priory. Should anyone else choose to be buried there, the bishop has entrusted the decision to the power and the will of the priest of the mother-church of *Caresbroc* (Hockey 1981b, no. 19).

Another non-parochial chapel is referenced in a document dating between 1150 and 1178 of Henry of Blois concerning the status of the *capella infirmorum* or *capella maladeria* between Carisbrooke church and Parkhurst Forest. This permitted the monks of Lyre to 'celebrate divine service in the chapel of the sick which is at *Caresbroc*' (Hockey 1981b, no. 20). Two further chapels were documented within the medieval parish of Carisbrooke. Another chapel dedicated to Holy Cross was dedicated by Henry, bishop of Winchester (1305-16) as a burial place for the monks of the Island. It was said to be 'under the walls of the castle' but its precise location is unknown (Page 1912, 235). A chapel of St Mary Magdalene was recorded in 1406/7.

Hockey (1991, map II, xxvi) places it just to the west of the borough of Newport. It may have been the same as John Garston's chantry, recorded in 1480 (Page 1912, 263).

The new town of Newport was founded by Richard de Redvers II between 1177 and 1184 (Beresford 1967, 444). This was provided with a chapel dedicated to the recently-martyred Thomas Becket. In c.1200 a notification by William de Vernon stated that

> the monks [of Carisbrooke] are held responsible for the divine service for the burgesses at *Novo Burgo* every day in the chapel built there; yet in such a way that on major feasts the townsfolk, men and women, will visit their mother-church of *Caresbroc* as by custom (Hockey 1981b, no. 3).

The chapel of St Thomas remained dependent on Carisbrooke until 1858 (Beresford 1967, 444). This dependency on the mother church is also documented for outlying chapels, although unlike Newport, these attained parochial status by the sixteenth century.

Chapels, Churches and Medieval Parishes

The best documented example of the origin of a parish church in Norman England is that of Chale (Fig. 6.5; Appendix 6.2): half of the income from St Andrew's was to go to Carisbrooke church, and unlike other instances discussed below, Chale was to have its own cemetery. St Andrew's can be seen as a church rather than a chapel from 1114 onwards, despite the dues being paid to Carisbrooke church, which were still being paid by *ecclia de Chale* in 1291 (Astle *et al.* 1802, 211).



Fig. 6.5: St Andrew's Chale from the south-east

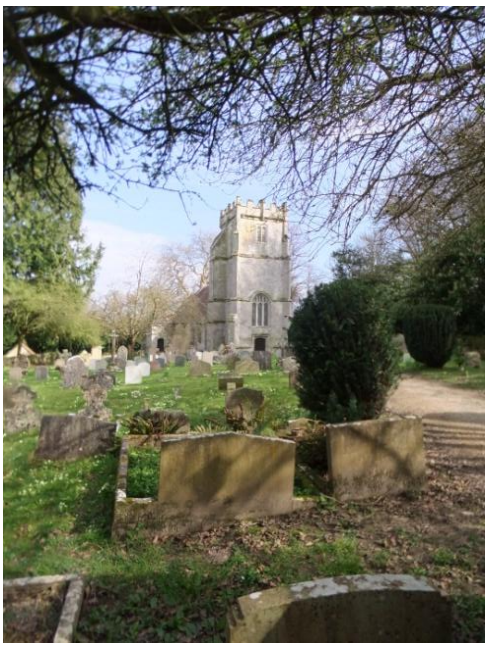


Fig. 6.6: St Olave's Gatcombe

Unlike Chale, there is no contemporary documentation for Gatcombe church (Fig. 6.6). That the parish was formerly part of Carisbrooke's *parochia* is evident from the configuration of parish boundaries mapped in the 1860s (Map 6.2). To the north of the main part of Gatcombe parish there were various small detached parish portions, including boundaries demarcating strips in open-fields within Carisbrooke parish (Map 9.4). To the south of Gatcombe parish, an isolated area of Carisbrooke parish remained in the Chillerton-Cridmore area. The chapel at Whitwell founded by the de Estur family was endowed so that the rector of Gatcombe should say mass there three times a week and maintain Whitwell's chancel (Hockey 1982, 6). This implies that it was founded after that at Gatcombe. Whitwell church contains the northern jamb and springing of a twelfth-century chancel arch (Fig. 5.13). Whist attaining parochial status may have been prolonged, the origin of the chapel at Gatcombe can be dated to or before the twelfth century. This is consistent with the earliest physical evidence for a church there, a twelfth-century corbel now surmounting the porch (Fig. 5.12; Thompson 2008). Its dedication to St Olave would suggest an origin within the eleventh century,[60] after the recognition of Olaf, former king of Norway, as

[60] Whist most Olave dedications in England are associated with mercantile centres, two of the four rural dedications are associated with churches which were in existence by the very early twelfth century: Ruckland (Lincolnshire) by 1086 and Fritwell (Oxfordshire) by 1103 (Margham 2023).

a saint by Bishop Grimketel in 1031 (Margham 2024a, 3).[61] By 1291 Gatcombe was regarded as a ‘church’ rather than a ‘chapel’ (Astle *et al.* 1802, 211).

Northwood and Shorwell are better documented than Gatcombe. Both were first mentioned in a document dating from between 1181 and 1185:

> Lucius bishop, servant of the servants of God to the abbot and monks of Lyre. Responding to their requests, the pope confirms to the monks the church of *Caresbroc* with its chapels of *Northwuda* and *Sorewelle* (Hockey 1981b, no. 43).

The attainment of parochial independence for Northwood from Carisbrooke was a protracted process (Fig. 6.7). An annual payment of 30 marks was made by Northwood chapel to Carisbrooke (Hockey 1982, 5), Northwood's contribution towards the pension due from Carisbrooke to Lyre Abbey. It appears that Northwood’s dead were still being taken to Carisbrooke for burial in 1289, when there was dispute over the payment of a beast for mortuary dues (Hockey 1981a, no. 224). Stone (1891, II, 49) stated that Northwood’s burial ground originated in 1486 (but does not provide a reference). It presumably had its own burial ground by the early sixteenth century: Worsley records that although Northwood was a chapel of ease, since Henry VIII’s time it enjoyed all parochial privileges and was exempt from contributions for repairs to the mother-church (Worsley 1781, 231).



Fig. 6.7: Northwood church as depicted by Tomkins (1796)

Fig. 6.8 Shorwell church as depicted by Tomkins (1796)

[61] Grimketel subsequently became bishop of Selsey (1038-1047) and was instrumental in promoting the cult of St Olaf in England through his aristocratic contacts including Earl Godwin of Wessex (Ekroll 2020, 250).

Early in the thirteenth century, the status of Shorwell's chapel was challenged with Walter de Insula claiming patronage rights (Fig. 6.8). An agreement was reached in 1205 between Walter and William Gloz, Prior of Carisbrooke and procurator of Lyre. Walter was recognised as Shorwell's patron, but Shorwell would pay an annual pension of 20 shillings and certain tithes to Carisbrooke. The chapel would also have to make other payments (Peter's pence and synodals) and burial would continue at Carisbrooke. The priest at Shorwell had to take an oath of fidelity to Carisbrooke but would receive the offerings and tithes of the villagers. Shorwell's dependent status was also to be marked by the whole 'parish' having to go in solemn procession to Carisbrooke church every year at the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary or at the Nativity of Our Lady (Hockey 1981a, nos. 174 and 175). The rector of Shorwell challenged the payment of the pension to Carisbrooke in 1327 but lost his case before the bishop of Winchester (Hockey 1982, 19). Despite failure of the challenge Shorwell was well on the way to being a church independent of Carisbrooke by the early fourteenth century. Unlike Newport and Northwood, Shorwell was assessed separately from Carisbrooke in the 1291 papal taxation, being listed as *ecclia* rather than *capella* (Astle *et al.* 1802, 211). However, Worsley (1781, 251) stated that the chapel of Shorwell belonged to Carisbrooke parish until the time of Edward III [1327-1377] when the inconvenience of burying the dead at Carisbrooke, especially in winter, occasioned its separation.

The daughter church for which there is very little documentation is Kingston (Fig. 6.9). The first reference dates from 1251 with a dispute between Jordan de Kingston and Geoffrey de Lisle concerning the advowson (right to appoint a priest) (Page 1912, 251). It was not of sufficient value even as a chapel to be listed in the taxation of 1291 (Astle *et al.* 1802). Parish boundary configurations mapped 1862/3 suggests that Kingston parish was separated from Shorwell, rather than directly from Carisbrooke. Both observations imply a relatively late date for Kingston attaining parochial status. It was



Fig. 6.9: Kingston church on its locally prominent hill overlooking the manor house

not listed as a parish in the ecclesiastical taxation of 1340 but the *rectoria* (rectory) of *Kyngiston* was recorded in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1539 (Vanderzee 1807, 115-17; Caley 1814, 25).[62]

Other Parochial and Extra-Parochial Areas

Two other significant areas remained within the former *parochia* of Carisbrooke when boundaries were mapped in 1862/3, including the aforementioned area left detached by the formation of Gatcombe parish. The second area was Parkhurst Forest, which was 'extra-parochial' in 1862/3. It is possible that this status originated with the grant of privileges to Newport's burgesses by Richard de Redvers between 1189 and 1191 which included pasture rights at Parkhurst (Bearman 1994, no. 66). It may, however, been deemed extra-parochial as, with the liability for tithe payment defining parish areas, it had no population and produced very little that could be tithed. Alternatively, as a lordly hunting forest in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was outside parochial jurisdiction.

The last remaining areas of the former *parochia* of Carisbrooke to be accounted for are the two detached portions of Wootton parish in the Chillerton area. These have a history akin to those of Watchingwell (Shalfleet detached) and Atherfield (Brighstone detached) in that tithe was paid to a relatively distant parish church and no local chapel was provided. The connection between Chillerton and Wootton was first documented sometime before 1217. This was a 'Notification by Walter de Insula that the controversy between the church of Carisbrooke and his chapel at *Woudetone* concerning certain tithes in *Celertone* has been amicably settled' (Hockey 1981, no. 173). It is not known when tithes from these two areas of land were granted to Wootton church. Architectural evidence suggests that the church originated in the later twelfth century (Fig. 5.14), implying connection between Chillerton and Wootton was relatively recent at the time of this dispute.[63]

[62] Presford, 'the priests' ford', was first recorded in 1235 (Mills 1996, 83). It is located adjoining the Shorwell/Kingston road where it crosses a minor watercourse forming the boundary between the two parishes. The name first element may be connected to the inferred relationship between the two churches/chapels but reference to more than one priest may reflect an earlier origin of the place-name in the serving of communities from Carisbrooke minster.

[63] However, the present fabric at Wootton may have replaced an earlier wooden structure (Chapter 5, p.131).

An Early Minster?

The early origins of a church at Carisbrooke have been argued by Frederick Hockey (1982) and Patrick Hase (1975, 1988). Commenting on the complicated pattern of parish boundaries but also of north-south boundaries suggesting a series of mother parishes extending across the Island 'It is hard to think that this was not a deliberate plan and, since we are to make the medieval lords responsible for the territory of the daughter-parishes, one is inclined to give bishop Daniel credit for this demarcation in his task of bringing the Isle of Wight under the jurisdiction of the see of Winchester' (Hockey 1982, 2).

Hockey's hypothesis can be criticised for seeing 'minster' church provision appearing to be a system when looking back from a post-Conquest vantage point and there being insufficient evidence for the early origin of several of these churches. Unlike Hase, he cited an ecclesiastical rather than a secular authority in this process. Hase included a study of Carisbrooke as part of wider work on the origin and development of Hampshire minsters (Hase 1994, 65). He argued that the early minsters were established by the West Saxon kings Cædwalla and Ine in the period 685 to 726 with one mother-church in every royal vill, 'designed both to enhance royal power in the countryside, and to complete a conversion which had not yet been properly consolidated' (Hase 1988, 48). Whilst the 'minster hypothesis' has been criticised for the lack of evidence for early minsters being involved in pastoral care (Cambridge and Rollason 1995), a case can be made for the establishment of a minster by the early eighth century within the royal estate of Bowcombe. This was quite likely to have been at Carisbrooke, but Bowcombe Farm remains a possibility as we have seen. However, the precise origins of Carisbrooke as a minster church are ultimately unknowable without further physical evidence. The best that can be said with any certainty was stated by Sewell (2000, 39):

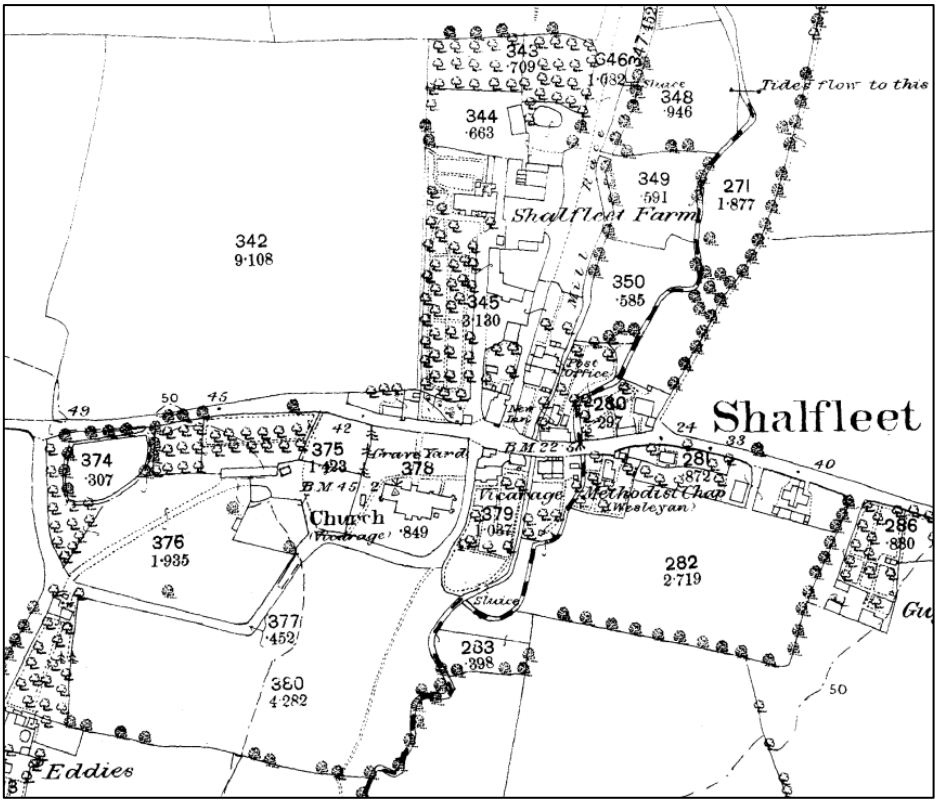
> Although a minster cannot be definitely placed at Carisbrooke at such an early date [by the early 8th century], the evidence for a church being built there *at some point* during the mid to late-Saxon period with a *parochia* matching the transect boundary is strong.

Conclusions

St Mary's Carisbrooke became a priory of the Norman abbey of Lyre in the mid-twelfth century. The connection with Lyre commenced with the gift of the church soon after the Conquest. The church, with its extensive *parochia* had a long history many years before this. Its minster *parochia* became fragmented during the post-Conquest period, with loss of income and authority. Despite this Carisbrooke was the most valuable medieval church on the Isle of Wight and when documented in the papal taxation of 1291 it was valued at £80. This can be compared with the next most valuable, with Godshill and Newchurch £66 13s 4d each (Astle *et al.* 1802, 211; Appendix 5.3). In the mid-nineteenth century, although no longer stretching from sea to sea after the foundation of six daughter churches and losses to other churches elsewhere on the Island, St Mary's retained an extensive parish of 7,486 acres (3,029 hectares). These daughter churches, along with its extensive parish and the Priory site, were a legacy of its minster status in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Case Study: Shalfleet

Shalfleet is a nucleated village near the north-west coast. It adjoins the Caul Bourne, just beyond the tidal reach of Shalfleet Lake, one of several creeks draining into Newtown Bay. The Caul Bourne forms the eastern boundary of the parish here, which also formed the western boundary of Winchester's Calbourne estate. The village and church are located on the periphery of its extensive parish, with the church almost on the boundary (Map 6.4). The church occupies an elevated site on the south side of the road as it rises westwards from the Caul Bourne crossing. Shalfleet Manor is on the north side of this road (Map 6.3).



Map 6.3: Shalfleet in 1862/3 showing Shalfleet Farm (manorial centre) north of the church

Shalfleet Church and its Tower



Fig. 6.10: Shalfleet church from the south-west

The church consists of a substantial western tower, nave, south aisle, north and south porches and chancel (Figs. 6.10 and 6.11). The tower is slightly wider than the nave. The main entrance to the church is through the north nave doorway of later twelfth century date which incorporates a tympanum. The lower parts of the nave north wall appear contemporary with this doorway, although much of this wall was rebuilt in 1812. The south arcade of the nave of four bays was constructed in the

mid- to late-thirteenth century and the chancel rebuilt at about this time. The north porch was constructed in 1754 over the Romanesque doorway (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 259-61; Page 1912, 275-7). In terms of its early architectural history, the western tower and its relationship to the nave is the most significant feature of the church.

The tower is square in plan with each corner accentuated by shallow clasping buttresses rising to the full height of the tower, leaving much of the walling of the tower slightly recessed. The single string course of double billet runs round the whole of the tower except for the eastern face above the nave (Figs. 6.12, 6.13). The north-western buttress contains a spiral newel stairway giving access to the upper chamber and the roof. An early Norman late eleventh-century date has been claimed for the tower (Stone 1891, II, 52). The shallow clasped buttresses have the closest parallels in late eleventh-century military architecture, for example Canterbury Castle keep and St Leonard's Tower at West Malling (both Kent) (Shapland 2019, figs. 6.1, 6.9), and the north-western and north-eastern corners of Chepstow's keep (Monmouthshire) (Thurlby 2006, 4-5, fig. 14).

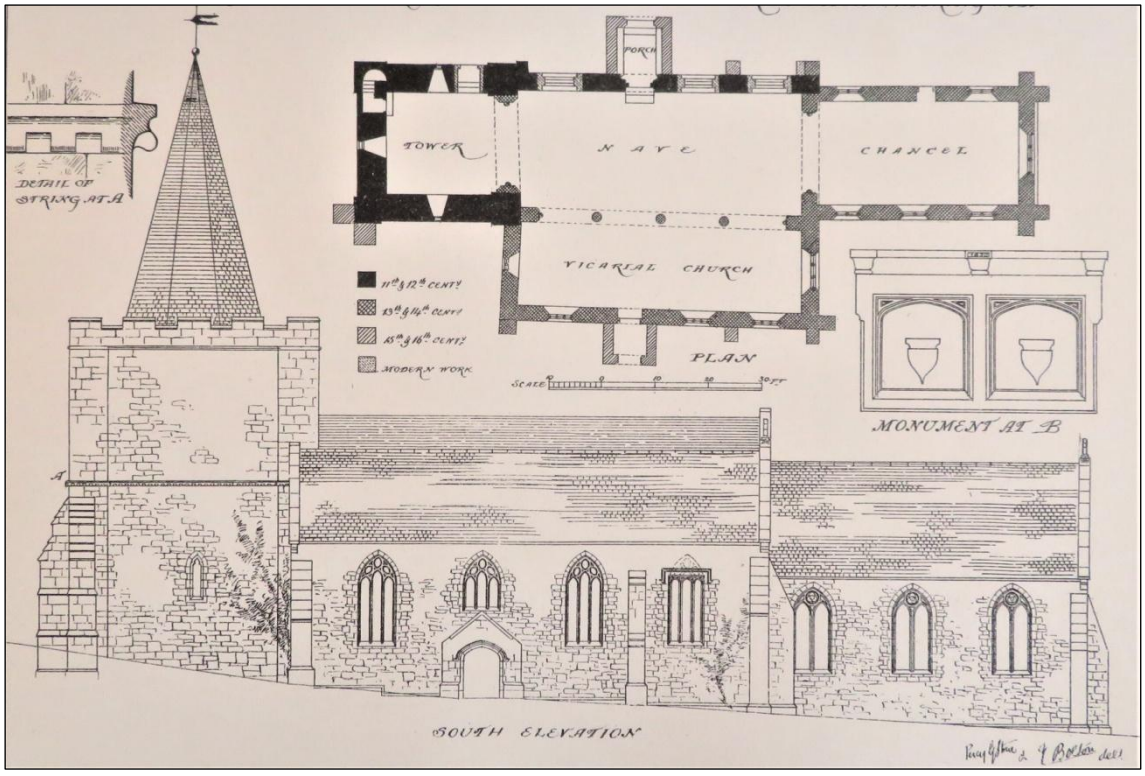


Fig. 6.11: Shalfleet church ground plan and south elevation (Stone 1891, II, fig. CI)

String course billet can be shown to have been present in late eleventh-century contexts, for example at Ely cathedral in the 1080s, but continued in use well into the twelfth century (Fig. 6.12). The location of Shalfleet at a distance from major church sites would make an early date unlikely and the two rows of alternating billet are not diagnostic of a specific date (Ron Baxter, pers. comm.). There are close parallels for the newel stair, such as the late-eleventh-century church tower at Great Hale (Lincolnshire) (Taylor 1978, 888-9) and the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century tower at Brook (Kent) (Shapland 2019, fig. 6.9). Corner towers containing newel stairs in Norman castles of the late eleventh century can also be cited as parallels, such as the Tower of London (White Tower) and Colchester Castle (Fernie 2000, figs. 45, 46, 50, 51). The overall proportion of the tower of height to width is approximately 2:1. Eleventh and twelfth century tower proportions vary considerably (Taylor 1978, fig. 695; Shapland 2019), but Shalfleet's tower has similar proportions to the late eleventh and early twelfth century towers of Broughton (Lincolnshire), East Dean and Jevington (both Sussex), Radstone (Northamptonshire, before it was heightened), and Brook (Kent) (Shapland 2019, figs. 3.3, 3.11, 3.18, 3.35, 6.9).

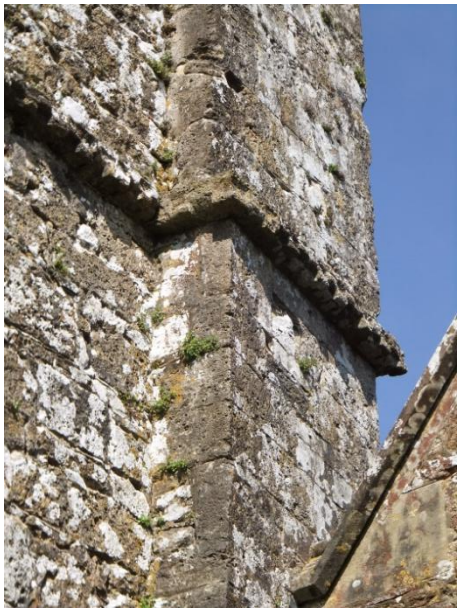




Fig. 6.12: Shalfleet church tower south-eastern clasped buttress and billet string course

Fig. 6.13: Shalfleet church tower north-eastern corner showing interrupted billet string course and infilled east face. This interruption and infilling appears to be associated with the construction of the present nave.

The north wall of the nave abuts the north-east clasped tower buttress. This nave wall was substantially rebuilt in the early nineteenth century on earlier footings. The precise relationship between these footings and tower is obscured by a later buttress in the re-entrant angle between the nave and tower. The nave north doorway appears to be *in situ*, despite the rebuilding of much of the wall in 1812. Renn (1969, 268) has suggested a date of *c.*1180 for the doorway, observing that the scalloped capitals are of similar form to those in Carisbrooke's nave arcade. The tower being wider than the nave also suggests that the later twelfth-century nave wall was added to a pre-existing building (Fig. 6.11).

The tower can be seen as a former tower-nave, where the base of the tower formed the nave of the church. As such it can be added to the corpus of lordly tower-naves published by Shapland (2019). It is possible that Shalfleet's tower-nave had a small chancel attached to its eastern side, but without the investigation of any below-ground archaeological evidence, this cannot be confirmed. The only external doorway is in the north face of the tower which was inserted in 1889 (Page 1912, 275) and there is no evidence for a former western doorway. It can be envisaged that the tower-nave was accessed through a relatively narrow east doorway, perhaps of similar proportions to the tower eastern doorway at Morland (Westmorland: Shapland 2019, fig. 3.26). The present tower arch, dating from the mid to late thirteenth century (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 260), represents an 'opening up' of this access to integrate the tower with the nave. It is possible that the tower had a defensive function. This is suggested by parallels with military architecture, its location on a significant east-west road just beyond the tidal limit of Shalfleet Lake, and that in 1324 a beacon was documented at *Hamstede* some 2.3km to the north-west of Shalfleet (Margham 2015, 36-7), the site of which is clearly visible from the tower (field visit November 2020).

Before the Tower

The church recorded in 1086 (53v) may not have been the tower-nave. The wider context of the church site will be explored, taking into account the mid-Saxon cemetery adjoining the churchyard and inhumations within the churchyard possibly of a similar date, the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites in the wider area to the south

and south-west, the relationship between the church site and the mid-Saxon ‘productive’ site within the parish, and an Anglo-Saxon land charter purporting to grant Shalfleet to the bishop of Winchester.

The Inhumations

Excavation in 2005 at the former vicarage on the opposite side of the road from the eastern extent of the churchyard located eight or nine inhumations (Fig. 6.14). These were orientated east-west but there were several disarticulated human remains which had apparently been subject to water transportation after burial. No grave cuts were found and the inhumations are reported as lying on the ‘natural clay’. Identification of the sex indicates a mixture of male and females, and all were adults except a neonate found in association with one individual. A bone sample was taken from one of the inhumations, and while the report does not contain a determination of radiocarbon dating (Trott 2007, 6-7, 14), a date of 660-734 AD is cited in a church leaflet (Waller 2008). A silver sceatta was apparently recovered from a spoil-heap, although it is possible that this came from the chest of one of the inhumations and this is consistent with the radiocarbon date (IWHER 5541).



Fig. 6.14: View of the former vicarage to the east of the church from the tower

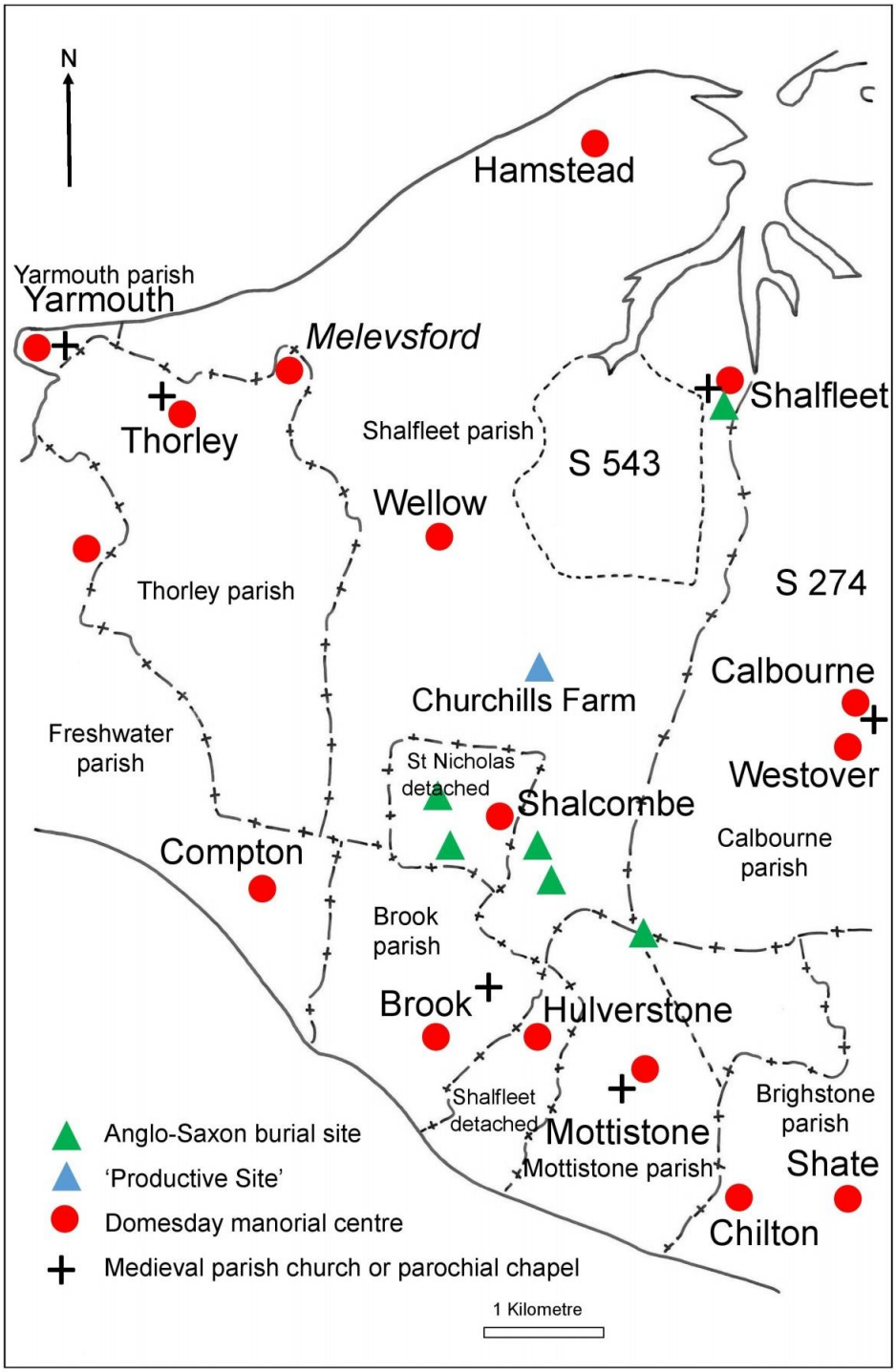
In addition to this excavation, human remains of possible early medieval date were recorded during a watching brief in 2003 within the churchyard to the south of the

church. Partial remains of eleven skeletons were found, but no grave cuts identified. The feet of two skeletons were within wooden coffins which were on a similar alignment to Victorian gravestones. The remaining skeletons were buried at a much greater depth and would thus appear to be much earlier (IWHER 5080). The subsequent excavation of mid-Saxon burials in the garden of the Old Vicarage revealed that the undated churchyard burials were at the same depth and alignment as these churchyard burials. It has been argued that it is highly likely that the churchyard skeletons were originally part of this Anglo-Saxon cemetery but were buried closer to the church site (IWHER 5080).

Even if the churchyard and the vicarage site inhumations were broadly contemporary, it is far from certain that they were associated with a church. It was formerly assumed that development of cemeteries around churches was a relatively rapid process after the conversion of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, but more recent research has shown that this is not the case (Cherryson 2005, 204, 216-17). Archaeological evidence for late Anglo-Saxon burial within the Wessex heartlands suggests that burial remained the preserve of minster churches well into the eleventh century (Cherryson 2005, 226). However, there is a bias in the archaeological data for this process. The continued importance of many of the larger minsters in Wessex may have made their excavation more likely, and 'human remains recovered in small-scale excavations at smaller churches are rarely radiocarbon dated, even if the church is known to have pre-Conquest origins and the stratigraphical evidence may indicate an early date' (Cherryson 2005, 226-7). This is certainly true of the inhumations from Shalfleet churchyard.

The relatively large size of Shalfleet parish (5,303 acres in 1862/3, excluding 1,012 acres of Shalfleet (detached) in the Watchingwell area) may suggest a former minster status for the church (Map 6.4). This area appears from the configuration of parish boundaries to have been even more extensive before the foundation of the churches of Thorley and Yarmouth, and the loss of the one hide of land at Shalcombe to endow the chapel of St Nicholas. If there was a high-status church at Shalfleet *c.*700 the location of the inhumations at the vicarage site beyond the present churchyard can perhaps be explained by the later definition and enclosure of consecrated ground. Documentary and some archaeological evidence suggest

enclosing consecrated ground commenced in the late Anglo-Saxon period (Gittos 2002, 202-4). Associated with this is the possible shrinkage of the cemetery, which may have been a common occurrence at minster church sites. This could be associated with a change of status to a parish church, a reduction in population, or a decrease in demand for burial with the establishment of other local churches formerly within the *parochia* (Blair 1994, 72; Hadley 2007, 196).



Map 6.4: Shalfleet and adjoining parishes. Dashed lines indicate reconstructed Anglo-Saxon charter bounds where not coincident with parish boundaries.

If not a churchyard burial site, what do the early medieval inhumations at Shalfleet represent? The various categories of cemeteries that can be identified from the mid-Saxon period are long-lasting seventh-century cemeteries, cemeteries founded post *c.*700 AD, execution cemeteries and isolated burials (Cherryson 2005, figs. 7.7, 7.8). The last two can be discounted, although there is evidence for both of these on the Island. The first is possible as the longevity of the vicarage inhumation site has not been disproven from the available evidence, and would be consistent with burials having taken place at the church site long before the construction of the tower-nave. Although Shalfleet was a relatively large parish, the presence of a tower-nave would imply that in the later eleventh century the church was for the use of the landholder and household, rather than serving a congregation from an extensive area. A burial ground serving the local population can be suggested, which later became the site of a church in or by the eleventh century. Alternatively, the vicarage cemetery site may have been abandoned before the development of the nearby church. Many late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were abandoned or contracted between the tenth century and the decades after the Conquest (Hadley 2007, 195-6). It is possible that the churchyard developed at a later date in tandem with the tower-nave or a previous manorial church, with the proximity of the vicarage site inhumations being coincidental.

Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries

The mid-Saxon vicarage site inhumations and possible contemporary churchyard inhumations can be seen in the context of the early Anglo-Saxon burial sites of the wider area.[64] The major Island Anglo-Saxon cemetery site is within Shalfleet parish on the northern flank of Chessell Down 4km south of the church. Reappraisal of the late fifth- or early sixth- to the late sixth-century date range (Arnold 1982, 13-72) was conducted by the present author using Hines and Bayliss' typology (2013, fig. 8.16, tables 8.1, 10.1) to date artefacts illustrated by Arnold (1982). The outside ranges for

[64] The development of burial grounds in the Shalfleet area can be contrasted with that within Carisbriooke's *parochia*. No mid Anglo-Saxon cemetery has been identified from the latter (apart from the distinct possibility of the present churchyard), but early Anglo-Saxon burial sites existed: Bowcombe Down, Presford, Sheard's Barrow and Shorwell, and possibly Rowborough Down (Appendix 2.1).

these are generally of the period 525-550x555-585, with some spears that could have been as late as 580-640 (Appendix 2.4). Geake (1999, 13-15) observed that Chessell grave 26 may be as late as the early seventh century, and there are indications of seventh-century dating of other material. It would appear that the cemetery was no longer in use by the late seventh century. To the west of Chessell Down is Shalcombe Down. Here, secondary inhumations have been excavated from a Bronze Age, or possibly Anglo-Saxon, barrow (Arnold 1982, 81-3). Overlooked by both of these sites is the 'productive' site on the Bembridge limestone 2.5km to the south-west of Shalfleet church. Beyond the southern margins of the Bembridge limestone, PAS evidence suggests an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery site at Shalcombe Holding. Although not possible to be categorical given limitations of the evidence, it would appear that these burial sites pre-dated the vicarage site.[65] The 'productive' site, however, was active through much of the eighth century.

The 'Shalfleet Parish' 'Productive' Site [66]

The 'productive' site on the Bembridge limestone to the south-west of the parish church has been identified through recording of metal detectorists' finds (Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013). By 2013 it had produced 43 sceattas and five 'early pennies'. Associated mid-Saxon finds include four copper-alloy pins, two strap ends and an unidentified object.

> The lack, so far, of domestic and functional finds paired with the outstanding number of coins, second in the region only to Hamwic, strongly suggests some sort of economic/market function for this site. Outstanding in this context is a seventh- to eighth- century skillet possibly for use in baptism ceremonies (Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013, 17).[67]

This site, active from *c.*715x725, 'probably came to an end during the recession in the third quarter of the eighth century' (Ulmschneider and Metcalf 2013, 20, 25).

[65] A further factor may have been a continuing tradition of disposal of human remains away from recognisable burial sites such as in rivers and the scattering of cremations (Brownlee and Klevnös 2024, 1619).
[66] The location of the site is given here but is referred to as 'Shalfleet Parish' in relevant literature to protect its precise location.
[67] Two possible parallels are a copper-alloy rim fragment and handle found by a detectorist (PAS YORYM-C 389D9) in North Yorkshire, and from an excavated inhumation in north Norfolk https://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/record-details?MNF42460



Fig. 6.15: The Churchill's Farm skillet (PAS IOW-OD5540, photographs by Frank Basford reproduced courtesy of the Portable Antquities Scheme)

The significance of the 'Shalfleet Parish' 'productive' site in relation to the parish church site is three-fold. Firstly, the skillet with its applied cross which obviously had Christian liturgical usage; secondly, the nearby farm site place-name referring to a church, and thirdly, the site would have been within the area of charter S281 which will be discussed below.

The farm is now known as Churchills. The possessive 's' was not recorded until the publication of Haywood's map of 1781. Before this the name was Churchill, first recorded as *Cherchulle* in 1295 (Kökeritz 1940, 209). Mills gives the derivation from Old English *cirice* and *hyll* as 'Apparantly 'hill belonging to the church (at Shalfleet)'' (1996, 39). The place-name may possibly record a former church here, rather than ownership by the church, with the finding of the skillet supporting this possibility.

The Shalfleet Charter

The place-name Shalfleet is the '(place at) the shallow stream or creek', first entering the extant documentary record in Domesday Book (Mills 1996, 93-4). This apparently early topographical place-name raises the possibility that Shalfleet was an estate centre of long-standing by 1086 (Margham 2012, 14). Shalfleet was recorded as *æt Scealdan fleote* in a twelfth-century copy of a charter purporting to date from 838 (Mills 1996, 93), supposedly documenting a grant of 40 *cassati* (hides) to the see of Winchester by Ecgberht (ECW15; S281). Edwards (1988, 160) concluded that

> It is extremely difficult to judge this charter. On the whole, it seems most likely that it is a fabrication, but this cannot be regarded as anything more than a probability. This is unfortunate because the document would constitute extremely interesting evidence if it were possible to be certain either that it is genuine or that it is fabricated….. It was probably written in the ninth century, either as part of a genuine Winchester charter, or as part of the original version of the Christ Church agreement, being toned down by the author of the surviving recensions.

With the exception of the neighbouring estate of Calbourne, Winchester had no interests in this part of the Island in 1086. It is however possible that such an estate was held by Winchester and was subsequently lost, perhaps reverting to the crown as part of defensive measures in the Late Saxon period (Fleming 1985). Neighbouring Calbourne, also purportedly granted to Winchester by Ecgberht (S274) belonged to Winchester in 1086. This charter was not, however, granted by Ecgberht and would appear to be a tenth-century concoction providing Winchester with title to its landholding (Edwards 1988, 156). The putative Shalfleet estate bordered Calbourne to the west, and it would have made sense for Winchester to expand its landholding to the west in the ninth century. The estate of charter S274 consisted of 30 hides. This can be calculated as extending over an area of 9,266 acres including an estimate of land lost through coastal erosion (Margham 2003, table 1). A landholding based on Shalfleet of 40 hides would presumably have been even more extensive. The combined area of Shalfleet, Thorley and Yarmouth parishes, along with the addition of St Nicholas detached at Shalcombe and the portion of Mottistone parish beyond the bounds of the reconstruction of S274 amounts to approximately 8,000 acres (Map 6.4), not including land lost through coastal erosion. The estimated

area of S281 is broadly comparable in size to the Calbourne estate before fragmentation from the Late Saxon period onwards, so it is possible that such an estate did exist.

The purported ecclesiastical estate of Shalfleet may have had a minster *parochia* counterpart. Payment by Yarmouth church of a 13s 4d pension to Shalfleet church recorded in 1305 (Worsley 1781, appendix LXXXI) implies that both Yarmouth and Thorley were its daughter churches.[68] The configuration of parish boundaries mapped in 1862/3, along with the former extent of the Calbourne estate (S274: Margham 2006, fig. 4) suggests that the parishes of Yarmouth, Thorley, much of Mottistone, and the Shalcombe area, were formerly part of Shalfleet. This observation is strengthened by the existence of the almost detached portion of Shalfleet parish in the Hulverstone area,[69] demonstrating that Shalfleet parish had a south coast.

Assuming that Shalfleet was a superior church in the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period, diminution of apparent status to proprietary church after the Conquest needs explaining. Such status reduction was a relatively widespread phenomenon from the mid-ninth to the late-eleventh century, with places which were minster churches appearing 'by the end of it as secular places containing residually important churches' (Blair 2005, 323). This can be seen as part of the same process in which 'the circumstances of the First Viking-Age drove much ecclesiastical property into lay hands' (Dumville 1992, 53). Alienation of minsters to lay landholders was occurring during the reign of Alfred. Blair (2005, 324-6) cites the gifts to Asser of Congresbury and Banwell (both Somerset) by Alfred, and that at least nine places with a monastic past or *-mynster* place-names feature in Alfred's will. This continued into the eleventh century, illustrated by the partition of Deerhurst estate between the minster and Earl Odda (d.1056). This seemingly included division of the minster precinct, the northern half being retained by the community and the southern developed as the earl's residence, including construction of the chapel for the soul of Earl Odda's

[68] Thorley paid a pension of 20s 1426x1447, but not recorded to whom (Worsley 1781, appendix LXXXVII). Shalfleet church was a possible recipient, although with the granting of the advowson to Christchurch Priory 1155x1161 (Bearman 1994, no. 11) the latter is likely. Yarmouth paid a pension of 13s 4d and Thorley a pension of £1 in 1291, but the recipients are not mentioned (Astle *et al.,* 1802, 211).

[69] It may be significant that in the Royal Survey commissioned 1559 for defence purposes, the Centon of Mottistone included the parishes of Shalfleet, Thorley and Yarmouth (Webster 1975).

brother Ælfic (Blair 2005, 328). Before 1066 the six hides of Shalfleet had been held by Eadric (53v). This was a 'secular' estate, with any direct connection with the church of Winchester being in the past at this date.

Shalfleet Minster?

Unlike Carisbrooke and other superior churches such as Arreton, Calbourne and Brading, Shalfleet is located a significant distance from the Island's Lateral Ridge margins, on a site peripheral to its *parochia,* within a very short distance of its boundary. Various reasons for this anomaly can be cited, although with our present stage of knowledge none can be verified:

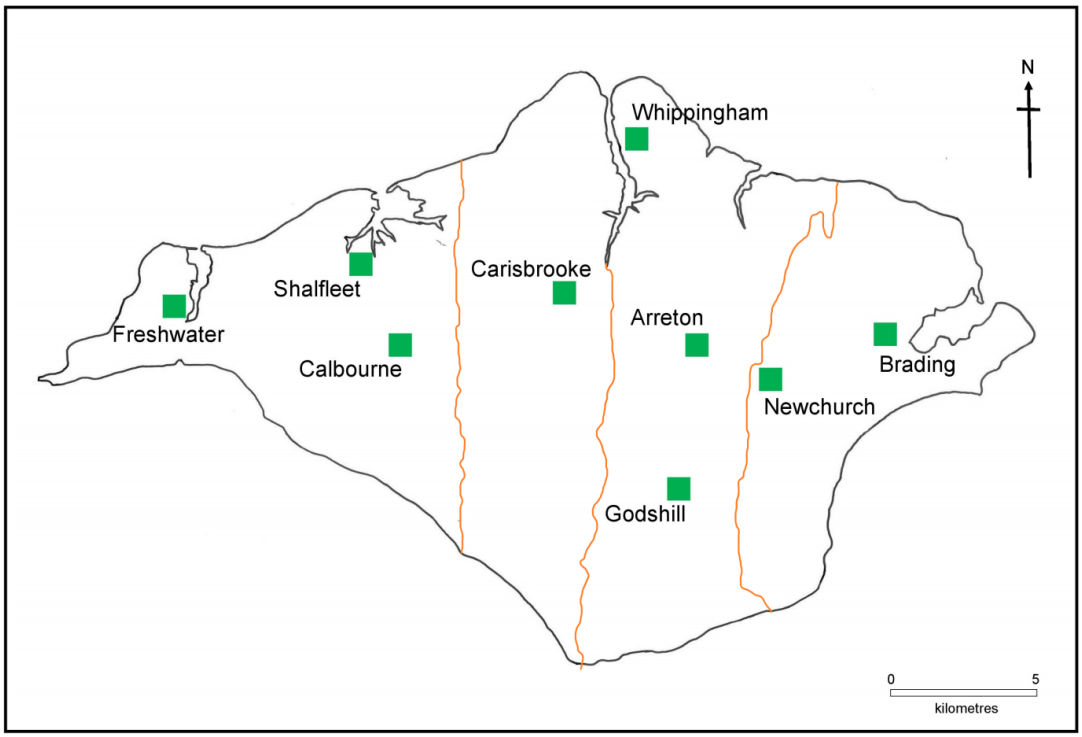
1. Shalfleet church was a 'minster' church that originated in the late seventh or eighth century, but was atypical in terms of its position within its *parochia.*
2. Shalfleet church was a 'superior' church but was 'secondary', *ie.* originating as such after the late seventh/early eighth century, perhaps if and when the estate was obtained by Winchester;
3. The first church in the area was located at Churchills and had pastoral responsibilities for the wider *parochia* before this function was transferred to the present church site*;*
4. Shalfleet was in some other way different from an apparent 'system' of superior churches and *parochiae*.

The 'minster hypothesis' and the Isle of Wight

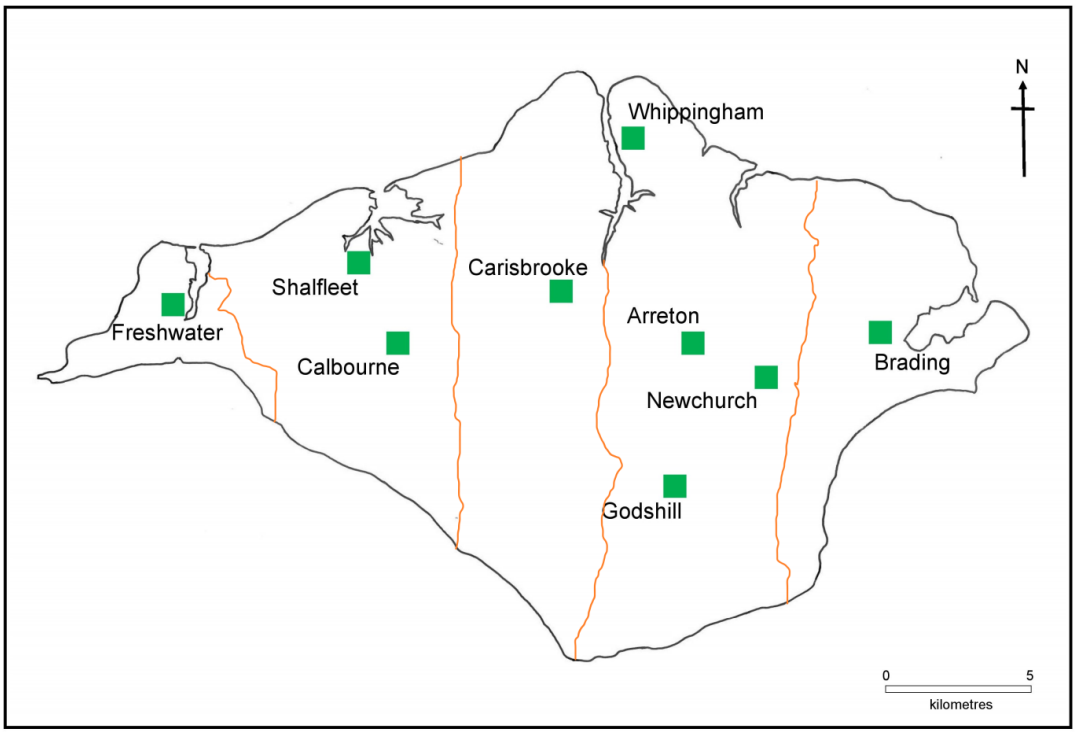
Although the origin of Carisbrooke church in the late seventh or eighth century cannot be proven, evidence presented above concerning its status and nature and extent of its former *parochia* accords with the 'minster hypothesis' at least in its revised form dating from the publication of *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Blair and Sharpe 1992). Evidence from Shalfleet, in contrast, is equivocal. It had a large parish when mapped in the nineteenth century, and the detached portion on the south coast at Hulverstone, along with the pension paid to Shalfleet by Yarmouth church suggests a substantial *parochia.* This dichotomy regarding the application of the 'minster hypothesis' can be briefly reviewed for other areas of the Island.

Although church origins in the late seventh or early eighth centuries cannot be proven for Calbourne and Brading, reconstructions of their former mother-parishes do accord with the 'minster hypothesis'. Calbourne church had documented links with Brighstone (Map 5.3), while Brading had such links with Yaverland and Shanklin and would appear to have included St Helens (Chapter 7, p.204). Reconstructions based on other superior churches are more problematic. Documented links would suggest that Brook was formerly part of Freshwater's mother parish (Hockey 1982, 12). Newchurch retained a transect parish from the north to the south coast until after surveying of the 1862/3 Ordnance maps. Its place-name may suggest a new church site or a rebuilding (Gelling 1981, 8). The configuration of Bonchurch's boundary suggests it was formerly part of a *parochia* which included Newchurch, but the place-name and local tradition associating it with St Boniface could indicate the early foundation of a local church (Chapter 5).[70] The block of land to the west of Newchurch and east of the Medina contains three superior churches: Arreton, Whippingham and Godshill. It is possible that Arreton, a documented royal vill in King Alfred's will (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 175), was a 'minster' and that both Whippingham and Godshill were its daughter-churches. The only other evidence to support this, however, are observations that the 'minsters'/superior churches of Calbourne, Carisbrooke and Brading have central locations within their mother parishes adjoining the Lateral Ridge and the configuration of parish boundaries within this block of land. A possible reconstruction of Island-wide *parochiae* was mapped by Hase (1975; Map 6.5). An alternative reconstruction is equally plausible (Map 6.6).

[70] Newchurch has no documented links with other churches. It may be significant that Knighton tithing straddled the Arreton/Newchurch parish boundary suggesting that linear Newchurch parish forming part of a *parochia* centred on Arreton (Basford 2013, 221). However, a contra argument is supported by Whitefield Farm being within Brading parish and Little Whitefield in Newchurch separated by Monktonmead Brook, probably Domesday 'another Whitefield' and 'Whitefield' respectively (53), suggesting a connection with Brading parish. Also see foot-note 90, p.207 for this issue.



Map 6.5: Possible *parochiae* on the Isle of Wight adapted from Hase (1975, 234-5) showing superior churches



Map 6.6: An alternative reconstruction of Isle of Wight *parochiae* adapted from Basford (2013, fig. 9.16) showing superior churches

Chapter 7 will review the debate over the 'multiple estate model' and will include three case studies of its application to the Island. Carisbrooke will be revisited, and evidence from blocks of land centred on Brading and Calbourne will be examined.

Issues involved in the primacy of defining areas subject to ‘minsters’ (*parochiae*) or to civil ‘multiple estates’ will also be addressed.

Chapter Seven

Estates, Manors and the 'Multiple Estate' Model

Introduction

Chapter 3 introduced the Anglo-Saxon land charters for the Island, defined its two main hundreds from Domesday Book evidence, and provided an overview of territorial organisation in the later eleventh century. This evidence is of fundamental importance in facilitating the reconstruction of estates' territorial organisation in the mid and late Anglo-Saxon period. Exploration of territorial geography in the present chapter will provide a context for investigating settlement patterns in subsequent chapters and will inform the landscape development model to be presented in the concluding chapter.

The 'minster hypothesis' explored in Chapter 6 emphasises the centrality of high-status churches and the existence of extensive *parochiae* which became fragmented through the establishment of local churches. A parallel concept in the 'secular' world is the 'multiple estate' model which is often used as an explanation of early medieval territorial organisation. This envisages the former existence of extensive estates and seeks to explain the relationship between estates' cores and peripheries before fragmentation into individual manors. This chapter will commence by defining this model, outline its development, and critique its validity drawing on wider research throughout Britain. The model will be applied to three contrasting estates: Bowcombe, Brading and Calbourne. The findings of this process will then inform a discussion of its appropriateness to early medieval Wight.

The 'Multiple Estate' Model

The development of the Model

A 'multiple estate' has been succinctly defined by Richard Fletcher (2002, 49) as

> a unit of agrarian exploitation organized round a central settlement to which the inhabitants of outlying subsidiary settlements, sometimes a considerable distance away, are required to render goods and services, and at which they must attend to observe legal and administrative routines.

The model was developed by Glanville Jones having its origin in his work on the territorial organisation of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century (Smith 2011, 10; Roberts

with Barnwell 2011, 25).[71] Jones was influenced by Frederic Seebohm's (1895) study of Welsh society.[72] Seebohm saw Welsh social organisation as having a 'Celtic' quality which differed from that of medieval England (Smith 2011, 12), whereas Jones went on to apply his ideas to England and Northumbria in particular. Jones' early studies of Anglesey and Wales informed all his later thinking (Roberts with Barnwell 2011, 25), including the application of what he termed the 'multiple estate' model beyond the Principality.

Jones (1966) commenced his work through studying Anglesey's bond townships in relation to various geographical factors, including location, aspect and soil quality. He argued that estates tended to include settlements which probably had a long history being closely associated with a royal court (*llys*) within each commote (a secular land division). The court was near the *maerdref*, a nucleated settlement whose demesnes were worked by bondmen providing for the prince and his household during their itinerary. Outlying hamlets were inhabited by bondmen who were largely pastoralists, also providing for the *maerdref* (Smith 2011, 14). Jones was keen to dispel the notion of earlier researchers' emphasis on Welsh 'tribal' society having a largely pastoral basis: 'Agricultural production among bond and free communities alike was shown to be based on open-field cultivation, with intermixed ownership of arable quillets in sharelands' (Smith 2011, 15). However, the model had a significant pastoral element. Boundaries within Gwynedd were demarcated so that township land extended from coastal lowlands into the interior, enabling exploitation of upland pastoral resources. Both freemen and bondmen were required to move their livestock from the *hendre* (lowland permanent settlements) to the *hafod* (summer upland pastures) at specific times of the year (Smith 2011, 18-19). For Jones, a 'multiple estate' was essentially a territorial entity based on complementary resources 'whose eventual purpose was to transfer agricultural produce and service from a population of farmers to those in "authority"' (Roberts with Barnwell 2011, 27). He argued that settlement patterns he identified on Anglesey and elsewhere in Gwynedd could be found over much of Wales and beyond.

[71] Geoffrey Barrow (1969, 1973) argued for the former existence of analogous estates in Scotland and northern England.
[72] Other influences were pioneering publications on the governance of Anglo-Saxon England, *eg.* Maitland (1897) and Jolliffe (1926).

Jones' 'multiple estates' also had a time-depth: 'In the post-Roman period the multiple estate, with its characteristic sharing of functions between different component settlements, appears to have provided a guiding framework for the evolution, or devolution, of settlement' (Jones 1972, 373). This is illustrated in the two diagrams he published showing a hypothetical Welsh 'multiple estate' and of the settlement and administrative patterns likely to have developed in northern England by the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Jones 1971, fig. 3.1). As Roberts with Barnwell (2011, 39) have commented there is a presumption that elements of the Welsh model represent 'a putative antecedent' to the depiction within the second diagram. This parallel between Gwynedd, in particular Aberffraw on Anglesey, and the former kingdom of Elmet was developed in a later paper (Jones 1975). Jones suggested that fifth- and sixth-century inscribed stones attested the existence of political units in North Wales and that 'at least as early as the seventh century, if not long before, there must have been at the administrative core of the Hundred of Aberffraw … an ancient multiple estate with two important components, a court settlement at Aberffraw proper and a church settlement at Eglwys Ail' (Jones 1975, quoted by Roberts with Barnwell 2011, 51). This was used as a model to create 'a conceptual framework within which to place the much more fragmentary evidence that is available for Elmet, in southern Yorkshire' (Hadley 1996, 10). Jones claimed that such 'multiple estates' could 'possess a substantive duration in time, and indeed, even when entirely ruptured by subsequent developments, could leave faint signs, traces, fossil traits, buried in later actualities such as cultural landscape textures, spatial links and place-names' (Roberts with Barnwell 2011, 26). It is these apparent residual features that will be examined in the three Isle of Wight case studies.

The Model and its Critics

The reception of Glanville Jones' 'multiple estate' model has been varied. This has ranged from dismissal, for example Bassett (1989, 20), Seaman (2012) and Comeau (2020), to qualified acceptance (Blair 1991; Faith 1997; Winchester 2008). An explicit criticism was published by Nicky Gregson (1985), to which Jones (1985) replied. Several of Glanville Jones' papers were reproduced in a volume subsequent to this debate (Barnwell and Roberts 2011), which included an extensive discussion of 'The Multiple Estates of Glanville Jones' (Roberts with Barnwell 2011, 25-128). Gregson's

critique is the most robust and systematic and as such has been selected to test evidence from the Island. Her criticisms were arranged under three headings: problems of definition, method and empirical application. These will form the structure of the first part of the 'multiple estate' model critique here, but will include observations by other writers, including those in Jones' reply (1985).

Criticism regarding definition is concerned with what is meant by the model and what it is that makes it distinct from other forms of inter-settlement organisation such as the manor. Gregson (1985, 343) was concerned that 'there is a strong possibility that …. The multiple estate model and specific units of inter-settlement organisation will become undifferentiated entities in research contexts'. She argued that many settlement organisation units could be seen as 'multiple estates' due to imprecise definition, suggesting in many instances 'The term "estate" is just as appropriate' (1985, 344). Jones replied citing an earlier publication that the idea of a 'multiple estate' was 'a working hypothesis on continuity capable of general application' (Jones 1961, 174) and that at a later date he introduced the concept as a framework for studying settlement evolution, rather than a model to be followed rigidly (Jones 1971, 250-67; 1985, 354).

Another criticism concerns testing the model's applicability (Gregson 1985, 344).The model is seen by Gregson as having two fundamental problems; firstly as a normative model which assumes reality of its own, and secondly that there is a tendency to explain phenomena in terms of the model. An example of the latter is seeing the evolution of settlement from the sixth century to the eleventh in terms of the model, claiming that 'The entire set-up is self-confirming, a classic example of a circular argument' (Gregson 1985, 345). Jones (1985, 353) challenged this stating that his model was based on close analysis of presentations in thirteenth-century Welsh law books and a comprehensive use of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manorial sources for territorial organization evidence. He defended promulgation of his ideas as a model, for 'Like all models, these were simplified structures of actuality, presenting supposedly significant features in a generalised form' (Jones 1985, 354). He took issue with Gregson's assertion that his interpretation was framed in terms of the model and stated that patterns of organization were recorded by him, rather than being inferred (Jones 1985, 354).

Gregson (1985, 346) listed the specific criteria for the model to be tested against the empirical evidence from any area which was claimed to be a multiple estate. This outlined the essential characteristics of such an estate as defined in Jones' (1971) paper 'The Multiple Estate as a Model Framework for Tracing Early Stages in the Evolution of Rural Settlement'. Gregson (1985, 347) acknowledged the limitations of this approach. Whilst Roberts with Barnwell (2011, 53, 347) do not use this 'check list' in their critique and are critical of Gregson's paper, they acknowledge that this approach served a useful function in highlighting these criteria and in eliciting a response and recapitulation of the model by Jones. These criteria are reproduced in Table 7.1, where they are applied to the three case studies.[73] Gregson claimed that of the 23 'multiple estates' published by Jones which she analysed, only the evidence from Aberffraw met all criteria (Gregson 1985, table 1). Jones reworked this material, adding several more positive identifications of criteria to his published estates (Jones 1985, table 1), thus strengthening this empirical approach.

Whilst the model was formulated from documentary evidence dating from the later medieval period (in conjunction with the topographical context) Jones argued for its application to much earlier periods. Wendy Davies was willing to accept the model as relevant to royal exploitation in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Wales but argued that 'The problems lie in its application to the pre-Conquest period' due to fragmentary evidence (Davies 1982, 44).[74] A similar concern regarding the early medieval period in northern England was raised by Dawn Hadley (1996, 8), pointing out that much work on 'multiple estates' has either not identified their origins or have projected them back to before the Anglo-Saxon period, and 'It is highly unlikely that territorial organization in the Anglo-Saxon period should have been immutable'. This can be contrasted with Fletcher's comment (2002, 50-1) that 'It is now clear that the multiple estate system - for it may well have been more systematic than now

[73] Roberts with Barnwell (1011, 40-1) extended the check list used by Gregson (1985) and Jones (1985) by introducing a further six criteria: grazing rights, dominal servitude/slavery, partiable inheritance of freehold land, extensive royal or mediated lordship, generally compact landholdings until the introduction of feudalism, and dominal mill rights and services. The criteria in Table 6.1 differ from Gregson's with inclusion of early topographical place-names in category 7 whose relevance will be examined more fully in Chapter 8.

[74] Seaman (2012, 168) considered that Jones' work on Aberffraw provided 'very thin evidence on which to reconstruct several hundred years of local administration'. Later Davies argued that the 'multiple estate' model confused the two aspects of power over land: the proprietary control of profits of land exploitation, and the rule of wider territories associated with law making (Davies 1990, 81-2, 82 n. 4). Comeau (2020, 173) critiqued the model emphasising a 'confusion of scale, transposition of elements, and absence of [a focus on] assembly or trade' (Gleeson 2021, 105).

appears in the surviving sources - goes back to a very remote, possibly prehistoric antiquity'. Likewise, Glanville Jones concluded his rebuttal of Gregson by stating that 'multiple estates' 'appear to reflect arrangements of great antiquity' (Jones 1985, 361). A possible way forward with such a dichotomy of views is that advanced by Roberts with Barnwell (2011, 98):

> In our view, the multiple estate is not to be seen as either as a 'British survival' or as part of a single imposed unified system, rather it must be viewed as one of a set of temporally overlapping cultural tendencies or arrangements, parts of dynamic social and economic landscapes.[75]

This statement accords with Ros Faith's conclusion that it is appropriate to see the 'multiple estate' as part of a process, rather than a relic of antique social organization, with 'Its component centres and dependencies …. [as] a widespread and evolving series of responses to the realities of politics, agriculture and settlement' (Faith 1997, 12).

A further criticism is incomplete evidence. As part of their critique of the model, Roberts and Barnwell cite an authority on Palaeolithic cave art: 'We must relinquish a desire for absolute proof and content ourselves with degrees of confidence as constituted by internal consistency, logic and the intertwining of mutually sustaining and contrasting evidential strands' (Lewis-Williams 2002, 280). They point out that evidence regarding 'multiple estates' is 'necessarily broken, partial, ambiguous, and difficult of understanding, evidence upon which retrospective and retrogressive perspectives are then necessarily brought to bear' (Roberts with Barnwell 2011, 54). Evidence for 'multiple estates' on the Island be assessed through the three case studies taking this observation into account. As Roberts with Barnwell (2011, 109) have said, 'Each case must be considered and argued for by seeking "the intertwining of mutually sustaining and constraining evidential strands"'.[76]

Multiple Estates and the Isle of Wight

The three case studies will be presented in the following format: the reason for the identification of each putative extensive estate will be outlined based on the

[75] This raises the 'continuity' issue. Roberts with Barnwell (2011, 100-105) categorize continuity as territorial, of sites and settlement, onamastic (place-names), demographic, and of renders, obligations and service. These will be addressed in the three case studies and in Chapters 9 and 10.
[76] The source of their quotation is not specified.

reconstruction of *parochiae*, the evidence of charters and hundredal geography, and comments will be made about the permeability of boundaries. This will be followed by a review of Domesday evidence for the estate or its potential constituent parts, including charters in the case of Bowcombe. The 'empirical' evidence based on the tabulations by Gregson (1985) and Jones (1985) and summarized in Table 7.1 will then be reviewed. This will include evaluation of evidence for central places/areas and will be related to the availability of contrasting or complementary resources within the estate and the function of peripheral areas. An evaluation will be made regarding the appropriateness of identification of these three land units as extensive estates and more specifically as 'multiple estates' using the criteria set out in Table 7.1.

Case Study: Bowcombe

An Extensive Estate?

The *parochia* of Carisbrooke has been reconstructed (Chapter 6) as an area of 24,030 acres (9,725ha) consisting of several parishes and an extra-parochial area extending across the Isle of Wight from north to south to the west of the Medina. Carisbrooke's minster was within the Domesday manor of Bowcombe which was rated at only four hides in 1066 (52). Despite its apparent relatively low hidage, the following discussion will explore the hypothesis that, like the relationship of the later medieval parish of Carisbrooke to its former *parochia*, Domesday Bowcombe represented the rump of a much more extensive estate coterminous with Carisbrooke's *parochia.*

The Domesday Evidence

Bowcombe's Domesday entry commences 'The king holds Bowcombe in demesne. It belonged to King Edward's farm. It was assessed at 4 hides; now at nothing' (52). The rating of the manor at 4 hides would appear to be a case of 'beneficial hidation', a reduction in geld liability.[77] When comparing the number of hides *TRE* and *TRE* ploughlands, Bowcombe's ratio of 4 hides to 15 ploughlands is at variance with all

[77] The only explicit reference to 'beneficial hidation' on the Isle of Wight occurs in the account of the Bishop of Winchester's Calbourne estate, which states that 'There are 32 hides; but it only paid geld TRE, as now, for 17 hides' (52v).

other Island manors.[78] It was generally the case for the 27 separate landholdings within Carisbrooke's *parochia* of the ratio in the order of 1:2. It can therefore be suggested that Bowcombe's hidage in 1066 was seven or eight hides, rather than four. Bowcombe was thus a relatively substantial area appearing to have included the Carisbrooke area, the Bowcombe Valley and adjoining downland, along with Alvington (Parkhurst) Forest and much of what would later be known as Northwood parish, the two hides of Luton being exceptions (Map 7.1).

Domesday Book provides no explicit evidence for former connections between Bowcombe and other manors. There is, however, evidence for some connections. Bowcombe 'belonged to King Edward's farm'.[79] The Domesday entry for Amesbury (Wiltshire) includes the statement that 'This manor, […] with all its appendages, renders a farm of 1 night with all customary dues' and then mentions that the manor included the lands of 3 thegns and that it was these lands in Amesbury that Earl William fitzOsbern gave in return for the loan of Bowcombe (Williams and Martin 1992, 162; Appendix 9.3). Thus Bowcombe contributed to King Edward's farm. Some 6km to the south of Bowcombe Farm is the small parish of Kingston where a one-hide manor was held in parage by Wulfric *TRE* (52v). Although it was held by the king in 1086 it is not specified whether Wulfric had held it of King Edward, but this place-name, recorded in 1086 as *Chingestune*, implies royal 'ownership' before the Conquest.[80] Kingston was plausibly the collection point for the 'farm of one night' for the portion of Bowcombe estate to south of the Lateral Ridge given its central situation within the later medieval parishes of Kingston, Chale and Shorwell (Margham 2016b, 13*).*[81] Two further apparent connections with outlying manors will be discussed below.

[78] Sally Harvey (1985, 91) pointed out that the ploughlands to hides ratio was in the order of 2:1 in south Northamptonshire.
[79] The 'farm of one night': 'the amount of produce which would support the king and his retinue for one 24-hour period, paid by certain groups of royal estates' (Williams and Martin 1992, 1432).
[80] Although parage implies equality of inheritance division amongst family members, manors were in some instances stated as being held in parage of King Edward, for example the half a hide held by Wulfsige in Chale (54).
[81] This may not totally explain the place-name. It is possible that Kingston had a connection with the king, other than functioning as a collection centre, in the later seventh and eighth century (Jill Bourne, pers. comm.).

Boundaries, Anglo-Saxon Charters and later manorial evidence

Three further strands of evidence suggest that Domesday Bowcombe was the core of a formerly much more extensive estate: boundaries; Anglo-Saxon land charters documenting loss of lands from the Carisbrooke *parochia*; and later documentary evidence of the extent of Bowcombe and Alvington manors. The eastern boundary of a putative estate centred on Bowcombe was the Medina estuary and the river upstream. As we have already seen, this formed the boundary between the two hundreds of Bowcombe and the un-named hundred in the eastern half of the Island later known as the East Medine (Chapter 3). Such a hundredal boundary does not necessarily mean that it was an estate boundary, or one of any great antiquity, but the name Bowcombe Hundred, first recorded in S821 with the restoration of lands in *Etdrethecumb* during the reign of King Edgar, may suggest this. The 'lost' charter of King Cuthred purporting to grant 22 hides in *Wippingeham* (ECW4), if relating to an area broadly coterminous with the later parish of Whippingham, may be of relevance here. The charter, if recording a genuine grant to Winchester Old Minster, and when related to the Whippingham parish boundary as mapped in 1862/3 implies, that the Medina estuary was a significant estate boundary which continued southwards for a further 1.5km from the present-day tidal limit of the river. The name Medina, first recorded *c.*1200, means 'middle' which can be expanded to 'the middle river, the river in the middle of the Island' (Kökeritz 1940, 5). This may have been significant in an administrative sense, relating to estate boundaries as well as Hundreds.

The western boundary of Bowcombe's estate would have been the eastern boundary of Winchester's Calbourne landholding. This was defined in the bounds of S274, as we have seen, probably a tenth-century concoction to provide Winchester title to its estate (Edwards 1988, 156); Winchester's interest in Calbourne may have originated in the late seventh century (Finberg 1964, 217). The northern 6.2km of this boundary is also defined by the bounds of S766, Watchingwell's confirmation to Wilton in 968 (Margham 2006, 85-8, fig. 3). It was explained in Chapter 5 that this documents the loss of an estate of five hides on the western boundary of the Carisbrooke *parochia* and ECW103 documents the loss of two hides to Winchester Old Minster at its south-western extremity. It may be significant that one of the two Domesday manors of Chale in the south-east of the *parochia* was held of King Edward in 1066 (54), thus perhaps indicating a vestige of an extensive royal estate. However, along with

Chale, only Gatcombe, *Haldley* (Rowridge), Loverstone, one of the three Shide manors and Wolverton (Shorwell) were recorded as being held of King Edward from a total of 27 manors within Carisbrooke's *parochia* (52, 52v, 53, 53v).

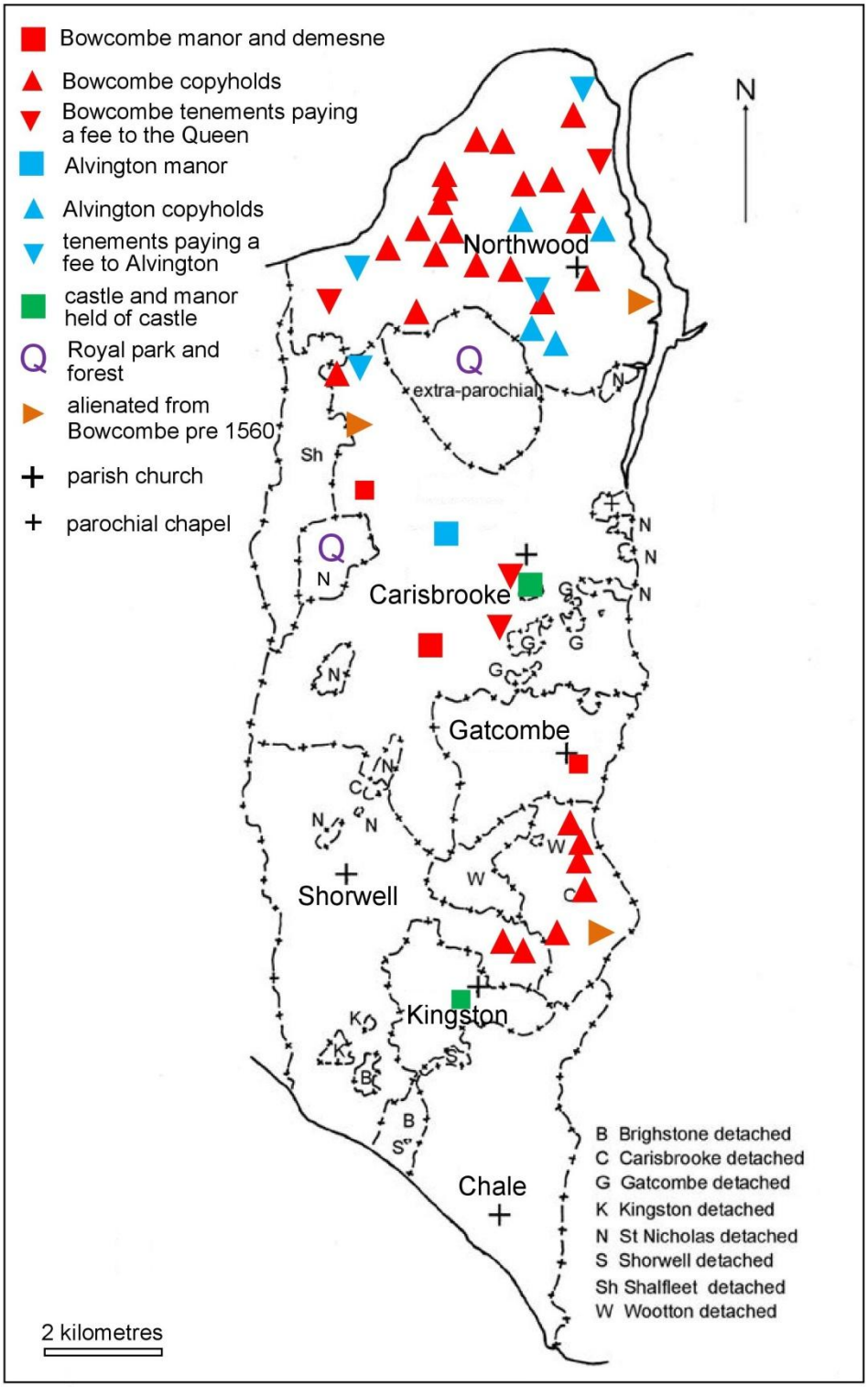
Post-Conquest manorial evidence can be cited to indicate tenurial relationships between Bowcombe and outlying landholdings to support Carisbrooke's *parochia* being coterminous with Bowcombe's estate. This documentary evidence for the extent of Bowcombe and Alvington manors in the 1560 survey of royal lands is set out in Table 7.1:

Kingston Tithing [Kingston parish] • Kingston Manor, 298 acres, 'holdeth by the castle of Carisbrooke'
South Shorwell Tithing [Shorwell parish] • Three copyhold tenements of Bowcombe Manor (later Billingham House and West Billingham)
Chillerton Tithing [Carisbrooke detached] • Copyholdings held of Bowcombe Manor: tenements at Roslin, Lower Rill, Upper Rill, Upper Loverstone and Nether Loverstone • Two tenements at Cridmore paid 'to the Queen for a fee of 6½d' (Cridmore had been granted away from Bowcombe Manor in 1290)
Gatcombe Tithing [Gatcombe parish] • Knocker's Hole 'of the Qwene's land' • Gatcombe Manor, 300 acres, rent plus 'and to the castell of Rasbrooke for fee 3s. 4d.'
Bowcombe Tithing [Carisbrooke parish] • Lease from the Crown of 'the farm of Boocom' [Bowcombe Manor Farm], 450 acres (and payment of 43s 4d to Carisbrooke Priory) • A voyd tenement of the Quene's land of 16 acres [Froglands] • Tenement of 11 acres with fee rent to the Qwene [Longlands] • 1 house, 1 mill and 1 acre of land: land of the Queen [Castle Mill] • Youngwood [Yongwoods Farm] held 'of the Quene by copy, as parcel of the manor of Bowcombe'. • Rodgebrookes had been granted away from Bowcombe Manor by the mother of Isabella de Fortibus but in 1560 2s 6d was still payable to the Agister for common grazing rights in Parkhurst Forest. • Small parcels of land held by Ralph Bound and William Searle by copy of the Queen • Vittlefield Close (150 acres) was part of the manor house or demesnes of Bowcombe in 1560: [a detached part of Bowcombe tithing, lying north of Park and west of Parkhurst Forest]. • (Apes Down and 3 acres of Monken Down was part of Bowcombe Manor in 1560 but from the 13th century it was owned by Wilton Abbey)
Parke Tithing [St Nicholas detached] • Great Park ('King's Park'/'Carisbrooke Park belonging to the Queen's Majesty')
Shide Tithing [Carisbrooke parish/extra-parochial] • 'The Queene's Forest of Parkhurst', 2,500 acres
Northwood Parish • Werrar, granted to God's House (Southampton) *c*. 1200, the overlord of the grantee being William de Redvers • Tenements held mainly by copy of Bowcombe Manor: Alees [in Gurnard], Cams by Sticelett, Chawton, Lower Cockleton, Over Cockleton, Dyrling, Gayboard alias Dukes, Gurnard Farm, Hillies [Hillis], The Moore, Pallance, Ragfield [Bassetts Farm], Rickmans, Ridge, Upper Riddle [Rew Street], Lower Ruddle [Rew Stree]), Shamblard (fee paid to Crown) [Cowes], Skinner's Grove, Somerton, Stagwell, Symingtons, Great Thorness (lease), Whippance, two parcels of Wyneat's Ground

• Fees paid to Alvington Farm: Barnets (2d), Heathy Hill (Whitehouse) (7s), Luton (a couple of capons), Noke (6d), Place (5s), cottage and land at Rew (12d), Wynet's (4s), unnamed tenement (probably at Gurnard) (12d) • Copyholds of Alvington Farm: Crockers, Hornhill, Medham, Nodefield (Nodes), Wroxall • Incomplete record of amount of payment and to whom (?Alvington): Little Thorness

Table 7.1: Constituent parts of the manor of Bowcombe as documented in the 1560 Royal Survey and other evidence for links between landholdings and Bowcombe manor, Alvington manor and Carisbrooke Castle arranged by tithings (Webster 1975-1999; Vicky Basford, pers. comm.). Unless specified, the information presented is from the 1560 survey.[82]

[82] The extent of the *manerii de Bonecumbe* of 1299/1300 (BL Add MS 6166, 181-219) provides a similar picture to the 1560 survey regarding the distribution of the manorial lands of Bowcombe, with the following featuring prominently: Billingham. Bowcombe, Cockleton, Cridmore, Gurnard, Loverstone and Northwood. Reference to *Atherflet* [Atherfield] may represent Bowcombe's continued interest here after independent manor formation in this area.



Map 7.1: The 1560 Royal Survey information for Carisbrooke's *parochia* with the addition of former constituents of Bowcombe manor alienated before 1560. Three Bowcombe copyholds have not been located accurately- *Rickmans* and *Wynets* in Northwood and *Longlands* in Carisbrooke. Parish boundaries from 1862/3 six-inch Ordnance Survey.

This information is presented in Map 7.1, indicating widespread connections between the *parochia's* periphery with the estate's core, particularly within the west of Carisbrooke parish, Carisbrooke (detached) and Northwood parish.

'Multiple Estate' Empirical Evidence

The 'empirical evidence' categories for a 'multiple estate' as defined by Gregson (1985) applicable to Bowcombe are the spatial grouping of townships, social hierarchy, ministerial group, free tenure, bondmen, hospitality, ancient food renders, early place-names and archaeological evidence (Table 7.1). These will be discussed in turn.

	Bowcombe	**Brading**	**Calbourne**
1. Spatial grouping of townships within medieval estate etc.	*	*	*
2. Lord/morphological surrogate	*	*	*
3. Ministerial group	*		
4. Free tenure	*	*	*
5. Bondmen	*	*	*
6a. Construction			
6b. Hospitality	*	?	
6c. Ancient food renders	*	?	
6d. Carriage service			
6e. Hunt service	*		
6f. Wartime service			
6g. Agricultural labour service			
7a. Celtic/Brittonic place-name	?		?
7b. Early Anglo-Saxon place-name	*	*	*
8. Archaeological evidence	*	*	*

Categories of evidence:

1. A group, or groups, of associated upland and lowland townships containing vills, hamlets and other settlement groupings occurring within the bounds of medieval or earlier estates, rural

deaneries, hundreds or wards. Not necessarily temporally contingent with his unit, we would expect to find one or more of the following important places within this township grouping: a royal vill, an important estate centre, the focus of a rural deanery, the centre of a great monastic manor, the centre of a hundred or a medieval market. In addition group/groups should show a continuity of association as far back as the immediate pre-Norman period.

2. A social hierarchy comprising a lord, if not mentioned by name, then a morphological surrogate such as a palace-hall-complex should be discernible as a functioning entity in the documentary record.
3. Below the lord, a three-tier grouping comprising, in the first tier, a ministerial group-often termed thanes and drengs- whose responsibilities included administration, supervision and overall organization of the lord's service demands.
4. In the second tier, freemen, those rendering light cash payments and owing minimal service in return for holding land by free tenure.
5. In the third tier, bondmen, the bond tenants upon whom the most onerous proportion of service demands fell.
6. A highly developed service network linking the entire group of townships in which the service function of settlements is differentiated. The types of service: construction work, hospitality, ancient food renders, carriage, all of which may be reflected in commuted money payments.
7. The above criteria should preferably be supplemented by material indicative of general settlement antiquity, specifically early place-name evidence, particularly Celtic or Early Saxon elements (*-hām; -ingham; -ingas*) [+ early topographical]
8. Relevant archaeological evidence pointing to major settlement in the remote past such as Romano-British settlement, Iron Age hill forts or a concentration of per-historic routeways (categories from Gregson 1985, 346, with addition of early topographical place-names)

Table 7.2: 'Multiple estate' model features for Bowcombe, Brading and Calbourne, based on Gregson (1985, Table 1) and Jones (1985, Table 1)

Township Grouping: The putative extensive estate of Bowcombe encompassed some of all five of the contrasting landscape regions identified in Chapter 4. It therefore included both upland resources within the Lateral Ridge and Southern Massif, the lowland resources of the Northern Lowlands and Southern Vale as well as a small area of the Undercliff. Contrasting and complementary resources of these regions are reflected in place-names, for example Furzeyhurst, Northwood and Watchingwell (*Hwætincg le[ah]* S766) in the Northern Lowlands; *Haldley* and Rainsgrove within the Lateral Ridge, and Atherfield and Cridmore in the Southern Vale. The township structure is illustrated by the distribution of the eleven outlying *tūn* place-names.[83] These are distributed throughout the putative estate, except within Alvington (Parkhurt) Forest and the interior of the Lateral Ridge's plateau (Margham 2017a, map 1, table 1; Map 8.6). Six were recorded in 1086: Alvington, Chillerton, Gotten, Loverstone, Luton and Kingston. The political tithing (township) structure of the Isle of Wight does not become apparent until the fourteenth century.

[83] Not including *Quidhampton,* discussed below, p.203

The *Nomina Villarum* of 1316 provides the following as the names of *hameletti* or *villae* within the area of Bowcombe's putative estate: Watchingwell, Northwood, Park, Carisbrooke, Shide, Chale, Atherfield, Bowcombe, Gatcombe, Newport, Chillerton, Kingston, South Shorwell and North Shorwell (Feudal Aids 1900, 321-2). This administrative pattern, with the exception of the late twelfth-century foundation of Newport, may have originated earlier than the Hundred Ordinance issued at some time between 939 and *c.*961 (Whitelock 1955, 429-30; Margham 2013a, 12-13). This arrangement was probably 'an administrative subdivision of the hundred, literally a "tenth", and was a natural development from the vills into which the estates dependent upon a royal *tun* had been divided' (Yorke 1995, 130).

Lordship: As we have seen, Bowcombe formed part of King Edward's farm and was held directly by the king in 1066 and it can be argued that Bowcombe had been a royal estate for a significant period before 1066. A *burh* reusing the late Roman 'Lower Enclosure' overlooking the minster church site was certainly in existence by the early eleventh century (Young 2000, 191). It has been argued that this was previously an Alfredian fortification not listed in either of the two surviving recensions of the *Burghal Hidage* (Margham 2015a, 22-4). This implies royal control of the area in the late ninth century. The adjoining eighth-century 'productive site' suggests such control at this earlier date (Ulmschneider 2003, 75, 77). The existence of a substantial early Anglo-Saxon cemetery on Bowcombe Down, the site of which gave its name to Bowcombe and became a hundredal meeting place, may also be relevant in this context (Margham 2013a, 6-7).[84]

Ministerial Group: Locations recording thegns *TRE* are Atherfield, Dungewood and Walpan where three thegns held these three manors, and Shorwell, where '3 thegns held it in parage, and they had 3 halls' (52v). These manors were *c.*7km and 4km from Bowcombe Farm, with Shorwell being on the southern margins of the 'Lateral Ridge and the group of three manors beyond Shorwell within the Southern Vale.

Free Tenure: The only instance of free tenure documented in Domesday Book within the putative extensive estate was Loverstone's half-hide, held by two free men in alod (53) on the eastern margins of the Lateral Ridge 3.7km to the south-east of Bowcombe Farm.

[84] It may be significant that no Anglo-Saxon charters were apparently issued for this 'central area', it being too significant for granting to secular or ecclesiastical landholders.

Bondmen: The three main categories of people enumerated in the Domesday folios are villans, borders and slaves. Whilst villans had a higher social and economic status than bordars, they were still notionally unfree, being subject to the manorial court (Roffe 2007, 225-6). Whilst bordars' precise status is uncertain, they 'always seem to have been dependents of one kind or another' (Roffe 2007, 219) being a miscellaneous category given a name which was Latin translation of a Norman French term (Faith 1997, 71-3). Bordars were smallholders who may have had a plough in common but did not have a regular share in the community's fields and some were working the lord's demesne. Some may have been tradesmen and others under-tenants of villans and free men (Roffe 2007, 226). The third group who appear routinely are slaves, being enumerated with the physical assets of each manor. All three categories can be regarded as bound to the land in some respect, but slaves were the least free. The proportion of bordars and slaves in relation to villans is presented in Table 7.3:

Bowcombe 'multiple estate': landscape regions/areas	**Manors with recorded population**	**Villans**	**Bordars**	**Slaves**
Northern Lowlands	4	19 (49%)	18 (46%)	2 (5%)
Bowcombe Manor	1	26 (37%)	35 (49%)	10 (14%)
Lateral Ridge and eastern margins	11	22 (23%)	57 (59%)	17 (18%)
Lateral Ridge/ Southern Vale	3	5 (17%)	16 (53%)	9 (30%)
Southern Vale	4	1 (4%)	22 (81%)	4 (15%)
Southern Vale/ Southern Massif	3	0 (0%)	8 (67%)	4 (33%)

Table 7.3 Bowcombe 'multiple estate', landscape regions and recorded numbers of villans, bordars and slaves. Bowcombe manor has been itemized separately due to its extensive area. There were also eight 'men' within Bowcombe manor.

The king held Bowcombe in demesne, within which were 25 villans, 15 bordars and 10 slaves (52). The total population within Bowcombe's bounds was greater than this as it included population beyond the demesne: one villan in William fitzStur's half a virgate, and eight men and 20 bordars' messuages within the virgate held by the monks of Lyre (on the messuages see Chapter 9, pp.297-300). Excluding these eight men and 20 bordars who can be located at Carisbrooke (Map 9.6) there is a similarity in the proportion of bordars with the four manors which were largely confined to the Northern Lowlands but had a lower proportion of slaves. The largest percentages of slaves were to be found in the Shorwell area immediately to the

south of the Lateral Ridge and in the Chale area adjoining the Southern Massif. The various areas of the putative Bowcombe 'multiple estate' had differing proportions of villans, bordars and slaves in 1086. This may reflect an historical situation relating to unfree tenure within an extensive estate or the contemporary situation within individual manors at the time of Domesday Book.

Hospitality and Hunt Service: Two Domesday Book entries provide potentially relevant information for hospitality and hunt service within the Bowcombe estate. One of the two entries for Cheverton states that William fitzStur 'has of the king 1 villan with half a virgate of land, and 1½ acres of land which Reginald the baker held of Earl William' and 'The earl's bakehouse was there' (52v). The bakehouse, some 2.5km from Bowcombe Farm and 4km from Carisbrooke Castle, thus served William fitzOsbern's household. It is possible that this bakery existed before fitzOsbern's time serving the estate centre. One of the two Domesday Book entries for Luton records that Wulfgeat the huntsman held it in parage *TRE* (52v). This site, either Luton Farm or the adjoining Chawton Farm, was just beyond the historic bounds of Parkhurst (Alvington) Forest (Chatters 1993, map 1), appearing to record service to the king.

Ancient Food Renders: The contribution to Amesbury's 'farm of one night' could be significant in this respect. This may have devolved from the food render documented in King Ine's late seventh-century laws (Whitelock 1955, 371; Lavelle 2013). Returning to Domesday evidence, William fitzStur was recorded as having paid £60 for four manors in the Bowcombe area: Bowcombe itself, *Haldley* (Rowridge), Luton and Shide (52, 52v). This may suggest that William was farming these manors, but it appears more likely that this sum 'was collected from them by William as their administrator' (Golding 1989, 19). This may have been a vestige of a long-established system for the payment of dues, perhaps connected to the 'farm of one night'.

Early Place-Names:[85] The place-names to be considered are the topographical names Bowcombe and nearby Carisbrooke, along with four potentially early habitative names: the two lost names *Faselham* and *Quidhampton,* Billingham and Atherfield. Bowcombe was recorded as *Bovecome* and *Bouecome* in 1086. It is possible that Bowcombe means 'the valley belonging to a man called Bofa' (Mills

[85] This place-name chronology will be dissussed more fully in Chapter 8, pp.226-34

1996, 32). However, the first reference to Bowcombe is *Etdređecumb* (S821), appearing to be an Old English compound **þryþacumb* 'assembly valley'. Kökeritz (1940, lix-lx) argued that 'it may have referred to the valley above which the ancient hundred-moots of Bowcombe … took place'. Old English *bufan cumbe* 'the place above the valley' is an appropriate designation of a hundredal meeting place at the Bowcombe Down cemetery site, which 'later extended to the valley itself and its principal settlement' (Kökeritz 1940, 97). Today, Bowcombe Valley is the name referring to the elongated valley of *denu* proportions extending for several miles.[86] It would appear that *bufan cumbe* came to name the adjoining side valley (Fig. 7.1). Bowcombe Farm is located in the main valley but adjoins this 'coombe' (bowl-shaped valley) below the Bowcombe Down cemetery site. C*umb* is a potentially early topographical place-name element which Margaret Gelling (1984, 88-90) saw as probably entering the naming vocabulary of the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlers. Early Anglo-Saxon pottery has been recorded from fields around Bowcombe Farm (Kevin Trott, pers. comm.).[87]



Fig. 7.1: View north-eastwards from the ridgeway adjoining the Bowcombe Down early Anglo-Saxon cemetery site looking down into the coombe

[86] Ann Cole contrasted *denu* with *cumb,* the former being 'mostly used of long, narrow valleys with two moderately steep sides and a gentle gradient along most of their length' whereas *cumb* 'is mostly used of shorter, broader valleys than *denu,* and these valleys are usually bowl- or trough-shaped with three fairly steeply rising sides' (Cole 1982, 86).

[87] Late Romano-British pottery has also been recovered including forms found in a number of early fifth-century contexts in mainland England (Trott, pers. comm.).



Fig. 7.2: View north-westwards from Garstons Down with Carisbrooke village, church and castle in the middle distance

The place-name Carisbrooke was not recorded until 1114 when *sancte Marie de Caresbroc* was named in the agreement regarding Chale church (Hockey 1981a, no.15; Fig. 7.2). The derivation of the first place-name element is uncertain. A distinct possibility is a potentially early topographical place-name, possibly 'the brook called Cary', a lost British name with a parallel of Carey in Somerset, and could mean 'pleasant stream' (Mills 1996, 36). Derivation from Old English *cœrse* 'cress' has been suggested but this is not compatible with the most frequent and earliest spellings of the name. Other possibilities are postulated Old English **cear* or **car*, probably 'hollow gorge', referring to the valley at Carisbrooke, Old English *carr* 'rock' referring to the hill dominated by the castle, or even a British word which entered into Welsh as *carreg*, also 'rock' (Kökeritz 1940, 95).

There are two instances of place-names containing either the term *hamm* 'river-meadow' or *hām* 'homestead' (Appendix 8.2). The latter would imply the formation of the place-name in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Gelling 1992, 122). *Faselham* was recorded from *c.*1300 to 1630 (Kökeritz 1940, 136). The site can be precisely located in the south-east corner of Godshill parish alongside the Medina (Webster 1975-1999; Map 8.14), its location suggesting *hamm*. The first element of the place-name may be Old English *fæs* 'fringe, border' appropriate for a location on the western bank of the Medina, although Kökeritz (1940, 136) suggests **feoh-gesel* 'cattle

shelter' as an alternative. Billingham, just to the south of the Lateral Ridge, was first recorded as *Billingeham* in 1189-1204, with the first element **bil(l)ing* referring to the ridge to the north, the second probably *hām* (Appendix 8.2). Another 'lost' place-name on the western bank of the Medina is *Quidhampton*, recorded from 1287x90 onwards is probably to be identified with Marvell. *Quidhampton* may mean either 'muddy home farm' or 'home farm with good manure', Old English *cwēad* 'dirt, dung' (Kökeritz 1940, 102-3). It would appear have a parallel in Bockhampton (Berkshire). This was part of a royal estate in King Alfred's will where *hāmtūn* may have had the sense of 'dependent farm in a great manor' (Gelling 1978, 124). Atherfield, on the south-west coast, was recorded as *Aderingefeldam* in the 'lost' charter of Edgar granting two hides to Winchester (ECW103). The *-inga-* element suggests an early Anglo-Saxon date for the name's origin (Gelling 1988, 253; Chapter 8, pp.232-3).

Archaeological Evidence: The putative 'multiple estate' contains an Iron Age promontory-fort on Chillerton Down (Margham 1993, fig. 1). At the estate's core the site of Carisbrooke Castle and the preceding pre-Norman *burh* may have been an Iron Age promontory fort as a deeply-entrenched hollow way cuts off the site from the east (Margham 1993, 5). A strong case can be made for the Romano-British origin of the 'Lower Enclosure' below the castle's curtain walls (Tomalin 2002; Margham 2015a, 21; *contra* Young 2000, 10-19). The Bowcombe Valley was also the focus for three Romano-British villas, at Bowcombe, Clatterford and Carisbrooke (Margham 1993, fig. 1; Busby *et.al.* 2001; Map 9.8). Carisbrooke Castle was probably the site of *Wihtgaræsbyrig*, mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle purporting to relate to events in 530 and 544 (Margham 2015a, 20-21; ASC E). Carisbrooke is nodal for several potentially ancient routeways: Bowcombe Farm is a short distance from the road down the Bowcombe Valley, and the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery site on Bowcombe Down immediately adjoins the line of the ridgeway from the West Wight. Other potentially ancient ways converging here are from the West Wight following the northern flank of the Lateral Ridge, the former track through Parkhurst Forest from Gurnard Bay to the north (Margham 2021c, 2-4), the former road from the Cowes area documented in the thirteenth century (Hockey 1981a, no. 230) and Whitcombe Road from the South Wight. The line of roads from the west continues north-eastwards through the site of Newport to *Durneford,* the lowest crossing of the Medina, first recorded *c.*1258 (Kökeritz 1940, 177). A further

potentially ancient routeway is eastwards to Shide Bridge. The place-name Shide was *Side* and *Sida* in 1086, with Old English *scīd* meaning '(Place at) the plank or foot-bridge' (Mills 1996, 95), presumably alongside an established ford site (Chapter 4).

The core of the Bowcombe estate can be identified as being within the lower Bowcome valley. This is evidenced by the presence of the Domesday manorial centre associated with an assembly site on the downland ridge above, the nearby 'productive site' in the valley bottom, the evidence for Carisbrooke as Wight's earliest urban centre (which will be presented in Chapter 9), and Carisbrooke's minster church.

Case Study: Brading

An Extensive Estate?

A *parochia* centred on Brading church can be reconstructed consisting of Shanklin, Yaverland and St Helens parishes, as well as Brading itself (Map 5.3; Fig. 7.3). The combined area in 1862/3 was 11,655 acres (4,717ha). An agreement of the mid-twelfth century defined the arrangement between the manorial chapel at Shanklin and the mother church of Brading (Chapter 5), the dead of Shanklin still being buried at Brading in the late eighteenth century (Worsley 1781, 202). Yaverland were taking their dead for burial at Brading until the time of Edward III (Hockey 1982, 4). In the first half of the seventeenth century Oglander recorded Yaverland's acknowledgement of '*Bradinge for theyre mother church*' (Long 1888, 182-3) and a pension was still being paid to Brading in the late eighteenth century (Worsley 1781, 201). The evidence for St Helens parish is more problematic (Fig. 7.4). Unlike Shanklin and Yaverland, the church was not alongside a manorial centre, but a priory church on the coast, part of which was set aside for the use of parishioners (IWCRO C1580, STH/57). St Helens Priory claimed the advowson of Brading until renouncing it in 1346 (Hockey 1982, 63). However, the 'configuration of the western boundary of Brading parish and its northern continuation to the sea [the western boundary of St Helens] with Monktonmead Brook forming a topographical boundary, suggests that St Helens and Brading parishes were at one time part of a single land unit' (Margham 2000, 119).

Fig. 7.3: View north-eastwards from Brading Down showing St Mary's church



Fig. 7.4: St Helens church tower adjoining the coast



The record of a 'lost' charter in a document compilation of the church of Winchester dating from *c.*1300 raises the distinct possibility that Brading's *parochia* was coterminous with an estate granted to Winchester by King Ine of Wessex:

> *Dederat iste rex Ina, dum esset in regno West Saxorum rex et omnia potens, ecclesiae Wintoniensi in Vevta Insula quae nunc dicitur Wicth, in loco vovatur Ewereland xxx. Hidas terrae, et in Breredinges l. hidas* (Luard 1865, 6; ECW1).

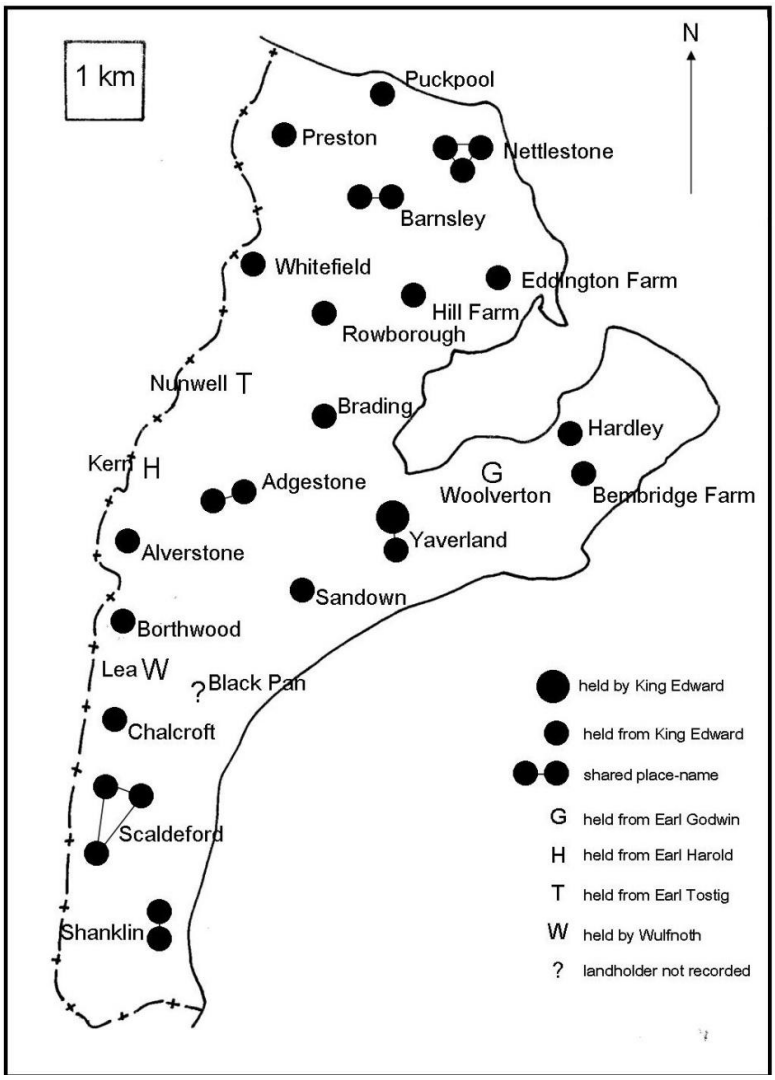
This would have been a substantial area, with Yaverland's 30 hides encompassing the 'Bembridge Isle', and Brading's 50 hides presumably being the 'mainland' portion of Brading parish along with Shanklin and St Helens. As has already been noted, this area, along with the bishop of Winchester's Calbourne estate, may represent the quarter of the Island given to Wilfrid by Cædwalla (Chapter 5).

The Domesday Evidence

The *parochia* of Brading and the apparent bounds of ECW1 contained a total of 27 Domesday manors (Map 7.2). All were relatively small areas according to *TRE* hidage assessments, although King Edward's portion of Yaverland was not assessed in hides (39v).[88] Domesday Book provides no direct evidence for links within this putative 'multiple estate'. However, Preston's Domesday record may be significant as a place-name implying endowment of an estate supporting a superior church (Pickles 2009, 71). The Domesday entry for Brading itself depicts a very

[88] Based on Harvey's (1985, 24) aforementioned observation and analysis of ploughland to hide ratios within the putative 'multiple estate', Yaverland's five ploughlands imply a *TRE* rating of approximately 2½ hides.

small area of ‘three parts of a virgate’ (53). However, the place-name Old English *brerd* ‘hill side, ridge’ along with *-ingas*, ‘(The settlement of) the dwellers on the hill-side’ (Mills 1996, 32) implies that Domesday Brading may not have been in the area of the church or later medieval town, but further to the south. It is possible that the early place-name referred to the Morton manor area on the south-eastern flank of Brading Down. This was sometimes referred to as Brading manor (Page 1912, 164) and was also the location of a substantial Romano-British villa. The market grant of 1285, referring to ‘Brerding, a member of the king and queen’s manor of Whytefeld’ (Page 1912, 158), indicates that the town of Brading and the church immediately to the north were within Whitefield manor.[89]



Map 7.2: Brading estate and *parochia* reconstruction and Domesday manorial centres (Margham 2015a, map 3)

[89] A second possibility was that Domesday Brading was further north than Morton and it was subsumed by Whitefield.

Boundaries in the Landscape

Brading's reconstructed *parochia* boundary as depicted on the 1862/3 six-inch survey was largely linear. Starting at the south-eastern extremity of Shanklin parish, this runs westwards, marked by a deeply-sunken way up on to Shanklin Down. It follows the ridge of the down north-westwards and then northwards to the top of an inland cliff. From there it runs northwards on a straight alignment following a continuous physical boundary for 4.7km almost to the River Yar. The Domesday manorial centre of Borthwood Farm is just to the east of this boundary. Kökeritz (1940, 53-4) advocated the meaning of 'the border wood', although Mills (1996, 31) preferred 'the wood where boards or planks were obtained'. After following the Yar for a short distance north-westwards it continues northwards over the Lateral Ridge. The dog-legs in Brading parish boundary to the west of Kern Farm, a Domesday manorial site, may represent a boundary-shift westwards here. From the northern flank of the ridge the boundary follows Monktonmead Brook for 5km to the Solent. Manorial boundaries appear to largely respect this alignment, although the location now known as Little Whitefield is to the west of Monktonmead Brook and thus within Newchurch parish. Little Whitefield may represent the one hide *TRE* of Whitefield, whereas Whitefield Farm within Brading parish was apparently the three hides of the other *Witesfel* Domesday manor. The northern boundary of Shanklin parish and the southern boundary of St Helens both abut the boundary between Newchurch and Brading's *parochia* (Map 5.3).[90]

'Multiple Estate' Empirical Evidence

The 'empirical evidence' categories for a 'multiple estate' defined by Gregson (1985) applicable to Brading are the spatial grouping of townships, social hierarchy, free tenure, bondmen, hospitality/ancient food renders, early place-names and archaeological evidence (Table 7.2).

Township Grouping: The putative Brading 'multiple estate' includes parts of all five landscape regions from the Northern Lowlands to a small area of the Undercliff. No Domesday manors included upland areas only, although Shanklin included

[90] Newchurch parish, which extended from sea to sea, was possibly formerly part ECW1's 80 hides, but the linear boundary between Newchurch and Brading's *parochia,* relative proportions of Yaverland's 30 hides and Brading's 50, and the apparent meaning of Borthwood's place-name support the above reconstruction.

significant areas of Southern Massif chalk grassland. Various manors such as Nunwell and *Orham* (Bembridge Farm) encompassed the resources of the Lateral Ridge whereas others were entirely within low-lying regions, such as *Scaldeford* (Margham 2019b, fig. 1). Resource diversity of these regions is reflected in place-names, examples being Barnsley (*lēah*) and Whitefield within the Northern Lowlands, and Black Pan ('The black or dark-coloured pen or fold for animals'; Mills 1996, 30), Lea (*lēah*) and Sandown ('The sandy enclosure or river-meadow'; Mills 1996, 92) within the Southern Vale. Something of the township structure of the area of ECW1 is shown by the distribution of *tūn* place-names within the Northern Lowlands: the Domesday manorial sites of Eddington (St Helens), Nettlestone, Preston, Woolverton, *Writlestun* (Hill Farm), along with the 'lost' place-names of *Milton* and *Trocketone* (Margham 2017a, map 1, table 1; Figs. 7.5, 7.6). There are only two instances of *tūn* place-names within the Southern Vale, both just south of the Lateral Ridge: Domesday Alverstone and Adgestone (Map 8.6, p.234). The tithings (townships) in1316 (Feudal Aids 1900, 321) were Bembridge, Borthwood, Sandown, *Ourne* (probably Kern), Brading, Barnsley and St Helens.



Fig. 7.5: Preston farmhouse, on the margins of a gravel 'island', now in a residential area

Fig. 7.6: Hill Farm, formerly *Writlestun*, also located on the margins of a gravel 'island'

The core of a Brading 'multiple estate' would have been the area of the later medieval town of Brading, with St Mary's church at its northern extent, a location central to the estate. As we have seen, the church was within Whitefield manor, rather than Domesday Brading. Whitefield Farm is a more peripheral location just within Brading's parish boundary, some 2.7km north-west of the church site. Although not mentioned in Domesday Book, it is possible that the church originated

during the time of St Wilfrid, a tradition recorded by Oglander in the parish register (Chapter 5) who gives the foundation date as 704. The story recorded in the *Life of Wilfrid* about a visitation towards the end of his days by the Archangel Michael and imploring him to found a church in honour of the Virgin may possibly be relevant here (Margham 2000, 128). Richmond (1986, 183-7) has argued from Northamptonshire evidence it is possible that late medieval churches which were formerly minsters maintained the proportions of their predecessors even though no pre-Conquest fabric survives. This is a possibility at Brading: the late twelfth-century nave proportions are anomalous amongst Island churches pre-dating *c.*1200 but are similar to seventh- and eighth-century Northumbrian churches: Escomb, Bywell St Peter and Monkwearmouth (Margham 2000, 126-7, table 1b). This is speculative but corresponds with the purported granting of a quarter of the Island to Wilfrid by Cædwalla and the provisional identification of a minster enclosure at Brading (Chapter 5; Fig. 5.2).

Lordship: The one hide of Whitefield and the three hides 'of another Whitefield' were held by Ketil and Godric respectively in alod of King Edward (53). The three hides of the latter are the largest hidage within St Helens parish and the 'mainland' portion of Brading so along with the later evidence of the market grant, could be regarded as the former *caput* of an extensive Brading estate.[91] Nearly all Domesday manors within the putative 'multiple estate' were held of King Edward, exceptions being Kern (Earl Harold), Nunwell (Wulfflæd held of Tostig), and Woolverton ('Earl Godwine' by Eadgifu: 39v, 53). Also, Yaverland was held directly by King Edward and not assessed in hides. This may reflect in some way Yaverland being itemised separately from Brading in Ine's purported grant to Winchester (ECW1). The apparent alienation of Yaverland's 30 hides and Brading's 50 from the Church to the king can perhaps be explained by the strategic significance of the Island in the late Anglo-Saxon period (Margham 2015a, 25-6). The holding of Rowborough's one virgate from King Edward by the Abbot of Winchester (53), *i.e.* the New Minster, may have been a vestige of this apparent early grant.

Free Tenure: Sixteen of the 24 place-names itemised within Brading's putative 'multiple estate' were held in alod *TRE,* implying that most of these manors were

[91] The only other comparable hidages *TRE* within the putative 'multiple estate' were the 3½ hides at Shanklin and 3 at Yaverland (53, 53v).

held freely. These freely-held manors, held of the king, were distributed throughout the presumed area of ECW1. The Domesday Book entry for Nunwell states that 'Wulffæd held it of Tosti, but it was not an alod' (39v). It is possible that this was stated as, despite Nunwell not having been held of King Edward, holding land in alod was considered usual in the East Wight.

Bondmen: As in the case study of Bowcombe, the proportions of villans, bordars and slaves in 1086 has been tabulated for the different areas of the putative 'multiple estate':

Brading 'multiple estate': landscape regions/areas	**Manors with recorded population**	**Villans**	**Bordars**	**Slaves**
Northern Lowlands	8	23 (72%)	8 (25%)	1 (3%)
Northern Lowlands: Bembridge Isle	3	0 (0%)	11 (55%)	9 (45%)
Northern Lowlands/ Lateral Ridge	1	1 (17%)	2 (33%)	3 (50%)
Lateral Ridge/ Southern Vale	7	2 (8%)	17 (65%)	7 (27%)
Southern Vale	5	13 (81%)	3 (19%)	0 (0%)
Southern Massif	3	7 (30%)	10 (43%)	6 (26%)

Table 7.4: Brading's 'multiple estate', landscape regions and recorded numbers of villans, bordars and slaves. There was also one 'vavasour' within the Lateral Ridge/Southern Vale manors. One of the Southern Massif manors also included part of the Undercliff.

The figures in Table 7.4 show high proportions of the relatively free villans within the manors of the Northern Lowlands and the Southern Vale. However, there is an exception to this observation as none were recorded in the three manors within the Northern Lowlands of the 'Bembridge Isle'. This less-free status may be due to 'colonization' here in the later Anglo-Saxon period (Chapter 9). The northern part of the Southern Vale similarly had a high proportion of bordars and slaves, where such an explanation is perhaps less plausible. There would, however, appear to be a correlation between the incidence of *tūn* place-names and a relatively unfree population in 1086 in these two areas. The overall pattern of relative freedom is varied throughout the putative 'multiple estate', which may in some way reflect earlier estate structure as well as later eleventh-century manorial geography.

Hospitality/Ancient Food Renders: The only possible evidence for hospitality and/or food renders occurs in Preston's Domesday entry mentioning 'a fishery for the hall'

(53). This fishery would be in Monktonmead Brook to the west of Preston Farm. Taken at face value, 'the hall' was located at Preston. However, the place-name 'the priests' *tūn*' (Mills 1996, 83) may suggest otherwise. Preston is within St Helens parish, but the place-name implies the endowment of an estate to provide provisions or income for more than one priest (Pickles 2009, 71-82) and this appears to have been for the benefit of the minster at Brading.[92] As Preston, along with several other manors, was held of King Edward, the hall which was being provided for may have been at Whitefield, having been diverted there from Brading church with the inferred alienation of Winchester's lands to the king.

Early Place-Names: Brading, apparently first recorded during the reign of Ine as *Brerdinges*, and then as Domesday *Berardinz* contains the place-name element *-ingas* (Mills 1996, 32). This suggests origins in the Anglo-Saxon period, probably before *c.*600 (Coates 1989, 12). Yaverland also appears in this purported grant as *Ewerelande*, then *Everland* and *Everlant* in 1086. This name consists of Old English *eofer* 'boar' and *land.* Mills (1996, 113) suggests 'The cultivated land or estate where boars are kept'. Other potentially early place-names are *Orham, Hertham* and *Etharin*. Domesday *Orham* would appear to be the former name for Bembridge, the latter name originating after the construction of Yar Bridge *c.*1300 which provided direct access to the 'Bembridge Isle' from Brading (Mills 1996, 27). Old English *hām* is a possibility for *Orham,* but is more likely to contain *hamm* as the first element is *ōra* 'river bank, shore' (Kökeritz 1940, lx). *Hertham,* a coastal location adjoining St Helen's Priory (IWCRO JER/P/30) is also much more likely to have *hamm* as its second element (Appendix 8.4). Domesday *Etharin* would appear St Helens' former name. This may be an *-ing* compound meaning 'the people living on the stony or hilly ground' (Kökeritz 1940, xxxvi). Although not recorded until the late thirteenth century, it is quite plausible that Hyde, near the southern extent of Brading's *parochia*, is an 'early' place-name (Chapter 8, pp.242-3; Chapter 10, p.358).

Archaeological Evidence: Morton is the location of a substantial courtyard Romano-British villa on the south side of Brading Down, 1.3km south-west of Brading church (Cunliffe 2013). Brading is a nodal point for East Wight roads: the ridgeway from the west descends to a location between St Mary's church and the Romano-British villa

[92] Prestwood, first recorded in 1608 as an area of 55 acres, was part of Whitfield manor (PRO NA E 178 7202) is 1km south of Preston Farm just south of the St Helens/Brading parish boundary. This was presumably 'the priests' wood' and may have formed part of an endowment of Brading minster.

site, while roads approach the Morton area from the south-west and Brading church from the north-west. The Yar gap provides access from the Sandown Bay area. The 'Bembridge Isle' would have been accessed via the sand bar in the Sandown area.[93] This was commented upon by Oglander stating that Yaverland church was founded as '*One of ye objections wase that all ye wintor they cowld not come to Bradinge Church, except they went abowt by Sandham, 2 myles, for then ye causeway at Yarbridge wase not made; they alwayes buryed at Bradinge, and received ye communion there*' (Long 1888, 183).

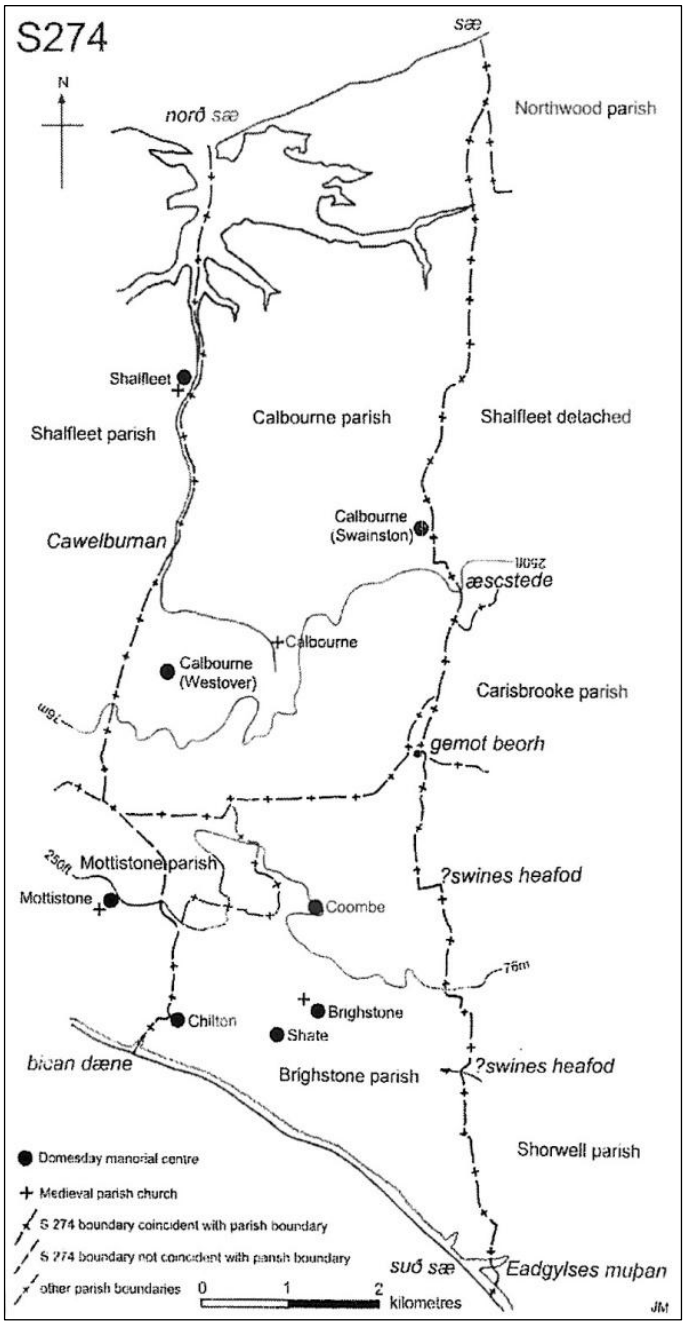
Case Study: Calbourne

An Extensive Estate

The evidence for an extensive estate centred on Calbourne in the pre-Conquest era is unequivocal with the bounds of charter S274, probably dating from the tenth century:

> *Ðis synt þara. xxx. hida land gemæro to Cawelburnan. on Whit. Ærest ófsæ úp ón æscstede. þanon on þæne gemot beorh. of þam beorge ón swines heafod. þanon on suð sæ on Eadgylses muþan. and lang Eadgylses muþan. on bican dæne. þanon on Cawelburnan. and lang Cawelburnan. útt on norð sæ* (Birch 1885-1893, no. 392).
>
> These are the boundaries of the 30 hide estate at Calbourne on the Isle of Wight. Starting from the sea up to the place of the ash trees thence to the moot mound. From that mound to swine's head, thence to the south sea at Eadgils's river mouth along Eadgils's river mouth to Bic(c)a's (or the wedge shaped hill spur) valley thence to the Caul Bourne along the Caul Bourne out to the north sea (Margham 2006, 92).

[93] An alternative route was via *de Arneford* in 1248 and *Yarneforde* in 1324 which appears to have been at Brading Haven's mouth (Kökeritz 1940, 62-3).



Map 7.3: S274 Calbourne- a reconstruction (Margham 2006, fig. 4)

The most plausible 'solution' of these bounds being (Map 7.3): the western boundary of S274 to the north of the 'lateral ridge' was the Caul Bourne and then a spur of the ridge, both following the Shalfleet/Calbourne parish boundary.[94] South of the ridge the reconstructed bounds follow Pitt Place Lane on the Mottistone/ Brighstone parish boundary, a sunken lane providing access northwards from Chilton to the former heathland of Grammar's Common. The *gemot beorh* on the eastern boundary is identified with Gallibury Hump, a prominent Bronze Age barrow on the parish boundary between Carisbrooke and the northern extension of Brighstone parish, just to the north of the modern line of the ridgeway (Margham 2006, 92; Margham 2013a, 7). This appears to have been a meeting place for Calbourne's ecclesiastical hundred, as neighbouring Bowcombe had a meeting place on Bowcombe Down. The estate thus extended from the Solent to the English Channel and included the parishes of Calbourne, Brighstone and part of Mottistone. A documented link between churches reflects this structure: in 1305 it was recorded that Calbourne rectory formerly

[94] The area to the east of Shalfleet Lake is known as Corf. This place-name may be significant in respect to S274's boundary here. Unlike the other two instances of Corfe on the Island, the topography does not accord with a gap between hills (Margham 2012a, 7-8). It is possible that Corf was named as a boundary location in relation to the road westwards from the Calbourne estate as it crossed the lowest bridging/fording point on the Caul Bourne to Shalfleet.

claimed jurisdiction over that of Brighstone (Worsley 1781, 251). The reconstructed area of S274 consists of 8,760 acres (3,545ha).[95]

The Domesday Evidence

The Domesday entry for the ecclesiastical estate commences 'Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, holds CALBOURNE [*Cavborne*] in demesne. It always belonged to the monastery. There are 32 hides; but it only paid geld TRE, as now, for 17 hides'. After itemising the manor's assets it continues 'Of this land Robert holds 6 hides, Herpul 2 hides, and Alsige 3½ hides. 7 aloderies held these hides of the bishop, and could not withdraw elsewhere or from him' and the assets of these hides are then listed (52v). These three landholdings would have been centred within the Southern Vale and may be identified with the later manors of Limerstone, Waytes Court and *Uggaton* (Page 1912, 211-12; Figs. 7.7, 7.8).[96] Four other landholdings within the bounds of S274 were held by various individuals in parage *TRE,* thus being independent of Winchester by 1066*:* a second manor of Calbourne, accounting for '3 hides less half a virgate', and the three manors of one hide south of the chalk ridge: Coombe, Chilton and Shate (52v, 53v, 54). One further manor was within this area. Three free men held *Weristetone* 'of King Edward in alod. Then, as now, it paid geld for 2 hides and three virgates and the third part of a virgate' (53v). *Weristetone* was formerly unidentified, but it would appear that 'the Norman scribe must have written *Wer-* instead of *Ber*', identifing it with Brighstone (Mills 1996, 33-4). This identification is reinforced by the observation that, except for Loverstone, *Weristetone* is the only named Domesday manor within the western half of the Island which was held in alod. A similar type of tenure within the bounds of S274 was recorded in the Domesday Book entry for Calboune (*TRE*) with the seven allodaries holding hides of the bishop in the Brighstone area (52v), suggesting that *Weristetone* had also been within Winchester's estate. Domesday Book thus records an extensive ecclesiastical estate which was in the process of fragmentation in 1066. The ecclesiastical hundred of Calbourne was restricted to the lands directly held by the bishop including the

[95] The tenth-century area of S274 has been calculated as 9,266 acres, taking into account erosion along the south coast inferred from Ordnance Survey maps (Margham 2003, table 1). However, erosion on this coast may have been episodic, rather than at a constant rate (Tomalin, pers. comm.; Chapter 4, p.64).

[96] The area of Limerstone's manorial demesne in 1565 can be calculated as a little under 500 acres (Webster n.d; Map 8.14).

three sub-holdings to the south of the Lateral Ridge, whereas the four other manors were not included in this hundred and were independent of Winchester by 1066.[97]



Fig. 7.7: Limerstone farmhouse, the probable centre of a sub-holding from the bishop of Winchester at the time of Domesday Book



Fig. 7.8: The view southwards from the Lateral Ridge showing Waytes Court and Marshgreen Farm beyond

[97] The estate's hidage in Domesday Book is problematic, recorded as 32 hides but only paying for 17 (52v). S274 states that 30 hides were granted. A further two were granted in the Atherfield area (ECW103). Thus 32 hides, but Atherfield was independent of Winchester by 1066. The anachronistic nature *TRE* is also shown by the total of nearly nine hides accounted for by independent manors within the bounds of S274. The 17 hides for which geld was paid appears to be a case of 'beneficial hidation' but not all of the difference between the 30 hides of S274 and the payment of geld for 17 hides can be accounted for by this.

'Multiple Estate' Empirical Evidence

Township Grouping: Winchester's estate included significant areas of the Northern Lowlands, the Lateral Ridge and the Southern Vale. Some of the contrasting and complementary resources of these regions are reflected in place-names. Within the Northern Lowlands Heathfield contrasts with *Stretley* (*lēah* 'wood-pasture'; Chapter 8, p.238), a place-name becoming redundant with Newtown's foundation in the thirteenth century (Beresford 1967, 445). Resources are also attested through place-names to the south of the Lateral Ridge in the Brighstone area with Moortown, Marsh Green and Wicken Hill Lane, if the latter is interpreted as *wīc* 'dairy farm' (Kökeritz 1940, 72; Appendix 8.8). The only 'upland' Domesday Manor was Coombe, the farmhouse being situated between chalk and greensand ridges. Township grouping is illustrated by *tūn* place-names' locations, with Swainston just to the north of the Lateral Ridge, Domesday Brighstone and Chilton to the south, along with the later recorded place-names of Limerstone, Moortown, *Muggleton,* Sutton and *Uggaton* (Margham 2017, map 1, table 1).[98]

The centre of the estate would have been Calbourne until the establishment of a manorial centre at Swainston, 2km to the north-east. The earliest architectural fabric at Swanston dates to the late twelfth century (Margham 2016i; Fig. 7.9). An enclosure around Calbourne parish church, triangular in plan bounded on the north-west side by the road through the village and to the north-east by a sunken way, may very well have served the function of an estate centre as well as a 'minster enclosure' before the apparent shift of this function to Swainston at some time in the twelfth century (Fig. 7.10).[99]

[98] The whole of S274 was within Swainston tithing in 1324, reflecting the extensive nature of Winchester's former estate.

[99] Relocation from Calbourne may have been motivated by the opportunity for hunting in the Swainston area. Venison was transported from Swainston to other residences of the bishop on the mainland implying hunting of wild red and/or roe deer between 1219 and 1221 (Basford 2020, 11). The place-name with Old Scandinavian Sveinn as the first element and the use of this personal name in the Norman period as well as in the later Anglo-Saxon period (Mills 1996, 100) may refer to a pre-existing settlement here.



Fig. 7.9: Late twelfth-century double-light window at Swainston Manor

Fig. 7.10: The sunken way to the east of Calbourne church



Lordship: The statement that Calbourne 'always belonged to the monastery' (52v) was the perception from 1086 and this belonging may have originated in the later seventh century (Chapter 5). The 30 *mansae* at *Etdrethecumb* had been restored to Winchester along with Downton (Wiltshire) and renewal of title to Chilcomb (Hampshire) by King Edgar (S821) about a century before the Norman Conquest.[100] The charter states that *Etdrethecumb* and *Duntune* had first been given to Winchester by King Cenwalh and subsequently by King Cædwalla, 'but of late usurped by some of the king's predecessors' (Finberg 1964, 51). The reference to Cenwalh is anachronistic, but the mention of Cædwalla can be seen in the context of his purported grant of a quarter of the Isle of Wight to Wilfrid recorded by Bede (HE IV, 16). As we have already seen, S274 supposedly records the grant of Calbourne to Winchester by Ecgberht in 826, but is much more likely to have been composed in the tenth century to provide evidence of ownership (Edwards 1988, 156).

Free Tenure: Brighstone (*Weristetone*) was held by three free men in alod *TRE* (53v; Fig. 7.11). Seven aloderies also held hides in the Southern Vale before the Conquest. However, their freedom of tenure was far from absolute as they 'could not withdraw elsewhere' or from the bishop (52v). Freedom of tenure can thus be seen as existing or developing in the area of S274 to the south of the Lateral Ridge.

[100] *Etdrethecumb,* a reference to Calbourne rather than Bowcombe, Calbourne being within Bowcombe Hundred.



Fig. 7.11: Berry Barn, Brighstone's manorial centre in the sixteenth century (Webster 1975-1999) which may have been the site of the residence of one of *Weristetone's* free men *TRE*

Bondmen: The pattern of the recorded population in relation to landscape regions is summarized in Table 7.5:

Calbourne 'multiple estate': landscape regions/areas	**Manors with recorded population**	**Villans**	**Bordars**	**Slaves**
Northern Lowlands/ Lateral Ridge	2	28 (49%)	18 (32%)	11 (19%)
Lateral Ridge	1	0 (0%)	2 (50%)	2 (50%)
Southern Vale	7	8 (19%)	22 (52%)	12 (29%)

Table 7.5: Calbourne 'multiple estate', landscape regions and recorded numbers of villans, bordars and slaves. The numbers within the Southern Vale include the three sub-manors held of the Bishop of Winchester.

This tabulation shows a significant reduction of the proportion of villans of landholdings in the Southern Vale compared with the two Calbourne manors which had their centres to the north of the Lateral Ridge and a corresponding increase of the less free, particularly bordars. Coombe, the only almost completely 'upland' manor, recorded no villans. This pattern could be seen to accord with the 'multiple estate' model with a less free population inhabiting the areas more remote from the estate centre. It may, however, reflect late eleventh-century reality of 'independent' manors and those in the process of becoming so south of the Lateral Ridge.

Early Place-Names: Calbourne, the *Cawelburnan* of S274 and *Cavborne* in 1086, may have a British river-name *Cawel* as the first element of its name, but 'the stream where cole or cabbage grows', from Old English *cawel* is considered more likely (Mills 1996, 36). The second element of the name, Old English *burna* is potentially

'early' with five examples in the corpus of English place-names recorded before AD 730 (Cox 1976, 47; Appendix 8.1). It forms compounds with *hām* in some instances of Burnham, and is the final element of several *-inga-* compounds, including Bathingbourne on the Isle of Wight, but remained as an element in place-name formation for a considerable period of time (Gelling 1984, 16-17). There are no instances of *hām, -inga-* or *-ingas* place-names within the bounds of S274. However, there is one instance of *-cumb* at Coombe, *Sevtecombe* in 1086. As in the case of Bowcombe, this may have been an early topographical place-name element.

Archaeological Evidence: There was a Romano-British villa at Rock, on the southern flank of the Lateral Ridge 2.4km to the south of Calbourne (Tomalin 1976, 367-9). The ridgeway westwards from Carisbrooke crosses the road southwards from Calbourne before the latter descends towards Brighstone, passing the site of Rock villa. Other potentially ancient routes include the road westwards from Carisbrooke along the northern flank of the Lateral Ridge passing Calbourne just to the north, and the road westwards from Shorwell through Brighstone to the south of the ridge.

Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the evidence for estates centred on Bowcombe, Brading and Calbourne. It has identified core areas and established that the estates were extensive and likely to have been coterminous with their respective *parochiae*. The degree to which the 'multiple estate' model can be applied to these estates varies, with the fullest evidence coming from Bowcombe. There is, however, insufficient evidence to be categorical regarding whether Jones' model can fully explain the relationships between their cores and peripheries. It is possible to argue that the model is valid but we cannot have absolute proof due to the incomplete nature of the evidence retrievable from disparate sources. Rather than arguing for the validity of the model the preference of the present author is that, whilst providing insights into pre-Conquest estate organisation, it should not be regarded as definitive for the Isle of Wight. This conclusion takes into account the recent critique of Jones' work by Comeau (2020, table 6.1) who emphasises the importance of assembly sites as well as markets which were omitted from Jones' model but formed significant components within her West Wales study area. Further reasons to be cautious are

ambiguities in evidence presented above, for example place-name interpretation being cited to identify areas of economic specialisation within extensive estates. This is not to say that such areas did not function in this way, rather that such interpretation should not be made to fit a pre-existing model, a concern posited by Gregson, and the present author acknowledges the possibility of researcher perceptions influencing place-name interpretations. Jones' 'multiple estate' model also assumes great antiquity for land units. Whilst it is possible that Island estates were successors to Romano-British villa estates advocated by Tomalin (n.d.; 2022 fig. 24.25), it is arguable that some components of estates were not of any great antiquity by the mid-Saxon period. This, along with the possibility of long-term continuity of boundaries, will be addressed below (Chapters 9 and 10).

Faith (1997, 1-11) uses the term 'extensive lordship' for early medieval estates akin to those identified on the Island. This has the advantage of recognising vital aspects of these estates such as their extensive nature and the contrasts between their components without imposing a rigid framework. Comeau (2020, 175) advocates the use of 'extensive estate' as being 'a less prescriptive model than the multiple estate' as being 'a better fit with the evidence'. This more neutral term is appropriate for the three estates identified in the above case studies and for other areas of the Island where there is evidence for such entities. The landholdings of Earl Tostig *TRE* indicate an estate in the West Wight centred on Freshwater by the 1060s. The Shalfleet estate has been examined in Chapter 6. To the east of the Medina, the 'lost' apparently mid-eighth-century charter ECW4 names the estates of *Muleburnam, Banewadam* and Whippingham. There is evidence of relatively long-distance links within this block of land in Anglo-Saxon charters and Domesday Book.[101]

Various issues raised by the above investigation of the 'multiple estate' model will be addressed in subsequent chapters. These fall into two broad categories, tenurial geography and place-names. Domesday Book makes a large contribution to the recording of place-names. It also provides a snap-shot of the pattern of landholding,

[101] Between Bathingbourne 'and the outlying pasture common with other men' (S1662) reflected in the Domesday entry for Bathingbourne and the Down, identified with Down Court high up on the Southern Massif (Margham 2007, 119). Domesday Knighton, just to the south of the Lateral Ridge, also had a connection with Down Court evidenced by the *TRW* manorial name: *Chenistone & Done* (39v; Kökeritz 1940, 253). The linking of Domesday Niton and *Abla* (Apse) can also be cited (40).

permitting quantification of the degree of fragmentation of 'extensive estates'. Table 7.6 presents this information for the three estates examined above.

Former *parochia* and parish in 1862/3	Parish acreage 1862/3	Number of *TRE* landholdings	Mean acreage per *TRE* landholding within later parish
Brading			
Brading	6,641	17	391
Brading detached	1,631	3	544
Shanklin	675	2	338
St Helens	1,581	3	527
Yaverland	818	2	409
Calbourne			
Brighstone	2,854	4	714
Calbourne	5,539	2	2,770
Mottistone	*367	1	367
Carisbrooke			
Brighstone detached	260	1	260
Carisbrooke	6,367	6	1,061
Carisbrooke detached	1,119	2	560
Chale	2,222	4	556
Gatcombe	1,401	2	701
Kingston	914	1	914
Northwood	4,865	2	^
Shorwell	3,613	6	602
Shalfleet detached	1,012	1	1,012

Table 7.6: Brading, Calbourne and Carisbrooke's *parochiae,* parish areas in 1862/3, number of *TRE* landholdings and their density in relation to later parishes
***approximate area of Mottistone within reconstruction of S274**
^calculation invalid as with the exception of the two Luton manors, Northwood parish was part of Bowcombe manor whose centre was within Carisbrooke parish.
This table provides a comparison of density of *TRE* landholdings within later parish boundaries. It is recognised, for example, that much of the area within later Calbourne parish consisted of Winchester's Calbourne, rather than the area of a little less than 3 hides of the same name identified as Westover, and the significant variation of landholdings within Carisbrooke parish, with Bowcombe being the most extensive.

The case studies have provided good evidence for the existence of 'extensive estates' around their core areas. However, the degree of fragmentation by the later eleventh century varies significantly. The greatest contrast is between the former Brading estate with a multiplicity of individual manors by the time of Domesday Book and the more conservative Calbourne with Winchester retaining a substantial landholding into the post-Conquest period. The significance of these differences will be explored in Chapter 10. The names of estate centres considered above, Bowcombe and Calbourne, along with the first element of Brading, consist of topographical place-name elements. Carisbrooke and Whitefield, also Freshwater

and Shalfleet, can also be added to this list of such names. The relationship between topographical and early habitative names will be explored in Chapter 8, along with the significance of *tūn* place-names. Place-names and their relationship with land use will also be investigated.

Chapter Eight

The Landscape of Settlement

Introduction

This chapter will examine settlement evidence for the early medieval period. The first comprehensive evidence for settlement form is not available until the 1793/4 mapping. A previous study of settlement development concluded that 'The Island's settlement pattern in the 1790s consisted of scattered nucleations surrounded by dispersed settlement but some settlements at that date may have been small hamlets in the medieval period' (Basford 2013, 255). Due to the limitations of the archaeological record in the early medieval period, research presented here is heavily dependent on place-names, particularly topographical and habitative. The chapter includes nine case studies, drawing together various evidence strands for contrasting areas, including that pre-dating the seventh century where relevant. Information presented here will inform Chapter 9 with development of themes of continuity and colonization and Chapter 10, where a settlement and landscape development model will be presented.

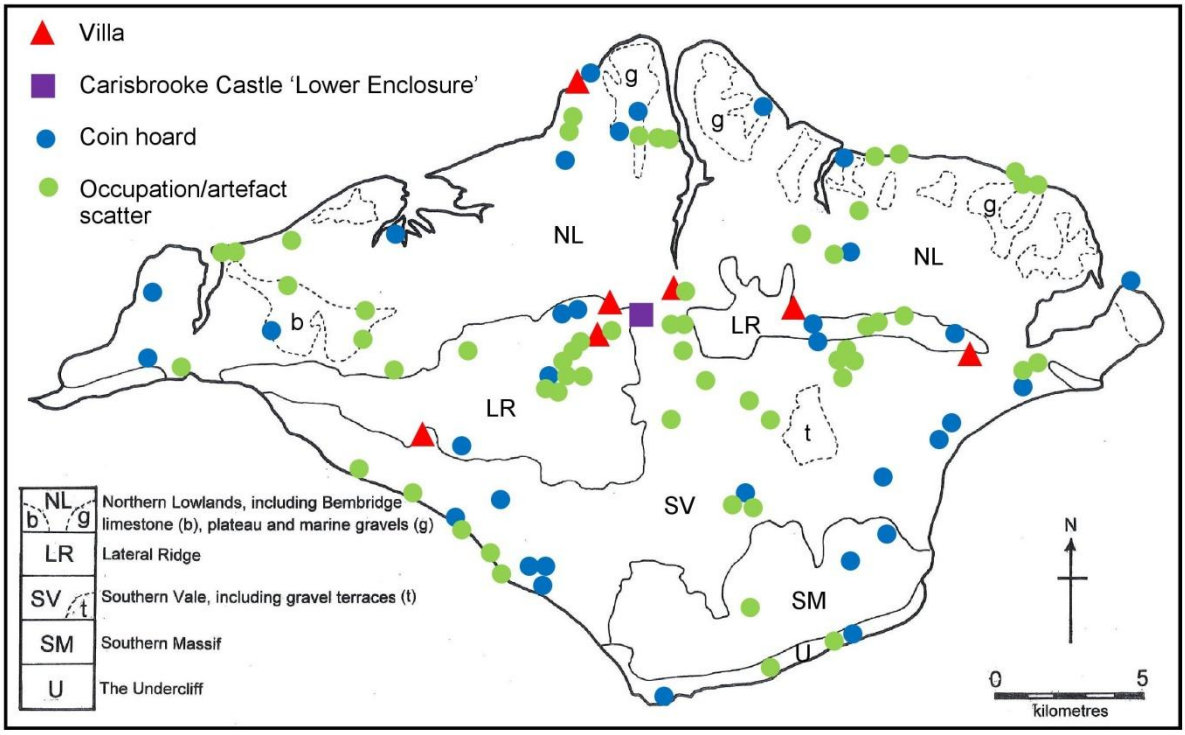
The Nature of the Evidence

Evidence for settlement location and development has been gathered from a variety of sources: the Historic Environment Record and the PAS, place-names, Domesday Book and other documentary sources including Anglo-Saxon charters, Historic Landscape Characterisation, settlement morphology, parish boundaries and church development including dedications (Chapter 3).

Limitations of archaeological recording for the early medieval period become apparent through examining the IWHER. For the period 410 to 1066 there are 89 records (excluding early Anglo-Saxon burial sites).[102] Of these, 44 consist of coins and other metal artefacts recorded prior to the introduction of the PAS, and 17 are of unstratified ceramic scatters and odd pottery sherds. There are only five records of occupation deposits, one of which is questionable. Of the remaining four, two are in adjoining locations. The Island has not been subject to much archaeological fieldwalking (systematic retrieval of cultural material from plough soil), being largely

[102] Accessed April 2021.

confined to specific areas, such as in the hinterland of the Wootton-Quarr area hinterland (Loader 2012, 147-53).[103] Nothing has been attempted at a landscape scale such as the project in East Hampshire (Shennan 1981). Here the usefulness of field-walking was questionable for the early medieval period due to the friable nature of the pottery with only two sherds of Anglo-Saxon pottery recovered. Projects in Berkshire had similar issues (Hinton 2012, 121).[104] Whilst the present study is concerned with the early medieval period, settlement development cannot be investigated without reference to antecedents. An overview of IWHER information for the Romano-British period is depicted in Map 8.1. This will be complemented by information from the PAS in case studies presented below.



Map 8.1: Romano-British settlement recorded in the Isle of Wight Historic Environment Record, redrawn from a map provided by Rebecca Loader, Senior Archaeologist, Isle of Wight County Archaeology and Historic Environment Service, April 2021

The following account of early medieval settlement patterns owes much to place-name study. This evidence has limitations, lacking the chronological and spatial precision of closely-dated artefacts found in situ (Gelling 1997, 14; Baker 2005, 61). With the proviso that there is often a very significant gap in time between the

[103] Fieldwalking at Duxmore, Puckhouse and Quarr produced no early medieval material.
[104] However, the Avon Valley Archaeological Society recovered Anglo-Saxon pottery from gravel terraces (Hinton 2012, 121) and Cunliffe (1972) proposed a settlement development model for south-eastern Hampshire's chalk downland based on pottery from field-walking.

formation and recording of a place-name and that names can change significantly through time, broad trends can be identified. Various evidence strands will be explored: topographical names associated with potentially early settlement sites, early habitative names, *-tūn*s and place-names reflecting land use including seasonal occupation, economic specialisation and colonization. This evidence is presented in Appendices 8.1 to 8.6, derived from Kökeritz (1940) and Mills (1996), with additions by the present author.

The two main documentary sources for the period have limitations for studying settlement forms. Boundary clauses of charters document estates' peripheries rather than centres, and Domesday records manorial assets rather than individual settlements. However, both provide a wealth of information about place-names and land use, and in some instances inferences can be made from Domesday regarding settlement forms. The post-Conquest period saw the development of manorial and other documents. Contemporary records are generally sparse until the mid-twelfth century, with the development of records associated with Carisbrooke Priory and Quarr Abbey (Hockey 1981a; 1991). Inferences can, however, be made from these sources for earlier periods, as has been demonstrated above in Chapters 5 and 6 regarding churches and in Chapter 7.

A further approach based on nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey mapping is the study of settlement morphology (Roberts 1987; Roberts and Wrathmell 2000). With the one exception of Carisbrooke, it is uncertain whether any nucleated settlement forms existed by the mid-twelfth century, but possibilities will be explored. Parish boundary mapping provides some information of the relationship between communities (Chapter 5). Such accurate mapping originated with parish tithe apportionment maps generated as a consequence of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 (Kain and Prince 2000, ix); many of these are held by the Isle of Wight Record Office. The first editions of the Ordnance Survey 6-inch and 25-inch maps of 1862/3 provide systematic coverage. The first map to depict Island parish boundaries is Andrew's (1769) two-inch to the mile survey. Churches, both superior and local (Chapters 5 and 6), provided foci of medieval settlement agglomerations as depicted in later maps. Medieval church dedications have a role to play in the study of early medieval settlement development: 'dedications … provide a substantial body of evidence which it ought to be possible to interpret, and which ought to be of some

use to the student of English settlement' (Everitt 1986, 225; Chapter 4). Everitt (1986, 225-58) used such evidence to help provide an overview of the 'direction' of settlement development in Kent, an approach which has also been applied to the Island (Margham 1997).

Place-Names in the Landscape

Studying Early Place-Names

The study of Old English place-names underwent a revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. Various studies challenged the previous consensus that archaic terms, references to Anglo-Saxon paganism and apparently early habitative names were associated with fifth-century Germanic settlers (Gelling 1978, 106-7).[105] It is now established that some topographical place-names form the earliest stratum throughout much of England and that habitative names such as *hām* and *-ingas* are secondary (Gelling 1984, 6). A major impetus for this was the work of Cox (1976, 12) who examined place-names in authentic Old English documentation up to AD731. He found that 53% of these were topographic, suggesting that such name-elements were used in place-name formation at a very early stage (Baker 2006, 118). Whist 'some of Cox's findings suffer a little from the biases of the documents used' (Baker 2006, 188), it established a corpus of potentially early topographical place-name elements. The process of re-evaluating early habitative place-names commenced a decade previously with Dodgson's (1966) plotting of *-ingas* and *-inga-* names alongside known early Anglo-Saxon burial sites in south-east England. This resulted in the proposition that *-ingas, -inga-* names apparently did not originate in the earliest phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement due to the lack of coincidence with burial sites (Dodgson 1966, 1, 19; Gelling 1978, 109). Dodgson (1973) later identified *hām* place-names (differentiating them from *hamm*), studying their distribution in south-eastern England. Although he did not consider topographical names, he concluded that *hām* names preceded *-ingas* and *-inga-* place-names in his study area (Dodgson 1973, 19). Research in the east Midlands examining the location of *-hām*, *-ingahām* and *-ingas* place-names in relation to Roman roads, early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and major rivers concluded that 'this order, *-hām*, *-ingahām*, *-ingas*, seems likely to

[105] Early research was heavily influenced by the 'clean sweep' notion of settlement in the immediate post-Roman period (Gelling 1997, 11).

be the chronological sequence in which such names arose' (Gelling 1978, 112; citing Cox 1973 and Kuurman 1974). Whilst there is an issue of applying results from one region to another, a general chronology of early place-names can be suggested. Topographical names are amongst the earliest, with the qualification that these name elements may have continued to form place-names over an extended period.[106] *Hām* names were the earliest habitative names being formulated during the pre-Christian period and for a time thereafter, with *-ingahām* a later development but preceding *-ingas* and *-inga-* names (Baker 2006, 188-9; Gelling 1984, 6).[107] A case was made for some *tūn* names being 'early' by Gordon Copley (1986) in his study of place-names associated with known early Anglo-Saxon sites in south-east England.[108] However, Gelling (1988, 74; 1992a, 123) argued that such correspondence may be the result of topographical name replacement by *tūn* compounds, the latter not being a widely-used element until after *c.*750.[109]

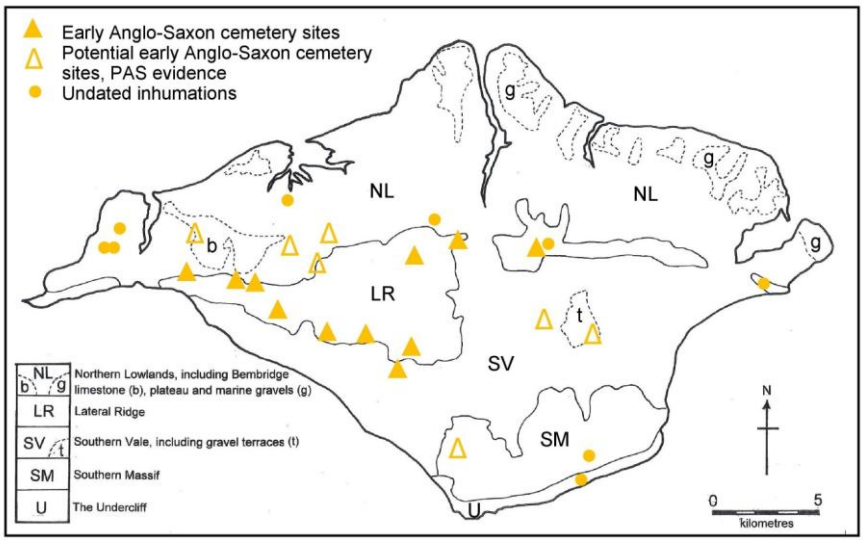
As the above chronology is generalised, it is important to seek confirmatory evidence in local studies. Gelling (1978, 128) advocated production of new place-name distribution maps including 'The correlation of types of name with drift geology and soil …, and with the known Roman and post-Roman archaeology of an area'.
The research presented below will examine place-names in relation to archaeology and to the landscape regions identified in Chapter 4.

Topographical Place-Names (Appendix 8.3)

Topographical names define 'a settlement by describing its physical setting' (Gelling 1997, 255). Two sets of analyses are presented here to test the hypothesis that some topographical place-names pre-date many habitative names on the Island: the

[106] A Chilterns and Essex region study concluded that 'In general there does seem to be a fair degree of similarity between the distributions of early Anglo-Saxon sites and early topographical place-names, but the latter are far from being indicators of where the former is likely to be found' (Baker 2006, 198).
[107] Gelling (2004, 350) states that 'It is unlikely that *hām* was used in place-name formation after AD800'.
[108] Copley examined all place-names within a 10-mile radius of such sites.
[109] There are six instances of *tūn* in the written record pre-dating *c.*731 (Cox 1976, 11) which, considering ubiquity in modern place-names, is a small proportion of the corpus of 224 names examined: they 'cannot have been fashionable in the first three hundred years of [English] place-name formation' (Gelling 2004, 350). On the Island it is plausible that topographical *Linlande* (S1662) was replaced by Knighton, first recorded in 1086 (39v), a later instance being replacement of *Stretley* with Newtown's foundation in the thirteenth century (Beresford 1967, 445).

spatial relationship with early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Tables 8.1 and 8.2); and the association with church/parish names, names recorded in Anglo-Saxon land charters, and the more extensive landholdings recorded in Domesday Book (Table 8.3).[110]



Map 8.2: Isle of Wight - early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites and undated inhumations (Appendices 2.1, 2.2. 2.3). A further potential site on Mersley Down (Lateral Ridge east-central) is not a PAS site (Trott, pers. comm.).

Early Anglo-Saxon cemetery site	Topographical place-names	Habitative place-names
Afton Farm	Freshwater (church site)	Afton, Easton, *Sutton*
Arreton Down	Combley, Great East Standen	Arreton, Perreton
Brighstone (Rowdown Lane)	Coombe	Brighstone, Chilton, Limerstone, Moortown, *Uggaton*
Bowcombe Down	Bowcombe, Idlecombe	Whitelane (*land*)
Carisbrooke Castle	Carisbrooke, Whitcombe	Alvington, Marvell (*feld*), *Quidhampton*
Chessell Down	Shalcombe	Hulverstone
Chillerton Down (Sheards Barrow)	Presford, Shorwell, Wolverton (*cumb*)	
Churchills Farm	Shalcombe, Wellow	
Mottistone Down	Shalcombe	Hulverstone
Presford	Shorwell, Presford, Wolverton (*cumb*)	?Dungewood (*-inga*?)
Shalcombe Down	Brook, Shalcombe	
Shorwell	Rancombe, Shorwell, Yafford	Limerstone, *Muggleton*

Table 8.1 Topographical and habitative place-names recorded before 1600 within 1.5km radius of early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites. Cemetery sites from Appendix 2.1 (Map 8.2), place-names from Appendices 8.1-8.4 and Mills 1996.

[110] Gelling (1984, 6) states that 'Topographical settlement-names emerge triumphant from three methods of enquiry', predominating in areas where the earliest Anglo-Saxon presence is evidenced by archaeology and as names of parishes, and outnumber other types of place-names documented by Cox (1976).

Probable/possible site inferred from PAS	Topographical place-names	Habitative place-names
Bathingbourne	Bathingbourne (*burna*), Hale (*healh*), Winford	Bathingbourne (*-inga-*), ?Bobberstone (*tūn, stān* or personal name), Branstone (*Heantune*)
Dog Kennell (Thorley)	Wellow	Wilmingham
Down Court	Chale	Gotten (*tūn*)
Five Houses	Calbourne, Heathfield	Swainstone
Little Budbridge	Hale (*healh*), *Tidelingeham* (*hamm*)	Merstone
Shalcombe Holding	Compton, Shalcombe	Compton
Westover	Calbourne, Westover (**ofer* or *ōfer* M107)	

Table 8.2 Topographical and habitative place-names recorded before 1600 within 1.5km radius of probable or possible early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites inferred from the PAS by the present author. M-Mills 1996. Potential cemetery sites from Appendix 2.2, place-names from Appendices 8.1-8.4 and Mills 1996.

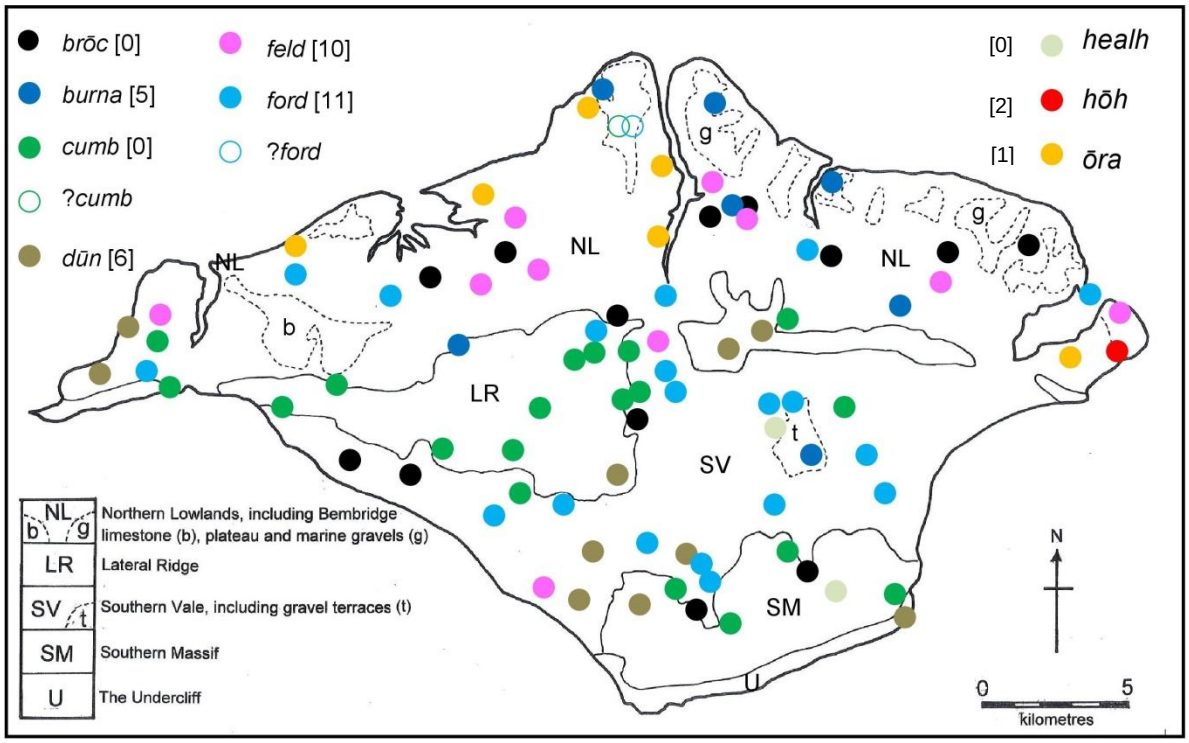
Tables 8.1 and 8.2 enumerate place-name locations depicted on modern maps: 24 topographical place-names compared with 17 habitative within 1.5km of known cemetery sites, and 13 topographical names contrasted with six (and one possible) habitative names within that distance of potential burial sites inferred by the present author from the PAS. These findings are subject to caveats of the distribution of topographical elements such as *cumb* being determined by topography, and the likelihood that at least some *tūn* names (*eg.* Easton and Sutton) were formulated in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

	Total number of place-names	Number of topographical place-names	Percentage of total number of place-names
Medieval church and parish names			
Superior churches (Table 5.2)	9	6	67%
Local churches (Appendix 5.5)	21	11	52%
Anglo-Saxon charters (Appendix 3.1)			
Charters purporting to date to early 9th c or earlier	7	6	86%
10th and 11th charters	11	8	73%
Domesday Book landholdings TRE*			
3 hides or more	19	16	84%
less than 3 hides	77	41	53%

Table 8.3: Isle of Wight topographical place-name analysis: churches, charters and Domesday Book

*Separate place-names or same place-name with the same landholder

Table 8.3 shows a higher percentage of topographical names for superior rather than local churches; a higher proportion of names in charters purporting to be 'early', and amongst Domesday landholdings of 3 hides or more *TRE*. Whilst components of such analyses may not be significant in isolation, taken together they suggest some topographical place-names dated from the earliest period of place-name formation.[111]



Map 8.3: Isle of Wight - potentially early topographical place-names. The numbers in square brackets indicate the number of occurrences of these place-name elements in Cox's (1976) corpus of place-names recorded before *c.*731.

The above analyses have included all topographical place-names. Map 8.3 shows the distribution of topographical place-name elements with the selection of those plotted based upon the frequencies recorded by Cox before *c.*731 (1976, 47-51; Map 8.4). *Brōc, cumb* and *healh* were not recorded in Cox's corpus. These have been included as both Bowcombe and Carisbrooke are names associated with a large *parochia* and 'extensive estate', and Hale (*healh*) is associated with the early habitative place-names of the gravel terrace.[112] The overall impression of the distribution is that they occur throughout much of the Island but various clusters can

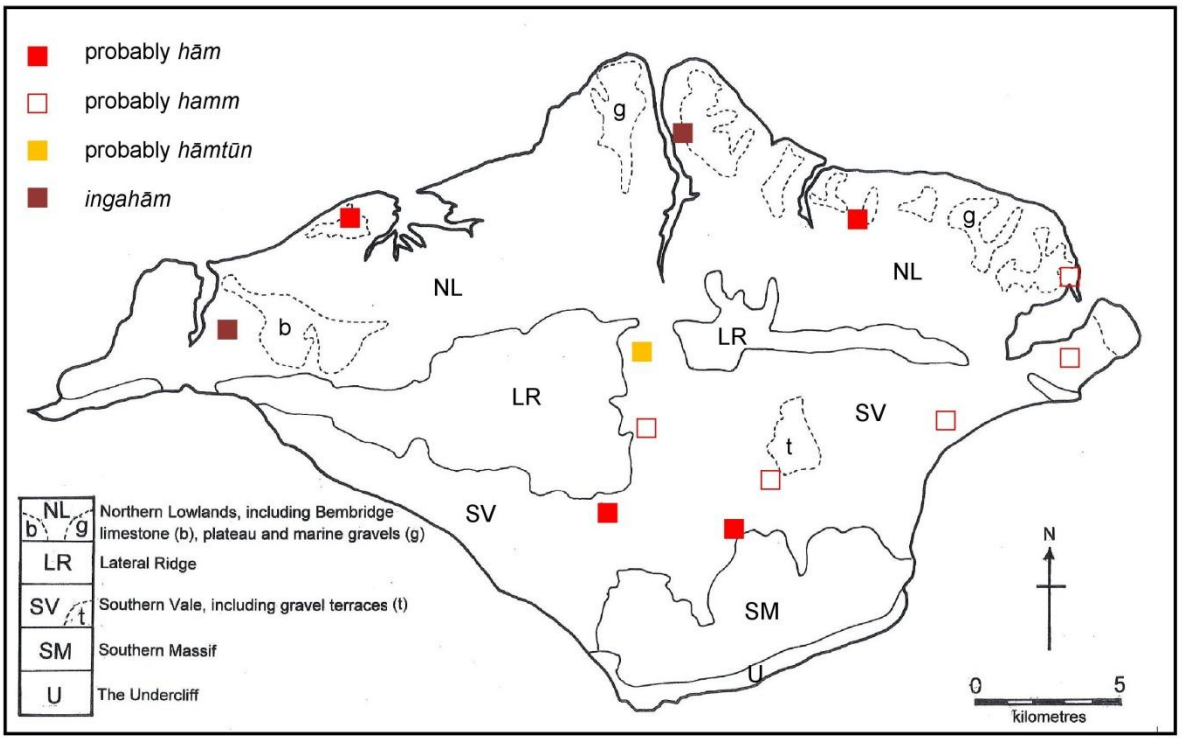
[111] This finding is at variance with the Chiltern and Essex region study concluding that 'In a specific study of this kind their [topographical place-names] usefulness seems limited' (Baker 2005, 54). The present study seeks to differentiate between potentially early topographical names and names formulated at a later date.

[112] The author is aware of the possibility of a circular argument in respect to these three place-name elements which were not listed by Cox (1976).

be identified. In terms of individual place-names, locations at or near boundaries between landscape regions and proximity to early cemetery sites, it can be suggested that some, such as Freshwater, Calbourne, Bowcombe, Carisbrooke, Shorwell and Chale, are amongst the earliest place-names. A further observation is that six topographical names,[113] plus three possibilities contain *-inga-* or *–ingas,* which are 'early' habitative elements.[114] However, not all topographical names are demonstrably 'early': many instances can be cited as evidence for 'colonization', which will be addressed below.

Habitative Place-Names

hām and *hamm* (Appendix 8.4)



Map 8.4: Isle of Wight - *hām* and *hamm* place-names

The corpus of potential *hām* names has been categorised into probable *hām* 'homestead, settlement, estate' and probable *hamm* names using Cox's criteria (1973, 7-8).[115] Whilst the former is limited, there is an association with locations just beyond the margins of the two upland regions, and within the Northern Lowlands the

[113] Atherfield, Bathingbourne, Brading, Farringford, Horringford and *Huffingford*.
[114] Chillingwood, *Etharin* and Lushington.
[115] *hamm:* 'land in a river-bend, a promontory, a river-meadow, dry ground in a marsh, a cultivated plot in marginal land' (Gelling 1960, 140-62).

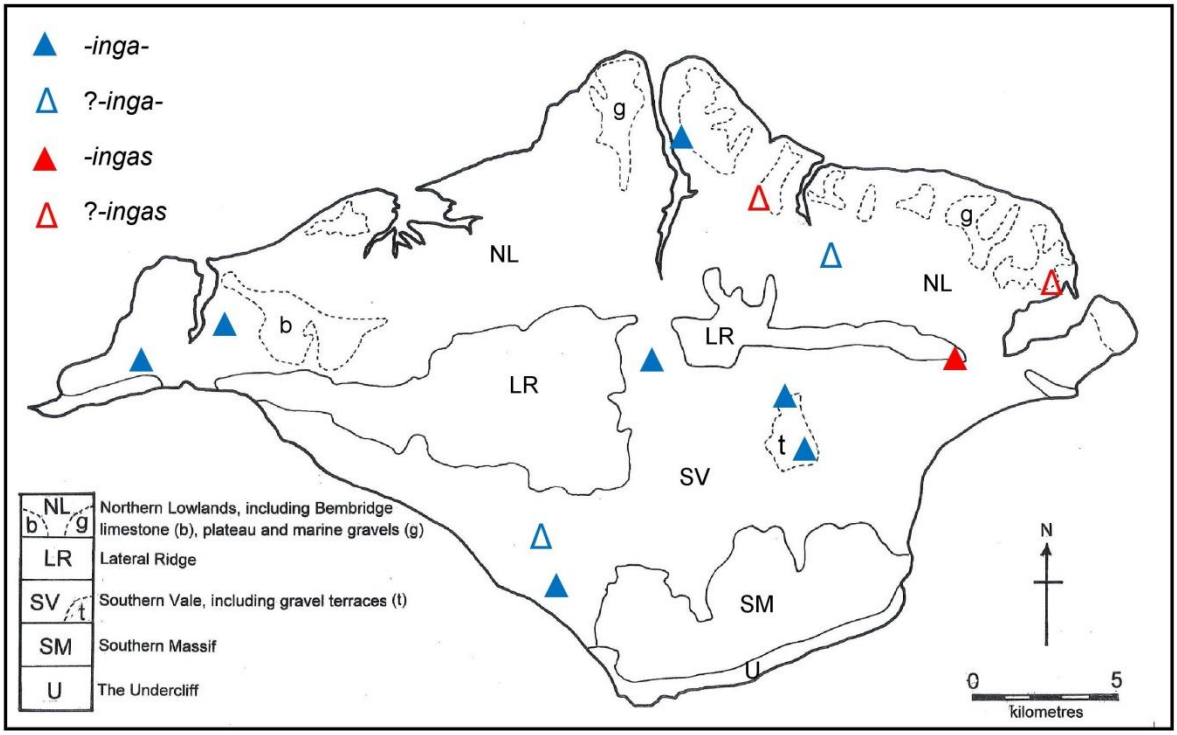
margins of gravel ‘islands’ (Figs. 8.1, 8.2). The only exception is Wilmingham in the West Wight, which like the Freshwater Isle beyond is underlain by less intractable soils than much of this landscape region. There are no probable *hām* names within 1.5km of any early cemetery sites (Tables 8.1, 8.2).



Fig. 8.1: Hamstead is located on the margins of a gravel ‘island’ within the Northern Lowlands

Fig. 8.2: Newnham Farm is also on the margins of a gravel ‘island’ within the Northern Lowlands

-inga- and *-ingas* (Appendix 8.5)



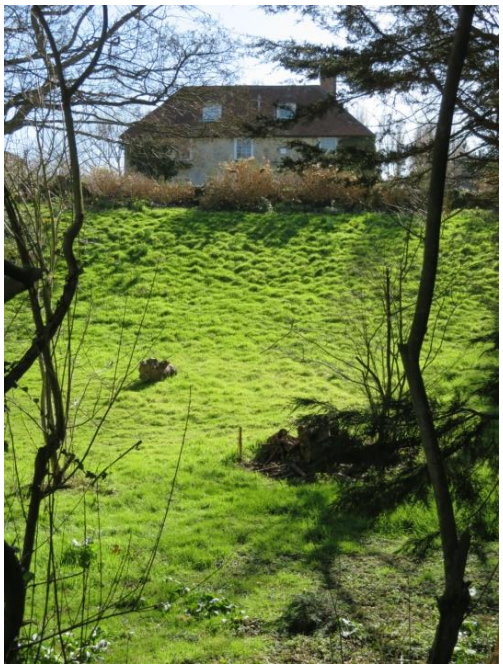
Map 8.5: Isle of Wight *-inga-* and *-ingas* place-names

The corpus containing the modern place-name element *-ing* has been categorised based on Mills (1996) and advice from the late Margaret Gelling (pers. comm.). Names containing Old English *-ing* have been included in Appendix 8.5 but are not mapped, having little relevance to the date of place-name formation.[116] This leaves definite and possible instances of *-inga-*[117] and *-ingas.*[118] These names are again associated with gravel margins within the Northern Lowlands and Southern Vale, and the more favourable soils of the West Wight (Fig. 8.3; Fig. 8.4).[119] The exception is the possible instance of Chillingwood within the north-east Wight claylands. The only definite instance of *-ingas* is Brading, on the Lateral Ridge margins overlooking the Yar gap. Within the Southern Vale there is an association with the area of Yar river gravels, with both names containing topographical elements. The same is true for *Huffingford* in the Medina gap and Atherfield adjoining the south-west coast. The significance of the latter will be examined below in consideration of names associated with 'colonization'.

Fig. 8.3: Farringford Farm is just to the north of the Lateral Ridge within the 'Freshwater Isle'



Fig. 8.4 Horringford is on the northern margin of the extensive river gravel area within the Southern Vale, with the River Yar behind the photographer

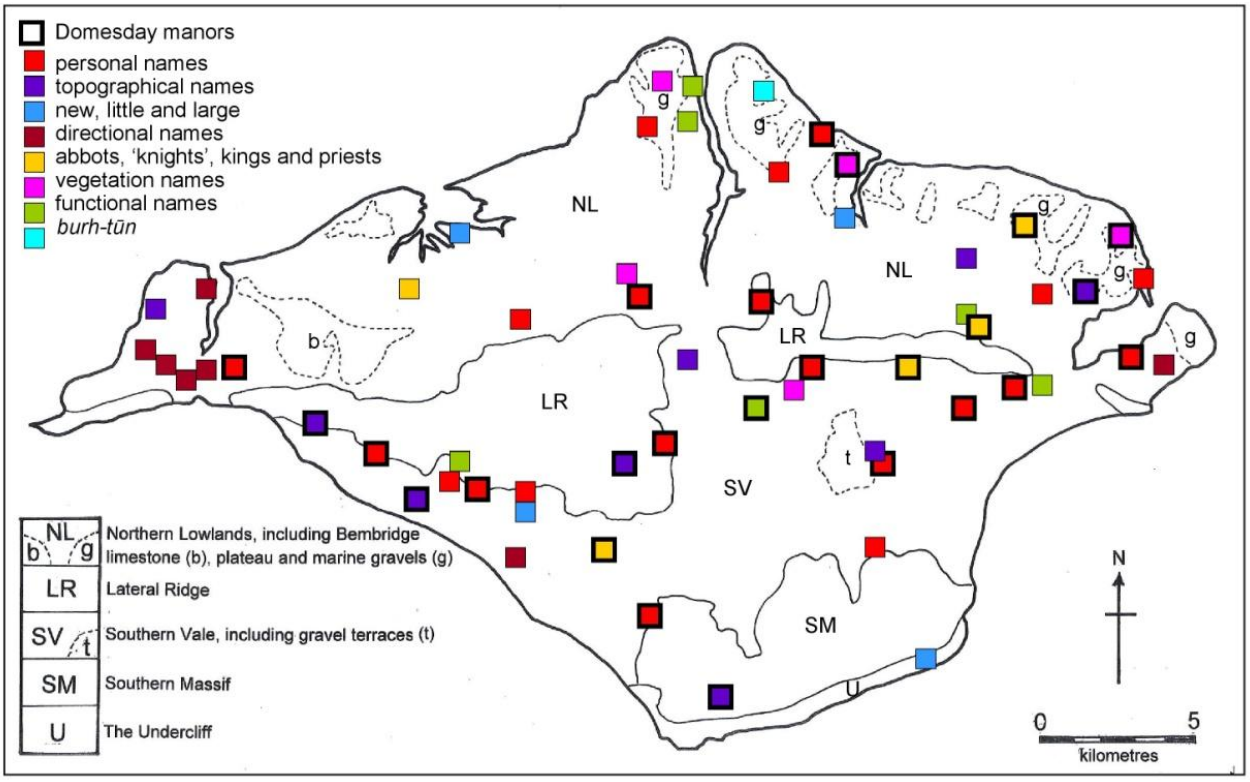


[116] *-ing*: connective particle implying 'associated with' or 'called after' (Mills 1996, 121).
[117] Genitive case of *-ingas* (Mills 1996, 121).
[118] Plural suffix denoting 'people of, dwellers at' (Mills 1996, 121).
[119] Wilmingham and Whippingham contain the element *hām*, being *-ingahām* names.

-ingahām and *hāmtūn*

The place-names containing these compounds deserve an additional mention due to the hypothesis that *-ingahām* appears to have originated after two-element *hām* names and before *-ingas* names (Gelling 1978, 112),[120] and the probability that *hāmtūn* names preceded the majority of two-element *tūn* names. The limited corpus means that little can be inferred beyond this chronology being a possibility due to their locations in relation to soils and landscape region boundaries, and Wilmingham's proximity to an early cemetery site.

Tūnas (Appendix 8.6)



Map 8.6: Isle of Wight- *tūn* place-names (Margham 2017a, map 1)

Tūn 'an enclosure, a farmstead, an estate, a village' names are the largest category of habitative names with 59 names recorded before 1600 (Smith 1956, II, 188; Margham 2017a, 5, 18-19; Figs. 8.5-8.7). Such names are distributed throughout much of the Island, with clusters within Freshwater parish, near the Lateral Ridge margins, particularly on the south side, and on gravel area margins of both the

[120] *-ingahām* formations probably date from the seventh century (Gelling 2004, 350).

Northern Lowlands and Southern Vale. There is also an association with the Southern Massif periphery. The proximity of some of these names with early cemetery sites (Tables 8.1, 8.2) raises the possibility that some, such as the later estate centre of Arreton, were broadly contemporary, although replacement of a topographical name is possible here. An origin for Barton, formerly *Burton*, can be claimed for the late seventh or eighth century (Margham, in preparation).[121] Two *tūnas* were recorded in the pre-Conquest period: Arreton in Alfred's will (S1507) and *Heantune* (now Branstone) in 982 (S842). In 25 instances a *terminus ante quem* is provided by Domesday Book, although some *tūnas* would have been of relatively recent origin in 1086. The Freshwater Isle directional names appear to have originated in the tenth century and it is possible that Middleton was a later addition to this corpus (Margham 2017a, 7-8; Jones 2012a, 208; Fig. 8.8).[122] However, Watts (2004, 411) observes that 'This p[lace] n[ame] type may sometimes denote a settlement which performed some central function for a group of communities, *e.g*. a market, rather than one equidistant from two others' so could predate other Freshwater directional *tūnas.*[123] The Domesday entry for Knighton describes eight free men holding two hides in alod of King Edward (39v). These would appear to have been the *cnihta* 'young theigns or retainers' (Mills 1996, 64) of the place-name, implying eleventh-century name-formation.[124] Niton, recorded as *Neeton* '*nīwe tūn*' (Mills 1996, 76), may have been relatively 'new' in 1086. Old English personal names form the first element of 20 names, with two more possibilities, plus two Scandinavian names. It can be assumed that *tūn* names largely originated before the Conquest, whether itemised in 1086 or not (Margham 2017a, 6). It is also plausible that a proportion of personal name -*tūnas* originated with the fragmentation of extensive estates, such as Alverstone (*Æ*lfred) and Adgestone (*Æ*lfric) within

[121] The relationship of *burhtūn* names to Offa's Dyke implies that they predate the later eighth century. This chronology is supported in the case of Barton by its association with the -*ingahām* name of nearby Whippingham.

[122] The suggestion of a tenth-century date for Freshwater's directional *tūnas* is based on the 'misalignment' of such names as Norton being skewed towards the north-east, 'a tenth-, and probably early tenth-century phenomenon' (Jones 2012a, 208), being apparent within the 'Freshwater Isle'. The first directional *tūn* in Wessex was, however, recorded in a charter of 801: Crux Easton (Hampshire: S268; Blair 2018, 223).

[123] If so, this Middleton can be compared with Middleton/Milton near the centre of the Bembridge Isle with no other directional *tūnas.*

[124] *Ningewode cum Prestetone* is an example of a post-Conquest *tūn* name, being granted to the church of *Twyneham* (Christchurch) by Richard de Redvers after receiving it from Henry I (Bearman 1994, 81-3).

Brading (ECW1; Kökeritz 1940, 50-1). This deduction is supported by S842, which refers to *Heantune* 'the high *tūn*', the grant of two hides here to Winchester New Minster being confirmed by Æthelred II in 982 (S842). This estate was known as Branstone by 1086, recording a Scandinavian personal name.



Fig. 8.5: The barn at Great Upton, an elevated location within the Northern Lowlands

Fig. 8.6: Compton Farm within its coombe looking westwards, with the greensand ridge to the south and chalk ridge to the north

Fig. 8.7: Wootton church and farm on the margins of a gravel 'island' within the Northern Lowlands

Fig. 8.8: Baker's Farm was formerly known as Sutton, one of the five 'directional *tūn*s' within the 'Freshwater Isle'

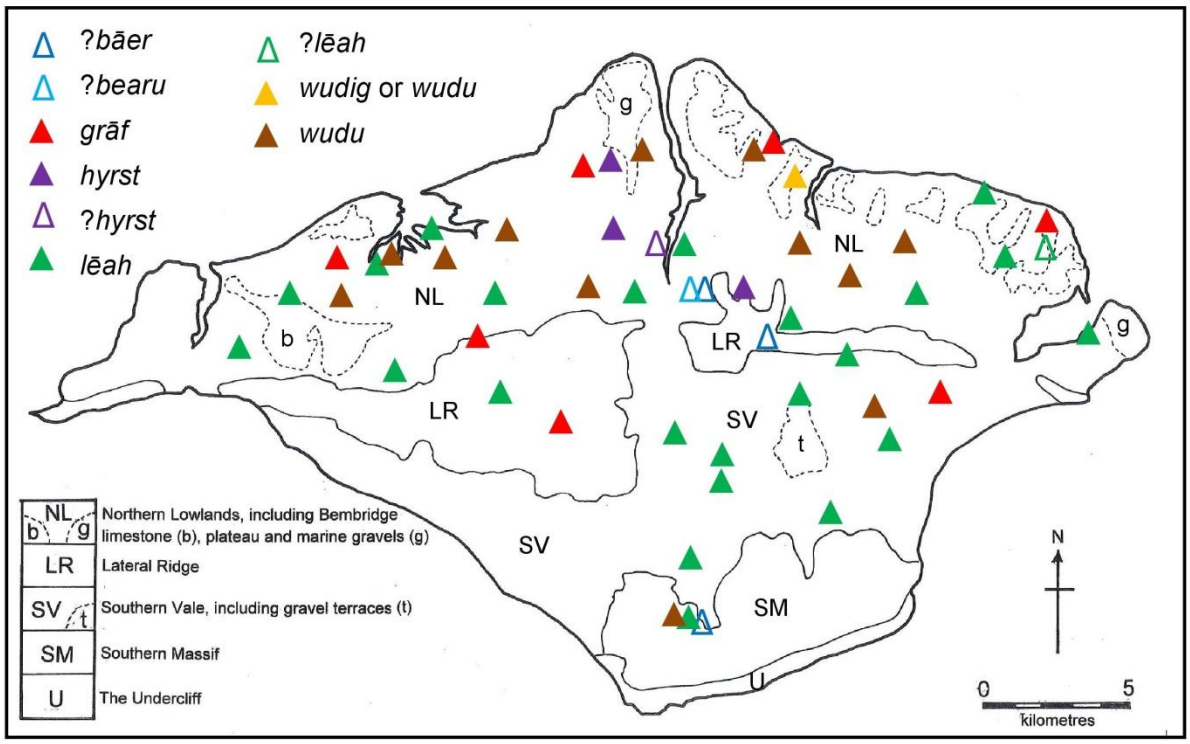
Land Use and Place-Names

The remaining place-names discussed here are all associated with land-use in its broadest sense, providing evidence for colonization and economic specialisation. The term colonization is used here to mean the occupation or reoccupation of the

landscape by seasonal or permanent settlement and the associated intensification of land-use.

Woodland Place-Names (Appendix 8.7)

The 'woodland' place-names of the Island range from *grāf* 'grove' implying a relatively small area, as perhaps does *hyrst* 'wooded hill', through to the more extensive *lēah* which apparently denoted wood-pasture in several instances. The overall distribution of woodland names is concentrated within the Northern Lowlands, with a lesser Southern Vale concentration, and occurrences within and on the margins of the two upland landscape regions. The identified woodland place-name elements will be considered in turn.



Map 8.7: Isle of Wight - woodland place-names

Neither *bær* 'pasture', especially 'woodland-pasture for swine' nor *bearu* 'grove, small wood' (Parsons and Styles 1997, 60, 66) are definite place-name elements in the name corpus but these possibilities may record woodland pig pasturing on the Lateral Ridge. *Grāf* names are also found on or adjoining the ridge and further to the north. *Hyrst* is largely confined to the Northern Lowlands, with the late-recorded Furzeyhurst perhaps being typical, although Staplers (*Staplehurst,* first element

stapol ‘pillar, post’) on the northern flank of the Lateral Ridge implies growth of something more substantial.[125] The largest category of woodland place-names is *lēah*, largely confined to the two main lowland regions. This appears to have changed its meaning through the early medieval period, from continuous woodland, to ‘glade, clearing’, and then to pasture or meadow (Gelling 1984, 198-9; 1992b, 16). The latter meaning may be the middle element of Nettlestone (Mills 1996, 74) illustrating confusion between *lēah* and later *læs*.[126] Such interpretation differences can perhaps be explained by both elements being appropriate for wood-pasture. The distribution of *lēah* names across much of the Northern Lowlands is consistent with other sources of information about this region’s wood-pasture (Chapter 4) and the first elements of Appley (‘apple’), Nettlestone (‘nut-tree’) and Thorley (‘thorn’) are appropriate for such environments.[127] Although Gelling (1984, 199) argued that ‘*lēah* is an indicator of woodland which was in existence and recognised as ancient when English speakers arrived in any one region’, there were only seven instances of *lēah* in Cox’s (1976, 50) corpus predating *c.*731. It appears that as the most common topographical term in English place-names, such names came into existence through the early medieval period.[128] By 1086 seven manorial centres had *lēah* names, but none of the corpus of 24 names were associated with early habitative name elements. Gelling (1992b, 6) suggested the period *c.*750 to *c.*950 was very productive for this place-name element formation, which would not be inconsistent with Island *lēah* names. A similar proportion of *wudu* ‘wood’ place-names were documented in or before 1086 although some instances were not recorded until the post-medieval period.[129] One instance, Chillingwood, recorded in a charter of 982 (S842), may contain the element *-inga-*. The distribution of *wudu* names complements that of *lēah,* particularly within the Northern Lowlands, and in two instances gave their name to local church parishes.

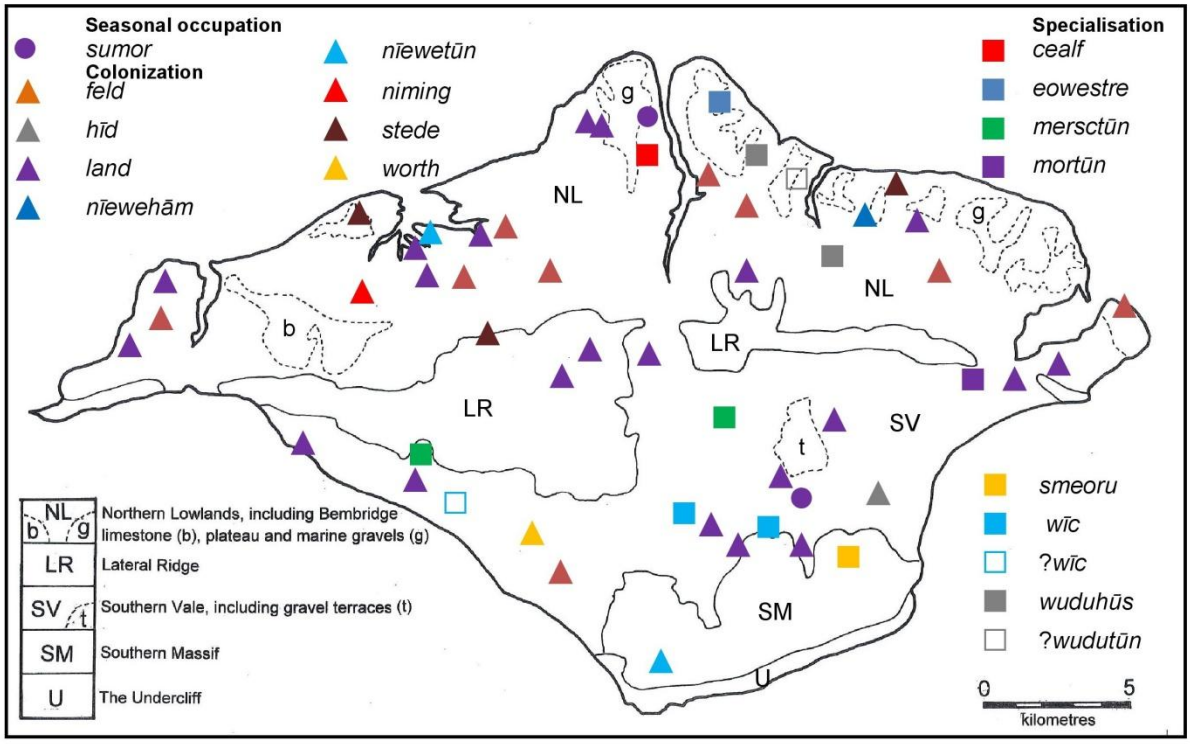
[125] Mills (1996, 98) interprets *Staplehirst* c.1250 as ‘the wooded hill where posts are obtained’. It is possible that a *stapol* there was a focal point in the landscape, perhaps even a meeting place (Meaney 1995, 35-6, n.121; Blair 2013, 188-9).
[126] However, Coates (1989, 10) states that *lēah* having the meaning ‘meadow’ is unlikely for genuinely early place-names, ‘for the change of application was a dialect development which filtered down from the north during the Middle English period’.
[127] Within the Southern Vale the possibility of Bierley meaning ‘(swine-) pasture’ and the presence of hazel at Heasley also support this.
[128] ‘It remains one of the most useful place-name terms for the recognition of areas that were well wooded in the early medieval period’ (Hooke 2010, 130).
[129] The two instances of Woodhouse appear to be Middle English place-names. ‘It is possible that “wood house” and “wood hall” originally denoted establishments with official functions in relation to an area of woodland’ (Gelling 1984, 227).

Seasonal Occupation, 'Colonisation' and Economic Specialisation (8.8; Map 8.8)

The three categories examined here are not mutually exclusive. For example seasonally-occupied sites frequently became more permanent, and could have a specialist function within a larger estate. Nevertheless, these themes will be explored in turn.

There are two instances of *sumor* 'summer' place-names: Somerton adjoining the Medina estuary, and Summersbury within the Southern Vale alongside a *beorg* 'barrow-shaped hill'. Although not directly associated with a settlement site, the term *smeoru* may be added to this corpus denoting seasonally-used locations. The *Smerdone* of *c.*1240 was corrupted into the modern place-name of St Martin's Down, high up within the Southern Massif, implying the use of downland for pasturing sheep or cattle for dairying on a seasonal basis (Fox 2008). Down Court in a similar location within the Southern Massif has been identified as the location of *Done* and *Ladone* in the Domesday entries for Knighton and Bathingbourne by Kökereitz (1940, 252-3). The latter accords with the S1662 boundary clause (951x955) which concludes with 'And the outlying pasture common with other men' (Margham 2007, 117-9), implying that this pasture was 6km beyond the bounds of Bathingbourne, arguably a further instance of seasonal land-use.[130]

[130] The distance between Knighton and the Down Court area was greater at almost 11km. A second set of bounds in S1662 refers to unidentified *Linlande*, appearing to have been located within the Southern Vale and probably on its northern margins. The bounds include 'And the outlying pasture and the woodland pasture common with other men' (Margham 2007, 119-20). It is plausible that *Linlande* was in the Knighton area, with the latter place-name of recent formation in 1066 (above, p.234).



Map 8.8: Isle of Wight - place-names of seasonal occupation, colonization and economic specialisation

Evidence for colonization of the lower-lying landscape regions is provided in the corpus of *lēah* place-names (above), for example Rookley (*hrōc* 'rook') in the Southern Vale and Watchingwell in the Northern Lowlands. The latter was the centre of an estate confirmed in the possession of Wilton Abbey in 968 (S766) where wheat was grown in a clearing or area of wood-pasture near a stream according to the place-name *Hwætincz le[ah]* (Kökeritz 1940, 88; Margham 2006, 86). Other place-name elements support the argument for colonization of these landscape regions, along with one instance within the Southern Massif.

The earliest recorded instance of *feld, Aderingefeldam* (ECW103, 959x975), now Atherfield (Fig. 8.9), is also potentially the earliest place-name in this corpus due to its *-inga-* name element. Its peripheral location in relation to Bowcombe/Carisbrooke adjoining the south-west coast is consistent with Gelling's (1984, 236) claim that before the tenth century, Anglo-Saxon charters use the term *feld* for common pasture rather than arable land, along with *irthland* and variants for ploughland. This suggests that 'when this word [*feld*] was first used in settlement names the settlements are a result of encroachment …. on areas which had previously been used mainly for grazing' (Gelling 1992a, 121). A similar argument could be advanced

for Whitefield on Northern Lowland clays, first recorded in 1086. The remaining instances of *feld* names may all be of post-Conquest origin, such as the three instances of Heathfield which apparently document colonization of the Northern Lowlands.





Fig. 8.9: Atherfield Farm adjoining the south-western coast of the Southern Vale

Fig. 8.10 Fleetlands Farm alongside a creek within the Northern Lowlands

The first record of a *land* place-name is seemingly *Ewereland* (Yaverland) referring to the Bembridge Isle area 688x726 (ECW1). The marginality of this area is suggested by the first element, *eofer* 'wild boar', although by 1066 the name represented an unhided royal estate (39v). Gelling sees *land* as having a specific meaning for settlement sites, probably having the same meaning of *tūn* by the late Anglo-Saxon period, but 'Earlier than this *land* may have been one of the terms used in place-names to denote new settlement of the Anglo-Saxon period in areas colonized or reclaimed in response to an increasing need for arable' (Gelling 1984, 245) (Fig. 8.10). Like *feld* names, several *land* names may have originated in the post-Conquest era, but Lessland in a low-lying situation in the interior of the Southern Vale was recorded twice in 1086. The first name-element, **lycce* 'enclosed or enclosure', supports Gelling's interpretation.

Two 'new' place-names had pre-Conquest origins.[131] Newnham Farm adjoins the gravel 'island' to the east of Wootton Creek, but due to its *nīewe* suffix may have

[131] Manorial and personal names such as Newnham in Chale and Ninham in Brading are not included in this corpus (Kökeritz 1940, 115; Mills 1996, 76). Neither is Newport which originated in the late

been a later creation than other *hām* names (Gelling 1978, 116; Fig. 8.2). The same can be argued for Niton, the 'new *tūn*', in 1086.

Ningwood in the Northern Lowlands was recorded as *Lenimcode* in 1086, with a Norman French definite article prefix. The middle element is **niming* 'land enclosed or taken into cultivation' and the suffix a mistake corrected in the later record of *Ningewode* (Mills 1996, 76). The land here had thus been taken into cultivation from woodland or wood-pasture. A process of 'taking in' is also witnessed by the small corpus of *stede* names. Hamstead, a *hām* name on the margins of a gravel 'island' may not be significant; according to Smith (1956, I, 232) it 'does not appear to have denoted much more than a single dwelling or farm' (Sandred 1963, 66; Fig. 8.11). A location at or adjoining Ashengrove on the northern margins of the Lateral Ridge was first recorded in the bounds of Watchingwell (S766) as *æsc stede* ('the place of the ash trees') in 968 (Margham 2005, 85-90; Fig. 8.11). Sandred (1963, 129) cites this as an outlying point between estates which later developed as a habitation site. Another instance of *stede* is Domesday *Benestede* (Binstead) just beyond the margins of a gravel 'island' on the north-east coast (Fig. 8.12). The prefix may refer to a wild plant but Sandred (1963, 172) suggests that such *stedes* that were originally outlying pastures came to be used for cultivation, perhaps initially for beans. The study of *stede* names in Essex and Hertfordshire suggests that these originated with the sense of 'pasture (probably enclosed)' (Sandred 1963, 174-5). A similar trajectory could be argued for Dungewood within the Southern Vale, the suffix being *worð* ('an enclosure') which may also contain the early habitative element *-inga-* (Smith 1956, II, 273; Mills 1996, 46, 126). However, no instances of *worð* were recorded by Cox (1976) suggesting it was unknown or rare before the early eighth century (English 2002, 45). English (2002, 49) asks 'Could it be that *worth* represents the spread of arable agriculture into less favoured areas which had previously only been used for stock grazing?', and postulates that some *worð* sites developed into habitations which gave rise to 'enclosed farmstead', a later meaning discussed by Hooke (1981, 297; 1998, 168). The final place-name which can be considered is Hyde, with one instance as a settlement name on the Island. A study by Margham (2019b) argued that this late Anglo-Saxon hide within Brading's

twelfth century as a planned town (Beresford 1967, 444). Newtown is plotted as a *tūn* name originating as a 'new town' within Winchester's Calbourne estate in 1255-6 replacing the *lēah* name *Stretley* (Beresford 1967, 445).

‘extensive estate’ formerly had a role in the colonization of the Southern Vale and that pioneering functions can be seen for other single hide estates which can be reconstructed from Domesday Book (revisited in Chapter 10, p.358).





Fig. 8.11: Ashengrove on the northern margins of the Lateral Ridge

Fig. 8.12: Binstead church, adjoing the coast of the Northern Lowlands

Economic specialisation has been alluded to in the former name of St Martin’s Down. Other possibilities are *mersctūn, mortūn, wīc, cealfa, eowestre* and *wudutūn*. Merstone was recorded as two Domesday manors, one of which had been held by King Edward in demesne and ‘it belonged to his farm and did not pay geld’ (53). The *mersc* ‘marsh’ here adjoining a tributary of the Medina would have been a valuable asset and the name may reflect a specialised function of this area in the pasturing of cattle. A similar claim may be made for the two instances of Moortown/Morton, although neither was recorded until the thirteenth century. The location to the north of Brighstone (Moortown) was restricted by local topography, whereas that in the Brading area (Morton) relates to extensive marshes alongside Brading Haven. As we saw in Chapter 7, Morton probably adjoined the original location referred to as Brading, ‘(Settlement of) the dwellers on the hill-side’, the *-ingas* estate centre of ECW1 (Mills 1996, 32).

The two definite instances of *wīc* were both recorded in 1086, Bagwich and *Wica* (53v, 39v),[132] within and on the Southern Vale’s margins respectively. The third instance, Wicken Hill Lane (Brighstone), is less secure as a *wīc* and was first recorded later, also within this landscape region. In a rural context *wīc* is taken to

[132] *Sandford Cv Wica* (39v): the *wīc* here does not refer to modern Week Farm within the Southern Massif, but to a location much nearer to Sandford, probably within Godshill Park (Hockey, pers. comm.).

mean ‘a dwelling, a building or collection of buildings for special purposes, a dairy farm, specialised farm’ (Smith 1956, II, 256), a specialised function associated with dairying is a distinct possibility for these instances. The first element of Chawton appears to be *cealfa* ‘calf’ (Phillips 2010; Margham 2015b), so this site adjoining Northwood parish church just beyond the margins of a gravel ‘island’ plausibly had a cattle-rearing function within Bowcombe’s estate (Chapter 10, p.369). On the other side of the Medina estuary in a similar location is Osborne, whose first element *eowestre* ‘sheepfold’, plausibly refers to pastoral use of dry heathland on the gravel ‘island’ adjoining to the west. The suffix of *burna* may imply an ‘early’ origin of this name although it was not recorded until 1316. One further possible instance of a specialised estate is Wootton, *Odetone* in 1086. The ‘wooded’ or ‘wood’ *tūn* was held by Queen Edith *TRE* (40). This raises the possibility that Wootton, like Osborne had a specialist function within Whippingham’s estate (ECW4), in this case the production of timber, in an area retained by the crown.

Case Studies of Settlement: Domesday Book and beyond

In order to draw various strands of evidence together regarding settlement development in the early medieval period, a series of nine short case-studies are presented. These follow the format of inferences made from Domesday statistics (Appendices 8.7 to 8.13; Margham 2025); review of IWHER and PAS evidence regarding Romano-British and early medieval settlement (and in some cases the pre-Roman Iron Age);[133] inferences from place-names (Appendices 8.1 to 8.6); information derived from HLC and settlement morphology; and an overview of settlement development to the twelfth century. The nine areas have been chosen to represent a range of geographical areas and landscape regions.

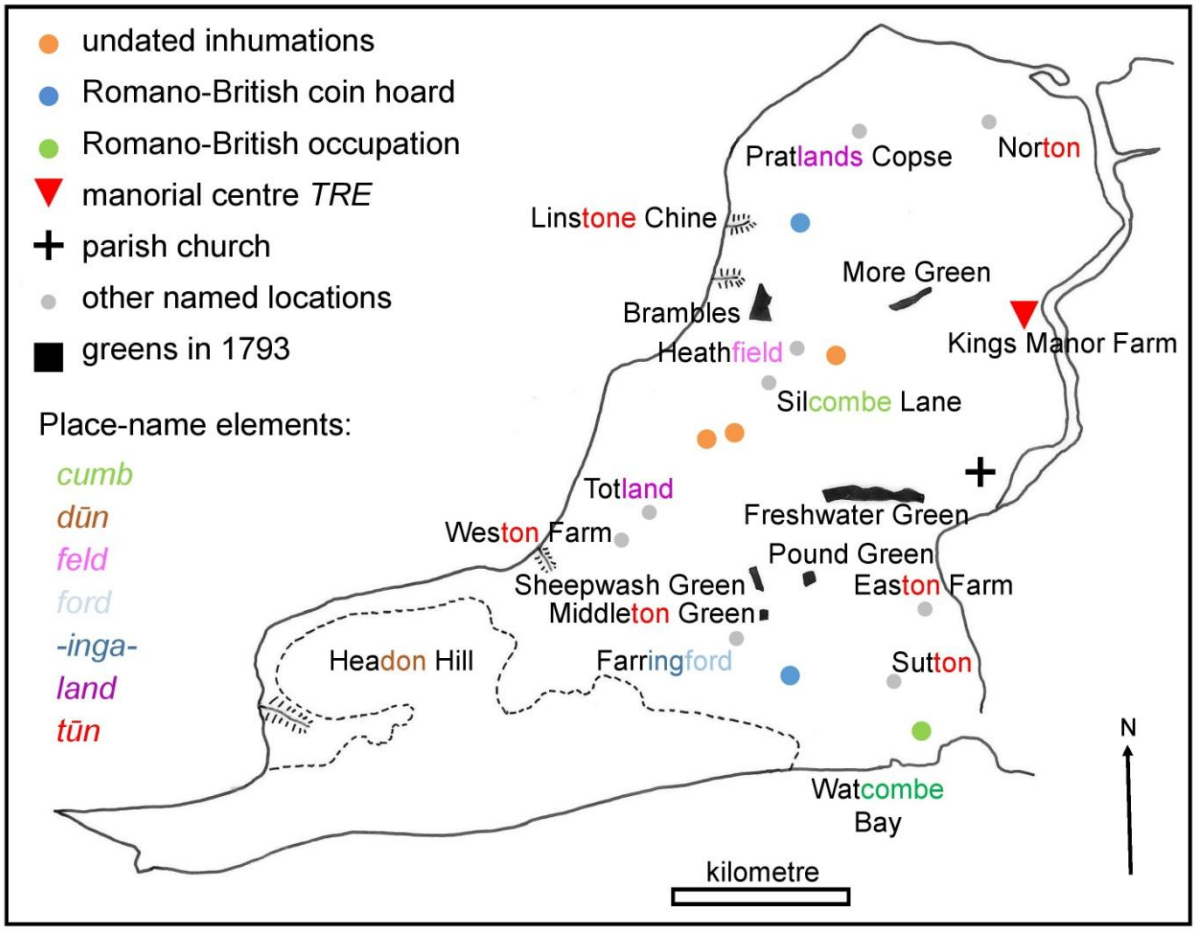
The Freshwater Isle (Map 8.9)

‘Freshwater Isle’ consisted of a royal manor rated at 15 hides *TRE* with one hide held by William fitzAzor *TRW* (52, 52v). Allowing for coastal erosion, it comprised

[133] Walton’s survey of Romano-British coinage and archaeology used data from the Island in a case study. Her fig. 95 plotted PAS ‘sites’, ‘defined as a cluster of five or more coins located within 200 metres of each other’ (Walton 2012, 138). The present author’s mapping accords with her work, except for two instances in the Brook/Brighstone case study (Map 8.12) where two of Walton’s late Roman coin ‘sites’ have been added (Walton 2012, fig. 108c).

21% Lateral Ridge and 79% Northern Lowlands, the latter largely underlain by soils derived from Bagshot Beds (nearer the Lateral Ridge) and Osborne and Headon Beds (further to the north). This contrasts with Hamstead Beds forming much of the Northern Lowlands to the east.

The ratio of one ploughland per hide suggests that arable exploitation remained relatively constant through the eleventh century up to 1086. The ratio of 1.5 ploughlands to ploughteams apparently indicates the existence of extensive open-fields in 1086 with no recent expansion. The ratio of 190 acres per *TRE* hide is highly suggestive of a very productive landscape, atypical of much of the Northern Lowlands. The recorded population per ploughteam of 3.5 for the royal manor indicates much agricultural productivity due to open-field agriculture, rather than dependence on other resources such as chalk downland and heathland. The six acres of meadow was apparently alongside watercourses in the Pratlands area of Norton and in the Freshwater Green area; a significant factor in the manorial economy. The ratio of bordars to the rest of the recorded population of less than 50% would also suggest a developed agrarian landscape with little improvement of more marginal land in the later eleventh century. There was, however, some resource development between 1066 and 1086 with the increase in the manor's value: '*TRE* it was worth £16; and afterwards £20; yet it is at farm for £30' (52).



Map 8.9: Freshwater Isle- settlement and place-names. The dashed line is the 250ft contour.

Evidence for Romano-British activity is limited: two coin hoards, and occupation at Freshwater Bay. The third-century Farringford coin hoard may be indicative of a villa nearby as most Island Romano-British villas are on or near the Lateral Ridge margins (Chapter 10; Basford 1980, 124). The relative lack of PAS evidence can be attributed to the built-up nature of Freshwater Isle in the modern landscape. While there is no physical evidence for early medieval occupation, the two adjacent undated inhumations in Totland may indicate a cemetery. By the eleventh century Freshwater had a superior church responsible for a wider area (Chapter 5) and a manorial centre alongside the Yar 900 metres to its north.

By the mid 1060s this King's Manor site was the centre of an extensive West Wight estate belonging to Earl Tostig, comprising Freshwater, Compton, Brook and Thorley. The topographical place-name Freshwater, giving its name to both Domesday manors to the west of the Yar, seems to be of considerable antiquity. Other potentially early topographical settlement place-names are Farringford and

Silcombe, while two others, Watcombe and Headon, were apparently not settlements. Farringford's antiquity is demonstrated by its *-inga-* name element. The *-land* names of Totland and Pratlands are both associated with areas which had open-field agriculture (Map 8.11), reinforcing the observation that at least some *-land* place-names were associated with cultivation development. The directional *-tūn* names of Norton, Easton, Sutton and Weston may have originated in the tenth century (Margham 2017a, 7) with Middleton perhaps a later addition, but a plausible interpretation of representing some kind of 'centrality' (above, p.235; Watts 2004, 411). Although not in proximity to the church or manorial centre, Middleton Green is only 160m from Farringford Farm, an *-inga-* name coupled with *ford.*

The names Norton and Middleton are associated with two of the various small greens, components of the polyfocal settlement pattern. There is evidence for rectilinear planning around the parish church site (Chapter 5, p.124; Chapter 10, p.379 footnote 341). The former single-row linear settlement along the north side of Freshwater Green is atypical of the dispersed historic settlement pattern, apppearng to be a planned, but undated, component (Map 8.10). It appears to be an addition to a pre-existing settlement with a triangular ground-plan immediately to its west.



Map 8.10: The Freshwater Green area in 1793/4 with the triangular area on the west side of the map, the purported planned settlement site to the north of the green bound by a back lane and a path, and the parish church site adjoining the Yar estuary to the east. Stroud Copse is depicted to the north-east of the green. It is uncertain whether this formed part of the former settlement site. In the contemporary landscape, much of the frontage along north side of the green, now known as School Green, has been re-occupied by shops and houses.



Fig. 8.13: Nixon watercolour of Freshwater Bay *c.*1810 showing Baker's Farm (formerly Sutton) just inland from the bay with strips within Easton Common Field on the flank of the down beyond

Settlement seems to have expanded from the Farringford/Sutton/parish church areas, with part of this expansion indicated by *-land* place-names. The core area plausibly included the gravel terrace alongside the Yar estuary, with King's Manor (Freshwater Farm) adjoining to the north. This area was within Freshwater Farm's demesne documented in 1608 (Basford 2013, 212). Expansion resulted in the development of a polyfocal settlement pattern with small greens forming some foci, surrounded by areas of open-fields, leaving the chalk downland, the rough pasture of Norton Common, and heathlands of Headon Hill and Golden Hill as extensive land-use areas. The place-name of Heathfield Farm, in existence by the late thirteenth century (Kökeritz 1940, 128), apparently represents later 'colonization' of heathland.

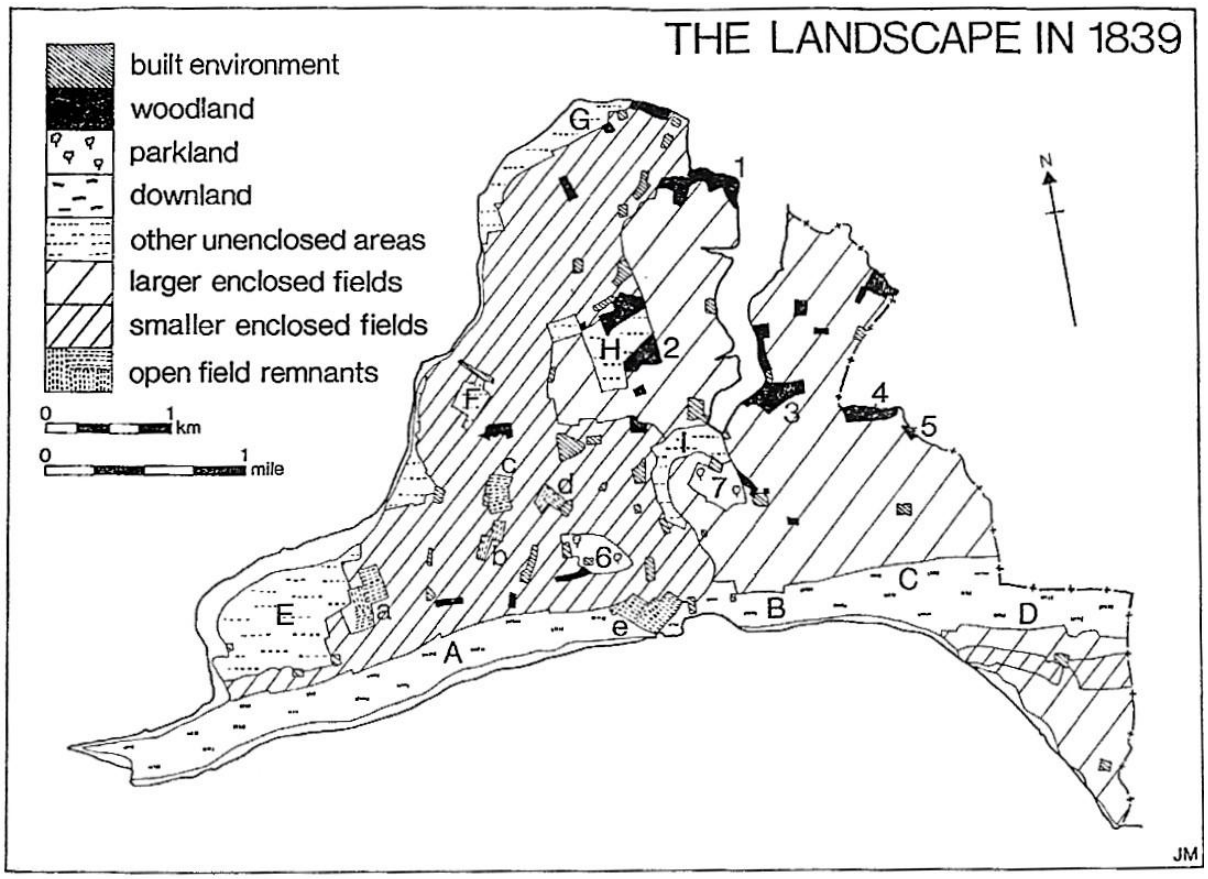


Figure 4: The landscape in 1839. Redrawn from the Tithe Apportionment map for Freshwater parish (IWCRO JER/T/110).

Woodland and Parkland	Downland and other unenclosed areas	Open Field remnants
1. Saltern Wood	A. High Down	a. Headon Common Field
2. Hookhill Copse	B. Afton Down	b. Stonewind Field
3. Becketts Wood	C. East Afton Down	c. Windmill field
4. North Park Coppice	D. Compton Down	d. Little Common Field
5. North Park Copse	E. Headon Hill	e. Easton Common Field
6. Farringford	F. Colwell Common	
7. Afton	G. Norton Common	
	H. Golden Hill	

Map 8.11: The landscape of Freshwater parish in 1839 (Margham 1994, fig. 4)

Shalcombe (Map 8.12)

Shalcombe manor is situated just to the north of the Lateral Ridge with 30% of its area ridge and 70% Northern Lowlands, of which 38% Bembridge limestone at its northern extremity (Fig. 8.14). It is defined by St Nicholas' detached boundary, a

parish established between 1066 and 1086 (52v). This area was formerly a constituent of an estate centred on Shalfleet to the north (Chapter 6, p.173).



Fig. 8.14: The view north-westwards from Mottistone Down over the Shalcombe area and the Bembridge limestone plateau

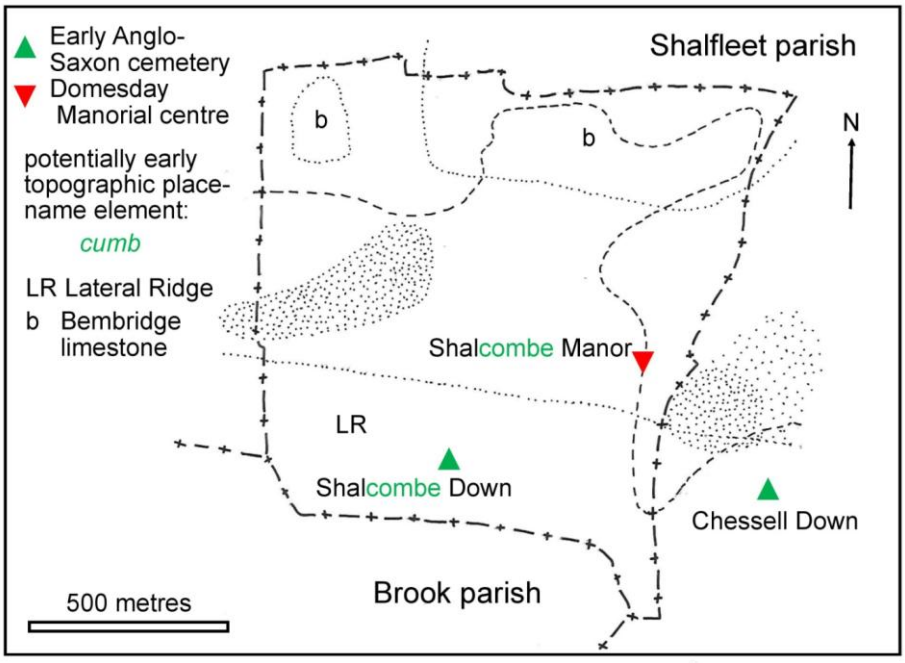
With an area of 272 acres and being rated at 1 hide *TRE*, Shalcombe was a relatively productive area in relation to much of the Island. The two ploughlands in 1086 would suggest the development of its productivity between the hidage assessment of the late tenth or early eleventh century and 1086. This may not have been sustained between 1066 and 1086 as its value falling from £4 to £3. The 1:1 ratio of ploughlands to ploughteams may imply the existence of a regular open-field system. HLC mapping suggests that open-fields formerly existed on Shalcombe's area of Bembridge limestone (Loader 2008, fig. 63), although Cahill's (1980, map 6) 'sub-chalk arable' is a distinct possibility.

There is evidence for a Romano-British building at the base of the Lateral Ridge to the east beyond Chessell (IWHER 5259). The PAS indicates a Romano-British metalwork scatter in the Shalcombe Holding area,[134] where tile has also been

[134] 32 late Romano-British records accessed 23/6/22.

recorded (Rebecca Loader. pers. comm.), as well as at Chessell just east of the parish boundary.[135] Both of these areas are largely coincident with scatters of early Anglo-Saxon metalwork. The Shalcombe Holding area can be seen as a potential cemetery site (Appendix 2.2), separate from the barrow inhumation site on the down (IWHER 124, 128), with the Chessell assemblage being an extension down-slope from Chessell Down cemetery (IWHER 138, 405, 1303).[136] Sceattas from both Shalcombe Holding and Chessell suggests an afterlife of these sites as meeting-places or even local trading sites in the eighth century.

The only significant place-name within Shalcombe is that of its Domesday manorial centre *Eseldecome*, 'the shallow [bowl-shaped] valley' (Mills 1996, 93). The case for this *-cumb* topographical name being early is strengthened by its close association with the Chessell Down cemetery site and its apparent down-slope extension.



Map 8.12: Shalcombe- settlement and place-names. The parish boundary defines the 292 acres of St Nicholas detached. The dashed line is the 250 ft contour. Heavily stippled areas- later Romano-British metallic artefact scatters; lightly stippled area- early Anglo-Saxon metallic artefact scatter where not coincident with later Romano-British material (PAS).

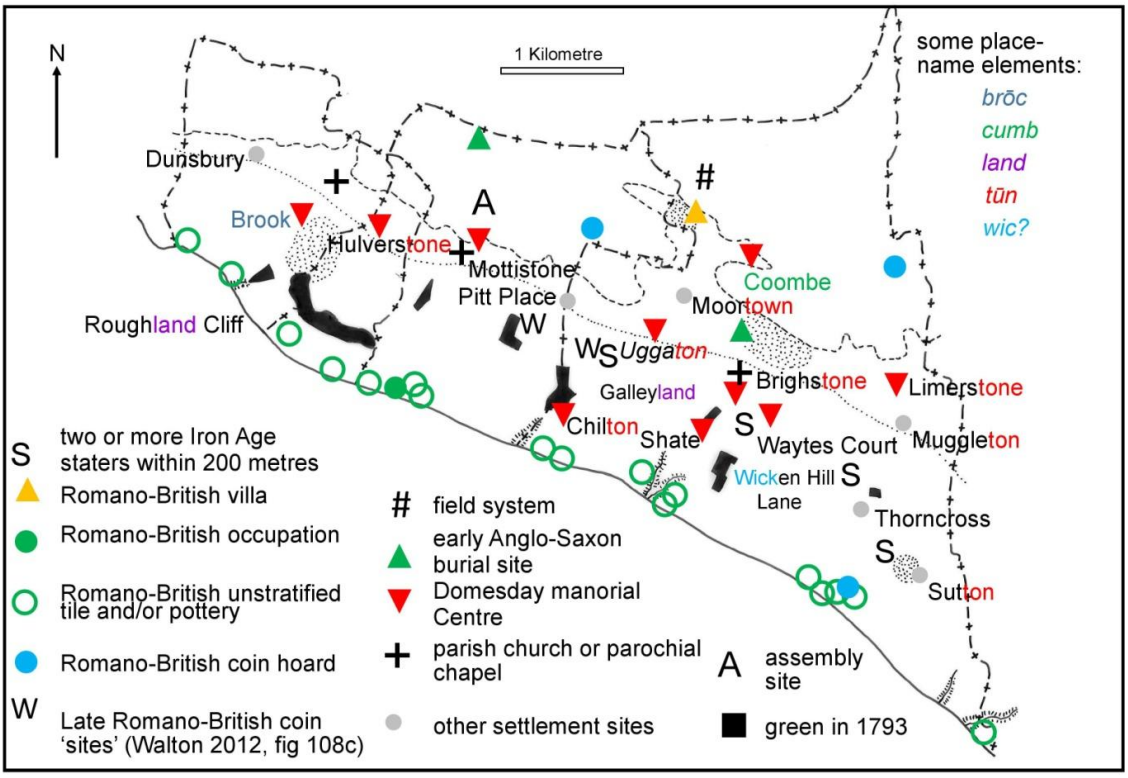
The evidence cited above supports the hypothesis of the Lateral Ridge northern margins being a long-established preferred settlement zone, particularly in the vicinity of Shalcombe Manor.

[135] In the area immediately to the east of Shalcombe and largely coincident with early Anglo-Saxon artefacts IOW-78280D and coins IOW-ID62FD, -08CA25, -5D59A8, -B8A068, -BA287E; and a huge concentration further to the east.

[136] Including a fifth-century Visigothic gold tremissis: IOW-7D7783.

The South-West Coast: Brook to Brighstone (Map 8.13)

This area consists of three historic parishes and a detached portion of a fourth along the south-western coast. Making allowances for erosion, the respective proportions of Lateral Ridge and Southern Vale have been calculated thus: Brook (28%, 72%); Hulverstone (8%, 92%); Mottistone (39%, 61%) and Brighstone (27%, 73%).[137] In addition to the contrast between these two landscape regions, approximately half of the study area in the present-day landscape along the coast, consists of Wealden Beds-dervived damp soils and associated gravel terraces alongside watercourses.



Map 8.13: Brook, Hulverstone, Mottistone and Brighstone- settlement and place-names. Stippled areas indicate concentrations of late Romano-British material (PAS); dashed line 250 ft contour; dotted line: northern limit of Wealden Beds including gravel terraces.

Comparison of *TRE* hidages and medieval parish areas suggests that Brighstone, with 204 acres per hide, was one of the most 'productive' areas on the Island, second only to Freshwater in these case studies. Brook had a similar order of 'productivity' with 285 acres per hide. Adjoining Hulverstone (Shalfleet detached) was less 'productive' at 495, with Mottistone having a lower value of 532. Ratios of ploughlands per *TRE* hides suggest that, with the exceptions of Coombe and Shate,

[137] This assumes 650 metres of coastal erosion since the later eleventh century (Chapter 4, p.64).

all manors within these parishes increased their 'productivity' during the eleventh century, although this evidence is unavailable for Calbourne's three holdings within Brighstone parish. These ratios of two ploughlands per hide can be taken to indicate an increase in arable areas. The more intensive use for some or all of formerly extensively-used lands is suggested for Calbourne's holdings within Brighstone parish, with relatively high proportions of bordars. The adjoining manors of Brook, Hulverstone and Mottistone had a high proportion of recorded population per ploughteam implying a diverse agricultural base, being dependent on much more than their arable ploughlands. Hulverstone, with its ratio of two ploughlands to 3½ ploughteams could be seen as having an irregular field system (Higham 1990) or as being 'overstocked' (Kapelle 1979, 166-9) perhaps due to an intended or actual expansion of the arable area.[138]

The PAS records late Iron Age staters (coins) to the north-east of Chilton,[139] to the south-west of Brighstone,[140] and at Sutton Farm,[141] all within the Wealden clays coastal strip. The modern coastline has produced reports of unstratified Romano-British tile and pottery and one occupation site. This apparent site distribution reflects evidence becoming available due to coastal erosion, rather than habitation along the coastline which would have been further south. The two Romano-British coin hoards were both found on the Lateral Ridge. Neither of these was necessarily associated with contemporary settlement nearby. The PAS documents three areas of concentrations of late Romano-British metal artefacts, to the east of Brook on the Wealden clays,[142] to the north-east of Brighstone on the southern flank of the Lateral Ridge,[143] and the area around Rock Roman villa.[144] The latter, in the valley between the greensand and chalk ridges, originated as a corridor house in the fourth quarter of the third century, and a corn drier was inserted about a century later when the building was dilapidated (IWHER 277). The overall impression given by evidence

[138] Kapelle's study is of Northumbria. See Appendix 8.12.
[139] IOW-D49604, -DA1452.
[140] IOW-BD86B4, -905D13, -097D72, -C5A7B4, -1AC96A, -CA6A58, -8BD98B.
[141] IOW-FB70A8, -1CFE97, -090100, -85F043, -2F2404, -FC8612, -3F4A74, -DD0107, -85F043.
[142] Coins IOW-B9A5A4, -5A6037, -839203, -393A55, -21AF3F.
[143] Coins IOW-992F0A, -00A4F2, -C29D28, CCB532, -EAE2B6, -D05764, -D7FF6C, -E49730, -2B1A77, -F16CE0, -F874D3, -C16E8D, -C557E3, -F86317, -0E7B06.
[144] Coins IOW-CFE2D2, -D02386, -EB3023, -974F62, -749FE7, -EB1852, -218788, -DCC2C1.

from the later Iron Age and the Romano-British period is one of settlement throughout much of the Southern Vale within the study area.[145]

The Lateral Ridge and its margins were the location of two early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites: one comprising secondary inhumations in and around a Bronze Age barrow on the chalk ridge (IWHER 245), and another associated with Romano-British material which can be inferred from PAS evidence overlooking Brighstone village (Appendices 2.1, 2.2). These sites appear to have served populations within and on the margins of the Southern Vale. By 1086, manorial centres were located mainly within the Southern Vale, in several instances just to the south of the Lateral Ridge. One of these, Brook, has a potentially early topographical place-name. Late eighteenth-century mapping indicates some settlement within the Southern Vale associated with relatively small greens within the Wealden Beds coastal area (Fig. 8.15).



Fig. 8.15: The remnant of Chilton Green on the parish boundary between Mottistone and Brighstone

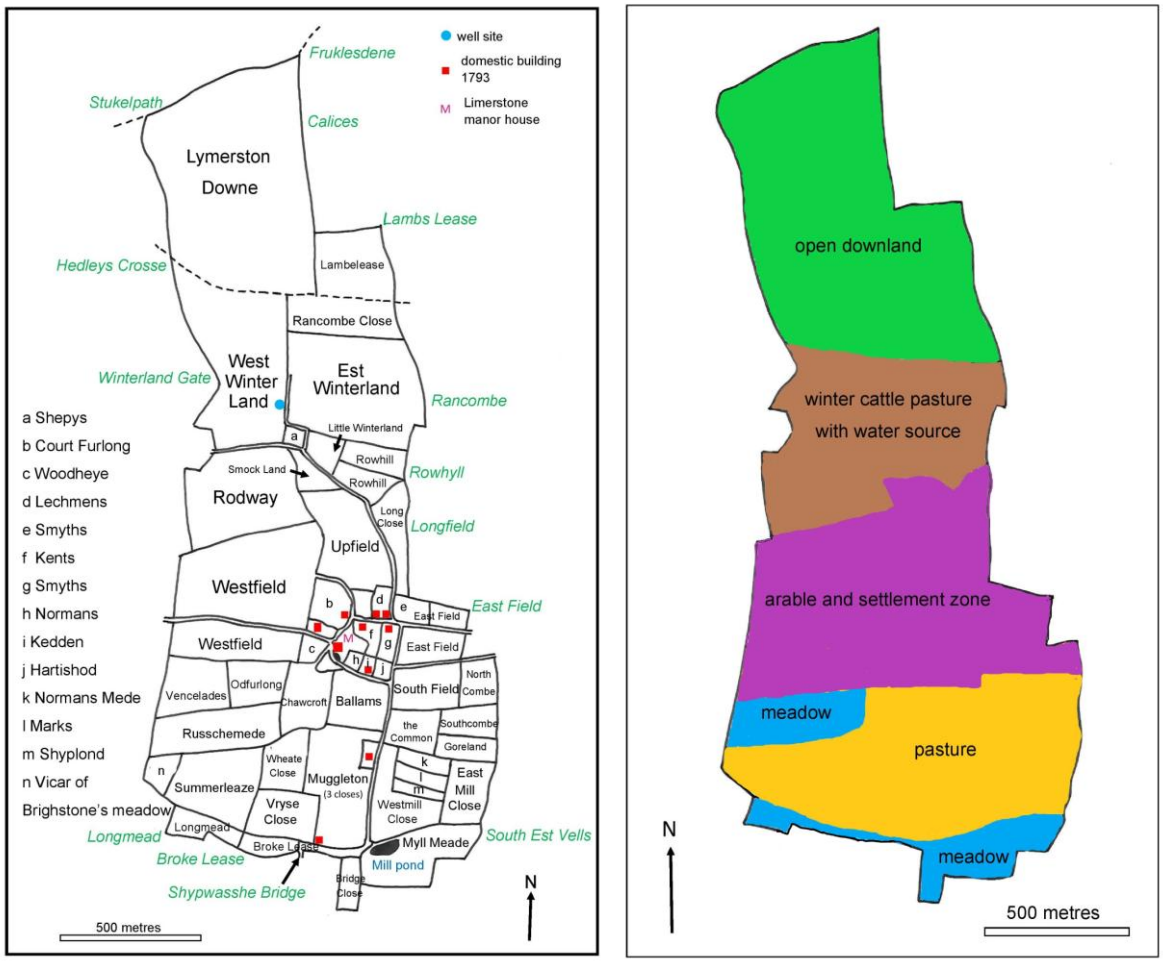
Clayland greenside settlement can be seen as examples of settlement development (Warner 1987) although the distribution of Romano-British sites could suggest a degree of settlement continuity. The two *-land* place-names may indicate development of more intensive use of the Wealden clays, with Roughland Cliff adjoining the settlement of Brookgreen, and Galley Lane in Brighstone apparently

[145] The Grange Chine area, south-west of Shate in Brighstone parish, has produced late Romano-British pottery forms in several early fifth-century sites in mainland England and a possible sunken-featured building with Anglo-Saxon pottery (Trott, pers. comm.).

the *Gallyland* recorded in 1608 (Appendix 8.8). HLC mapping (Map 9.2) indicates former open-field furlongs in both areas and over much of the Wealden clays. The development of open-field furlongs over this area can be suggested for the late Anglo-Saxon period.[146] A possible precursor to open-fields within Brighstone is hinted at by the place-name Wicken Hill Lane, which may record a former dairy farm implied by a putative *wīc* element (Kökeritz 1940, 72). Sutton may represent colonization in the south-eastern extremity of Brighstone parish in the later Anglo-Saxon period.

A study by the present author (Margham 2024b) investigated the context of Limerstone's place-name on the eastern bounds of Brighstone parish. Limerstone can probably be identified with Winchester's unnamed sub-holding held by Robert *TRW* (52v; Chapter 7). Although 'Lēofmær's or Lēodmær's *tūn*' was not recorded until 1252 (Mills 1996, 66), the Old English personal name indicates an earlier origin.[147] Although not named in Domesday Book, this was plausibly the name of the landholding then. Due to good medieval and post-medieval documentation, including a manorial account in a Winchester pipe roll of 1278, manorial survey of 1565 (Page 1998; Webster 1975-1999) and estate map of 1778,[148] it has been possible to reconstruct the twelfth-century demesne landscape (Maps 8.14, 8.15).[149]

[146] These extensive open-fields were divided between the tithings of Brighstone and Limerstone (Basford 2013, 240). Island tithings were quite fluid entities, apparently reflecting tenurial changes (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.).
[147] Seven individuals named Leofmær have been recorded prior to 1086, six of whom in the first half of the eleventh century (PASE, consulted December 2025).
[148] Now held at Limerstone Farm.
[149] Metal-detecting is not permitted at Limerstone Farm.



Map 8.14: Transcription of Clifford Webster's reconstruction of Limerstone's demesne in 1565 from Webster (unpublished) with corrections: sixteenth-century boundary locations, well site and domestic buildings in 1793/4 added by the present author.

Map 8.15: A reconstruction of Limerstone's demesne in the twelfth century. This pattern of complementary land-use reflects the limitations and opportunities provided by the physical background of landforms, soils and geology.

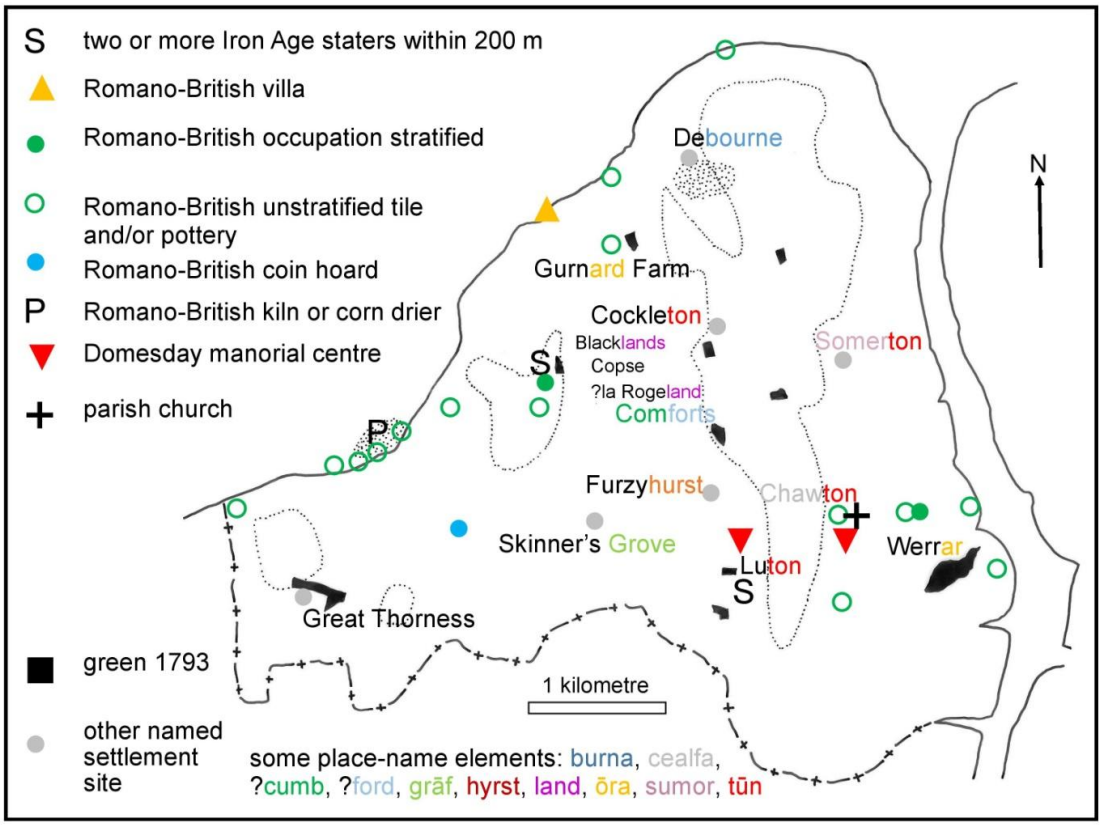
In addition to the demesne of approximately 500 acres, Limerstone had interests in the area of Wealden clays and alluvial deposits to the south and south-west, intermingled with Brighstone manor. This consisted of later-documented open-field furlongs, meadowland, and coastal rough pasture. The pattern of land-holding was apparently a legacy of Calbourne's 'extensive estate'. It is uncertain when Limerstone became a manor independent of Winchester's Calbourne, apparently being a drawn-out process first documented in 1086. By the end of the following century or earlier Limerstone was a self-contained manor in terms of integrated land-use.



Fig. 8.16: Looking north-westwards to *West Winterland* and *Little Winterland.* Coombe Tower, which adjoins the site of *Winterland Gate,* is on the horizon on the right of the photograph. The well site formerly serving *Winterland* is within this valley below Coombe Tower. The 'road to the Downs' followed the valley up from the manorial centre.

Fig. 8.17: *Shypwasshe Bridge* on the southern bounds of Limerstone's demesne, looking northwards to the slightly elevated area of former pasture, with Limerstone Down on the horizon.

Northwood Parish (Map 8.16)



Map 8.16: Northwood parish- settlement and place-names. The stippled areas indicate concentrations of late Romano-British artefacts (PAS), the dotted lines define areas of plateau gravel 'islands'.

The extensive parish of Northwood came into existence in the later medieval period, originating as a chapelry of Carisbrooke (Chapter 5). It is entirely within the Northern Lowlands but includes several areas of plateau gravel ‘islands’, the most extensive dominating the eastern half of the parish. Lower-lying areas away from the gravels consist of wet clayland soils derived from Oligocene beds (Fig. 8.18).



Fig. 8.18 Northwood parish clayland landscape- Crockers Farm from Noke Common Road

The ‘productivity’ of the area of Northwood parish based on *TRE* hidage cannot be calculated as much of the area was included within Bowcombe’s Domesday entry. The only two Domesday manorial centres within its bounds were both named Luton: Luton Farm and probably nearby Chawton, both associated with the extensive area of plateau gravels. Luton’s Domesday statistics suggest expansion of the arable area on one of the manors during the eleventh century. Little else can be inferred apart from the observation that according to Higham’s (1990) hypothesis the ratio of ploughlands to ploughteams of 2:2 would suggest well-ordered open-fields. This is a possiblity but no such former open- fields were identified here in the HLC (Map 9.2). A more plausible explanation based upon Kapelle (1979, 166-9) suggests a limited area of arable remaining constant at the time of Domesday Book.

Romano-British settlement is evidenced in the IWHER by various records of unstratified tile and pottery in coastal locations and some instances inland, two definite occupation sites, one on the plateau gravel in the Rew Street area including a possible tessellated floor (IWHER 583), a potential villa site adjoining the Medina estuary (IWHER 5253),[150] and the Gurnard 'villa' site (IWHER 1483). The latter would appear a port facility perhaps associated with quarrying. These sites are now complemented by the PAS with two scatters of metallic artefacts: Thorness Bay foreshore builds on the previous IWHER records,[151] whilst the Debourne area of Gurnard is significant as the place-names contain potentially early topographical elements.[152]

The material recorded by the PAS adjoins the site of Debourne Manor, a *burna* place-name, with Gurnard Farm 750 metres to the south-west. The latter is an instance of *ōra*, referring to the shape of the plateau to the west of the farm site. A further example is Werrar, on the other side of this topographical feature (Margham 2011, 25). Comforts, on the margins of the plateau may also be an early topographical name, but the elements *cumb* and *ford* are both uncertain here (Kökeritz 1940, 186). Land use beyond the plateau gravels is indicated by the two 'woodland' place-names in the parish: Skinner's Grove and Furzyhurst, although the only woodland attested *TRE* was 'for fencing' at Luton (52v).[153] The four *tūn* names all relate to locations on this plateau's margins. Somerton, with its *sumor* 'summer' prefix provides evidence for seasonal occupation, and Chawton, *cealfa* 'calf' *tūn* (above; Margham 2015, 10-2), may signify a specialist function within Bowcombe's estate. Clayland 'colonization' is hinted at in the place-names Blacklands Copse and Ruffins Copse, the latter quite possibly being *la Roghelond* of 1324 (Kökeritz 1940, 190).

Some of the small greens may also represent clayland colonization. These have been identified from the 1790s Ordnance Survey drawings by Basford (2013, 250-1)

[150] The Chawton Farm site contained a 'formerly unknown complex of substantial Roman buildings …. [with] every indication of a high status building of villa character' (Trott 2004, 16).
[151] Coins IOW-E3CABE, -18FDED.
[152] Coins IOW-8F3446, -C60B96, -FE053A, -C4EB97, -C50B51, -FDA10A, 854681, -8558C7, -1B4D20, -8532AI.
[153] The parish name Northwood relates to its situation north of Alvington (Parkhurst) Forest (Mills 1996, 78).

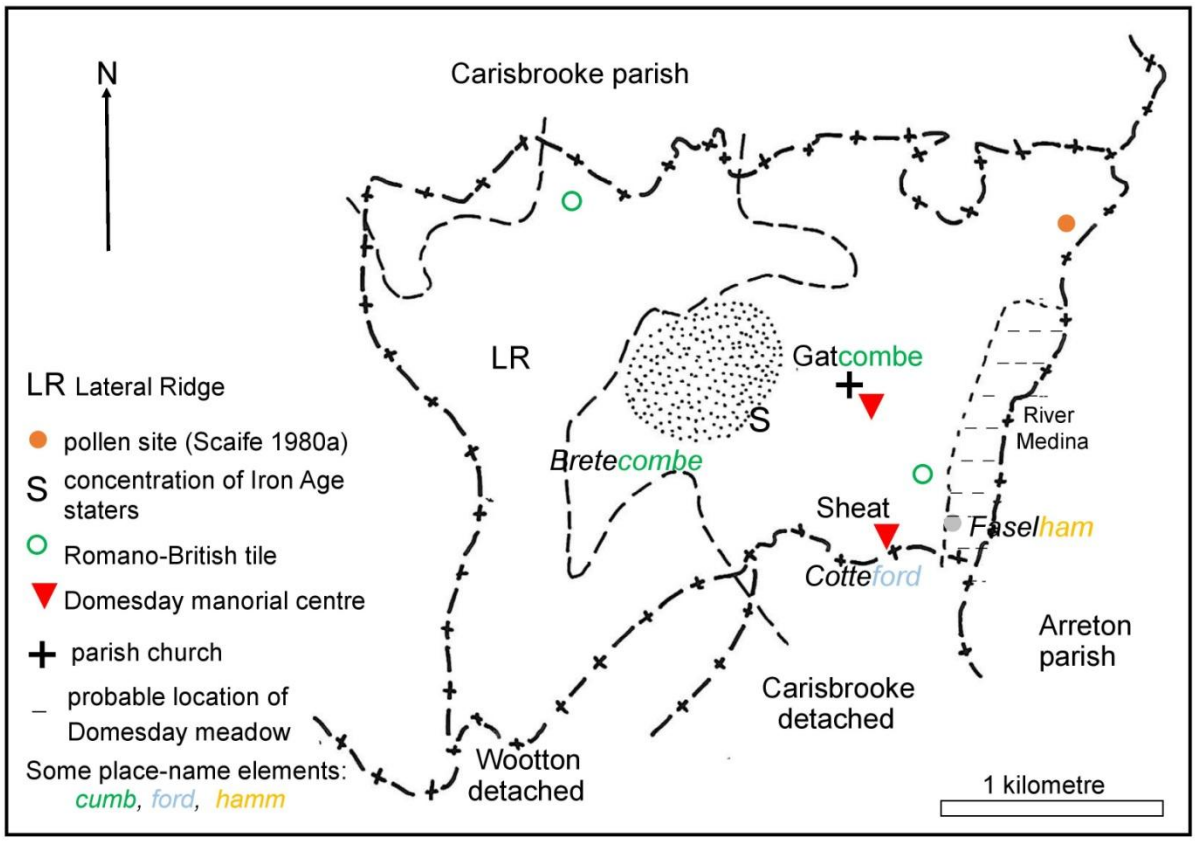
adjoining the following farms: Broadfields, Cockleton, Comforts, Crockers, Great Thorness, Gurnard, Hardhill, Nodes, Ridge, Rue, More Green, Skinner's Grove and Werrar, with about half in clayland locations. The remainder, however, are within or on the margins of the gravel 'islands' including a *tūn* place-name (Cockleton), and another that may have an early topographical place-name (Comforts).

Abandonment of the potential villa site on the western side of the Medina may suggest settlement retreat from the claylands within the parish, although nearby Werrar alongside its former green was possibly an early medieval settlement site. *Tūn* sites on the extensive area of plateau gravel margins could represent settlement development within Bowcombe's 'extensive estate' although the place-names of Gurnard and Debourne in similar locations suggest settlement continuity from the early Anglo-Saxon period. By the later eleventh century at least some of these sites were apparently well-established. This pattern of habitation can also be seen in the Rew Street area. Further to the west this is suggested by the presence of the green mapped from the later eighteenth century onwards at Great Thorness, a place-name first recorded 1198-1216 (Mills 1996, 102), formerly part of Wilton's Watchingwell estate (Margham 2006, fig. 3). There is some evidence for 'clayland colonization' beyond the gravel plateaux in the early medieval period in the form of place-names and possibly green-side settlement.

Gatcombe Parish (Map 8.17)

Like Northwood, Gatcombe parish formed a component of Carisbrooke's *parochia* and Bowcombe's 'extensive estate'. Situated at the Island's centre it comprises Lateral Ridge 64% and Southern Vale 36%.[154] The main topographical feature associated with settlement is the 'coombe' that gave the parish its name, extending westwards into the chalk massif from the Medina valley (Fig. 8.19). The first element of the place-name is *gat,* implying the former presence of rough pasture in the valley bottom suitable for rearing goats (Dyer 2004, 22-4).[155]

[154] The *cumbs* of *Bretecombe* and Gatcombe have been included within the Lateral Ridge area.
[155] Alternatively a goat-rearing area within Bowcombe's estate.



Map 8.17: Gatcombe parish- settlement and place-names. The stippled area denotes the concentration of later Romano-British artefacts broadly coincident with a thinner spread of early Anglo-Saxon material (PAS). The dashed lines are the 250 ft contour.



Fig. 8.19: Gatcombe from the north-east- Iron Age staters, Romano-British coins, early Anglo-Saxon artefacts and an eighth-century sceatta have been recorded from the plateau area on the left of the photograph and the 'coombe' beyond, in contrast with present settlement location

The ‘productivity’ of the parish can be calculated as 467 acres per *TRE* hide. The ratio of two ploughlands per *TRE* hide for its two manors implies an increase in the area of arable through the decades prior to 1086. The ratio of 0.5 in both manors for the ratio of ploughlands to ploughteams suggests either irregular field systems (Higham 1990) or ‘overstocking’ implying the extension of arable in the late eleventh century (Kapelle 1979, 166-9). HLC mapping indicates the former presence of open-fields within the northern part of the parish extending northwards into Carisbrooke parish (Map 9.2). This impression is reinforced by the various rectilinear detached portions of Gatcombe depicted on the 1862/3 six-inch map, indicative of the inclusion of open-field furlongs within the rump of Carisbrooke parish (Map 9.4).[156] It is uncertain if there were any open-fields belonging to Sheat according to the HLC mapping but with only half a ploughland in 1086 this is not unexpected. In addition to four ploughlands, Gatcombe’s resources included 26 acres of meadow (52v), which must have been alongside the Medina, to the south of Gatcombe Withy Bed.

The Gatcombe study area is the only one having a pollen sequence retrieved within its bounds. Cores from Gatcombe Withy Bed indicate woodland cover existing for a long period in this area, although a late Bronze Age or Iron Age decline in lime and holly took place (Scaife 1980, 45, 96). This was followed by a period of arable cultivation and some woodland regeneration. A clearance phase is indicated by the expansion of some species with arable activity happening provisionally in the ‘Saxon-Norman age’, with woodland regeneration following cessation of agricultural activity (Scaife 1980, 95-6).[157]

The area west of Gatcombe’s manorial centre and parish church site produced a scatter of late Romano-British coins.[158] This partly coincides with a concentration of five late Iron Age staters.[159] This location towards the upper end of the ‘coombe’ and the plateau to its south was of significance beyond the late Romano-British period, with an early eighth-century sceatta found there, along with early Anglo-Saxon

[156] This area of former open-fields corresponds with the Grade 2 agricultural land to the east of the Bowcombe Valley, in contrast to Grade 3 land to the east and west, and the Grade 4 and 5 of the chalk downland to the south (MAFF 1969); it was arguably Bowcombe’s demesne.
[157] ‘This date, however, needs further confirmation by radiocarbon dating’ (Scaife 1980, 95).
[158] 24 records centred on the plateau to the south of the ‘coombe’
[159] IOW-508E96, -FO1A23, -5C0154, -12E969, -D0CEB6 all on the plateau to the south of the ‘coombe’, plus the following south of Newbarn Farm/*Bretecombe* area: IOW-6AAFD8, -AD7056, F04D31, -8D0111.

metallic artefacts.[160] In addition to this PAS information, the IWHER records just two instances of Romano-British tile. By the eleventh century the administrative centre of Gatcombe was further down the valley with Shate at the south of the later parish adjoining a Medina tributary.

The Medina valley adjoining Shate would appear to be of significance in the early Anglo-Saxon period with the location of *Faselham* on the margins of the substantial area of meadow.[161] The parish has two potentially early *cumb* names, with the upper part of the 'coombe' apparently known as *Bretecombe.* The ford adjoining Sheat may have been known as *Cotteford* (Kökeritz 1940, lxiii), a further potentially early place-name.

Some evidence regarding Gatcombe's settlement morphology can be gleaned from Domesday Book. Both Gatcombe and Shate possessed a watermill, and Gatcombe had three halls (*aula*) *TRE* (52v, 53v). Whilst the site of Gatcombe House may have been the location of one or more of these, the topography of the 'coombe' would have restricted opportunities for building location. Like the modern irregular linear settlement pattern to the west of the church, the eleventh-century settlement of at least 27 households was plausibly located in this area.

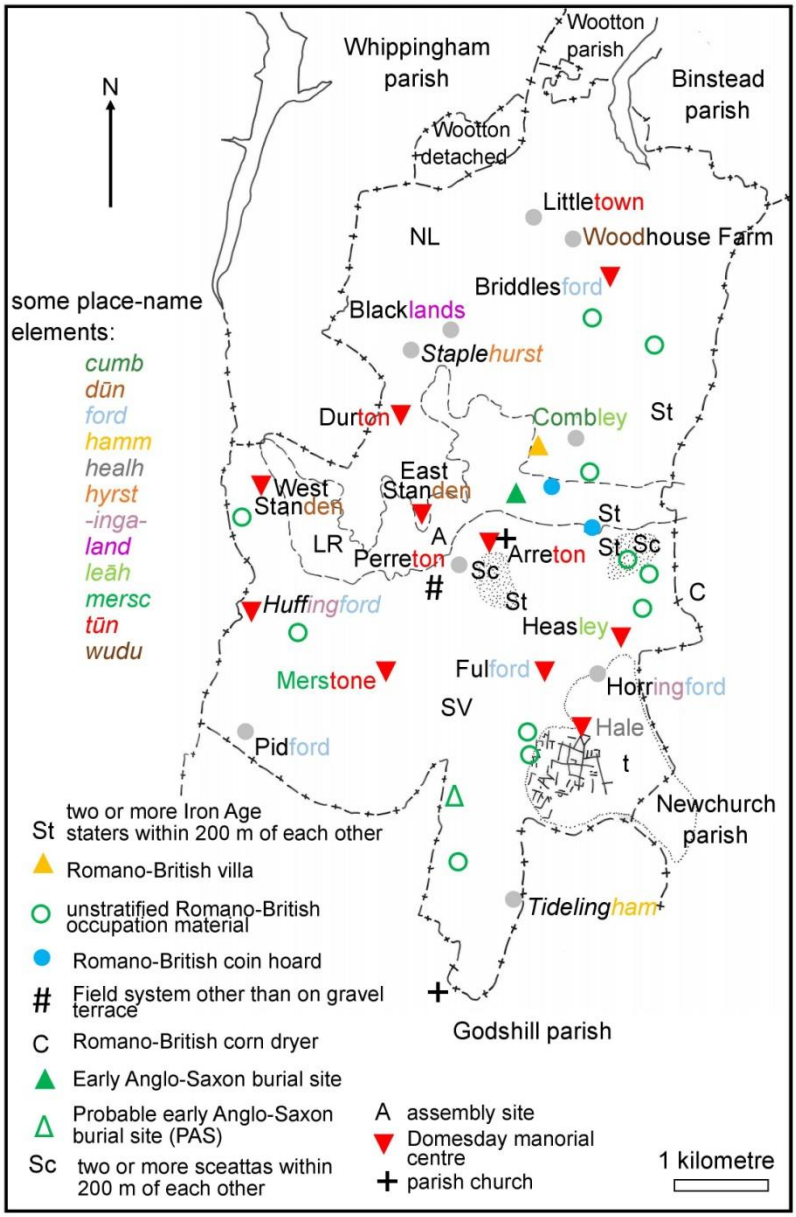
Evidence presented above suggests that settlement within Gatcombe parish was long-established by the time of Domesday Book. Settlement shift from the plateau overlooking the upper part of the 'coombe' to the bottom of the valley can be suggested along with the establishment of a manorial centre adjoining the church site. The *gat* element of the place-name may imply that this downward and lateral settlement shift was into an area of rough pasture alongside the un-named watercourse. The Sheat area appears to be a secondary settlement focus, and the site of nearby *Faselham* was subsequently abandoned.

Arreton Parish (Map 8.18)

The extensive historic parish of Arreton comprised 29% Northern Lowlands, 19% Lateral Ridge, and 52% Southern Vale which includes 7% of the total area of gravel

[160] IOW-FDF9A3, -7B88D0, -C84CFD, -5A9132, -321254, NARC-EE9CC3.
[161] *Faselham* was the site of Gatcombe's watermill in 1086 (52v), rather than the modern location of Gatcombe Mill further north (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.).

terrace alongside the river Yar. The latter has produced an abundance of rectilinear crop-marks which are undated, but could plausibly be formed in the later prehistoric or Romano-British periods (Chapter 4).[162] Also undated is a relict field-system on the southern side of the Lateral Ridge to the east of Arreton village. The configuration of parish boundaries suggests that Arreton was formerly part of a larger land unit which included Whippingham and Godshill, with Godshill parish church being within 200 metres of its southern boundary (Chapter 10, pp.360-2).[163]



Map 8.18: Arreton parish- settlement and place-names. The dashed line is the 250ft contour. The stippled areas indicate concentrations of late Romano-British material (PAS). NL- Northern Lowlands; LR- Lateral Ridge; SV- Southern Vale; t- extensive gravel terrace within the Southern Vale with area of rectilinear crop marks depicted

[162] This field system is defined by narrow ditches, 'clearly a multi-phased system of some complexity', including an apparent enclosed farmstead centred on a round house (Royall 2010, 34-35).
[163] Plausibly the 87 hides of ECW4.

The eleventh-century 'productivity' of Arreton parish was 634 acres per *TRE* hide: it was far from being the most productive on the Island, explained by the extent of assarts and former waste, common and heath identified in HLC mapping (Map 9.2). Arreton's four *TRE* hides and Heasley's three formed the core of the parish, with all other manors rated at 1½ hides or fewer. Duplications of the names *Huffingford*, Merstone and Standen suggest recent divisions in 1086. A significant increase in arable productivity during the eleventh century is suggested by the ratios of ploughlands per *TRE* hide for one of the Standens and *Huffingfords*, Fulford and Hale, and four ploughlands per hide at Briddlesford implying the most expansion in the Northern Lowlands' wet clayland. More modest expansion is suggested for Arreton and Heasley. This apparent expansion would also appear to be reflected in the rise in manorial values at Durton and Standen, and the doubling of Briddlesford's value.[164] The ratio of 29:13 for the recorded population to ploughteams at Arreton may signify its diverse agrarian base, accounted for by pasturing on the downland and within the Southern Vale. This observation is compatible with the evidence for irregular field systems (Higham 1990) or 'overstocked' manors (Kapelle 1979) at Arreton, also at Merstone, Fulford and Hale. These manors can be contrasted with the ratio of ploughlands to ploughteams (4:4) within Heasley impling presence of extensive open-fields.

Late Iron Age staters are recorded by the PAS within Arreton parish. One instance was on the Lateral Ridge,[165] and three to the south,[166] which coincide with scatters of Romano-British metallic materials,[167] south of Arreton's manorial centre and further east to the north of Heasley.[168] The villa site of Combley is on the western slope of the 'coombe' to the north of the ridge. The bath-house, courtyard and aisled building were constructed not later than the mid-second century, with the aisled house built between 120 and 280, and the bath-house produced coins in the date range 250 to 350 (IWHER 883). Excavation of a corn-drier with associated fourth-century pottery (IWHER 1257) at Packway, Mersley Farm, just beyond the eastern parish boundary along with stonework and Roman tile nearby suggests the existence of a further villa

[164] The number of ploughlands was not recorded for Durton.
[165] IOW-64AE63.
[166] IOW-7D4F71, -C58F55, -0BD919.
[167] 40 late Roman records were accessed from PAS for this area to the south of Arreton village on 23/6/22.
[168] Staters: IOW-46A43E, -A683BB, -8985A6, -02E2CD; 62 late Romano-British records were accessed for the area north of Heasley Manor on 23/6/22.

to the south of the Lateral Ridge (Tomalin 1989; Trott 2002, 52).[169] Other IWHER information indicates some Romano-British settlement within the Southern Vale and Northern Lowlands, and two coin hoards associated with the Lateral Ridge (Map 8.1).The early Anglo-Saxon cemetery on Arreton Down is associated with Bronze Age round barrows (Appendix 2.1). In the post-medieval period this was a gibbet site (Margham 2013a, 8) which raises the possibility of its use in the later Anglo-Saxon period for judicial executions (Reynolds 2009). A possible cemetery site is suggested by the scatter of early Anglo-Saxon brooches recorded in the PAS on the claylands in the south of the parish (Appendix 2.2; Map 8.2). The ridge to the west of Arreton was an early medieval meeting-place and the small barrow here may have been a moot mound (Margham 2013a, 5-6; 2017b, 2-4). The two areas of Romano-British metallic artefacts (above) are also associated with concentrations of eighth-century sceattas,[170] emphasising the significance of the Arreton and Heasley areas in the early medieval period.[171] In addition to being the site of a superior church (Chapter 5) Arreton was an estate mentioned in King Alfred's will (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 175) and a royal manor *TRE*.[172]

Early Anglo-Saxon settlement is indicated by the range of topographical place-names, two of which include the early habitative element *-inga-*. The *cumb* place-name of Combley appears significant in relation to the villa site there. The *dūn* suffix of Standen may not denote early Anglo-Saxon settlement there but this is a distinct possibility. Early formation of *ford* names at Horringford alongside the Yar and *Huffingford* by the Medina is attested by *-inga-* name elements, with Pidford also adjoining the Medina and Briddlesford in the Northern Lowlands being potentially 'early'. The probable *hamm* at *Tidelingeham* alongside the Yar in the south of the parish may not denote settlement although Romano-British tegula (roof tile) has been found just to the north-west of this location. Along with Horringford, Hale (*healh*) is on the margins of the extensive area of river gravels. The presence of

[169] Quantities of prehistoric and Romano-British material from Mersley Farm suggest continuity of occupation from prehistory (Basford 2013, 268).
[170] South of Arreton village: IOW-E7A543, -A0A7CD, -EC2B9B, E3F3F3, -D82F8E; north of Heasley Manor: IOW-80D664, -A424F6, -368CC1, -35C9F1, -42247A, -632E04, -132355, -F0B41B, -F8CB1B.
[171] Fieldwalking at Packway, Mersley Farm, just over the eastern boundary of the parish, produced evidence for a probable Romano-British villa (above) and a few sherds of chaff-tempered Early-to-Mid Anglo-Saxon pottery (Trott 2002, 50). Three concentrations of Anglo-Saxon pottery have recently been identified to the north-east of the mid-fourth century corn dryer site at Packway (Wessex Archaeology 2024, 4; Chapter 10, footnote 338).
[172] Heasley was held by Earl Harold *TRE.*

rectilinear crop-marks adds to the case for early Anglo-Saxon settlement here, as does the PAS record of brooches suggesting a cemetery site just over the parish boundary at Bathingbourne (Appendix 2.2), the place-name containing *-inga-* and the topographical element *-burna*. Woodland place-names are recorded at Domesday Heasley (*hæsel lēah*) which had woodland at two pigs, along with the later-recorded names of Combley, *Staplehurst* and Woodhouse. Combley may be complemented by the former name of Arreton Down, *Berdune*, if the first element of this name is *bær* 'pasture', especially 'wood-pasture for swine' (Parsons and Styles 1997, 60). Land-use intensification within the Northern Lowlands is suggested by Blacklands. *Tūn* names include Arreton itself, *Eaderingetune* in Alfred's will (Mills 1996, 23; Fig. 8.20),[173] Littletown in the north of the parish, which along with neighbouring Woodhouse with the post-medieval recordings of their names are apparently not early medieval sites. Merston, 'marsh *tūn*', first recorded in 1086, may have had a specialised function connected to pasturing. Nearby Perreton, 'pear-tree *tūn*' conceivably also had a specialised role.



Fig. 8.20: Arreton from the south-east showing the church and manor house

The HLC mapping for Arreton parish indicates former open-fields to the east and west of Arreton manor, along with a more substantial area to the south of Arreton

[173] Absence of a topographical name for a superior church site and estate centre is unusual for the Isle of Wight.

and Arreton Street (Map 9.2). This would accord with the manor's five ploughlands *TRW*, [174] although neighbouring Heasley with its four ploughlands was mapped as 'other'. Assarts are mapped over much of the north-eastern quarter of the parish: Briddlesford recorded four ploughlands in 1086, implying a recent expansion of the arable area (above).[175] However, none of this would appear to have taken the form of open-fields in this clayland area. The HLC mapping identified extensive areas of enclosed waste, common and heath over much of the north-western quarter of Arreton parish (Blacklands' location), along with significant areas within the southern third of the parish. Domesday Book does not document this type of extensively-used resource, but Heasley had 10 acres of meadow and Hale four acres, both areas being alongside the river Yar.[176]

Evidence presented above emphasises the importance of the Lateral Ridge margins in the early medieval period, particularly on the southern side in the Arreton and Heasley areas. The gravel terrace area to the south-east of the Yar also provides evidence for settlement continuity, with the association of probable later prehistoric and Romano-British crop marks indicating field boundaries and settlement sites with 'early' place-names (Map 8.17). Potentially early topographical place-name elements suggest that some settlement existed beyond these core areas, for example Pidford in the Medina valley and Briddlesford within the Northern Lowlands. The place-name Blacklands and the Domesday evidence from Briddlesford imply the more intensive use of this clayland area. Within the Southern Vale a similar process can be envisaged for Merston with development from a marshy area, which may have had a specialised function, to a royal manor by 1066. The configuration of the southern parish boundary adjoining the Godshill/Sandford area suggests demarcation of a formerly extensively-used landscape (Map 10.7).

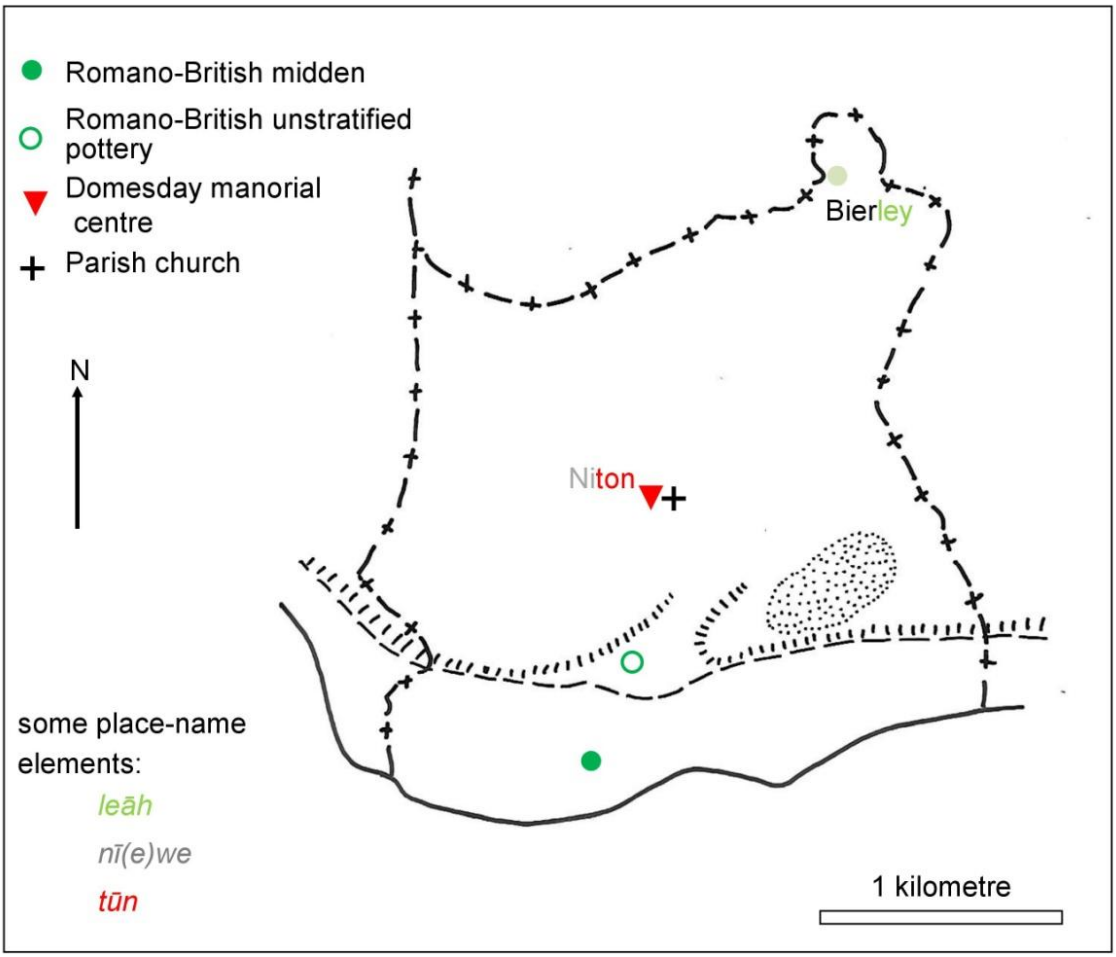
Niton Parish (Map 8.19)

This small parish in the south of the Island consists of the coastal strip of the Underciff (28%) and Southern Massif (72%). The village of Niton is at the centre of

[174] A 1453 lease names East Field, South Field and West Field along with the Great Meadow and Heasley meadow, with the instruction that 'The shepherd would fold his sheep with the others to manure the arable' (Hockey 1991, no.167).
[175] No Domesday woodland was recorded for Briddlesford, but extensive wood-pasture undoubtedly existed.
[176] *Huffingford* in the Medina valley had one acre of meadow.

the parish at the head of a valley within the Southern Massif with access to the Undercliff via the route now known as Barrack Shute (Fig. 8.21).

The amount of information which can be gleaned from Domesday Book is limited, as the relevant entry is for *Neeton* and *Abla*, the latter being identified as Apse (Mills 1996, 23) some 8km to the north-east of Niton on the margins of the Southern Vale, with the statistics for these two manors being combined. Some of the eight ploughlands must have been within Niton along with a proportion of the recorded population of 7 villans, 18 bordars and 9 slaves. The combined value declined from *TRE* £17 to 'afterwards as now' £12 (40).



Map 8.19: Niton parish- settlement and place-names. The dashed line is the 250 ft contour and the inland cliff is indicated by hachures. The stippled area depicts a concentration of late Romano-British material (PAS).



Fig. 8.21: Looking south-east from Niton Down showing the plateau area beyond the village with Barrack Shute giving access to the Undercliff just off the right of the photograph

Four adjoining middens in the Undercliff originated in the later Iron Age with the inclusion of 'Belgic' pottery, and also contained bones, seafood remains and Romano-British pottery (IWHER 693). The scatter of later Romano-British metallic artefacts recorded by the PAS was located on the elevated land to the south-east of the village, later part of Niton's open-fields. The IWHER also records one instance of unstratified Romano-British pottery to the west of this area and south of the village, an antiquarian record of an urn (IWHER 634).

No early medieval material has been recorded by the PAS.[177] By the later eleventh century Niton was presumably a manorial centre held by one of the two free men who held Niton and Apse *TRE*, with a local church adjoining its site to the east (Chapter 5). The only two significant place-names for the early medieval period were Niton itself and Bierley. The name 'new *tūn*' implies that this was a relatively late addition to the corpus of *tūn* names, perhaps originating during the tenth or earlier eleventh century. It is feasible that the manorial link between Apse and Niton documented in 1086 signifies that the Niton area was formerly an outlying pasture of Apse, akin to the evidence cited above for links between both Bathingbourne and

[177] accessed 24/9/21

Knighton and the Southern Massif. Bierley in the north-east of the parish is probably 'barley *lēah*', wood-pasture or a clearing where barley was grown, although *baer* 'swine pasture' is possible (Mills 1996, 28; Kökeritz 1940, lxxii).

The place-name Bierley accords with the HLC mapping which indicates an area of former open-fields in the area, either side of the parish boundary. The more substantial areas of former open-fields are to the south-west and south-east of Niton. Other than enclosed downland HLC mapping shows enclosed waste, common and heath in the Bierley area and within the Undercliff (Map 9.2).

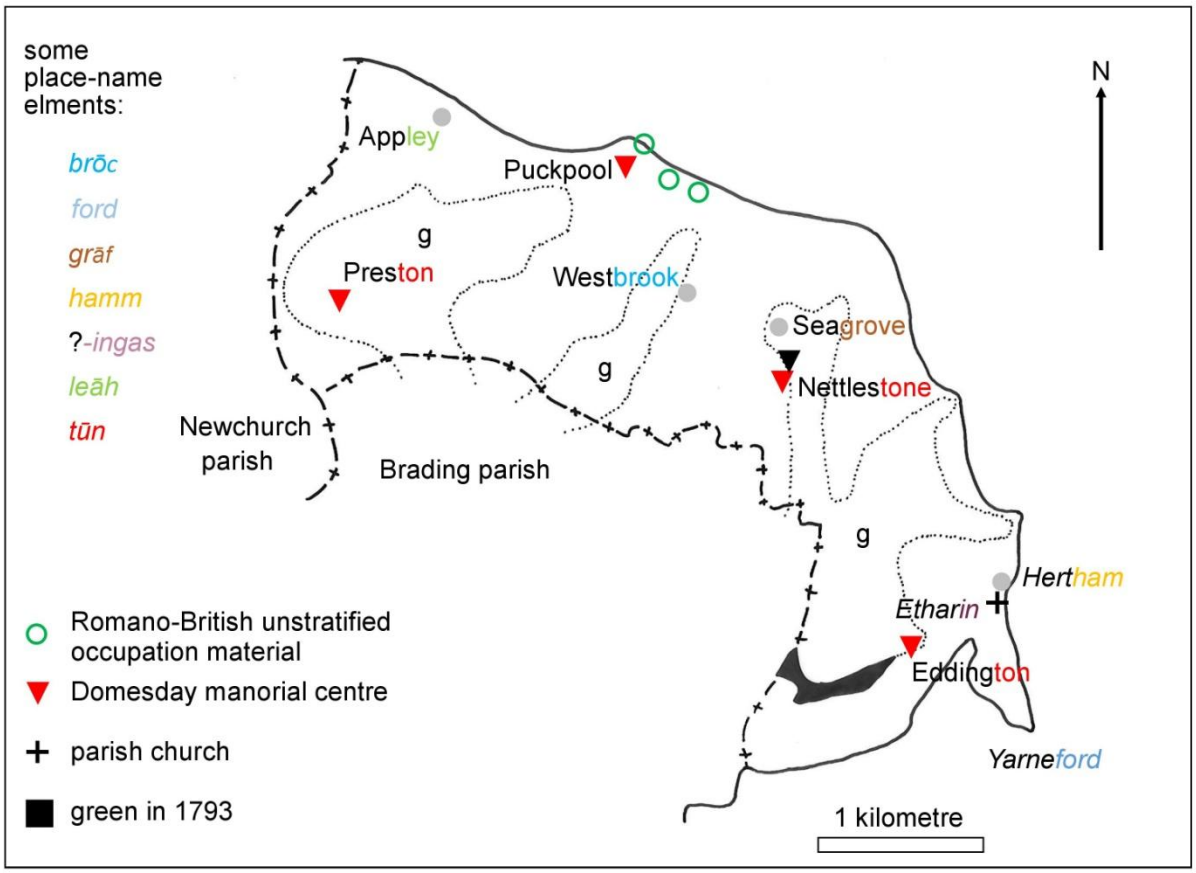
Niton parish has settlement evidence from the late Iron Age onwards, with PAS evidence from the later area of open-fields to the south-east of the village. The settlement of Niton would appear to have been developed in the later Anglo-Saxon period and was probably associated with open-field agriculture by the time of Domesday. Bierley was a smaller settlement just within the bounds of the parish with evidence for the intensification of land use within a former wooded environment.

St Helens Parish (Map 8.20)

St Helens is a parish adjoining the Island's north-eastern coast. It lies entirely within the Northern Lowlands, with 66% of its area consisting of claylands, with the remaining 34% being gravel 'islands'. The parish was formerly part of Brading's *parochia* and its coterminous 'extensive estate' (Chapter 7).

The ratio of acres per *TRE* hide for the parish is 421, a figure broadly comparable with that of Mottistone and Gatcombe, in the middle range of figures calculated. There are five Domesday entries within the parish: Preston, Puckpool and *Etharin* which were two manors *TRE,* the latter being identifiable with St Helens and Eddington (Kökeritz 1940, xxxv-xxxvi), and three occurrences of Nettlestone. Three individuals each held a third of the hide of Nettlestone of King Edward, representing recent division of the estate in 1066. The ratios of ploughlands per hide of 2.3 in Preston and 4 in Nettlestone imply an increase in arable productivity during the eleventh century, although Nettlestone's combined value, along with Puckpool and *Etharin*, declined between 1066 and 1086. Preston's recorded population of eight per

ploughteam suggests a diverse agricultural regime, which accords with its Domesday resources of four acres of meadow, a fishery and woodland for one pig (53) and the HLC mapping (Map 9.2).[178]



Map 8.20: St Helens parish- settlement and place-names. Stippled lines indicate the extent of gravel 'islands' (g).

The significance of gravel 'islands' for settlement is illustrated by the distribution of *tūnas* on or near their margins (Map 8.6). A tabulation of Domesday statistics for the wider north-east Wight area is presented in Appendix 8.14. These data provide evidence for a contrast between manors with centres on or adjoining gravels and manors centred within the interior of the Northern Lowlands clayland such as Bridlesford and Whitefield. A mean of 1.5 ploughlands per *TRE* hide for margins of gravel 'islands' suggests modest arable expansion through the eleventh century, in contrast with 3 in the claylands, implying greater expansion. Means of 0.8 and 1.2 teams per ploughland respectively are consistent with this, implying the 'overstocking' of clayland manors in 1086. There were also significant differences in

[178] However, according to Higham's (1990) hypothesis, the equality of ploughlands with ploughteams for Preston, as well as Puckpool and *Etharin* implies the existence of regular open-fields. Whilst this is supported by HLC evidence from St Helens village, it cannot be seen at Preston.

population structures, with the higher proportion of bordars in the claylands who may have been responsible for 'colonisation'.[179]

The evidence for Romano-British occupation is minimal, being restricted to three coastal sites at Puckpool.[180] Likewise, very little early medieval material was recorded. The only significant record in the IWHER is of the mid-Saxon structure in the Nettlestone intertidal zone (Chapter 4; IWHER 1789). It is possible that the church predated the post-Conquest foundation of the Cluniac priory.

There are three potentially early place-names: Westbrook, *Yarneford* and *Hertham*, a probable *hamm* name. *Yarneford* does not relate to settlement, being a crossing of Brading Haven's mouth (Kökeritz 1940, 62-3). Domesday *Etharin* may be an *-ingas* name, alternatively an *-ing* name which was not necessarily 'early'. Appley (*lēah*) and Seagrove are woodland names, both beyond or on the margins of gravel 'islands'. Nettlestone is also on the margins of a gravel area: this is 'the farmstead [*tūn*] in or near the nut-tree pasture or nut-tree wood' (Mills 1996, 74). Along with Nettlestone, the remaining *tūnas,* Preston and Eddington, are on the margins of gravel 'islands'.

Eddington Farm is at the eastern end of St Helens Green, the only significant settlement nucleation within the parish before modern residential development. The green runs westwards along the southern margin of the gravel plateau (Fig. 8.22). As Basford (2013, 245) has pointed out the apparently regular plan of the settlement 'contrasts with the straggling concave outline of the green itself at its western end' and that argues that a common-edge settlement here developed beside the magnate farmstead of Eddington manor but 'was subject to more formal planning in the later medieval period'.[181] There is no direct dating evidence for this settlement planning but nineteenth-century mapping strongly suggests that boundaries along the south side of the green reflected former open-field furlongs (Fig. 8.23; Map 10.2). It may be significant that greenside settlement here is named after the parish church's

[179] Gravel 'island' margins: 76% villans and 24% bordars; claylands: 54% villans, 42% bordars and 4% slaves.
[180] PAS recording consists of individual Roman coins and individual records early medieval metalwork largely from the intertidal zone (accessed 28/9/21).
[181] Basford (2013, 229) observes that by the late fourteenth century St Helens had a prosperous and large population, implying that any such planning took place before the date of these taxation records.

dedication. Communities named from church dedications in dispersed settlement areas has been noted in Kent, Devon and Suffolk (Everitt 1986, 183; Hoskins 1972, 5; Scarfe 1987, 116-124).[182] St Helens Green as a settlement focus would thus appear to post-date the foundation of the church, but as outlined in Chapter 5, the date of its origin is uncertain. The small triangular green at Nettlestone is also on the margins of the gravel plateau. The Domesday manorial centre was probably just to the north at Nettlestone Farm (Basford 2013, 245).[183]





Fig. 8.22: The western end of St Helens Green

Fig. 8.23: Newlands from the south side of St Helens Green looking down towards Bembridge Harbour (formerly Brading Haven)

HLC mapping (Map 9.2) indicates former existence of open-fields to the north and south of St Helens Green, with assarts in the clayland areas to the west of the parish church site and to the south of Puckpool. This can be contrasted with the substantial area of enclosed waste, common and heath largely on the gravel area to the east of Preston Farm.

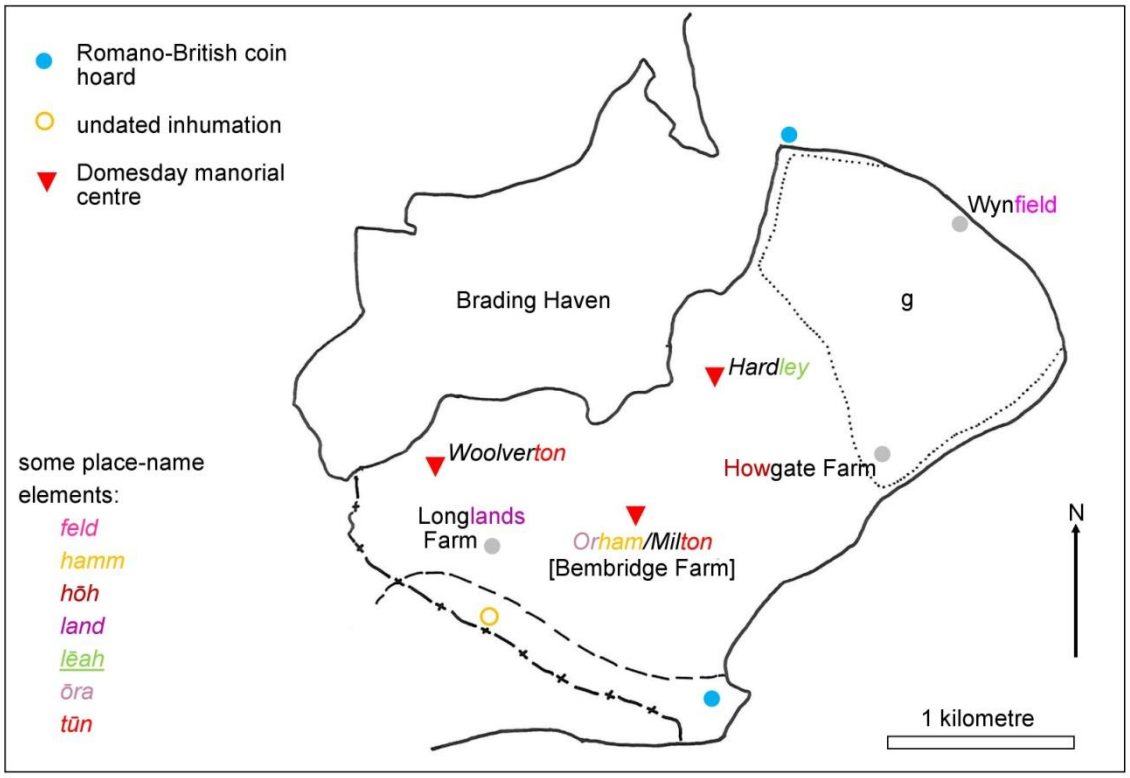
The limited evidence for Romano-British settlement does indicate occupation of at least some claylands. It can, however, be suggested that by the late Saxon period settlement was focussed on the margins of the gravel 'islands' and this is supported by the limited woodland place-names for more extensive land-use on the surrounding claylands. The green village of St Helens may not have attained its

[182] St Lawrence parish had little or no nucleated settlement until the nineteenth century.
[183] Basford (2013, 245) suggests that Nettlestone Green may represent an extension of settlement at the farm site into a nearby area of common grazing.

modern form during the early medieval period and possibly represents a shift in settlement westwards from coastal *Hertham* and the adjoining parish church site.

Bembridge (Brading detached) (Map 8.21)

The Bembridge area, the easternmost part of the Island, is defined by the detached portion of Brading parish on the far side of the former haven. This relatively remote area comprises part of the Northern Lowlands, with a substantial area of gravel plateau at its eastern extremity, and the northern flank of the Lateral Ridge (Fig. 8.24). Yaverland parish to the south-west forms the remainder of the 'Bembridge Isle' but is not included in this analysis.



Map 8.21: Bembridge (Brading detached) settlement and place-names. The dashed line is the 250 ft contour; the stippled line depicts the limits of the gravel 'island' (g).



Fig. 8.24: Part of the 'Bembridge Isle' looking north-eastwards from Bembridge Down with Bembridge Farm in the foreground. The windmill marks the location of *Hardley*.

The acres per *TRE* hide ratio of 790 was the least 'productive' area of the Island that can be subject to this analysis, contrasting with the Freshwater Isle at its western extremity, the most 'productive'; the Bembridge area is more typical of the Northern Lowlands, being underlain by Oligocene beds producing damp clay soils. The three Domesday manorial centres were all within the area of these soils. The ratio of ploughlands per *TRE* hide of two for both Woolverton and *Orham* suggest expansion of the arable area during the eleventh century. The recorded population of 11 per ploughteam in Hardley suggests a diverse agricultural base, and it may be significant that this manor was the only one to record woodland, although this was 'a small wood without pannage' (52v). Woolverton with the numbers of ploughlands and ploughteams being equal may suggest that it had extensive open-fields, which is supported by the HLC evidence (Map 9.2).



Map 8.22: The Bembridge area in 1793/4 showing the radial road pattern in the north-east

The radial road system of the Bembridge area (Map 8.22) may have originated in later prehistory, but no Iron Age material has been recorded in the PAS.[184] Romano-British PAS evidence consists of a hoard of 26 coins of the late first and early second century found in the intertidal zone[185] and three coins from the eastern extremity of the Lateral Ridge of *c.*300AD.[186] A burial site on the crest of Bembridge Down was included in Arnold's corpus of early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites, now re-evaluated as undated (Appendix 2.1). A PAS record of a gold pyramidal mount from a sword belt from the northern foreshore indicates activity here in the seventh century.[187] By the late Anglo-Saxon period the three manorial centres were in existence. The site of *Orham* is uncertain but has been mapped here as Bembridge Farm, although a location further east would be consistent with this *ōra* place-name.

Orham, a probable *hamm* name, is a potentially early topographical place-name along with Howgate, an *ōra* name, and Wynfield, both relating to the gravel plateau. It is unknown whether any of these were habitation sites in the earlier Anglo-Saxon

[184] accessed 27/9/21
[185] IARCH-3C78AC.
[186] IARCH-OBD998.
[187] IOW-1855E4.

period. The *tūn* of Woolverton was recorded in 1086. Lost *Milton*, first recorded as *Middleton* in the thirteenth century, may have been a later addition to the corpus of *tūnas* names, but unlike its namesake in Freshwater, was not part of a scheme of directional place-names. It may have formed some function of centrality within the Bembridge Isle.[188] Hardley, the only instance of a woodland name, retained some woodland in 1086, perhaps a relic of wood-pasture. Longlands and Wynfield may also record the intensification of land-use during the early medieval period. Wynfield was seemingly a habitation site by the fourteenth century (Kökeritz 1940, 41), but how long before is unknown.

HLC mapping shows much of the Bembridge area as consisting of former open-fields including coaxial fields on the gravel plateau (Map 9.2).[189] In addition to Bembridge Down, the enclosed downland of the Lateral Ridge, there was some enclosed waste, common and heath alongside Brading Haven in the Hardley area.[190]

Along with the paucity of the Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon evidence, the overriding impression of the Bembridge area is of an isolated and economically marginal area. This is compatible with the name of the 'Bembridge Isle' recorded in ECW1, *Ewerelande*: *eofor* 'wild boar' and *-land* (Appendix 8.6). By the time of Domesday Book the agrarian basis of its economy was developing which resulted either then or later in much of the area consisting of open-fields, although evidence for less intensive land-use can be detected.

Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the evidence for reconstructing settlement patterns during the early medieval period whilst acknowledging the limitations of disparate sources. Place-names featured prominently in this account. Some topographical names indicate estate centres whilst habitative names, particularly *tūnas,* provide invaluable

[188] The precise location of Middleton is uncertain, but it appears to have been located in the vicinity of Bembridge Farm (https://www.iwhistory.org.uk/RM/bembridgeisle/history.htm accessed 18/3/16). The reference to *Wolueton* als. *Mylton* in 1632 suggests that Milton was merged with Woolverton before losing its identity (Kökeritz 1940, 39).
[189] Basford (2013, 241) notes that these fields, indicated by the 1793-4 mapping, had greater regularity than elsewhere on the Island.
[190] The first element of the place-name Hardley, *heard* 'hard' may reflect relatively poor soils and earlier land-use.

evidence for settlement development. Woodland place-names, along with those docmenting seasonal occupation, ‘colonization’ and economic specialisation also provide further information which has been mapped against Landscape Regions. The case studies integrated various strands of evidence: IWHER, PAS, HLC, place-names and inferences from Domesday Book. The relative ‘productivity’ of contrasting areas of the Island in the later eleventh century has been calculated, enabling comparisons to be made between, and contrasts identified within, Landscape Regions. The process of integrating findings will be advanced in the following chapter, where a model of early medieval settlement will be developed through the themes of continuity and colonization.

Chapter Nine

Settlement: Continuity and Colonization

Introduction

This chapter will develop the themes of settlement continuity and colonization introduced in Chapter 8 structured around the concepts of 'landscapes of continuity' and 'landscapes of colonization'. Identification of 'landscapes of continuity' will be related to concepts of central areas and persistent places. Such locations and areas will be identified with reference to estate centres, superior churches, outdoor meeting places and evidence for continued site use or reuse from IWHER and PAS data. The significance of landscape regions, former open-field areas and demesnes of pre-Conquest estates will be examined to further some of these identifications. Carisbrooke/Bowcombe is the most significant 'central area' and the only one where settlement nucleation can be demonstrated by the later eleventh century. A case study of Carisbrooke will examine its origins and development. The contrasting 'landscapes of colonization' will then be examined though two case studies: the area of Calbourne parish within the Northern Lowlands, and the south-eastern portion of the Southern Vale. The chapter will inform the model of early medieval settlement development presented in Chapter 10.

Continuity and Colonization

The identification of 'landscapes of continuity' and 'colonization' presented here is based upon the application of these concepts to the Island from a study of Kent's early medieval landscape by Everitt (1986). Whilst the historic county of Kent is much more extensive area than Wight, 1,537 square miles in 1815 (Fullerton 1851) compared with 155 square miles (Osborne White 1921), both are areas of sedimentary geology where geomorphological processes formed contrasting areas of lowlands and uplands modified by human agency producing distinct landscapes. This suggests that, like Kent, certain of the Island's landscape regions could be identified as 'landscapes of continuity'. Everitt (1986, 341) states in his concluding chapter that 'The word 'continuity' has intentionally been used in a broad sense in this book; but in discussing 'landscapes of continuity' it is important to recognise that it has a threefold significance'. The term may refer to 'continuity of *population*, to

continuity of *occupation*, or to continuity of *territorial organization*'. These distinctions will be addressed when further exploring 'continuity' in Chapter 10, whereas here the emphasis is continuity of occupation. Contrasting with such areas are 'landscapes of colonization', less intensively exploited landscapes often characterised by wood-pasture, where settlement developed during the early medieval period, a process which Everitt (1986, 344) saw as being 'more or less complete' by 1086.[191] Whilst acknowledging that precise parallels with Kent were not likely to be found in other counties or regions, Everitt identified the potential for this type of research elsewhere in England. Everitt (1986, 343) stated 'it is my hope that the techniques exploited in this book may be of assistance to those working elsewhere'. The model of landscapes of continuity and colonization will be applied to early medieval Wight.

Landscapes of Continuity

Two concepts related to landscapes of continuity are central places/central areas, and preferred settlement zones. The idea of central places was first published in 1933 by Christaller in his study of southern German market centres (Christaller 1933; 1966; Wagstaff 1986). It sought to explain the hierarchy and spacing of markets whilst making a range of assumptions in the formulation of a theoretical model. Its application to the early medieval landscape is, however, limited,[192] and a more useful concept for the early medieval period is the 'central area' which may contain more than one 'central place':[193]

> It is not realistic to be able to trace any one such centre back in time and expect it always to have been the pivot for central place functions. These might be distributed between a number of centres, none of which necessarily achieved the social scale beloved by the theorists (Hooke 1986, 92).

[191] This contrasts with Williamson's (2013) argument for more continuity from the Romano-British period in such areas. This apparent contradiction will be addressed below in relation to the Island's two main lowland landscape regions.
[192] It can, however, be cited in the development of local markets in the medieval period (Chapter 10). Hooke (1986, 92): 'Christaller's original theory envisaged a degree of freedom in which economic or other forces might operate which was not present in Anglo-Saxon England'.
[193] Such early medieval 'central places' would not necessarily have a marketing function. 'Centrality' can be seen as a function of estate centres and minster churches. Blair (2020, 393-4) refers to 'central clusters': 'Before 10th-century urbanization, structured activities in the Anglo-Saxon landscape were not based on concentrated, multi-functional places, but on constellations of linked points with complementary functions'.

Hooke (1986, 92) also pointed out that central area location would have been largely determined by the potential resources of the environment, and such development must be seen 'within a temporary fixed political framework'. A related concept is that of preferred settlement zones (Roberts and Wrathmell 2000, 17): 'concentrations of villages and hamlets appear along preferred settlement zones, where terrain contrasts exist, seeking the diversity of micro-terrains as much as water supply'. Basford (2013, 256, 288-9) suggested such zones based on the distribution of Domesday manorial centres, for example within the former Brading *parochia* and at the Southern Vale and Southern Massif interface.[194] The present author (Margham 2003) explored the significance of two contrasting Island landscape regions abutting in terms of the 'productivity' of tenth-century estates due to the presence of complementary resources.[195] It is frequently in such locations in relation to the Lateral Ridge that estate centres and superior churches were located.

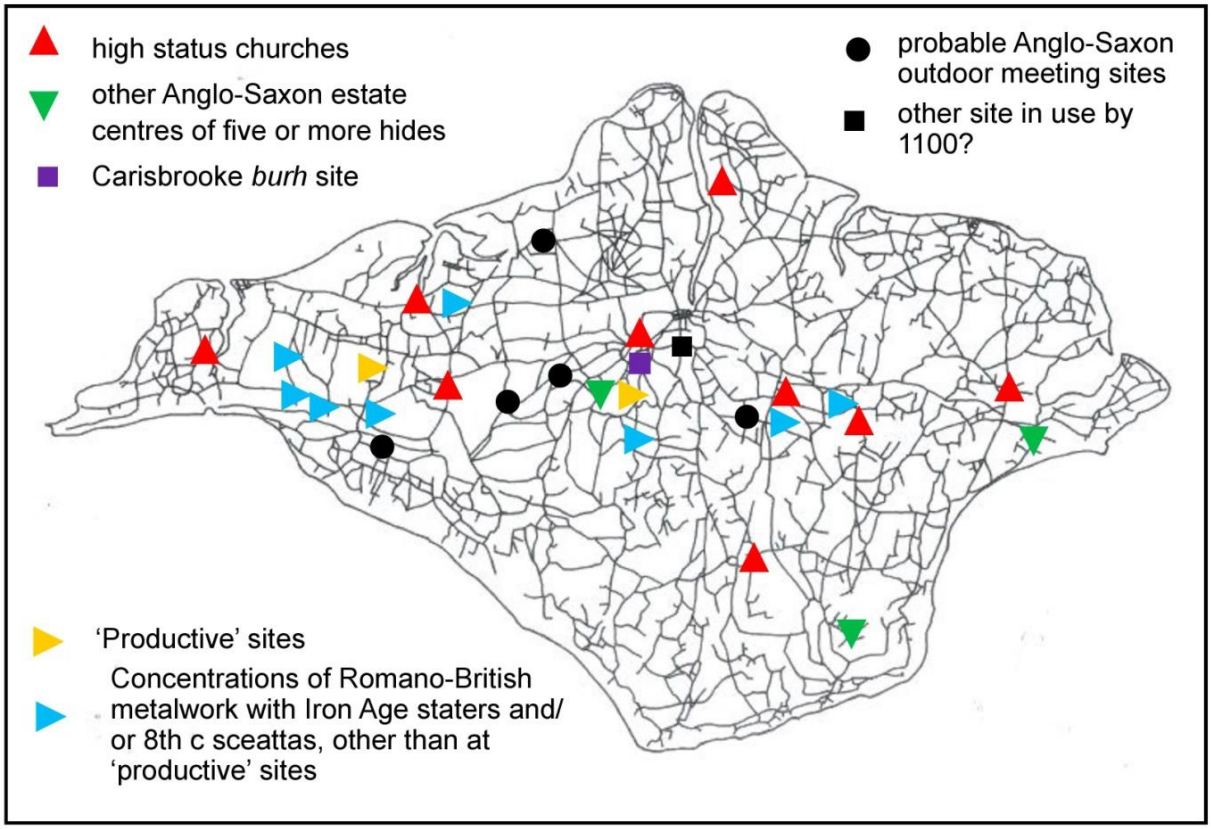
Since Everitt's publication, the idea of 'persistent places' has been developed (Fleming 2013; Daubney 2015). This concept was introduced by Schlanger (1992) in his work on the Anasazi of New Mexico, which described such places as being repeatedly used during the long-term occupation of a region.[196] Persistent places are not necessarily always associated with settlement, but 'Rather, they are the embodiment of a plethora of activities from ritual practice to arable cultivation, undertaken within places whose meaning and social status changed over time' (Daubney 2015, 354). Thompson (2010, 218) highlighted three defining aspects of persistent places: they are appealing for use due to their physical characteristics; patterns of re-use are stimulated and structured by their natural and cultural features; and an extended period is required for their creation. This 'persistence' does not imply continuous settlement of any particular place or that occupation phases at the same location are necessarily related (Daubney 2015, 22).[197] Persistent places are

[194] Specifically the western part of her South Wight Downland and Downland Edge HLC Area (1790s mapping) for the latter example (Basford 2013, 289).
[195] Expressed in terms of ratios of acres per hide: 'access to a sub-area of a region or two or more contrasting regions was of significance in increasing the productivity of an estate' (Margham 2003, 35).
[196] The concept of persistent places has been applied to the Mesolithic in Britain (Barton *et al*. 1995; Milner *et al*. 2018).
[197] Discontinuous use of particular sites may be related to Bradley's (1987) 'creation of continuity' concept. Blair (2020, 397) relates 'persistent places' to Pestell's (2004, 198-9) analysis of East Anglian religious houses sites: 'He identifies a recurrant congruity of site, even though direct continuity is not demonstrable in most cases'.

components of a wider landscape. It has been suggested that such places can be seen as ‘nodes’ connecting route-ways within the wider environment (Moore and Thompson 2012). Thus nodal points of roads and tracks may be used in identifying persistent places.

The analysis of 28 persistent places presented here is based on the tabulation in Appendix 9.1, identified from documentary sources, archaeology and PAS finds (Map 9.1). These range from settlement sites (high-status churches, estate centres) to Carisbrooke’s *burh*, and include outdoor meeting sites documented for the ‘Landscapes of Governance’ project (Margham 2015a; Figs. 9.1-9.3) and the two ‘productive’ sites. A further eight sites have been identified by the present author from the PAS using the criteria of concentrations of Romano-British metalwork associated with Iron Age staters and/or eighth-century sceattas.[198] These persistent places have been related to landscape regions (Chapter 4) and the road network mapped on the first edition Ordnance Survey of 1810.[199]

[198] Wooden structures in the intertidal zone of the north coast (Cooper *et. al.* 2021, 352-61) have not been included.
[199] Margham (2016a) examined Taylor’s hypothesis (1979, 110) that by the eleventh century the British road system was virtually complete. This Island case study broadly supported this conclusion: the 1810 road network can stand proxy for the late Anglo-Saxon period.



Map 9.1: 'Persistent places' identified in Appendix 9.1 plotted on to the road network in 1810

Map 9.1 and Table 9.1 indicate that the most significant topographical feature regarding nodal points and persistent places was the Lateral Ridge:

Landscape Region	No of sites	Comments
Lateral Ridge	9	15 of which associated with Bowcombe Valley through-route, elevated gaps in ridge or river gaps
within 50m of Lateral Ridge	9	
Northern Lowlands	8	Of which 2 associated with tidal fleets, 3 on Bembridge limestone margins, 1 on gravel 'island' margins
Southern Vale	2	both in prominent locations (Godshill and Newchurch)
Southern Massif	1	in interior valley

Table 9.1: Analysis of 'persistent places' locations in relation to landscape regions



Fig. 9.1: The Longstone is named from the remains of a Neolithic long barrow in Mottistone parish located at the head of a valley between the chalk ridge and the greensand ridge. Mottistone was first recorded as *Modrestan* in 1086, 'the stone of the speaker or speakers at a meeting' (Mills 1996, 72).



Fig. 9.2: The view westwards from Bunts Hill, the location of *mot beorh* in S766 (Margham 2006, fig. 3).

The 64 percent of identified sites associated with the Lateral Ridge accords with Romano-British villa locations (Map 7.1), documented early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Map 7.2) and distribution of some potentially early topographical place-names (Map 7.3). The above study cited late Iron Age staters: identification of persistent places could be taken back to the early Bronze Age with the distribution of round barrows (Basford 1980, map 6) but is beyond the scope of the present study.[200]

A further line of enquiry is the relationship between open-field agriculture, landscape regions and demesne lands. Whilst a diverse range of dates has been cited for the development of open-fields,[201] it may be possible to identify the cores of arable areas and infer something of the development of open-fields through relationships between former open-field areas and parish boundaries. The starting point for this enquiry is HLC mapping of former open-fields (Loader 2008, fig. 63; Map 9.2). This mapping is, however, an interpretation with 'certain', 'probable' and 'unsure' examples (Chapter 3). Basford (2013) revisited these interpretations and her figure 4.1, reproduced as Fig. 9.3 below, broadly agrees with HLC open-field mapping (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.).

[200] Or even the Neolithic with a putative mortuary enclosure and two long barrows associated with the Lateral Ridge (Basford 1980, Map 4).
[201] Ranging from apparent evidence in the laws of Ine *c.*700 (Whitelock 1955, 368, no. 42) through to Joan Thirsk's suggestion (1966, 23) that open-field agriculture did not fully develop until the twelfth or early thirteenth century.

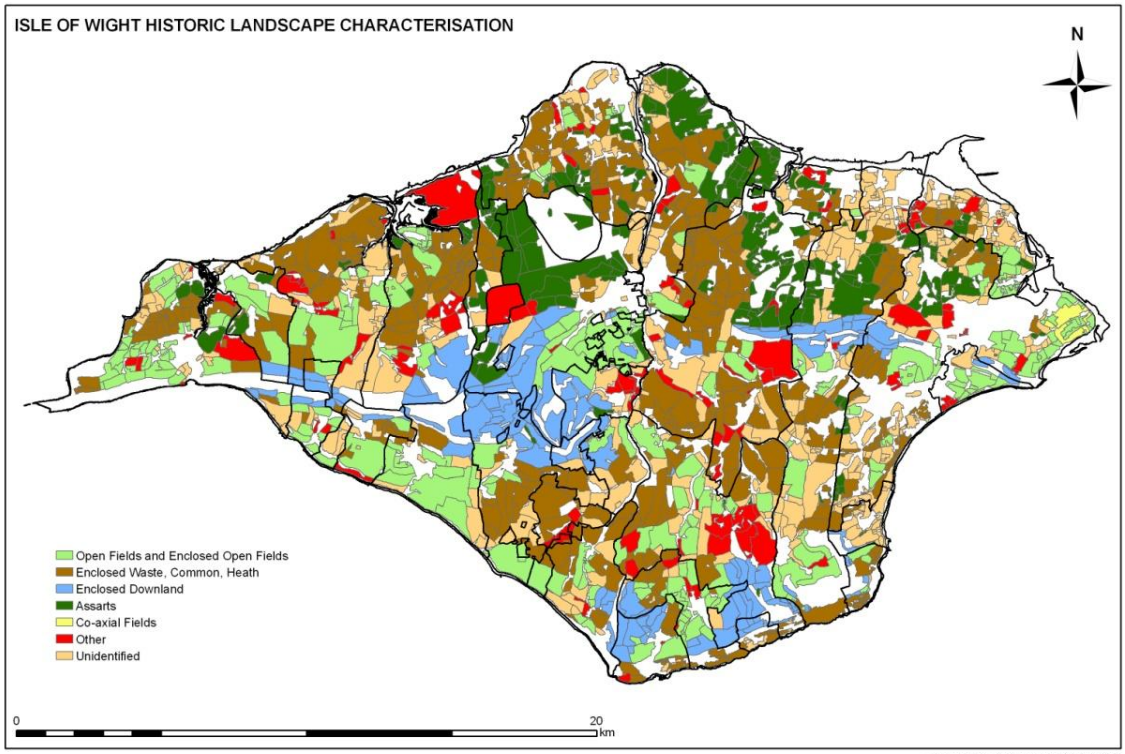
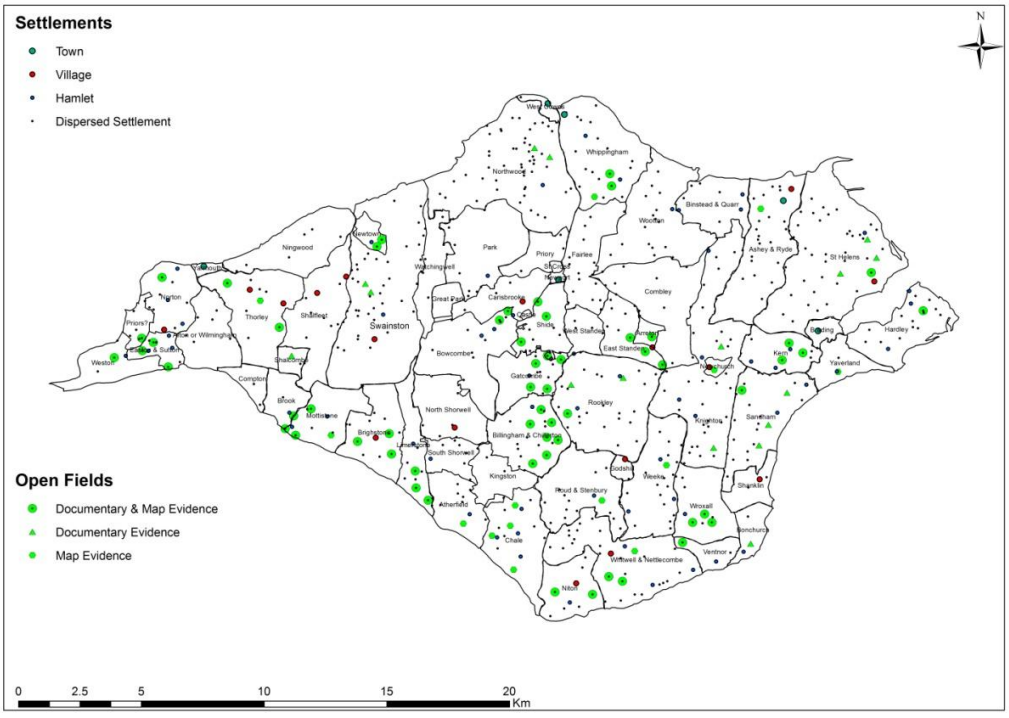


Figure 63. Enclosure processes in all HLC Phases with Medieval Parishes

Map 9.2: Isle of Wight- Enclosure processes in all HLC phases with medieval parishes (Loader 2008, fig. 63)



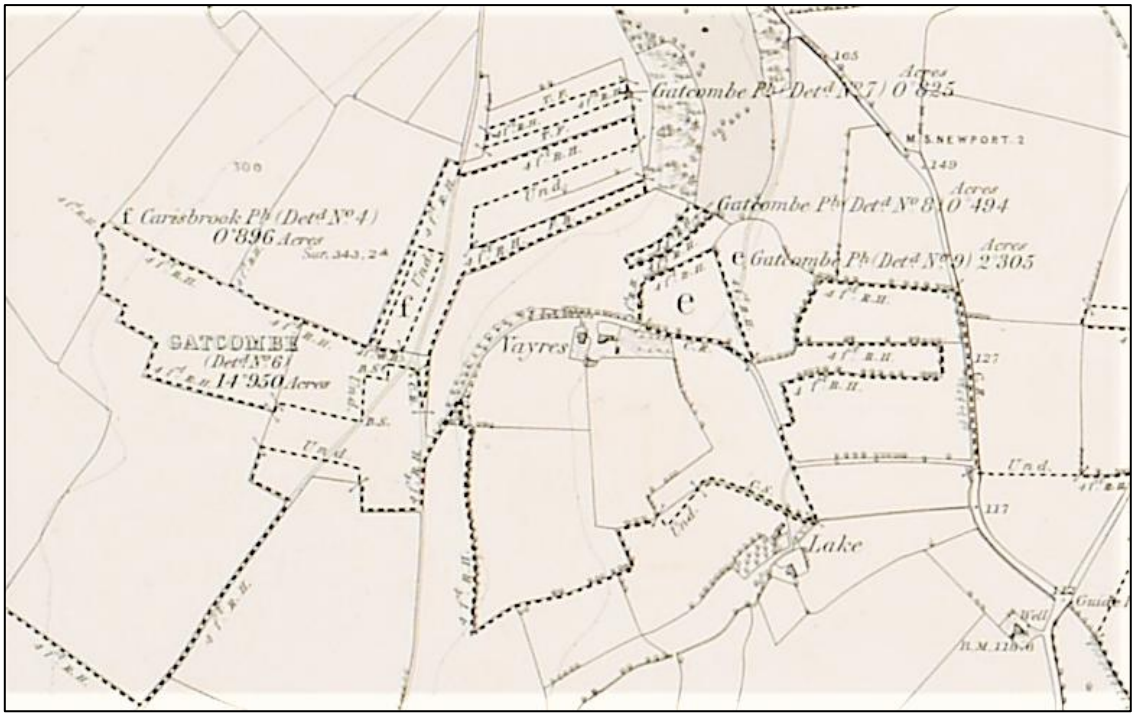
Map 9.3: Isle of Wight Tithings, 1790's Settlements and Open-Fields, open-field locations based on documentary and strong morphological evidence (Basford 2013, fig. 4.1); former open-field evidence tabulated in Basford (2013, Appendix D)

Medieval parishes	DB manors	*Terminus ante quem*	References and notes
Shalfleet/St Nicholas	Shalfleet/Shalcombe	1066x1086	DB: St Nicholas endowed with Shalcombe
Brook/Shalfleet (det)	Brook/Hulverstone	by 1066-Brook	DB
Mottistone/Brighstone	Mottistone/Brighstone	by 1066-Mottistone	DB
Shalfleet/Calbourne [Caul Bourne divides the parishes]	Shalfleet/Calbourne	? before 10th c	Calbourne S274 ?10th c document; probably separate field systems
Carisbrooke/Gatcombe	Bowcombe/Gatcombe	by 1066-Gatcombe	DB, outlying strips of Gatcombe parish within Carisbrooke
Shorwell/Brighstone (det)/Chale	Little Atherfield/ Atherfield Farm/ Walpan	959x975	Atherfield ECW103
Niton/Whitwell	Niton/?Stenbury	by 1066-Niton	DB
Whitwell/Godshill	Stenbury/?Sandford with Week	by late 12th c-Whitwell church fabric	DB manorial boundaries uncertain, ? by 1066

Table 9.2: Areas of former open-fields straddling historic parish boundaries (Loader 2008, fig. 63) and implied *termini ante quem* for open-field origin; DB: Domesday Book

Table 9.2 presents an analysis of the relationship between former areas of open-fields straddling historic parish boundaries. The apparently early instance of Shalfleet/Calbourne can be dismissed as the Caul Bourne forms the parish and estate boundary. Other instances suggest that areas of open-field agriculture were established before the delineation of local church parishes.[202] A particularly clear example is the detached portions of Gatcombe within the mother parish of Carisbrooke (Map 9.4). This implies existence of open-field furlongs before 1086, when Gatcombe was first documented as an independent manor (Basford 2013, 238).[203]

[202] Open-field areas either side of a parish boundary could be attributed to field system development after the establishment of these boundaries with development of furlongs over areas of similar topography and soils, but Gatcombe's instance would suggest otherwise.
[203] The *TRE* evidence is ambiguous: three brothers held Gatcombe in parage of King Edward, with Bowcombe itself belonging to King Edward's farm (52, 52v).



Map 9.4: Ordnance Survey 6 inch map of 1862/3 showing the northern parish boundary of Gatcombe and small detached portions of Gatcombe within Carisbrooke parish to the north

Appendix 9.2 tabulates relationships between landscape regions and former open-field areas showing the latter were marginal to or within 500m of the Lateral Ridge and Southern Massif, or on the Bembridge limestone plateau. These relationships suggest that margins of upland landscape regions and the Bembridge limestone formed settlement sites with associated open-field cores areas nearby. This was not necessarily a relationship of preferred settlement sites surrounded by open-fields, however: Mottistone, Brighstone and Limerstone's former open-fields were south of their respective settlements (Chapter 8). It can also be noted that the Carisbrooke/Gatcombe and Arreton open-field areas the potential arable core consisted of grade 2 land surrounded by grade 3 (MAFF 1969).[204] A further line of enquiry is relationships between demesnes of 'extensive estates' and potentially early arable cores. Whilst the configuration of demesnes evidenced in documentation from the sixteenth century onwards may not reflect the early

[204] This also applies to the Shorwell/Brighstone detached/Chale area although this is a greater distance from the Lateral Ridge. A caveat regarding MAFF (1969) mapping is although this shows Grade 2 land extending into the former Carisbrooke/Gatcombe open-field area (Map 9.4) the soil looks infertile and crops grow less well than in the valley to the west (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.).

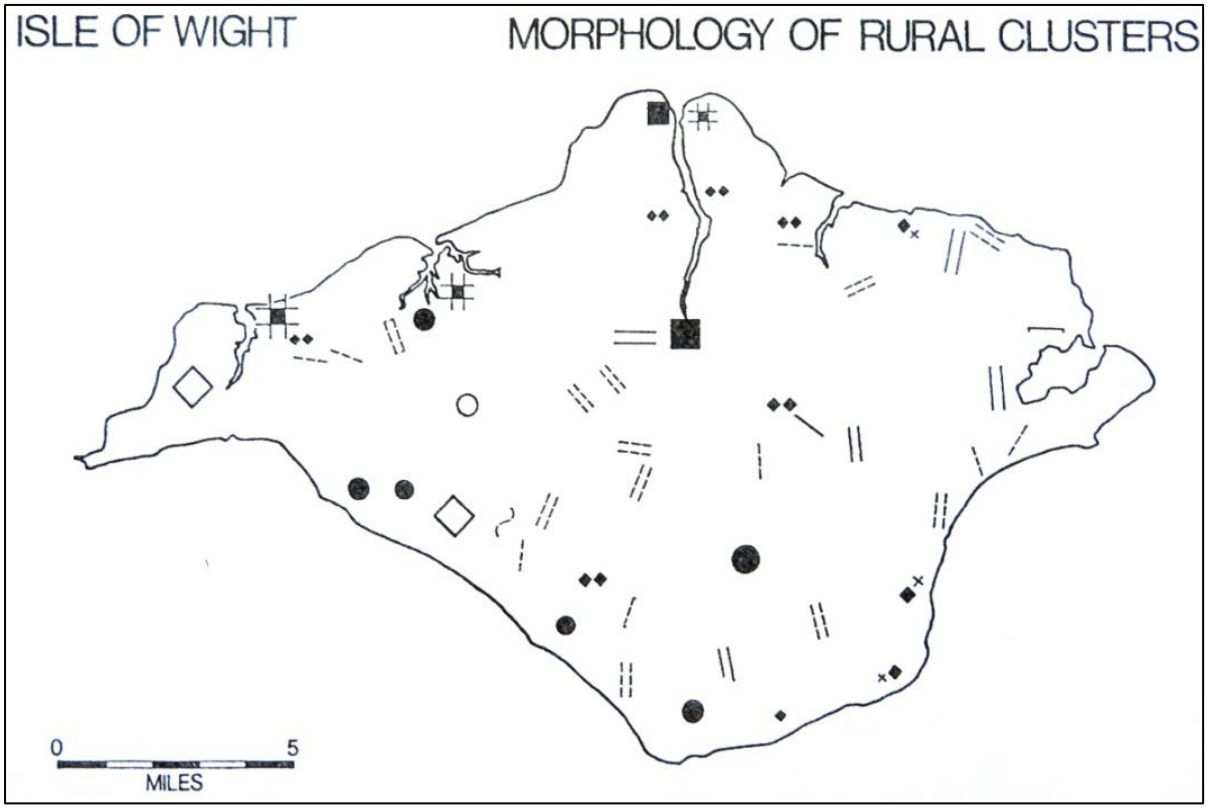
medieval situation, it arguably provides an approximation of 'inland' location.[205] Bowcombe's demesne depicted on the 1836 estate map (IWCRO SEL/50A/9) comprises, in addition to downland and meadow, the area south-east of Bowcombe farm, the extensive area of former open-field agriculture which includes outliers of Gatcombe parish.[206] Freshwater's demesne consisted of 450 acres in 1559/60 (Webster 1975-1999) in the Norton area adjoining Freshwater Farm (King's Manor) (Map 8.9). This would have included the area of former open-fields identified by HLC. Whilst at a distance from the Lateral Ridge and the more extensive area of former open-fields adjoining it, the demesne location formed the core of the extensive West Wight estate held by Tostig *TRE.*[207] The demesne core can be seen as having a parallel at Shalfleet, where manorial remnants were alongside the fleet of the same name adjoining the manorial centre in 1774 (IWCRO JER/T/WA/83/52). As suggested above, the significant factor in these instances for persistence of place was location near tidal fleets.[208] The area of former HLC open-fields in the Wroxall area was centred on Wroxall Farm. The area of the south part of Wroxall's manor depicted on a 1771 Mount Edgcumbe estate book map (IWCRO Acc 95/4) consists of this area and adjoining downland, appearing to represent the demesne of the more extensive five hides of *Warochesselle* in 1086 (39v).[209] Calbourne's (Swainston) demesne was in a strip immediately north of the Lateral Ridge not associated with former open-fields according to HLC (case study below, p.313). Arreton had extensive demesnes in 1524/5 (Webster 1975-1999), the reference to lands, in contrast to meadows and pastures, and tithes of grain, implying that the HLC open-field area formed part of these.[210] Whilst the evidence does not confirm

[205] Early estate cores, representing transition from a tribute economy to a manorial system, came to be referred to as the 'inland' (Faith 1997, 16) having a similar function to later demesnes.
[206] Bowcombe's demesne was not certainly common-field with lord's strips intermingled with those of tenants (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.).
[207] Tostig's estate consisted of Freshwater, Prior's Freshwater, Thorley and Brook *TRW* manors (Williams and Erskine 1989). After 1066 the Freshwater Isle became fragmented into several manors but was a unified whole *TRE*.
[208] HLC mapping shows only a small area of former open-fields within Whitefield manor, the most significant Domesday manor within Brading's 'extensive estate'. Whitefield's demesne is itemised in the 1559/60 Royal Survey (Webster 1975-1999), including Trockle, Nether Whitefield, West Whitefield, Prestwood, Barnsley ground, and land between Rowborough and Whitefield. Brading town was established within Whitefield manor (Webster 1994, 16), presumably on demesne land which included the church site.
[209] In 1771 Wroxall Farm consisted of an area of 381 acres, 1 rood and 26 perches. The 'north part of the manor of Wroxall' was detached.
[210] Consisting of the whole site of the farm of Arreton, 'with lands, meadows and pastures of the demesne of the said farm, rabbit warren, the tithes of grain and hay making' (Webster 1975-1999). Arreton's open-fields were documented in 1453 (Hockey 1991, no.167).

the coincidence of open-field arable cores, conjunction of landscape regions, and location of potentially early demesnes, it suggests a degree of correlation.[211] The location of estate centres associated with tidal inlets on the north-west coast, at least by 1086, is an additional factor in identifying 'landscapes of continuity'.

Settlement Morphology

A study by the present author mapped Wight's settlement morphology in the 1790s using symbols developed by Brian Roberts (Map 9.5; Margham 1985, fig. 4). This identified 46 rural clusters, with irregular two-row plans being the most significant. Whilst this presented nucleated settlement before modern development, it is questionable how far back it can be projected.



Map 9.5: The morphology of rural clusters, 1793/4 (Margham 1985, fig. 4). See Table 9.3 for the key.

[211] Core arable areas were not necessarily coincident with open-field agriculture. In 1608 the demesnes of Thorley and Wroxall were not coincident, but may have been previously (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.). Common-fields were not necessarily synonymous with open-fields (Kerridge 1992, 5). Devon's 'barton fields' (Turner 2007), demesne areas farmed in strips may be appropriate for the Island.

	No. of buildings, 1798					
	> 38	15-37	10-14	< 10	Total	
		1			1	regular one row plan with green
	3	2			5	regular two row street plan
		1			1	irregular two row green plan
			1		1	irregular one row green plan
		7	3		10	irregular two row street plan
		3			3	irregular one row street plan
			1		1	irregular winding street plan
	1	1	1		3	regular grid plan without green
	1	3	2		6	irregular agglomeration without green
		1			1	irregular agglomeration with green
	2				2	polyfocal
		1			1	church/manor complex and regular single row
		2			2	church/manor complex and irregular single row
		1	2		3	church/manor complex and irregular scatter of buildings
			1	2	3	church/manor complex

Table 9.3: Isle of Wight settlement morphology and size, 1793/4 (Margham 1985, fig. 3). The two squares shown on Map 9.5 indicate the towns of Cowes and Newport. The date 1798 in the table should read 1793/4.

The Island saw a significant episode of late medieval settlement contraction before a period of substantial population increase (Margham 2021b). Approaching settlement morphology from early medieval evidence, it appears that many settlement sites were of hamlet proportions,[212] although putative minster enclosures identified at Brading, Calbourne and Freshwater (Chapter 5) may have formed foci of larger settlements. Domesday Book is a record of manors as administrative units rather than settlements. The recorded population of Wellow, for example, with six villans, three bordars and four slaves (52v) would suggest a community of at least 13 households but the degree of settlement nucleation is unknown. Some inferences can, however, be made from Domesday folios in conjunction with local topography. Gatcombe, with a recorded population of 27 (52v) suggests that the irregular two-row plan of 1793/4 probably existed then.[213] IWHER evidence from Shalfleet suggests some settlement nucleation around the church where a proportion of 14 villans and 19 bordars (53v) were residing.[214] Carisbrooke, with a regular double row plan in

[212] Defined as three dwellings or more, three being the smallest cluster that can legitimately be seen as a nucleation, within a 'hailing distance' of 150m (Roberts 1987, 8).
[213] Inferences can also be made for other restricted sites such as Compton and Wroxall.
[214] Tenth- to thirteenth-century pottery observed in a midden in Church Lane (IWHER 6139).

1793/4, is the only settlement with good evidence for substantial nucleation by the later eleventh century. The following case study will investigate its development as a central place within a landscape of continuity.

Carisbrooke: A Case Study of Urban Origins

Carisbrooke is the settlement with the earliest evidence for urban characteristics. The first reasonably accurate mapping dates from 1793/4 with the production of six-inch scale Ordnance Survey drawings. The main topographical features depicted on this and subsequent maps are the east-west road with settlement on either side (Carisbrooke High Street), the north-south road leading from this road towards Carisbrooke Castle (Castle Street), and the parish church on the north side of the High Street (Fig. 9.3). In addition to these topographical features, a combination of sources has enabled identification of the minster enclosure (Chapter 5; Map 5.1).



Fig. 9.3: Carisbrooke church and village from Castle Hill to the south

Domesday Evidence

Bowcombe's Domesday entry provides three-fold evidence for Carisbrooke having urban traits: the toll reference, settlement associated with the church, and references

to bordars. The toll worth 30 shillings is described as *de thelo neo: xxx* in the original Domesday folio (52). This 'relates to *tolena/eum*, that is the regalian through-toll that extends over an area, here presumably the hundred' (David Roffe, pers. comm.). This is contrasted with *toll*, being confined to a single estate (Roffe 2007, 125, n. 91). The reference to such a toll implies the existence of a market at Carisbrooke, presumably being held in the street, churchyard, or elsewhere within the minster enclosure.

The Bowcombe Domesday entry implies that part of the minster enclosure was occupied by incoming Norman landholders: 'Of this virgate of land Humphrey holds a portion where he has 8 men paying 5s., and William fitzAzor 2½ acres where he has 4 houses. They hold without the consent of the priest'. Humphrey's portion was apparently within the enclosure, whereas fitzAzor's 2½ acres were probably elsewhere. However, not all the settlement within the minster enclosure was illicit or necessarily recent, as it appears that the 20 bordars' messuages belonging to the church were also within this enclosure.

Dyer (1985, 100) used Domesday Book to establish 'the existence of numerous cottars and bordars and cottage settlements in and around more than forty early boroughs'. Although unable to identify the precise nature of these smallholders' involvement in the urban economy, he stressed that they aid identification of the scale and intensity of urbanisation and knowledge of urban origins (Dyer 1985, 102).

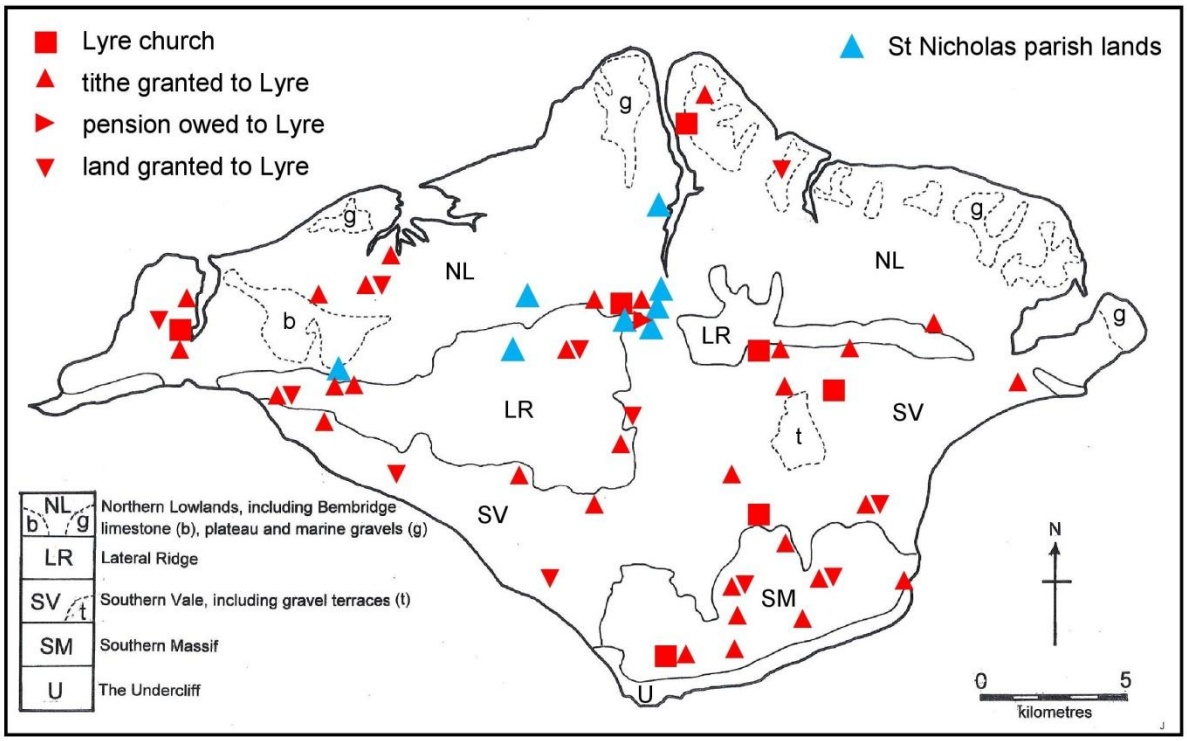
What is potentially significant in the Bowcombe Domesday account is the number of bordars recorded. A total of 59 villans, borders and slaves were enumerated. Fifteen of these were bordars (25%) of which some were undoubtedly 'rural', but we can plausibly add to this number the 20 bordars' messuages belonging to the church, thus 35 bordars (44%) from a total population of 79. Whilst this proportion is of a similar order to that of Arreton, Calbourne, Shalfleet and Wroxall, only Bowcombe has this high proportion with a specific mention of bordars' messuages.

In addition to these 'urban traits', the Carisbrooke area can be identified as the centre of a castlery. Bowcombe is not specifically mentioned in Domesday as a

castellaria, unlike the seven instances listed by Stenton (1971, 627).[215] Whilst a castlery is not an urban trait, it is a strong indication of centrality, being 'an area of settlements around a castle, a district within which the distribution of land has been planned for its maintenance' (Margham 1993, 9). Wight had been granted to fitzOsbern by the king probably in 1067 and it was held by him until his death in 1071. It was he who was almost certainly responsible for the conversion of the *burh* which had originated as the late Roman 'lower enclosure' into the first phase of the post-Conquest castle (Margham 2015a, 22-25).[216] FitzOsbern had been given the lordship of the Island with 'palatine' authority (Margham 1993, 8).[217]

An idea of the lands and properties held by fitzOsbern can be gleaned from Frederick Hockey's research (1960; 1981c) and from Domesday Book (Table 5.1; Map 9.6). This indicates that fitzOsbern had palatine authority over the whole Island, compatible with evidence of the distribution of fees 'pertaining to the castle' due to Isabella de Fortibus in 1289-90 (Rigold 1969 fig. 1a, 130; Margham 1993, 9-10).

[215] Richard's Castle, Ewias Harold and Clifford (Herefordshire), Caerleon (Monmouthshire), Montgomery (Montgomeryshire), Dudley (Staffordshire) and Richmond (Yorkshire). A further six were inferred by Stenton (1971, 627-8), excluding Bowcombe. Of these 15, only four (Tutbury, Arundel, Lewes and Pevensey) have specific associated urban traits referred to in Domesday: borough, burgesses, market, port and toll. The number of urban places at the centre of castleries was greater than this, as can be inferred for Richards Castle (Herefordshire) (Margham 1993, 19).
[216] Excavations identified a rectilinear ring-work encompassing the north-eastern quarter of the former *burh* dated to the Conquest period (Young 2000, 55-9; fig. 67).
[217] A palatine earldom's essence was that the earl wielded the king's powers as his deputy, even holding royal demesne land that elsewhere was managed by the sheriff (Wightman 1962, 7).



Map 9.6: A reconstruction of grants to fitzOsbern's abbey of Lyre and lands making up the 'parish' of St Nicholas on the Isle of Wight, information from Hockey (1960) and Hockey (1981c)

Examples of very small sub-tenancies in the vicinity of a castle or seigniorial residence are noted in Domesday Book at Montacute (Somerset), Clifford and Eywas Harold (Herefordshire), and Belvoir (Leicestershire) (Round 1908, 273). The two Herefordshire instances were also associated with fitzOsbern who also had palatine authority there. Round (1900, 408-9) drew attention to the juxtaposition of Bowcombe with its contribution to 'the farm of one night', subsequent nearby fitzOsbern's caput and the existence of 'small holdings' of land by Wight's three most important barons in 1086. One of these 'small holdings' was apparently located within the minster enclosure, *i.e.* within the virgate held by the monks of Lyre: the portion held by Humphrey where he had 8 men (52; Map 9.7). Humphrey was a relatively minor player mentioned on four other occasions in the Island Domesday folios.[218]

[218] He was perhaps Humphrey de L'Isle (*Hunfrid De Insula*) who had 26 manors in Wiltshire (Keats-Rohan 1999, 275; Williams and Martin 1992, 181-2). Humphrey's other holdings on the Isle of Wight were:

The same William [fitzStur] holds CHEVERTON, and Humphrey [holds] of him [52v]
Humphrey holds the third part of a hide in NETTLESTONE of the king [53v]
The same William [fitzStur] holds EAST STANDEN and Humphrey [holds] of him [53]
The same William [fitzStur] holds MERSTONE, and Humphrey [holds] of him [53]

It appears that Humphrey was in some way acting for William fitzStur within the minster enclosure. FitzStur was a major Island landholder, with 23 manors, in addition to the half virgate in Bowcombe with 1 plough and 1 villan.[219] FitzStur 'pays for these aforesaid 4 manors £60, although they are worth less' these manors being Bowcombe, *Haldley*, Luton and Shide (52, 52v). Golding argued that rather than fitzStur farming these manors, it is more likely that this amount was collected from them as their administrator. He also suggested that holding the half virgate in Bowcome indicates that fitzStur held an office from fitzOsbern before 1071 and subsequently from the Crown (Golding 1989, 19): 'It is possible that William was constable of the castle or was in some way responsible for the defence of the island: in 1263 William's direct descendent held his land of the "lord of the castle" … for services that included guarding the island in time of war at his own cost'.

The other 'small holding' to which Round drew attention was the 1 virgate held by Joscelin and William fitzAzor, both major Island landholders, but unlike fizStur, neither had interests on the mainland (Golding 1989, 19). Both brothers held manors with the same place-name at *Scaldeford* (Hyde), Shanklin, Shide, Hamstead, Chilton and Chillerton, and with the last three being divided equally.[220] In addition, the fitzAzors jointly held the 1 virgate within Bowcombe, for which they had not paid rent.

Domesday Bowcombe and Carisbrooke's morphology

It is possible that the south side of Carisbrooke High Street was an extension of existing settlement developed by the fitzAzor brothers between 1066 and 1086. Maps indicate curving property boundaries either side of Castle Street could imply conversion of open-field furlongs into messuages (Map 9.7). However, the lengths of such properties were limited by the presence of Lukely Brook and the mill pond to the south, providing a property depth of only *c*.60 to *c*.130 metres to the east of Castle Street. To the west of Castle Street these properties terminate at the lane off Castle Street to the north of Carisbrooke Mill giving a depth of between *c.*90 and

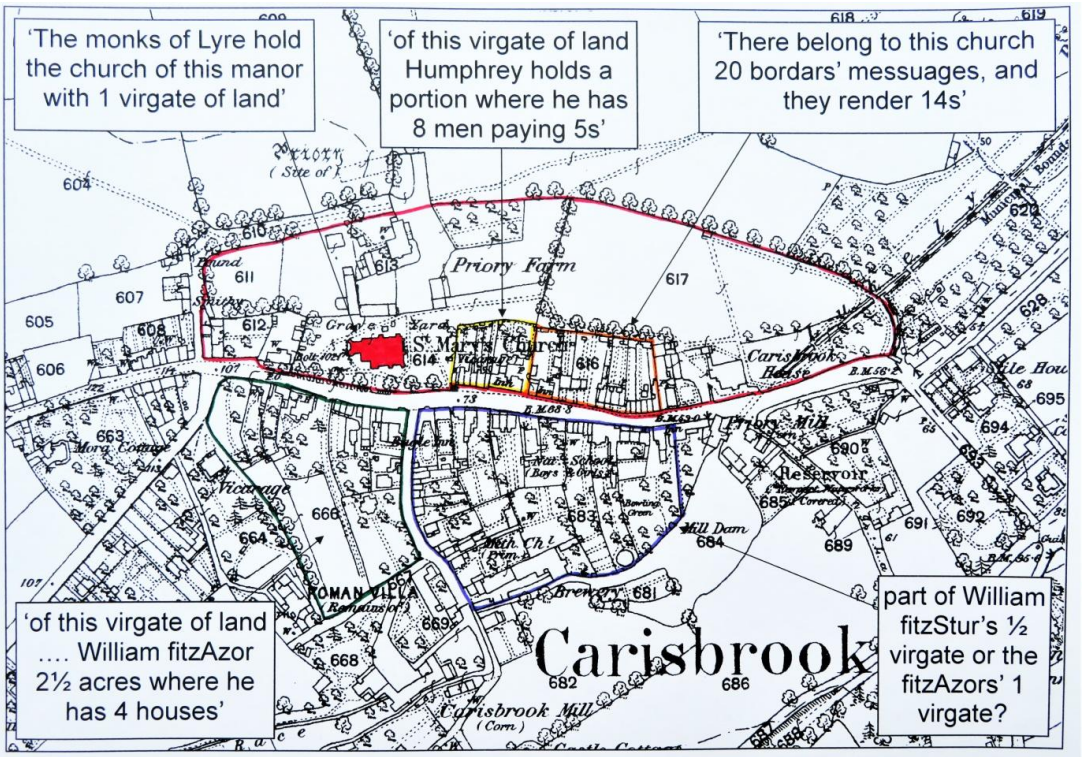
[219] FitzStur also had interests in mainland Hampshire: Sopley manor, a hide in Somborne Hundred, and two Southampton houses (Goldling 1989, 19; 48v, 52).
[220] Golding (1989, 19) pointed out that this suggests division of larger manors belonging to their father.

c.165 metres (Fig. 9.4). Even though these two blocks of messuages were apparently set out over and respected the boundaries of former furlongs, they may pre-date the Conquest.[221]



Fig. 9.4: View southwards from church tower showing the curve of Castle Street

Fig. 9.5: View eastwards from church tower with settlement within the former minster enclosure beyond the churchyard



Map 9.7: Tentative reconstruction of landholdings within Carisbrooke in 1086 (see Table 9.4). The minster enclosure is outlined in red. Base map OS twenty-five inch survey of 1862/3.

[221] There is a significant contrast between property's morphology within Hereford's Anglo-Saxon *burh*, and those around fitzOsbern's adjoining new market place. The former were broader and shorter compared with the long narrow burgage plots of the latter, and this contrast can be seen eslewhere (Hillaby 1982-4, 189-90).

An examination of the 1793/4 six-inch survey and the 1862/3 twenty-five inch map indicates that the properties within the former minster enclosure to the east of the churchyard were arranged in three distinct blocks: immediately to the east of the churchyard ('north-west'); adjoining this ('north-central') with the western side not extending quite as far back as its western neighbour, and an off-set of the rear boundary in the block to the east ('north-east') (Fig. 9.5). The latter is only partially indicated on the 1862/3 map, but is shown on the 1793/4 map (Map 9.10) before the construction of Carisbrooke House, depicting two internal divisions. Tentative identifications with Bowcombe's Domesday account are given in Table 9.4 and Map 9.7. If the north-south boundary dividing the minster enclosure shown on the maps is of any antiquity, it can be argued that the western block ('north-west') was an encroachment on this half of the enclosure, although the alignment of this boundary is deflected slightly from its course from the northern boundary of the minster enclosure running between the two blocks (Map 9.7). It is also possible that the eastern ('north-east') was an encroachment. The middle ('north-central') block would therefore be primary, arguably of pre-Conquest origin which was subdivided with the occupation of this site by the 20 bordars' messuages. This, and the two flanking blocks perhaps laid out with reference to it, can be contrasted with the deeper plots with curving boundaries to the south of the High Street having curving internal boundaries. The area opposite the church ('south-west') appears to have been the 2½ acres held by William fitzAzor within Lyre's virgate held without the priest's consent, encompassing approximately 2.7 acres.[222] This was not within the minster enclosure, which consisted of 9.34 statute acres. The monks of Lyre had a holding of one virgate in 1086. Inferring from the figures in Margham (2003, 34, table 1) and Margham (2019b, 49, table 1) analysing acreages of hides within contrasting landscape regions, it can be suggested that a virgate in the Carisbrooke area would have been in the order of 42 to 82 acres. The church's virgate was thus much more extensive than the minster enclosure, pausibly including land south of Carisbrooke High Street. The block of land to the east of Castle Street ('south-east'), approximately 4 acres, cannot be identified with any degree of certainty with land-holdings itemised in Bowcombe's Domesday account, but may have formed part of the half virgate held by fitzStur or part of one virgate held jointly by the fitzAzors. If forming part of the fitzAzor holding, 'which before them rendered rent, but these men

[222] 2½ acres *TRW* is not equivalent to 2½ statute acres, but is broadly of the same magnitude.

have not paid it', the question arises as to what the rent was to be paid for. This may have been formerly paid by their father, or could refer to the pre-Conquest situation. If the latter, this very tentative identification suggests messuages here before 1066.[223]

	Depth	Frontage	Area ha	Area acres	Suggested landholder in 1086
north-west	45-50m	50m	0.21	0.55	Humphrey's portion with 8 men
north-central	45m	80m	0.36	0.90	20 bordars belonging to the church
north-east	40-43m	100m	0.41	1.01	? occupied
south-west	90-165m	120m	1.08	2.69	William fizAzor, 4 houses
south-east	60-130m	180m	1.60	3.95	? part of fitzStur's ½ virgate or fitzAzors' 1 virgate

Table 9.4: Dimensions and areas of plan units fronting Carisbrooke High Street, calculated from Ordnance Survey 25 inch map, 1862/3. A tentative estimate of the population of Carisbrooke in 1086: north-west 8 households, north central 20 households, south west 4 households and south east 11 households (the latter based on morphology in 1862/3); minimum of 43 households (does not include 'north east'). A multiplier of 4.5 suggests a minimum population of 194, a multiplier of 5 a minimum population of 215. For multipliers estimating Domesday population see Margham (1989, 56-7).

Anglo-Saxon Carisbrooke

Carisbrooke had urban traits by 1086: its toll, population density and bordars' role. Its market function was eclipsed by Newport's late twelfth-century foundation. Bowcombe/Carisbrooke can be seen as a 'central area' for the Isle of Wight in the pre-Conquest period (Margham 1993; Ulmschneider 2003).[224] It appeared to have a market function before 1066, suggested by the toll recorded in 1086. Roffe (2007, 125, n. 91) has noted that 'In Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire through toll boundaries have been associated with the establishment of legal markets by King Athelstan'. Whilst Wight's situation would have been very different to the relatively recent take-over of this part of the Danelaw by the house of Wessex, the through toll's existence prompts an enquiry into Carisbrooke functioning as a 'central place' before 1066.

[223] By 1086 Carisbrooke accorded with Reynolds' (1977) town definition: 'a permanent and concentrated non-agricultural settlement supported by agricultural production located elsewhere and maintaining a sense of social separateness from the countryside'.
[224] Centrality of the Bowcombe/Carisbrooke area can also be shown for the Romano-British period (Map 8.1).

Four strands of evidence will be examined: the minster church's role in promoting trade, likewise the function of Bowcombe/Carisbroke as a hundredal centre and a contributor to the 'farm of one night', development of a marketing function within or near *burhs,* and creation or re-establishment of *burhs* at or near existing market sites.

St Mary's Carisbrooke can be shown to be a minster church by the late Anglo-Saxon period (Chapter 5). Blair (2005, 336) drew attention to minster churches' role in trade development whose centrality resulted in 'Somewhere around half of all Domesday markets and boroughs … be[ing] recognised as minster sites'. Despite the secularisation of minsters in the late Anglo-Saxon period, such churches remained foci for growth. Many markets with eleventh-century evidence were associated with superior churches.[225]

Bowcombe hundred is documented in Domesday Book and its existence during the reign of Edgar can be inferred from the Anglo-Saxon charter S821 (Chapter 7). Britnell (1978, 189) examined relationships between markets and hundredal centres:

> At a time when economic specialization in the countryside was weakly developed, hundredal organization was peculiarly dependent upon the existence of facilities for trade. The hundred was the unit for collecting numerous dues, usually to be transmitted to the king, or to be retained by the lord of the hundred, in the form of coin.

Even though private markets probably existed in some areas, hundredal manors would gain a greater advantage from a market, consequently, there would be an incentive to establish them (Britnell 1978, 190).[226] 'The farm of one night' was

[225] Sawyer (1986, 65) pointed out the Domesday examples of Bampton (Oxfordshire), the three markets in Bedfordshire, two of which were at Luton and Leighton Buzzard on royal estates which had major churches, and five of the seven markets recorded in Lincolnshire which 'had significant religious associations'. Churches attracted people, providing trading opportunities. Sunday trading appears the norm in later Anglo-Saxon England: Athelstan and Æthelred were unsuccessful in preventing it. Trading in churchyards purportedly came to an end with the 1285 Statute of Winchester declaring that 'hence forth neither fairs or markets be held in churches' (Sawyer 1986, 65, 66-7).

[226] Sawyer (1986, 65-66) sees association between early medieval markets and hundredal manors serving as centres for royal due collection being primarily related presence of significant churches: 'The explanation for this may, however, owe less to the direct role of the king and his agents than to the fact that many of these places also had an early and important church'.

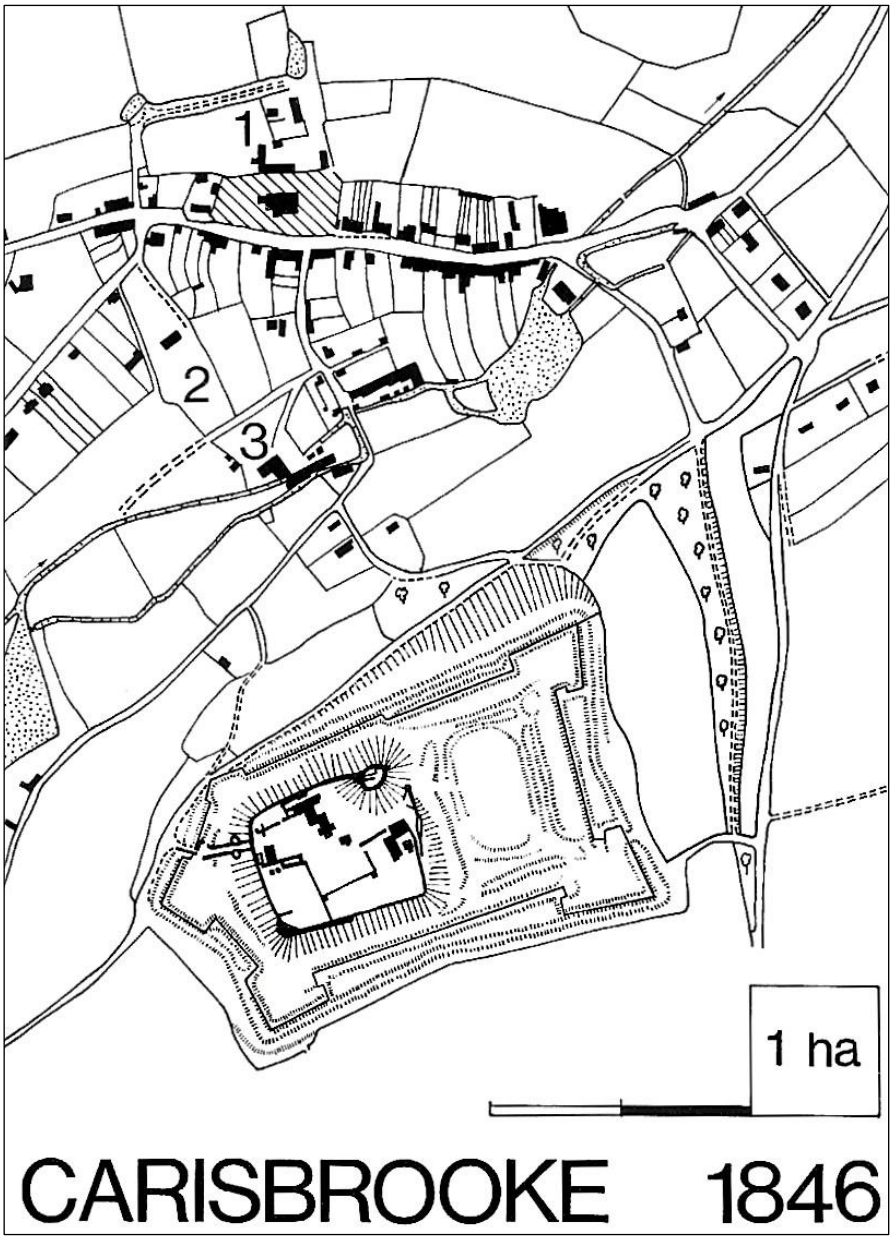
associated with some manors that were urban places.[227] The Domesday account of Bowcombe records 'It belonged to King Edward's farm' (52). The Domesday entry for Amesbury (Wiltshire) indicates that Bowcombe contributed to Amesbury's 'farm of one night' (Appendix 9.3). There is a strong correlation in the Hampshire Domesday folios between hundredal centres, tolls/markets, the farm of one night, and superior churches (Table 9.5):

Place-name [DB folio]	Domesday hundred	Domesday toll/ market	Farm of one night	Minster/ mother church	Morphology mid-late 19th c
Basingstoke [39]	Basingstoke	market 30s	'It was always a royal manor. It never gave geld; nor was it ever hidated'	Yes (Blair 1985, fig. 7.1)	double T-shaped double rows
Bowcombe [52]	Bowcombe	toll 30s	'It belonged to King Edward's farm. It was then assessed at 4 hides, now at nothing'	Yes (Chapter 5)	double row (Carisbrooke)
Kingsclere [39]	Basingstoke	toll 15s	'It belonged to King Edward's farm. They have not the number of hides'	Yes (Blair 1985, fig. 7.1)	T- shaped double rows
Neatham [38]	Neatham	market £8	'King Edward held it. They have not said how many hides are there'	Yes (Hase 1988, 63, note 27)	Manor Farm and mill only (double row at Alton 2.5km)
Titchfield [39]	Titchfield	market and toll 40s	'King Edward held it. There are 2 hides; but they have not paid geld'	Yes (Hase 1988, fig. 9)	T- shaped double rows with wide High Street

Table 9.5: The 'small towns' of Domesday Hampshire: markets, tolls, 'farm of one night' and mid-nineteenth century morphology

A further strand of evidence regarding the development of Carisbrooke before the Conquest is the relationship between the settlement site and the *burh* on the hill above.

[227] Other land-holdings contributed: Ningwood, Merstone and Yaverland (53, 54). Breamore's Domesday entry (Hampshire) includes 'To this manor belongs 1 hide in the Isle of Wight …. there used to come £9 to the king's farm' (39). Eling (Hampshire), which *TRE* rendered half a day's farm, had two un-named berewicks on the Island (38v).



Map 9.8: Carisbrooke showing the relationship between the village and the castle site. The 'lower enclosure' is partially obscured by the earthworks beneath the castle's curtain walls. The map is redrawn from the Carisbrooke Tithe Apportionment map (IWCRO JER/T/78) and is reproduced from Margham (1993, fig. 2). 1- Priory Farm, 2- site of Roman villa, 3- Carisbrooke mill.

The 'lower enclosure' at Carisbrooke Castle can be identified as a late Roman structure which later became a *burh* (above, pp.40, 196). It was apparently the site of *Wihtgaræsbyrg* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 530 and 544 (Margham 2015a, 20-1). It is quite likely that it was an Alfredian *burh* despite not being listed in the Burghal Hidage: it is implausible that Wight being a strategically important location it would not have had a *burh* in Alfred's time (Margham 2015a, 22-4). Archaeological

evidence indicates it was probably reoccupied as a *burh* during Æthelred II's reign (Margham 2015a, 25).

Many of the *burhs* itemised in the Burghal Hidage developed into towns, or were planned as towns at the outset. Some were associated with nearby pre-existing fortifications, such as the relationship between Wilton and Old Sarum. Although smaller *burhs* tended not to develop into towns, it is amongst this category that parallels for Carisbrooke's development can be sought. Haslam (1984, 265) lists nine instances of *burhs* in the Burghal Hidage from which towns developed away from *burh* sites.[228]

There is no evidence for any encircling defences, although it could be argued through analogy with other minster sites with *burh* place-names such as Bibury and Tetbury, and the events recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 899/900 at Wimborne Minster (ASC 901 A,B,C,D,E), that minster enclosures were defensible.[229] The former small late Anglo-Saxon town which is most apposite for comparison with Carisbrooke is Great Bedwyn (Wiltshire). Bedwyn was not listed in the Burghal Hidage, and neither was its perimeter defensible. It is however overlooked by Chisbury hill-fort, probably the *Cissanbyrie* of the Burghal Hidage (Eagles 2018, 150), about 1km to the north. Great Bedwyn was an urban place by 1086, with 25 burgesses on the royal demesne (Williams and Martin 2002, 162). There are good reasons for seeing it as a town before 1086 as Bedwyn had a mint by the mid-eleventh century (Haslam 1984, 97). Earlier evidence is to be found in a ninth-century gospel book which has textual additions of the tenth century. These include statutes of the Bedwyn Guild (Whitelock 1955, 559), the presence of a guild being an urban trait (Eagles 2018, 152). Like Carisbrooke, Bedwyn had a minster church: one of the additions to the gospel book concerns tithes, with two-thirds of the tithes of Bedwyn and Lambourne to go to the servants of God at Bedwyn, which 'points to the existence there of a college of secular priests and therefore a minster church'

[228] At Langport (Somerset) a town was laid out on a lower-lying site between the river crossing and the adjoining hill-top *burh* (Haslam 2014, 47-52), whereas other *burhs* were 'replaced' by towns a distance away. For example Halwell in Devon 'which presumably occupied one of the earthwork enclosures surviving in that parish, was replaced by Totnes in the tenth century: this site, at the crossing-point of the Dart, had more potential for urban growth' (Higham 2008, 175). All places listed in the Burghal Hidage were defensible as were several later *burhs* such as Totnes.

[229] Æthelwold, a claimant to the throne on the death of Alfred, 'stayed inside that manor [Wimborne] with the men who had given him their allegiance, and had barricaded all the gates against him [Edward]'.

(Eagles 2018, 152). This minster status is supported by later evidence, including the relatively high value of the church and the record of its endowment of one and a half hides in Domesday Book, and early fifteenth-century documentation of relationships between the church and outlying chapels (Pitt 1999, 132). It appears that Chisbury hill fort was abandoned in the early tenth century with the development of Great Bedwyn as a town (Haslam 1984, 96).

The parallels drawn so far with Chisbury and Great Bedwyn can be extended with the observation that both Bedwyn and Bowcombe were at the centre of extensive estates which can be seen as *villae regales*, royal vills (Haslam 1984, 96; Eagles 2018, fig. 27). Like Bowcombe, Bedwyn was a royal vill held by King Edward, rendering 'a farm of one night with all the customary dues' (Williams and Martin 2002, 162), although unlike Bowcome it was mentioned in Alfred's will (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 175). Royal vills would have redistributed payments in kind, a stimulus for development of a marketing function. This has been observed in Somerset and elsewhere in Wessex:

> This carries the implication that 'rural' - or possibly quasi-urban- markets in the eighth or ninth centuries developed as redistributive centres under the control of the king on sites which bore a close relationship to these royal centres, either at the estate centre or nearby (Haslam 2014, 66).

This concept can certainly be applied to Bowcombe/Carisbrooke, with the 'productive' site between Bowcombe Farm and the castle site. It can also be argued that rather than Alfredian *burhs* stimulating a market function, these markets already existed. This is implied by the Alfredian reform of the coinage in the mid-870s, suggesting that the king was 'taking active steps to exert control over marketing and the redistribution of commodities, as well as of taxation' (Haslam 2014, 66; Blackburn 1998). Astill (2006, 254) asked that 'we need to consider the extent to which the *burhs* of the late ninth century were succesfuly accommodated within the older, pre-*burh,* pattern of trading and assembly places, increasingly recognised as having been based on royal centres and minsters'. *Burhs* may be considered as likely sites of such royal markets before they were chosen for their strategic potential as defensive locations in 878-9 (Haslam 2014, 66). Sawyer (2013, 97) stated that 'From the outset all but the smallest *burhs* had markets, most of which existed before they were fortified' and that outside the *burhs* there were fairs and markets, of which

some were held adjoining churches on Sundays.[230] There are thus various indications of Bowcombe/Carisbrooke's 'central place' functions before 1066. It has previously been suggested by the present author that the settlement of Carisbrooke was founded by fitzOsbern in conjunction with building the castle, citing analogous sites in the Welsh borderland (Margham 1993). The subsequent identification of the minster enclosure has, however, led to an alternative interpretation. Changes undoubtedly took place in Carisbrooke in the early years of the Conquest but it seems likely that the 20 bordars' messuages attached to the church were in existence by 1066. The properties in this area are the only very regular component of Carisbrooke's morphology, with each extending equidistant from the road, forming a rectangular block (Edwards 1999, Map B). Edwards (1999, 5) pointed out that 'Although the rows [on the north and south side of Carisbrooke High Street] are quite regular, in that there are few unoccupied plots in the rows, the plots are not as stiffly regulated as if the village was planned, or re-planned, in one phase'.

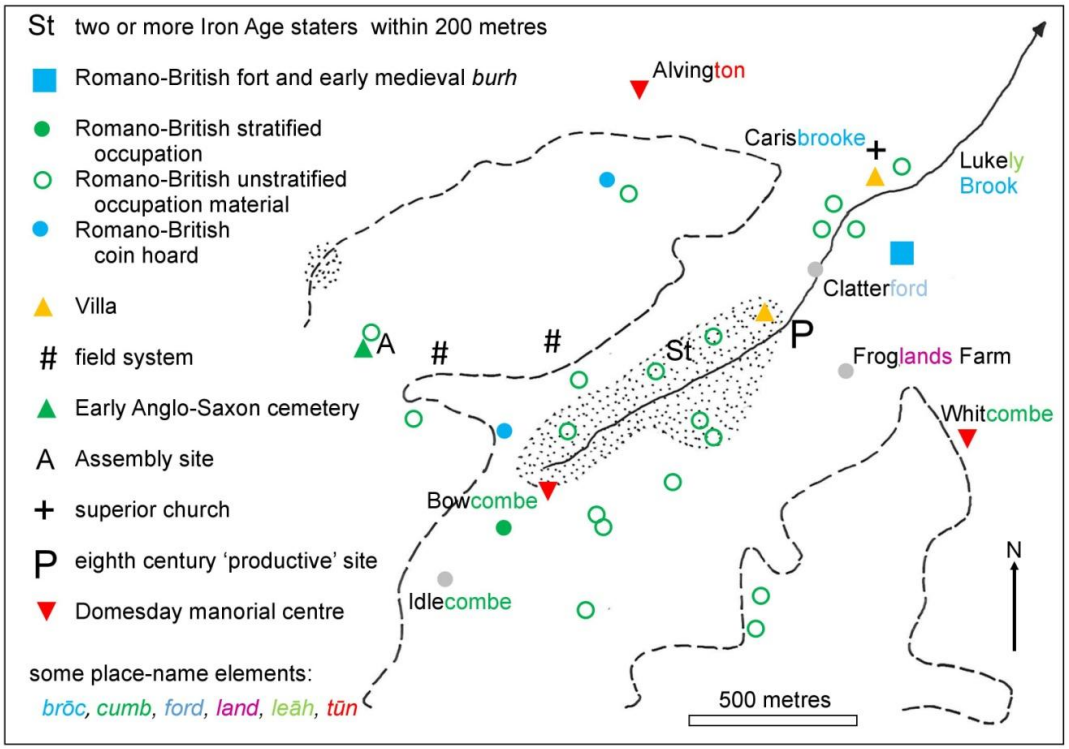
What is uncertain is whether the toll worth 30s in 1086 originated with fitzOsbern's development of Carisbrooke Castle, which can be seen indirectly through Domesday Book, or was already in existence before 1066. Roffe examined Derbyshire tolls which were arguably established in the early tenth century. These may not have been specific to the east Midlands, as 'the introduction of the tithing and wapentake [hundred] probably had its counterpart in Wessex and Mercia' (Roffe 1986, 114).[231] It is therefore possible that Bowcombe's toll was of some antiquity by 1086. The right to exact a toll was originally limited to coastal trading places (*wics*) and inland salt producing centres such as Droitwich (Worcestershire). This was extended in the ninth and tenth centuries to other trading places, later known as *ports* (Sawyer 1986, 67): 'There was a natural tendency for rulers to claim authority over the more successful places and to provide protection in return for a share of the profits of trade' (Sawyer 1986, 73). Some observations can be made regarding boundaries of the area subject to toll. As we have seen, the toll at Bowcombe was *tolena* 'through toll' which was collected from a district regardless of tenure, rather than *toll* which was confined to a single estate (Roffe 2007, 125, n.91). It is possible that the

Sawyer (2013, 97) cites the example that it was 'most unlikely that the market that figures in the late-ninth century charter concerning the division of revenues in Worcester after its fortification by Æthelred and Æthelflæd was new (Sawyer 2013, 97).

[231] Wapentakes were equivalent to hundreds in northern and eastern England (Williams and Martin 1992, 1436).

boundary within which the toll was paid was the Medina, applying to Bowcombe hundred only: ‘There are 30 or so references to the term in Domesday and there is a strong correlation with *terra regis*, hundred manors, and not infrequently markets, as one would expect’ (Roffe, pers. comm.). This could be seen as a parallel situation to south Derbyshire where the toll was related to crossings over major rivers (Roffe 1986, 112). However, given the relatively small size of the Island and Bowcombe/Carisbrooke being located near its centre, it is more likely that the *tolena* related to the whole Island. It may be significant that a ‘toll of the island’ was recorded 1193x1199 when Earl William de Vernon gave two marks of the toll to Carisbrooke Priory (Bearman 1994, 34). Although this toll was recorded after the foundation of Newport it may have been the successor to arrangements implied in Domesday Book which applied to the whole Island.

The ‘productive’ site ‘near Carisbrooke’ (Froglands Farm) can be seen as a market. Coins recovered include 41 sceattas, one Merovingian denier and two ‘early pennies’, in addition to other Early and Middle Saxon finds (Ulmschneider and Metcalfe 2013, 16), including sixth-century brooches, an eighth- or ninth-century copper-alloy fitting with a runic inscription, and two strap ends of probable ninth-century date as well as late Saxon and Medieval objects (Ulmschneider 1999, 31; 2003, 76). Coin use here seems to have commenced from *c.*700x710 onwards, intensifying during the eighth century, before declining towards the end of the century: ‘there appears to have been no regeneration of coin use on the island site [Froglands Farm], which appears to have ceased, or moved to another place, by the ninth century’ (Ulmschneider 2003, 75). It is possible that a market here moved to a site adjoining the minster church about 900 metres away by this latter date.



Map 9.9: The lower Bowcombe Valley- settlement and place-names. The stippled areas indicate concentrations of late Romano-British material (PAS). The dashed line is the 250ft contour. Early Anglo-Saxon pottery has been recorded in the vicinity of Bowcombe Farm (Chapter 7).



Map 9.10: Extract from the Ordnance Survey six-inch survey of 1793/4 showing the road system centred on Carisbrooke

The answer to why such a move appears to have taken place can be related to the Island's road system, and Bowcombe/Carisbrooke area in particular (Map 9.10). Carisbrooke High Street is on the route descending from the chalk ridge from the west continuing to the crossing of the Medina at *Durneford* to the east. This was joined by the route down the Bowcombe Valley from the south-west. The environs of Carisbrooke are also connected to Shide Bridge by roads to the west, while the road diverted around the minster enclosure in 1270 (Hockey 1981a, no. 230) gave access to the north of the Island. Cole (2013, 110-11) observed that 'In Anglo-Saxon England a road system was already in existence by the time any administrative centres were needed, and so places with good road links …. to the rest of the territory were desirable places'. Whilst this observation is true for the royal manor of Bowcombe, it is even more apposite for Carisbrooke as 'Early evidence for trade and settlement at *burh* sites that became towns by Domesday indicates that those which succeeded tended to have had many common elements, notably the siting of a seventh- or eighth-century minster on a navigable river or major road, with early evidence of trade, even if only on a small scale' (Palmer 2003, 50). It would thus appear that the market was moved to a site adjoining the minster church. If this move happened in the late eighth or early ninth century, it may not have been subject to a toll for a century or more.[232]

The urban origins of Carisbrooke can arguably be found in the eighth or ninth century. It may not have been recognisable as a town to modern eyes.[233] It was not a particularly large settlement compared with many Alfredian *burhs* which developed into towns: including the minster enclosure it encompassed 7.8ha; this can be compared with burghal towns such as Wallingford (41ha), Wareham (37.2ha) and Cricklade (29.2ha) (Biddle 1976, 126). Neither is there evidence of industrial activity. However, the combination of minster, secular redistributive centre and market and *burh* would have set it apart from other settlements on the Island. Despite royal

[232] Soon after 900 many *burhs* began to be called ports, a word that originally meant 'harbour', but came to be used for places under which toll was gathered. Edward's laws include the rule that 'no-one shall buy except at a port, but he shall have the witness of the port-reeve (*portgerefan*) or another trustworthy man' [I Edw 1.] The main purpose of this law was to hinder the sale of stolen goods. It was modified by Athelstan, who limited the prohibition to goods worth over 20 pence (such as horses and cattle). The implication is that the sale of less valuable goods would not be penalised [II AS 12.] (Sawyer 2013, 97).

[233] Blair (2018, 20) comments that 'If we speak of "towns" we should do so in the light of contemporary understandings, not our own'.

intervention in terms of the *burh* on the hill above and the imposition of a toll, the major factors influencing the development of Carisbrooke as a 'central place' were economics and communications. Referring to rulers such as Alfred, Dyer (2002, 57-8) commented that official sources rarely make reference to economic matters. Rather 'At least as important as the policies of rulers were the quiet actions by millions of their subjects, which in combination, reacting to a range of circumstances, changed patterns of production and exchange'.

Landscapes of Colonization

In contrast to persistent places, Nord (2009, 33) advocated the term 'vague place', a place vague in the sense of being in use only sporadically or just very briefly, leaving little imprint for the future'. Whilst this is true of Bunt's Hill within the claylands of the Northern Lowlands, an outdoor meeting place referred to in the bounds of Watchingwell (S766), most of the sites we will be concerned with became habitations, although not necessarily continuously over several centuries. The identification of persistent places predominantly on or near the margins of upland regions and the model presented by Everitt for Kent would suggest that much of the interior of lowland areas can be regarded as 'landscapes of colonization'.[234] However, Williamson (2013, 147) has challenged this model:

> Many explanations for the divergence of 'woodland' and champion landscapes begin from the assumption that the latter represent the core areas of early settlement, denuded of woods and pastures and densely populated by later Saxon times, while the former were characterised by lower population densities and by extensive tracts of woodland and grazing.

Williamson (2013, 162) argued that dispersed settlements of the 'woodland' had various origins with many becoming well-established before the Conquest and claimed that there is no evidence that such areas with irregular field systems were necessarily less densely settled than areas later characterised as champion landscapes in the late or even mid-Saxon period.[235] He raised the possibility that in

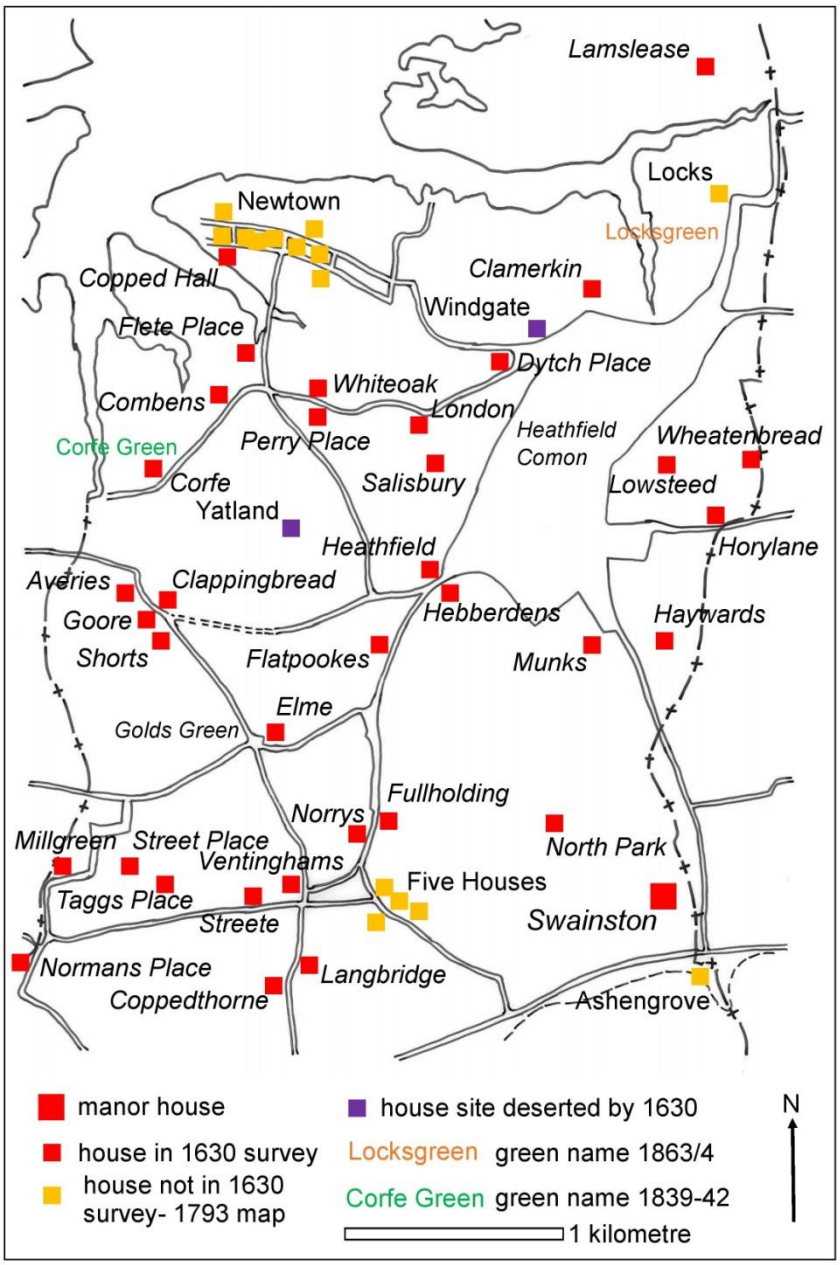
[234] Whilst also acknowledging the significance of the Bembridge limestone plateau, fleet-side locations such as Shalfleet, and the margins of gravel 'islands' such as Whippingham.
[235] Warner's (1987) study of clayland colonization in east Suffolk was produced before the widespread availability of metal detectorist records for the Romano-British period, but acknowledges the existence of Romano-British sites.

some such outlying sites may have had Romano-British origins.[236] Williamson (2013, 152) also acknowledged that 'it is usually hard to prove that such coincidence does not represent reoccupation of favourable sites, and that in the overwhelming majority of cases dispersed farms and hamlets clearly originated in the early Middle Ages, although often rather earlier than is usually assumed'. With these observations in mind, settlement origin and development within Wight's major lowland regions will be explored through two case studies.

Clayland Settlement- a case study of Swainston

Swainston manor, which encompassed much of the parish of Calbourne within the Northern Lowlands (Map 9.11), lends itself to a case study of clayland settlement for two reasons. Firstly, the area does not contain any 'islands' of gravel plateaux which were foci for *tūn* place-names along with some early habitative and potentially early topographical names (Maps 8.3-8.5). Secondly, the settlement pattern and place-names were documented in a 1630 estate survey itemising lands and buildings (Jones 1993).[237] Whilst this was long after the early medieval period, its comprehensive nature provides a starting point for the present enquiry into the date of the settlement pattern depicted.[238] The survey map does not survive, but county archivist Clifford Webster was able to reconstruct it (Jones 1993, 77). This forms the basis of Map 9.11:[239]

[236] Citing examples in the Rivenhall area of central Essex and in the north-east of the same county (Williamson 2013, 152).
[237] Swainston was documented in the 1559/60 Royal Survey, but place-names were not always recorded. Tenements can be traced back to this survey (Webster 1975-1999).
[238] Swainston was formerly part of Winchester's estate defined by S274's bounds (Chapter 7). Edward I confiscated it in 1284. Thomas Barrington commissioned the 1630 survey (Jones 1993, 61).
[239] Webster's map (Jones 1993) excludes Newtown and Swainston's demesne. Map 8.9 draws upon the 1793/4 map to reconstruct these areas.



Map 9.11: A reconstruction of Calbourne parish clayland settlement in 1630, based on mapping of the Swainston manorial survey (Jones 1993, 77) with additions from other sources. 1630 place-names are in *italics*. The dashed line in the south-eastern corner is the 250 ft contour.

The area of Map 9.11 includes three distinct soil types and topography. The south-eastern corner is the northern flank of chalk downland, with flinty, chalky soils (Appendix 4.1, 347h). North of the Lateral Ridge is a band of soils some 700m wide with inter-bedded loams, sands and clays of varied drainage characteristics (527j). The northern limit of this gently sloping land is marked by the line of Street Lane and

its projection eastward north of Swainston manor house.[240] To the east of Langbridge, this line broadly marked the northern limit of Swainston's demesne in 1630.[241] Most of the area north of this consisted of seasonally waterlogged soils with slowly permeable subsurface horizons (711h) overlying Hamstead beds, generally sloping down northwards toward estuaries flowing into Newtown Bay. This was a landscape of wood-pasture and wet heathland in the early medieval period (Chapter 4) where much of the bishop's woodland for 20 pigs and 15 acres of meadow were located in 1086 (52v).

The survey itemised 48 tenements (Jones 1993, table 1), of which nine were within Calbourne village (south of the study area). With the exception of the decayed borough of Newtown, there were only two other settlements which were small nucleations (three or more houses less than 200m from nearest neighbours: Roberts 1987, 8). The four properties of Averies, Goore, Shorts and Clappingbread near the estate's western boundary now known as Barton's Corner were spread out over a distance of 200m. Within the demesne, not itemised, was the hamlet now known as Five Houses,[242] where four dwellings existed in 1793/4 within a diameter of 150m (Fig. 9.6). There was some pairing of dwellings elsewhere, for example Whiteoak and Perry Place, and Heathfield and Hebberdens, but the overall impression is of a dispersed settlement pattern.[243]

[240] The variegated nature of this soil is reflected in the name of Sandpits Farm at Five Houses. The projected line of Street Lane eastwards towards Carisbrooke can be reconstructed as a lost route-way which existed in the pre-Conquest period (Margham 2016, 45).
[241] Swainston had more demesne in the coastal area north of Clamerkin Lake which was mainly pasture (Jones 2003, 76).
[242] Place-name not recorded until 1821 (Mills 1996, 49).
[243] Several 1630 settlement sites are no longer occupied in the modern landscape.



Fig. 9.6: The hamlet of Five Houses with Sandpits Farm on the right of the photograph

The origins of this dispersed clayland settlement will be investigated through reference to the IWHER, PAS and place-names. The IWHER records nothing of the Romano-British period within the study area (Map 8.1).[244] The PAS documents some isolated Romano-British coin finds. In addition, the only apparently significant records are concentrations of late Roman coins to the east of Corf Farm [245] and south of Heathfield Copse,[246] and a larger concentration of such coins and a third-century coin hoard south-east of Five Houses.[247] It would thus appear that Swainstone's clayland had limited occupation during the Romano-British period. However, there were concentrations of later Romano-British metalwork on these clay

[244] A late Iron Age and Romano-British post alignment date was recorded just to the north of the study area and a Romano-British jug was dredged from the seabed (IWHER 5392, 2573).
[245] IOW-14F21E, -15BC8B, -7EA4DD, -ODODFO, -5D7847, -OB5DF1, all within *c*.170m diameter (accessed 23/6/22).
[246] IOW-FA9E21, -441EO7, ODA601, OD9035, -ODB8F1, all within *c*.200m diameter (accessed 23/6/22).
[247] Thus to the south of the clayland soils; IOW-632F17, later third-century hoard consisting of 114 base silver radiate coins and 1 base silver denarius, individual late Roman coins IOW-C110A5, -C16A53, -C1234A, -B6A500, -462A92, -2BBE82, -2CB7BO, -3A2A79, -38B953, -730B03, -3E5A87, -IA46C6, -BA8E6F, -39E3A8, -IA5CC7, all within an area of 200m west to east and 100m north to south (accessed 23/6/22).

soils west of the study area (north of the Bembridge limestone); coin hoards and artefact scatters are recorded in the IWHER for Northern Lowland clayland further east (Map 8.1). The PAS records only isolated losses of early medieval metalwork, with exceptions of putative early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Glebe Farm [248] and Five Houses (Appendix 2.2), both located on variegated soils south of the claylands. Five Houses also produced three sceattas, indicating continued activity here into the eighth century.[249]

Calbourne's Domesday entry is uninformative about the northern part of Winchester's estate, as sub-holding information is only given for the area south of the Lateral Ridge (Chapter 7). Similar observations can be made regarding the 1316 *Nomina Villarum* (Margham 2021b, fig. 2) and taxation records from the 1334 Lay Subsidy onwards (Hockey 1982, 146-54). However, many of the 27 villans, 15 bordars and 11 slaves listed in Domesday Book for Winchester's estate north of the Lateral Ridge (52v), *i.e.* 53 households, must have resided beyond the immediate environs of the estate centre, implying a dispersed settlement pattern.[250] The Domesday population structure may be of significance. Although the proportion of bordars (28%) was not particularly high compared with some other areas of the Island, some of these may represent 'colonization' within the Northern Lowlands (Appendix 8.10).[251] Place-name evidence is informative in providing *termini ante quem* for some settlement sites named in the manorial survey and for identifying instances of settlement desertion before 1630.

Place-Name in 1630	**Earliest occurrence in place-name literature**
Clamerkin	'late in the occupation of Thomas Clamorgan' 1507 M40
Elme	*the Elme place* 1507 K79
Flete Place	*Fleteplace* 1507 K80
Fulholding	*Fulholdynge* 1507 K80
Heathfield	*Hetfeld* 1246 K81

[248] In addition to brooches IOW-72BA16 and -B26F91 itemised in Appendix 2.2, -38FED5 buckle frame of *c.*450-*c.*600 and -FOA3C8 seventh-century copper-alloy/gilded mount provide additional evidence for a cemetery site (accessed 23/6/22).
[249] IOW-776FD0, -DC8802, 9E58A4 (accessed 23/6/22).
[250] Even allowing for settlement shrinkage in the later medieval period, the population at Calbourne*TRW* was presumably of a similar order to the nine households of 1630. It is possible that Calbourne's post-medieval morphology originated as separate settlements within Winchester's estate (Basford 2013, 214).
[251] The percentages of 51% villans, 28% bordars and 21% slaves are at slight variance with figures presented in Table 7.5 for the Northern Lowlands and Lateral Ridge which includes Calbourne (Westover) no longer held by Winchester *TRW*. Two adjoining manors, Shalfleet and Watchingwell, had higher proportions of bordars, perhaps indicating a later phase of colonization than Calbourne.

Hebberdens	*Hoberdens place* 1517 K81
Lambslease	*Lambslease* 1630 K81
Langbridge	*de Langebruch* 1284 K81
Locks	*Lokkerland* 1387 K81
London	*Londons* 1630 K82
Normans Place	*Normans place* 1519
Salisbury	William de Monte Acuto, Earl of Salisbury, held lands in Swainston and Watchingwell 1344 and 1346 K82
Street Place	*terra de Strete* 12th c K84

Table 9.6 Tenements within Swainston Manor study area with place-name references pre-dating the 1630 survey, K: Kökeritz 1940, M: Mills 1996

Many tenements itemised (Table 9.6) were not documented until the early sixteenth century onwards but Heathfield, Locks and *Strete* may have been occupied earlier than this. Salisbury can also be added to this list of possible medieval settlement sites due to the derivation of its name, although none of these four can definitely be shown to have been settlement sites in the medieval period. To the above corpus of names can be added the two instances of sites deserted by 1630, where documentation provides evidence for thirteenth-century occupation. Yatland Copse is located some 700m to the east of Barton's Corner. This was the approximate site of *Yatelond* and may be associated with George *Attegate* in 1271 and Thomas *Atteyate* in 1299 (Kökeritz 1940, 92).[252] Windgate Copse adjoins what was Heathfield Common's north-western corner 'should be associated with John de Wengate 1271' and appears to be *Windyate, Wyndyate* and *Wyndeyate* in 1299 (Kökeritz 1940, 92; Fig. 9.7). The IWHER records medieval occupation just over the Calbourne parish boundary at Lower Watchingwell (IWHER 4188). Finds of a medieval pottery sherd 250 metres to the south-west of the hamlet site around Barton's Corner and medieval pottery, one item dating from the thirteenth- to fifteenth-century, from a location 200 metres to the north (IWHER 4197, 8280) would suggest existence of settlement here a few centuries before the 1630 survey. Ridge and furrow adjoining Fleetlands may also signify medieval occupation (IWHER 7868). Swainston Manor itself appears to have a twelfth-century origin, a relocation of the estate centre from Calbourne (Chapter 7) and nearby North Park appears to have become a settlement by the early sixteenth century (Basford 2020, 14).[253]

[252] In 1559/60 '*William Standish holdeth by copy on voyd ground* [called Yattland] *of 25 acres and common for 40 sheep, 4 bests and 1 mare and her fole upon Heathfield*' (Webster 1975-1999).
[253] The marginal situation can be explained due to relocation to warren at Swainston (Basford 1989, 10). North Park was a settlement within the bounds of the former park first specifically mentioned 1350 (Basford 2020, 14).



Fig. 9.7: Windgate Copse, adjoining the northern extremity of the former Heathfield Common, would appear to be a former settlement site which was deserted by 1630

A very significant component of the landscape was Heathfield Common. It was enclosed in 1577 (IWCRO JER/T/BAR/2/139) and 29 tenants had closes there in 1630 (Jones 2003, 79). The survey does not mention pasture rights within Heathfield, but in the1559/60 survey most Swainston tenants had such rights (Webster 1975-1999). To quote one example: '*The said Nicholas Standish holdeth by lease a voyd ground of Mr Barrington called Lytell Daniell of 12 acres and common for 20 sheep, 2 bests, 1 mare and her fole in Hethfield*'.[254] Heathfield Common had six funnel-shaped access points, typical of such communal open grazing areas (Map 9.10; Fig. 9.8).[255]

[254] Some tenants and copyholders also had pasture rights on downland to the south.
[255] The only remnant is Locks Green at its former north-eastern extent (Fig. 9.11).



Fig. 9.8: The former eastern entrance of Heathfield Common adjoining Corf Cottage looking westwards

Jones (2003, 79) commented that 'The origins of the field cannot now be determined but its relationship to woodland pasture in 1630 may have been established in Anglo-Saxon times when heathland and woodland together were already part of English agriculture'. The late thirteenth-century documentary evidence relating to Windgate suggests that at least one settlement site on Heathfield's periphery was long-established in the seventeenth century. Other clayland 'greenside' settlements were Golds Green adjoining Elm Farm (Fig. 9.9), Corfe Green documented in the Calbourne Tithe Apportionment (JER/T/61, 62) and the un-named linear green stretching northwards from Fullholding for a distance of 500m (Fig. 9.10; Map 9.10).[256] Broadway, west of Street Place, was also sufficiently wide to function as a green, as the name suggests.

[256] A pound was at this green's northern end in 1862/3.



Fig. 9.9: Golds Green and Elm Farm

Fig. 9.10: The northern end of the unnamed linear green adjoining Fullholding Farm

Whilst it cannot be proved categorically, the limited evidence for Romano-British settlement within these claylands coupled with medieval documentation suggests a post-Roman origin of the dispersed settlement pattern associated with a large area of common pasture and small greens. Some place-names provide evidence to support this. The settlement pre-dating the mid thirteenth-century planned town of Newtown was *Stretley* (Beresford 1967, 445), implying its establishment in an area of wood-pasture. Yatland, and *Lokkerlande* recorded in 1387, now Locks Farm (Kökeritz 1940, 92; Appendix 8.8; Fig. 8.11), are examples of *-land* names which may very well imply the development of new settlement (Chapter 7; Gelling 1984, 245).[257] Basford's (2013, fig. 5.10) application of HLC to the 1793/4 six-inch survey characterises the present study area as mainly small to medium fields often of irregular shape enclosed from waste, commons and greens, which is consistent with these observations.

[257] Fleetlands is a less secure example of a *-land* place-name: *Flatlands* (1769 map) but recorded as *Fletplace* 1507 and 1630 (Table 9.4; Appendix 8.6).



Fig. 9.11: The north-eastern funnel-shaped extension of former Heathfield now known as Locks Green, with Locks Farm on the left and the Calbourne/Shalfleet detached parish boundary marked by the trees on the right

The following model can be presented for the case study area depicted in Map 9.10. The relative lack of evidence for Romano-British occupation within the clayland in conjunction with some place-name interpretation suggests the dispersed settlement pattern originated in the early medieval period. Settlement development culminated with Newtown's foundation and associated establishment of open-fields.[258] This can be contrasted with the area of more variegated soils in a band about 700m wide north of the Lateral Ridge, much of which formed Swainston's demesne with its centre at Swainston itself, a *tūn* place-name.[259] This was the location of the third-century coin hoard and putative early Anglo-Saxon cemetery site (Map 8.2), both at Five Houses. The early medieval estate centre and high-status church of Calbourne are located on the southern margins of this landscape. The third area in the south-eastern corner of Map 9.10 is the northern flank of chalk downland, where Ashengrove, at the opening of a dry valley, is on the very margins of Winchester's

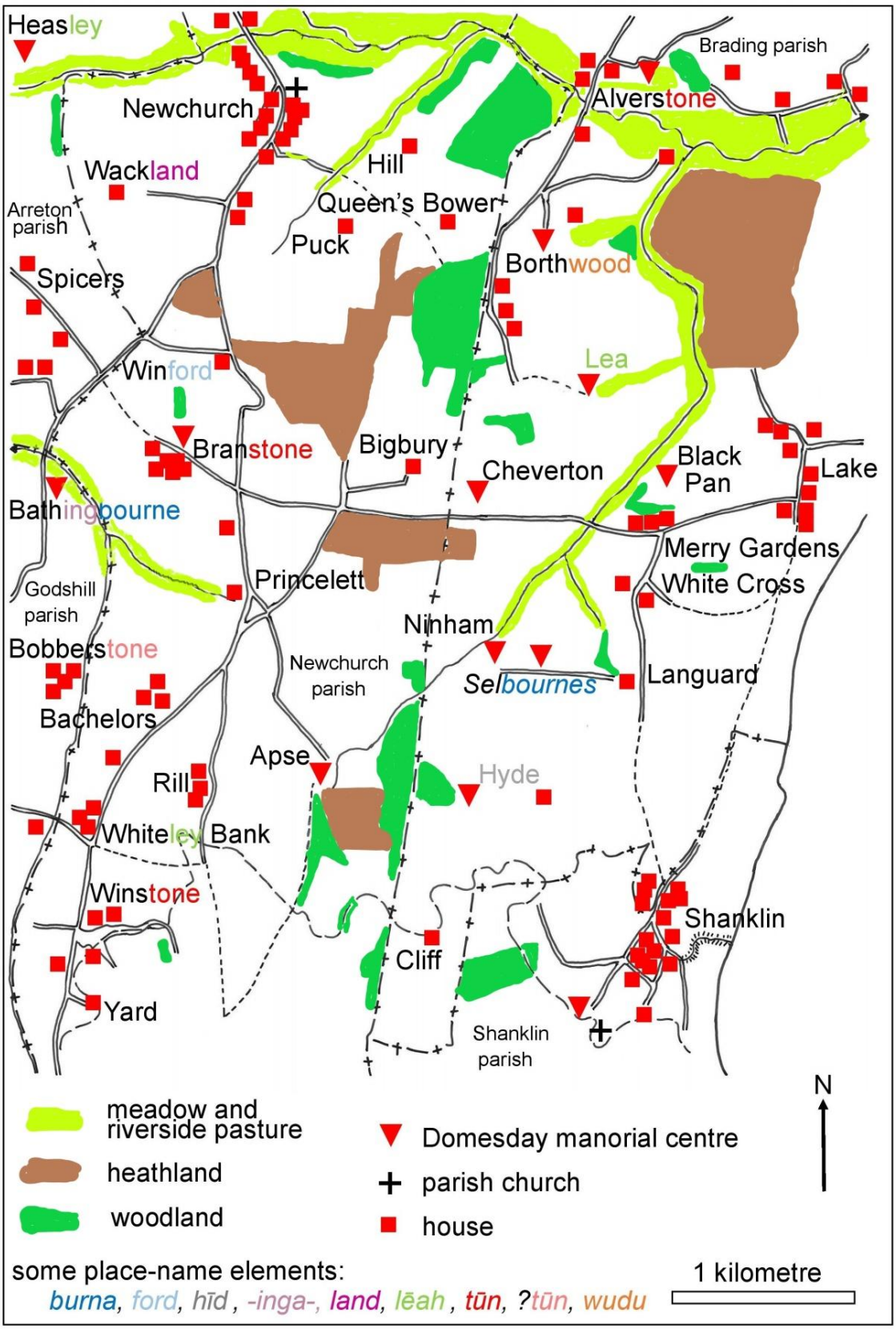
[258] Map 9.10; the only other possible indication of former open-field agriculture within the study area is the reference in the 1630 survey where a 29-acre pasture close was known as Westfield (Basford 2020, 12).
[259] Presumably where the six ploughs of the demesne were in use in 1086 (52v). In 1297-8 Swainston had 288 acres of cultivated demesne (Beresford 1959, 205; Basford 2013, 238).

estate, where the tenth-century ‘ash-tree place’ may have originated as a settlement site in the early medieval period (Chapter 8; Appendix 8.8; Fig. 8.11).

Greensand Settlement- a case study of South-East Wight

The second case study of a ‘landscape of colonization’ is of an area towards the eastern extremity of the Southern Vale south of the River Yar (Map 9.12). Mapping is based on the 1793/4 six-inch survey. These drawings are colour-coded, showing dwellings in red and other buildings in grey. Heathland, woodland and riverside pasture or meadow is also indicated. Few place-names are provided, so Map 9.12 has used later sources for these.

The study area is predominantly underlain by the ferruginous sands formation of lower greensand (NRC 2013) which produced a course, loamy soil which is easy to work (Appendix 4.1, 571g; Fig. 9.12). This is complemented by clayey alluvial soils alongside water courses, now mainly permanent grassland due to high ground water levels and flood risk (813d). The other significant area within the vale is the ‘island’ of river gravel terrace in the Bathingbourne and Branstone area with well-drained course sandy and loamy soils (571w). The area includes part of the Southern Massif’s northern flank. Just beyond its margins land gently slopes downwards to the north forming a band *c*.900m wide underlain by the Sandrock formation, also producing brown earth soils (571g). To the south is landslip overlying the Gault formation, with fertile, easlily worked soils (572k). The northern extent of the chalk downland above this area is marked by an inland cliff on the flank of St Martin’s and Shanklin Down, with shallow, well-drained silty soils mainly on steep slopes (342a) and fertile, easily-worked soils elsewhere (571i).



Map 9.12: The settlement pattern and land use of the South-East Wight study area based on the 1793/4 six-inch survey, with additional place-names. *Selbournes* was a deserted site by this date. The dashed line is the 250 ft contour.



Fig. 9.12: Panoramic view from Shanklin Down looking northwards over the South-East Wight study area

The area forms part of Newchurch, Brading and Shanklin parishes with small portions of Arreton and Godshill on the western margins. The two parish churches are Newchurch, a superior church, and Shanklin, a local church (Chapter 5; Fig. 9.13). The settlement pattern in 1793/4 consisted of three villages: Lake, Newchurch and Shanklin. Nine hamlet-size settlements can be identified: Alverstone, Bachelors, Bobberstone, Branstone, Upper Borthwood, Merrie Gardens, Rill, Whiteley Bank and Winstone. The remaining sites such as Apse, Cliff and Ninham were isolated although there were paired houses at Stoneshell and White Cross. Only one greenside settlement site has been identified, centred on a triangular green of little over two acres recorded in the Newchurch tithe apportionment at Winstone, on the north-western margins of the Southern Massif.[260] Winford Farm and Apse Manor immediately adjoined areas of heathland. The only known instance of settlement desertion is *Selbournes*, one of three instances of Domesday *Scaldeford* (Margham 2019b, 37-8). Evidence for settlement development will be examined through archaeology, documentation and place-names.

[260] Tithe Apportionment schedule 1844, IWCRO JER/T/193; Tithe Apportionment map 1840, IWCRO/T/194.



Fig. 9.13: Looking northwards from the northern end of Newchurch village, showing All Saints church perched above the steep hill known locally as a shute descending to the River Yar at Langbridge

The IWHER has three records of Iron Age occupation in the Lake area, a cremation urn and a pottery rim, both from a location 400m to the west of the post-Medival settlement of that name, and another rim 300m to the south-east (IWHER 798, 1561, 797). Further west a possible Iron Age/Romano-British enclosure was recorded at Cheverton Farm, and five pits containing Iron Age material were located at *Selbournes* (IWHER 9804). Early Romano-British occupation was recoded from Lake (IWHER 2259). Other Romano-British sites within 500 metres of Lake's centre are a beaker to the north-west, and two coin hoards to the north-west and north. The former consisted of over 800 mid-fourth to early fifth-century coins whose precise location is uncertain (IWHER 800, 801).[261] Another coin hoard was recorded from the far south of the study area at Cliff Farm, consisting of over 600 coins, all of which were worn, dating from the late fourth into the fifth century (IWHER 778). A possible Romano-British temple was plotted from aerial photographs at the far north-west of the study area, 300m from Heasley Manor Farm; quern fragments were found at Newchuch just south of the church (IWHER 1499, 1001). The number of Iron Age

[261] IWHER 800: coins from the reigns of Constantius II to Arcadius; IWHER 801 does not specify dates.

and Romano-British IWHER records from Lake can perhaps be explained through these finds being made from the nineteenth century onwards due to residential development and the more recent school expansion. Three small concentrations of late Romano-British coins are recorded in the PAS: south-west of Princelett,[262] south of Rill Farm,[263] and west of Apse Manor.[264] The Lake area has no early medieval IWHER records. These are confined to an early Anglo-Saxon buckle from Apse Manor and a timber causeway across the Yar at Alverstone (IWHER 8139, 6079). The latter produced C14 dates from the fifth century to 1120 at 95% confidence.[265] With the exception of the putative early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Bathingbourne (Appendix 2.2) adjoining the Hale Common area of extensive crop-marks (Chapter 4; Map 8.18),[266] only two isolated finds of early medieval metalwork have been reported to the PAS.[267]

With the exception of the lost charter ECW1 the earliest documentary evidence for the study area are tenth-century charters. Bathingbourne was subject to three charters, all with bounds (S1662, 1663, 842). The latter also included confirmation of Heantune's two hides, identified with Branstone (Margham 2007, 123-5). The fragmented land-holding of tenth-century charter evidence is reinforced by Domesday Book, with eight separate names of land-holders listed *TRE* within the area, plus two instances of 'two free men', although of the twelve land-holdings, ten were held of King Edward.[268] These manorial centres were probably all habitation sites, but Domesday tells us little about settlement morphology. Population numbers *TRW* are not comprehensive (Table 9.7). Whilst ten households is a plausible number for one of the Shanklin manors, it is very unlikely that there was only one head of household at Alverstone with the manor including a mill (Fig. 9.14), and neither *Selbournes* nor Lea would have functioned without any population.[269]

[262] IOW-EF5D46, -31B11D, -321DC1, -EE2711, linear spread over 120m (accessed 23/6/22).
[263] IOW-7D2F77, -6A7EFO, -F074D3, within an area of 100m diameter (accessed 23/6/22).
[264] IOW-8DE606, -308543, -C48DE2, within an area of 80m diameter (accessed 23/6/22).
[265] Twenty-one wood samples were C14 dated, showing three phases: mid to late sixth-century; very late eighth- to ninth-century; very late tenth- to early twelfth-century (MOLA 2015, 4).
[266] Just to the west of the study area.
[267] Accessed 23/6/22.
[268] Bathingbourne S1662 - 2 hides to a now illegible name; S1663 - 5 hides to Æthelgeard; S842 - confirmation of 2 hides, 2 at *Heantune,* along with lands elsewhere; all lands in S842 were held by Winchester's New Minster.
[269] The 1316 *Nomina Villarum* (Feudal Aids II 1900, 321) only lists three locations within the study area: the *hameletti* of Borthwood and *Prymesfloude* (i.e. Princelett, Mills 1996, 83), and *villa de Sandham* (Sandown), which would have included Lake.

However, it would appear that most of these sites were manorial hamlets, with more substantial settlements at Shanklin and Heasley.[270] Newchurch was not a Domesday manorial centre, but the superior church there existed by 1071 (Chapter 5) and may very well have formed a settlement focus.[271]



Fig. 9.14: A successor to the Domesday mill at Alverstone on the eastern Yar which rendered 40d

Domesday place-name	Modern place-name	Recorded population
[*Neeton* and] *Abla*	[Niton* and] Apse	[7v 18b 9s]
Alalei	Lea	-
Alvrestone	Alverstone	1b
[*Ladone* and] *Bedingebore*	[the Down*] and Bathinbourne	-
Bochepone	Black Pan	1b
Bordourde, Brandestone [and *Liteslande*]	Borthwood, Branstone [and Lessland*]	1v 2b
Celvecrote	Cheverton	1b

[270] Domesday *Celvecrote* (Cheverton), its second element *cot* 'cottage, hut, shelter, den' (Smith 1956, I, 108) appears a particularly small settlement, perhaps housing the one recorded bordar's family.
[271] Medieval taxation records suggest that although All Saints church was a valuable and significant church, as reflected in the 1291 papal taxation (Appendix 4.3), any associated village remained relatively small (Hockey 1982, 150). The regular two-row village of 1793/4 resulted from infilling post-dating the 1665 Hearth Tax, with only 15 names for the tithing (Russell 1981, 99).

Haselie	Heasley	4v 4b 15s
Scaldeford	Hyde	3v
Scaldeford	Ninham	3v
Scaldeford	*Selbournes*	-
Selins	Shanklin	3v 2b 2s
Senclinz	Shanklin	4v 4b 2s

Table 9.7: Domesday manorial centres and recorded populations within south-east Wight case study area. For identification of the three *Scaldeford* manors see Margham (2019, 38). * - landholdings at a distance from the study area; recorded population: v-villans, b-bordars, s-slaves

The possiblity that Domesday landholdings included outlying isolated settlements can be explored through place-names analysis. Thirty-five place-names are plotted on Map 9.11, itemized in Table 9.8. Twelve were recorded in 1086. Of the remaining 23, 11 were documented before 1300. Whilst it cannot be argued that all of these were settlement sites in the eleventh century, this would appear to have been the case for Newchurch. Winford, first mentioned in the mid-twelfth century, was a location on the tenth-century bounds of Branstone, and may have been a settlement site then. A further three place-names were recorded during the fourteenth century. The instance of Hyde, not recorded as such until the later thirteenth century, but a settlement site in 1066, suggests that other settlements were subsumed in the Domesday record.

Modern place-name	**Earliest occurrence of place-name**
Alverstone	*Alvrestone* 1086 M21
Apse	*Abla* 1086, *Apse* 1100-7 M23
Bachelor	*Bachylers* 1552 M25
Bathingbourne	*Beadingaburnan* 951x955 S1662; *Beadingeborne* 1086 DB
Bigbury	*Bikeberge* c.1222
Black Pan	*Bochepone* 1086 M30
Bobberstone	*Boberstone* 1459 M30
Borthwood	*Bordovrde* 1086 M31
Branstone	*Brandestone* 1086 M33; *Heantune* 982 S841
Cheverton	*Chevertons* 16th c M39; *Celvecrote* 1086 DB; *Chalvecroft(e)* 1255 Klx
Cliff Farm	?*la Clyve* 1285 K54; *Cliff* 1559/60 RS
French Mill	*Molendium de Francisco* 1316 M51
Hill Farm	*la Hulle* 1346 M60
Heasley	*Haselie* 1086 M58
Hyde	*Hyde* c1280 M62; *Scaldeford* 1086 DB
Lake	William atte *Lake* 1280 M65
Langbridge	*Langhebrigge* 1228 M65
Languard	*Langrad* 1255 M65

Lea Farm	*Alalei* 1086 K57
Merrie Gardens	*Cherry Gardens* 1769, *Merry Gardens* 1799 M71
Newchurch	*Niechirche* c1150 M74
Ninham	*Newnhams* 1566; *Scaldeford* 1086 DB
Princelett	*Prunesloude* 1271 (probably error for *Primesfloude*) M83
Puck Farm	*Puck* 1862/3 OS
Queen's Bower	*Queen Bower* 1769 M85
Rill	*Ryalle* 1449 K172
Shanklin	*Sencliz, Selins* 1086 M94
Spicers	*Spicers* 1781 K21
Stoneshell	*Stondhull* c1327 M99
Wackland	*Wakelonde, Wakelande* 1249 M104
White Cross	*Whitecross* 1559/60 RS
Whiteley Bank	*Whiteley Bank* 1759 M109
Winford	*Winford* c1246 M110; *wynnangeate* 989 S842 bounds
Winstone	*Winiston* 12th c M110
Yard Farm	*la Ghierde* c1227, *Yerde* 1272-9 M113

Table 9.8 Earliest record of place-names of settlements named in Map 9.12 of South-East Wight study area; DB-Domesday Book (Williams and Erskine 1989), K-Kökeritz 1940, M-Mills 1996, OS-Ordnance Survey 6-inch map, S-Royal Survey (Webster 1975-1999)

There are five place-names in Table 9.8 seemingly representing 'colonization'. Wackland entered the documentary record in the mid-thirteenth century. The first element is Old English **wacu* 'watch, look-out place' and the second *-land,* with connotations of taking in of land for settlement dating before the late Anglo-Saxon period (Chapter 8; Gelling 1984, 245).[272] Hyde, first recorded *c*.1280, was later divided as Upper Hyde and Lower Hyde; together these can be identified with one of the instances of Domesday *Scaldeford* (Margham 2019b). The three *Scaldeford* manors together were rated at one hide in 1066: paying geld for half a hide (probably Upper and Lower Hyde) and one virgate each from the other instances (Ninham and *Selbournes*). The place-name Hyde thus relates to a pre-Conquest estate of one hide in the process of fragmentation in the eleventh century. The 'hide' encompassed 453 acres (Margham 2019b, 38). This entity has been compared with Costen's (1992, 73) identification of 'pioneering hides' in south-west England, in particular instances of *hiwisc* particlarly prevalent in Somerset, constituting 'the first attempt, at least in the Old English period, to cultivate the land' (Margham 2019b, 43). Borthwood, Domesday *Bordovrde*, plausibly 'border wood' referring to its location adjoining the Newchurch/Brading parish boundary, and thus reflecting establishment of settlement on the margins of Brading's 'extensive estate' (Fig.

[272] A beacon here is indicated on Speed's map of 1611.

9.15).[273] Two instances of *lēah* may also represent 'colonization' of the Southern Vale, Domesday *Alelei* and Whiteley Bank, although the latter was not recorded until 1759 (Appendix 8.5). A further possibility is Domesday Apse '(the place at) the aspen-tree or white poplar' (Mills 1996, 23; Fig. 9.16). There are two instances of specialist land-use: St Martin's Down high up in the Southern Massif where the *Smerdone* of *c*.1240 meant 'the hill or down where butter is produced' (Mills 1996, 91), and *Chalcroft* (Cheverton) within the Southern Vale meaning 'calf croft', having a similar meaning as *Celvecrote TRW* (Kökeritz 1940, lx).[274]



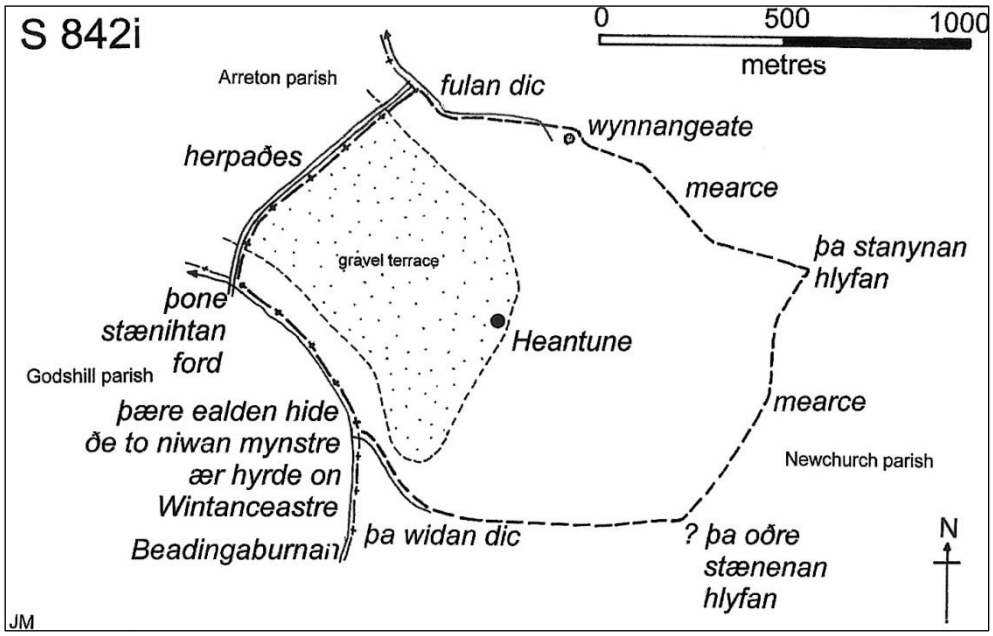
Fig. 9.15: View eastwards from the Newchurch/Brading parish boundary with Borthwood Farm centre left in the photograph

Fig. 9.16: Apse manor in its woodland setting

In addition to place-names associated with river terrace (Branstone) and Southern Massif margins (Winstone), it would appear significant that the only other definite *tūn* name is Alverstone, to the north of the Yar.[275] This suggests that much of the ferruginous sands area with its 571g soils to the south of the Yar, despite being easily worked, can be identified as a 'landscape of colonization' in the early medieval period. This is reflected in vestiges of dry heathland and associated former wood-pasture mapped in 1793/4. The population structure in 1086 may provide some indication of the chronology of this colonization. The figures presented in Table 7.4 for the Southern Vale within the Brading 'extensive estate' of 81% villans, 19%

[273] Mills (1996, 31) preferred 'the wood where boards or planks are obtained'.
[274] This Domesday 'calf cottage' was recorded as *Chalvecroft* and variants from 1255 to the fifteenth century (Kökeritz 1940, lx); named Chevertons in the sixteenth century, a probable manorial name (Mills 1996, 39).
[275] Bobberstone may be a *tūn* but the affix appears to refer to a stone on the bounds of Bathingbourne recorded in the tenth century (Mills 1996, 30-1; Margham 2007).

bordars and no slaves can be compared with the figures presented above for Swainston (51%, 28% and 21% respectively). The smaller proporton of bordars in South-East Wight (and lack of slaves) may suggest that 'colonization' here was further advanced by 1086 in comparison with Calbourne and its neighbours.



Map 9.13: S842 *Heantune*- a reconstruction of the estate (Margham 2007, fig. 3)

The bounds of *Heantune* in the tenth century (S842) include three locations which can be located with some confidence and are informative about the contemporary landscape (Map 9.13). *Wynnangeate* 'meadow (or pasture) gate' was at or near Winford Farm, at the western extent of the area of heathland mapped in 1793/4, and it can be suggested that this gate providided heathland access. It is not known whether *wynnangeate* was a settlement location, but this is a distinct possibility. Two instances of 'stoney shelters', *þa stanynan hlyfan* and *þa oðre stænenan hlyfan,* also appear related to heathland in some way. The first would have been on the bounds of or within Winford's heathland and the second was to the south of Apse Heath as mapped in 1793/4. Whilst *wynnangeate* can be seen as being on the margins of heathland providing access, the 'stoney shelters' may have been within heathland, perhaps providing shelter for livestock and functioning as boundary locations within an otherwise open environment. This suggests that heathlands in the Winford and Apse Heath areas were formerly more extensive.[276] This observation is consistent

[276] The 1608 Royal Survey includes references to former heathland beyond areas mapped in 1793/4 (Basford 2013, 715).

with Basford's (2013, fig. 5.10) application of HLC techniques to the 1793/4 six-inch map, characterising the Lower Yar valley and its environs as having mainly small to medium irregular enclosures derived from waste and open-field and the Apse and Shanklin area mainly medium and large irregular and semi-regular enclosures from waste. The association between heathland and ancient woodland was mapped in Winford-Borthwood and Apse areas in 1793/4. Borthwood Copse, an area of ancient oak woodland, is a remnant of the forest of Borthwood, documented in the fifteenth century: 'Hill Farm and Queen's Bower were within its limits, which stretched eastwards to Lee and Blackpan, north to Alverstone and south to Apse' (Page 1912, n.155). The forest was not necessarily largely uninhabited, and can be envisaged as an area of dry heathland interspersed with woodland, much of which originated as wood-pasture.

A model of the study area's development can be presented.[277] Iron Age and Romano-British evidence indicates settlement in the Newchurch and Heasley areas and at Lake. Settlement beyond these locations is hinted at by the possible enclosure at Cheverton and Iron Age pits near *Selbournes*. It would appear the latter area was relatively undeveloped in the early-mid Anglo-Saxon period, forming part of the putative 'pioneering hide' later known as Hyde. This contrasts with the gravel terraces area with the *-inga-* place-name of Bathingbourne and its probable early Anglo-Saxon cemetery site, and the northern margins of the Southern Massif with the topographical place-name of Shanklin, plausibly 'the drinking cup-shaped valley with the prominent bank on its rim' (Margham 2011, 23). Settlement at Newchurch and Lake may also represent continuity from the Romano-British period. *Tūn* place-names represent settlement development, the fragmentation of 'extensive lordship', or a combination of both processes on the margins of the Southern Massif at Winstone, within the gravel terrace area at Branstone and to the north of the Yar at Alverstone. The 'early' habitative place-names associated with the gravel terrace and putative cemetery site and dating of the timber causeway at the latter location may suggest the presence of settlement in both locations throughout the early medieval

[277] A C14-dated pollen sequence adjoining Alverstone causeway identified three early medieval phases: alder carr development with grassland pasture nearby (cal AD 640-670); alder carr replacement with grass-sedge fen with pasture maitenance in surroundings and short-lived arable increase (cal AD 770-1020; cal AD 880-990); Saxo-Norman continuation of grass-sedge fen and nearby grassland pasture (MOLA 2015, fig. 8). A sequence from nearby Alverstone Marshes indicated willow increase *c*.1500BP, suggesting woodland regeneration (Robinson 1998, 12).

period. The core of the study area with its ferruginous sands-derived soils provides evidence for early medieval colonization, resulting in a dispersed settlement pattern within an environment of dry heathland and wood-pasture and an absence of *tūn* place-names. It was within this area that the forest of Borthwood could be established in the post-Conquest period. This area of extensive land use was accessed from the estate centre of Brading/Whitefield via the Alverstone causeway, which up until the construction of Yar Bridge, south of Brading *c*.1300 (Mills 1996, 27), would have been the lowest bridging point of the Yar. It is, however, possible that some locations in the interior of the ferruginous sands were settled long before the late Anglo-Saxon period due to the presence of potentially early topographical place-names, namely *ford* at Winford and *Scaldeford,* referring to the ford site adjoining Ninham Farm within the Hyde estate (Margham 2019b, plate 4). A possibility is Bigbury. Although not recorded until c.1222 *Bikeberge* is a combination of **bica* 'wedge-shaped hill spur' [278] and *beorg* 'barrow-shaped hill' (Margham 2011, 19).[279]

Conclusion: Continuity and Colonization

A range of 'persistent places' have been identified for the Romano-British and early medieval periods. Many were located near the margins of the Lateral Ridge. The Bembridge limestone plateau margins and two sites adjoining estuaries along the north-east coast were also significant in this respect. These places can be seen as representing locations within landscapes of continuity. For the lower Bowcombe valley the concept of a central area is appropriate, with Carisbrooke developing into the Island's central place by the later eleventh century. These components of landscapes of continuity can be contrasted with landscapes of colonization. Reservations advanced by Williamson (2013) about the degree of colonization within 'woodland'/non- champion environments can be acknowledged through presentation of some continuity evidence within the two major lowland landscape regions. However, case studies of both Swainston and south-east Wight provide evidence for intensification of land use and settlement during the early medieval period away from estate centres.

[278] Gelling (pers. comm.)
[279] This contradiction is resolved by viewing the hill from different directions.

The final chapter of this thesis will present a model of Wight's landscape and settlement development for the early medieval period, drawing together various themes presented in previous chapters. This will include addressing the three aspects of continuity identified by Everitt (1986, 341): population, occupation and territorial organization.

Chapter Ten

The Early Medieval Settlement and Landscape of the Isle of Wight: Conclusions

Introduction

This final chapter integrates the various strands of research presented in the thesis to present a model of the development of early medieval settlement and landscape. Due to the limited nature of some evidence strands, in particular lack of excavated archaeological information for settlement sites, inferences will be made from research in the wider English landscape. The chapter will commence with identification of various types of continuity previously introduced, namely settlement, population and territorial organization, also with reference to landscape colonization. This will be followed by presentation of a new nuanced model of the processes of settlement and landscape development. The chapter will conclude with evaluation of the four thesis objectives outlined in Chapter 1 and recommendations for further work.

Settlement

From Vectis to Wihtland

This new account of the development of the Island's settlement commences with the Romano-British legacy which featured in the case studies in the two previous chapters, concluding with the twelfth-century settlement pattern. Recent research points to the likelihood of significant settlement continuity from the Romano-British period in areas that are potentially 'landscapes of continuity'. Gerrard (2013, 14) concluded that the ending of Roman Britain was not a single event but a process continuing over two centuries or more, there being no sudden collapse. It is now realised that Romano-British villas and their economies cannot be viewed in isolation, there being a range of rural settlement types that could be categorised as

villas.[280] Estimates of villa numbers on the Island vary. These are presented in Table 10.1:

Reference	Number of reported villas
Basford (1980, 123, map 30)	8
Tomalin (1987, fig. 1)	7
Neal and Cosh (2009)	11
Cunliffe (2013b)	8
Cooper *et al.* (2021, fig. 9.17)	11 plus 4 'potential villas'
Tomalin (2022, fig. 10.6)	10 plus 4 instances of 'apparent building/villa'

Table 10.1: Comparison of reputed numbers of Island Romano-British villa sites from various sources

There is a degree of subjectivity in accounting for the number of villas. The following comments are based on Cooper *et al.* (fig. 9.7 and table 9.1) who take an 'inclusive' approach in establishing numbers. Eleven of these are located on the margins of or within 0.5km of the Lateral Ridge or within the Bowcombe Valley. The exceptions are three sites within the Northern Lowlands including two in Northwood parish (Chapter 8): Chawton alongside the Medina estuary and Gurnard's probable port building.

Cooper *et al.* (2021, 322) point out that only seven of their potential sites have been excavated, and only Brading fully published (Cunliffe 2013b). The archaeological record of the latter years of several sites is far from complete due to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century excavation techniques: for example the destruction much of the stratigraphy at Shide (Newport) Roman villa during the 1926 excavations (IWHER 855; Tomalin 1987, 18). No comprehensive account can be given of the decline and 'afterlife' of Island villas but there are indications regarding site abandonment. Cunliffe's (2013a, 272) recent work at Brading (Morton) indicates that the quantity of 'late coins recovered shows that the establishment continued in active use throughout the fourth and into the fifth century', although accumulation of domestic detritus along with insertion of a corn-dryer and evidence for burning 'strongly suggests that the villa building was … largely given over to mundane

[280] A 2011 IWHER search found 44 sites with evidence of hypocausts, floor tiles, tegulae, mosaics and tesserae, flue tiles and imbrices (Vicky Basford, pers. comm.).

uses'.[281] It is possible that one building constructed in the ruins of the early bathhouse was of sub-Roman date, but when the site ceased functioning as a villa is unknown.[282] The excavation report for Clatterford villa in the Bowcombe Valley states that 'during the 4th century AD, or shortly thereafter, the site was abandoned', resulting in the formation of topsoil there (Busby *et al*. 2001, 103). At Rock (Brighstone parish) a corn drier was inserted into the corridor house *c*.375-400 AD when the building was dilapidated (IWHER 277), implying continuity of occupation nearby. Activity at Combley (Arreton parish) appears to have ended in the mid-fourth century (Cooper *et al.* 2021, fig. 9.18). The only villa near a superior church and 'central place' is Carisbrooke, uncovered in 1859 (Basford 1980, 123), presumably destroying stratigraphy which may have indicated settlement continuity.[283]

Limited excavation evidence for abandonment or otherwise of villas contrasts with that of unexcavated sites in the IWHER and PAS. Chapter 8 case studies identified areas of concentrated scatters of later Romano-British metalwork (including coins), for example within the Lateral Ridge at Gatcombe, just beyond its southern margins at Arreton and Heasley, and adjoining the coast of the Northern Lowlands at Debourne. Such instances imply existence of contemporary non-villa settlements in specific locations complementing the pattern of higher-status sites. Evidence presented in Chapters 8 and 9 along with other sites illustrate locations of the range of Romano-British settlements (Table 10.2).

Location	Examples	References
villas in/adjoining major gaps in LR	Brading, Shide (Newport)	above
villas and other sites on margins of LR adjoining other through routes across ridge	Arreton, Mersley Packway, Rock	Maps 8.13, 8.18; above; Trott 2002, 52
villas and other sites on LR margins not adjoining through routes across ridge	Brighstone, Combley, Gatcombe, Five Houses, Shalcombe Holding	Maps 8.12, 8.17, 8.18; Chapter 9, p.332
villas and other sites within Bowcombe Valley	Bowcombe, Carisbrooke, Clatterford,	Map 9.9
villa and other settlements associated	Debourne, Gurnard, Rew	Map 8.16

[281] Cunliffe's comments are partially based on sparse reports from late Victorian excavations.
[282] Cunliffe (2013a, 272) reports no occupation evidence from the Anglo-Saxon period. Payne (2013, figs. 12.1 and 12.2) undertook a magnetometer survey of the villa site which did not produce any obvious indications of post-Roman settlement.
[283] Oosthuizen (2019, 35): 'While many villa buildings gradually fell into ruin, they or their sites frequently remained centres for continuing activity', which is a distinct possibility at Carisbrooke.

with NL gravel 'islands'	Street	
settlements on or within Bembridge limestone plateau away from LR	Churchills Farm, Tapnell Farm	PAS
villa and other settlements in NL away from gravel 'islands'	Puckpool, Thorness Bay, Chawton	Maps 8.16, 8.20
settlements associated with SV gravel 'island'	Hale Common field system	Map 8.18
settlements within SV away from gravel 'island'	Lake, Great Budbridge	Map 8.18; above; Chapter 9, p.342
settlements within SM	Niton	Map 8.19
settlement within the Undercliff	Gills Cliff	Basford (1980, 124)

Table 10.2: Analysis of Isle of Wight Romano-British settlement locations: villas and PAS evidence

Romano-British settlement can thus be found throughout much of Wight but higher status sites are often associated with the Lateral Ridge margins. This implies a hierarchy of sites, although the nature of this remains uncertain.

There are hints of settlement continuity at high-status ('villa') sites into the early medieval period. No Romano-British lower status sites have been excavated, so inferences must be based on spatial and temporal relationships between later Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon material culture and place-names. Similar or identical locations do not prove continuity of settlement as there may have been a hiatus (Williamson 2013, 105), but does suggest a distinct possibility. Coincidences of later Romano-British and early and mid Anglo-Saxon material culture and/or 'early' place-names presented in Chapter 7 can be tabulated thus:

Case study	Late RB material culture/landscape feature	Early Anglo-Saxon and 7th/8th c material culture or early place-name	Comments
Freshwater Isle (Farringford)	coin hoard 3rd c	Farringford pl.n. (*-inga-, ford*)	S margin of NL (villa site?)
Shalcombe (Shalcombe Holding)	metalwork mainly coins 3rd and 4th c	brooches 5th and 6th c *cumb* pl.n. nearby	margin of LR, Bembridge limestone
Brook-Brighstone (Brighstone Rowdown Lane)	coins late 3rd and 4th c	brooches, sword pommel, belt fittings, rock crystal object	S margin of LR

		mid 5th to mid 7th c	
Northwood (Debourne) Northwood (Chawton)	coins 4th c occupation site: tiles, ceramics and lead [284]	Debourne pl.n. (*burna*) Werrar pl.n. (*ora)*	gravel 'island' margin farm and site 500m apart
Gatcombe	coins late 3rd and 4th c	brooch late5th/early 6th buckle pins die stamp 7th c sceattas 675-750	elevated site above LR valley
Arreton (s of village) Arreton (n of Heasley Arreton (Hale)	coins late 3rd and 4th c coins 4th c rectilinear field system	sceattas 675-750 sceattas 675-750 Hale pl.n. (*healh*)	N margin of SV N margin of SV on gravel 'island' within SV

Table 10.3: Potential examples of settlement continuity from the Romano-British period into the early medieval period identified in Chapter 8 case studies. There was no apparent coincidence of material culture identified in the Niton, St Helens and Brading detached (Bembridge) case studies. The Gatcombe, Arreton and Heasley sites also produced late Iron Age staters. The rectilinear former field system on the gravel 'island' adjoining Hale Manor is included due to the likelihood of Romano-British use.

The tabulation does not encompass the whole Island, but site 'continuity' can be suggested from the information in Table 10.3 for the margins of a gravel 'island' within the Northern Lowlands at Debourne; the Northern Lowlands/Lateral Ridge at Farringford and Shalcombe Holding, the latter adjoining the Bembridge limestone plateau;[285] the elevated location at Gatcombe within the Lateral Ridge; the Lateral Ridge/Southern Vale at Brighstone, Arreton and Heasley; and the gravel 'island' within the Southern Vale. The relationship between Northwood's (Chawton) putative villa and Werrar Farm and green within the Northern Lowlands is uncertain due to the distance between the sites. Niton, St Helens and Brading detached (Bembridge) case studies did not demonstrate this type of 'continuity'; this may be due to metal detecting paucity. The analysis emphasises intersections between landscape regions and the margins of gravel 'islands' for potential settlement continuity from the Romano-British period, reinforcing the impression gained from 'early' place-name locations (Chapter 8).

[284] Field-walking recovered tegulae, imbrices, floor tile, samian ware and course wares (Trott 2004, 16-7). No date range was given.

[285] The Five Houses site in the Swainston case study (Chapter 8) can be added, with coincidence of late Romano-British metalwork and early Anglo-Saxon brooches.

Early Anglo-Saxon Wight

The wider early Anglo-Saxon landscape was apparently subject to 'abatement', the reduction of arable production and the increase in pastoral farming, particularly cattle. Abatement 'describes a situation in which, when a demand to produce a surplus, or a particular type of food, has stopped, people invest less energy than formerly in producing food …. this is interpreted to mean that Anglo-Saxon farmers, at least early in our [early medieval] period, invested much less energy than formerly in growing cereals' (Banham and Faith 2014, 141).[286] With less need for arable production, extensive cattle rearing increased. This receives some support from environmental analysis at Rock villa: after abandonment, intensive arable land-use was followed by pastoral activity. This cannot be precisely dated, but seems to post-date insertion of a corn dryer into the villa *c*.375-400 (IWHER 277). Wider research also suggests arable agriculture became restricted to lighter soils, with other soil types including riverside locations where cattle ranged and were exploited for winter fodder (Oosthuizen 2011, 381; Banham and Faith 2014, 142-3). Wood-pasture would also be used for extensive cattle pasturing. Evidence presented in Table 10.3 suggests settlement continuity in areas of lighter soils and elevated locations. These will be examined in turn.

Settlement on Lighter Soils

Along with apparent arable use of lighter soils in the early Anglo-Saxon period is the preference for such soils for settlement sites, such as West Stow (Suffolk) and Mucking (Essex: Hamerow 2011, 120). Whilst no contemporary sites have been excavated on the Island, this preference can be investigated through analysis of sites in Table 10.4:

Soil classification, brief description and landscape region	Site names	Comments
342a: shallow, well-drained silty chalk soils, commonly cultivated where gently sloping (LR)	Gatcombe	
571g: easily worked coarse loam (SV northern margins)	Arreton, Brighstone (Rowdown Lane), Heasley, Mersley Packway, Rock	

[286] Gerrard (2013, 13) presents a model of late Roman Britain over-producing to meet the state's demands subsequently leading to economic realignment of less efficient forms of agriculture.

	Roman villa	
571j: loamy soils, interbedded loams, sands and clays, arable use where better drained (NL northern margins)	Farringford, Five Houses, Shalcombe Holding	Shalcombe Holding adjoining 511a well drained fine loam
571w: well-drained coarse loamy and sandy soils, almost entirely arable (within SV)	Hale	gravel 'island' adjoining 813d alluvium
581b: coarse well-drained, arable limited by droughtiness and stones (NL gravel 'island') 711h: seasonally waterlogged, slowly permeable (NL)	Debourne	site encompasses flank of gravel 'island' and adjoining valley

Table 10.4: Early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites and soil types (see Appendix 4.1 for fuller soil descriptions). Mersley Packway has been included as it lies immediately to the east of the Arreton study area.

Of eleven sites, eight were located on relatively light soils, the apparent exceptions being Gatcombe and Debourne. The plateau and upper coombe area at Gatcombe is relatively well-drained in comparison with the streamside location below. The Debourne site lies predominantly on clayland but partially on the gravel 'island', an environment akin to the gravel terrace at Hale. Thus all sites have some claim to have lighter soils in their immediate vicinity.

Settlement in elevated locations

Three former early medieval settlement sites in mainland Hampshire can be cited supporting apparent preference for elevated locations. Excavations on Church Down Chalton produced overlapping building plans indicating several phases. The settlement appears to date to the seventh century but may have originated a little earlier, and may represent a gradual coalescence of a more dispersed settlement pattern (Cunliffe 1993, 290-1). Old Down Farm Andover produced six sunken feature buildings but without distinctive fifth-century ceramics. The Cowdrey's Down site (near Basingstoke) gave sixth- and seventh-century radiocarbon dates (Cunliffe 1993, 289, 292). On the Island the Rowdown Lane site ranges in altitude from 50 to 80m above sea level (Fig. 10.1), contrasting with the

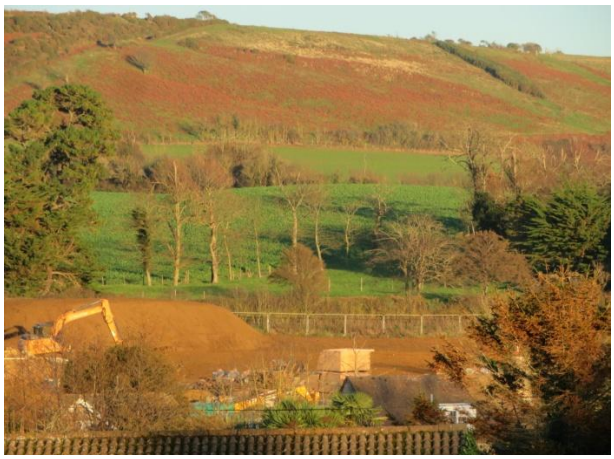


Fig. 10.1: The Rowden Lane site above Brighstone is in the centre of the photograph



Fig. 10.2: The hill to the south of Arreton in the centre of the photograph has produced Iron Age staters, Romano-British coins and sceattas

medieval village below at 35 to 40m. The plateau site at Gatcombe is just above the 75m contour, with the upper part of the valley below at about 50m (Fig. 8.17). The hill to the south-west of Arreton church, 35m, rises to 63m (Fig. 10.2). The Mersley Packway site is on a south-facing slope overlooking the eastern Yar valley between *c.*25 and 35 metres.[287] The Brading (Morton) villa site, with putative sub-Roman occupation, is located on a shelf 30m above the former Brading Haven. This appears to be the location referred to by the place-name *Brerdinges* in ECW1 '(The settlement of) the dwellers on the hill-side' (Mills 1996, 32). Excavations on Gander Down on the far side of former Brading Haven at the height of 35m found a possible Anglo-Saxon structure succeeding a late Romano-British building (Trott 2006). The

[287] This site consists of a mid-fourth-century corn-drying kiln (Tomalin 1989), first- to fourth-century pottery, Romano-British tile along with stonework, and fifth-sixth-century chaff-tempered pottery (Trott 2002, 50; Trott pers. comm.). Three further scatters of early Anglo-Saxon pottery were recorded nearby (Wessex Archaeology 2024, 4).

only instance of clayland settlement in table 10.3 is Debourne, at a gravel/clayland interface, predominantly on the latter but elevated in relative terms.[288]

Settlement Shift (Table 10.5)

Romano-British/Early Anglo-Saxon site	Medieval site	Distance from centre of earlier site to medieval site
Arreton	Arreton church	350m
Gander Down	Yaverland church/manor	400m
Gatcombe	Gatcombe valley floor	380m
Heasley	Heasley Manor	950m
Mersley Packway[289]	Mersley Farm	400m
Morton (Brading) villa	Morton Manor	400m
Rowdown Lane	Brighstone church	300m

Table 10.5: Distances involved in examples of possible/probable early medieval settlement shift

Cunliffe's (1972) study of Church Down argued for the surrounding lower-lying settlements of Chalton, Idsworth and Blendworth gradually eclipsing the upland site. It is not known how long the site was occupied, but ceramic evidence suggests not beyond the ninth century. Some eighth- and ninth-century pottery was found at Chalton and Idsworth. The distances from Church Down to its apparent successor settlements ranged from 1 to 2km, which can be compared with apparent instances of settlement shift on the Island in Table 10.4. In addition to tabulated sites, three other possible instances of lateral and downhill settlement shift can be noted: Chessell, Shorwell and Thorley.

The spread of Romano-British and Early Anglo-Saxon material (Map 8.12) upslope from Chessell Farm suggests settlement shift downhill. PAS evidence from Shorwell indicates an area of later Romano-British metalwork in the dry valley to the north of the village, although no early medieval cultural material was recovered. The early Anglo-Saxon cemetery on an elevated site 800m west of Shorwell church (Appendix 2.1) may suggest intermediate settlement shift. The PAS records five concentrations

[288] A further possible settlement site was located high up on the Lateral Ridge above Eaglehead Copse (SZ580872). A Romano-British pottery scatter included fifth- to sixth- century chaff-tempered sherds and wares of probable mid-eighth century date (Trott, pers. comm.).

[289] Apparent settlement shift from Packway to Mersley Farm, at *c.*25 to 35m, and 50m respectively, apparently to a slightly higher location. The place-name was first recorded as *Maddokesley c.*1250 (Mills 1996, 71).

of late Romano-British material within 2.2km of Thorley's church/manor site. The Domesday site of *Melevsford* adjoins one of these on the other side of the former haven, with a similar site just over the eastern parish boundary at Lee Farm. A further site is 200 metres to the south-west of the church/manor on the Bembridge limestone plateau margins where there are two other sites (Dog Kennel Cottage and Tapnell Farm) further to the south which have produced both Romano-British material and sceattas. It would appear these represent a dispersed, polyfocal settlement pattern which was largely relocated to the church/manor area, perhaps in the mid-Saxon period.[290]

A model of English 'Middle Saxon [settlement] shift' was advanced by Arnold and Wardle (1981). This has been critiqued as a simplistic, even environmentally deterministic, narrative of an abrupt drift from the lighter soils of downland plateaux to heavier soils of surrounding valleys (Thomas 2010, 2-3). A project examining manorial origins at Bishopstone (East Sussex) suggests that rather than a simple shift from the fifth- and sixth-century settlement site on Rookery Hill down to the present-day village and church site, evaluation of metal detected finds and other archaeological sources implies that settlement dynamics were more complex: the gradual 'thinning out' of settlement, rather than an abrupt end (Thomas 2010, xvi, 1-3). A re-evaluation of Rookery Hill found seventh- to eighth-century settlement evidence on its southern periphery (Drewitt et al. 1988, 153; Thomas 2010, 3).

Perception of relatively abrupt general Middle Saxon settlement shift may be due to partial excavations of sites, in contrast with extensive excavations at Mucking (Essex), which demonstrated settlement fluidity from the fifth-/sixth-century focus to one by the seventh century several hundred metres away (Thomas 2010, 3; Hamerow 2012, 67).[291] Despite evidence for an alternative settlement continuity model from the early fifth to the mid-ninth century at West Heslerton (Yorkshire East Riding),[292] it remains 'extremely unusual' to find good evidence of continuous occupation from the early Anglo-Saxon period, implying 'that some degree of

[290] The loose scatter of early Anglo-Saxon material (PAS) to the south-west of Calbourne may indicate a further instance.
[291] Smaller-scale settlement shift occurred at West Stow (Suffolk) (Hamerow 2012, 67).
[292] Recent evidence from East Heslerton (Roberts 2024) attributed sixth-century settlement abandonment to the Late Antique Little Ice Age with the identification of tephra (microscopic volcanic ash) from an Icelandic volcano, causing cold, wet summers affecting agricultural production.

settlement shift was common' (Hamerow 2012, 69-70). Settlement stability largely happened during the seventh and eighth centuries when 'Settlements stopped drifting around the landscape and began to grow *in situ*' (Williamson 2013, 164), this process being associated with property boundary definition which was largely absent from earlier sites (Blair *et al.* 2020, 22).

The Stabilization of Settlement Sites

Whilst there is little direct evidence of settlement stabilisation in the mid-Saxon period on the Island, various interrelated strands of evidence suggest this within 'landscapes of continuity'. The chronological context is the 'long eighth century', including the later seventh and earlier ninth centuries (McKerricher 2018, 2). This saw the development of agricultural surpluses, trade, and an increase in social distinctions. It is probably significant that excavated sites before this period exhibit little evidence of social differentiation (Ulmschneider 2011, 159). This would imply a fairly egalitarian society in which agricultural surpluses were not generated to any great extent, although a simplistic, developmental model of economic development is best avoided (McKerricher 2018, 119; Moreland 2000b, 68). McKerricher (2018, 120) documents the transformation of agrarian practices during the long eighth century with an expansion of arable over former grassland and wood-pasture.[293] This reduced the amount of winter grazing land whilst arable lands needed protection from stock. This resulted in creation of 'massive ditched systems of droveways, paddocks and stockyards in the vicinity of settlements to control and organise the herds of cattle and sheep', and hay meadow management for winter feed.[294] The consequence was an increase in dairy and wool production, and 'the crucial traction and manure that fed back into arable farming'. Settlement stability enabled pastoral and arable agriculture development with land being worked more intensively, resulting in greater productivity.

A neglected factor regarding settlement location in recent landscape history research is water supply. Whilst Roberts and Wrathmell (2000, 17) only make a passing

[293] McKerricher's (2018, fig. 2, 121-4) research concerned Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Norfolk and Suffolk but cited evidence from elsewhere.
[294] Environmental evidence from Yarnton (Oxfordshire) suggests Oxey Mead hay meadow had mid-Saxon origins (Hey 2004, 47).

reference, Williamson (2013, 184) emphasised this as being 'The most important environmental influence on the form and pattern of medieval settlement'. Availability of reliable water supply can be cited as a reason for settlement shift, usually down-slope, in instances itemised above on the Island (Table 10.5). With the exception of Packway/Mersley Farm, the remaining six instances relocated to water sources depicted on mid-nineteenth-century maps.[295] Williamson (2013, 194) concludes his exploration of water supply significance saying 'Hydrology is a vital and neglected part of the story, but it is not the story itself'. Other factors were important.[296]

These other factors contributed to the stability of settlement sites, including foundation of superior churches providing potential settlement foci. Such sites 'generated more complex, structured, and permanent sorts of places' as well as having an economic role (Blair 2005, 6), as suggested for Carisbrooke (Chapter 8). Estate centres developed economic functions with growth of agrarian surpluses through the collection of the 'farm of one night' and this may have provided marketing opportunities. Development of *Hamwic* emporium on Southampton Water from the late seventh century (Hodges 1989, 83) plausibly contributed to Wight's economic development, although its relationship with the two 'productive sites' and smaller sceatta sites is to be determined.[297]

The development of Nucleated Settlement

Research by Wright (2015a; 2015b, 182) in southern and eastern England [298] identified a 'two stage' process from dispersed to fully-nucleated settlement at some

[295] Ponds: Arreton, Yaverland, Morton; streamide/riverside: Gatcombe, Heasley, Brighstone. The pond at a minor watercourse head is *c.*220m between Packway and Mersley Farm. It is uncertain why earlier settlement sites were at a distance from apparently reliable water sources. The former use of dewponds may be an explanation.
[296] Association of settlement sites with springs around Northern Lowlands gravel 'islands' margins is a further example.
[297] The eighth-century role of sceattas is uncertain (Moreland 2000a). There is, however, evidence to suggest wider economic development at the beginning of the long eighth century: 'it can now be seen as a reality in the English countryside at a time coincident with, or more probably, antedating the "emergence of production" of the emporia' (Moreland 2000b, 97). Moreland (2000b, 80) asks whether emporia were the cause or consequence of 'economic growth' in eighth-century England. Blair (2018, 255) pointed out that *Hamwic*'s decline chronology is unclear: relationships with Island 'productive sites' may be difficult to resolve.
[298] Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire.

currently occupied sites, commencing in the mid-Saxon period.[299] Blair (2018, 282) labels the first stage 'semi-nucleation', typified as a 'spaced-out and semi-articulated village mode, probably with outfields surrounding stock enclosures and intensively farmed crofts at the settlement core' being widespread between the seventh and eleventh centuries over much of England.



Map 10.1: The hamlet of Limerstone as depicted on an estate map of 1778 illustrates the concept of semi-nucleation. It is possible that this settlement plan originated in the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period with Limerstone Farm being a manorial centre located just to the south of the Lateral Ridge in a preferred settlement zone: see Maps 8.14 and 8.15 for the wider landscape. The field-name *Coffer Land* to the north of the farmstead possibly commemorates the site of an otherwise unknown early Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

The precise form and degree of incipient nucleation on the Island in the mid-Saxon period is uncertain (Map 10.1). Location of potential sites such as estate centres and/or superior churches appear determined by communications rather than directly by topography (Chapter 8). Cole (2013, 100) noted that administrative centres 'were generally similar in terms of accessibility - they were often accessible by river and almost always by one or more important roads'. Although focusing on the period before *c*.650, Harrington and Welch (2014, 206-7) emphasised communication nodal

[299] The second stage being late Anglo-Saxon and early post-Conquest periods conventionally associated with settlement nucleation.

points rather than soils for central place development. Such locations 'had a relationship to the better soil types, but they were not placed directly onto these. It is therefore tempting to suggest that any movement of surplus resources … would of necessity encounter the nodal points, perhaps therefore fulfilling a function as central places'. This analysis fits Island evidence for estabilising such locations within central areas during the long eighth century.

Functional Settlements

Broadly parallel in time with semi-nucleation development were relationships between a 'central place' and outlying settlements with specific functions. Blair (2018, 193) cites settlements around Great Glen (Leicestershire) which include 'a Burton, two Strettons, a Norton, a Carlton, and a Newton'. These are 'functional' names 'describing either to which the functions of the place are applied' or 'groups of people …. with defined duties or functions'. Instances cited are all *tūn* place-names, but other name-forms denote functions. Table 10.6 identifies such names showing those that can be related to known Island extensive estates:

Central Place	**Administrative Area**	**Functional place-name and derivation**	**Functional name element**	**Distance from central place**	**AS charter/ *parochia***
Arreton	Arreton parish	Merstone *mersc-tūn* Perreton *pirige-tūn*	marsh pear	2km 0.7km	?ECW4 S1507
Bowcombe	Bowcombe extensive estate	Chawton *cealfa-tūn* Gatcombe *gāt-cumb* Kingston *cyning-tūn* Somerton *sumor-tūn*	calf goat king summer	6.5km 2.4km 5.3km 8km	Carisbrooke *parochia*
Brading	Brading extensive estate	*Chalcroft cealfa-croft* Morton *mōr-tūn* Preston *prēosta-tūn* ?Yaverland *eofer-land*	calf moor priests boar	5.2km 1.1km 4km 1.5km	ECW1 Brading *parochia*
Calbourne	Calbourne extensive estate	Moortown *mōr-tūn* ?Wicken Hill *wīc-hyll*	moor ?dairy	3.2km 5km	S274
?Sandford	Godshill parish	Bagwich *?+wīc* Summersbury *sumor-beorg* Week *wīc*	dairy summer dairy	2.3km 0.7km 1km	?ECW4
Whippingham	Whippingham mother parish	Barton *burh-tūn* Osborne *eowestre-burna*	fort sheep	1.1km 1.3km	ECW4

		Wootton *wudig/wudu-tūn*	woody/wood	3.2km	

Table 10.6: Functional place-names in relation to central places and estates. See Appendices 8.4 and 8.6 for full references to place-names cited. Worsley (1781, 227) documents a link between Whippingham and Wootton churches. The derivation of Wicken Hill is uncertain and the first element of Yaverland may refer to wild boar rather than domesticated pigs. The table excludes 'functional *tūn*s of Knighton ('young thanes or retainers'), and Upton which accords with Jones' (2012b) argument that such relatively remote locations were used for hunting.

Whilst the number of functional place-names identified for each central place is of a lesser magnitude than around Great Glen, such relationships can nonetheless be identified. Most refer to settlement functions, such as pasture, the keeping of various animals, seasonal land-use, defence and even apparently the production of pears; with priestly and royal functions also referenced.

Late Saxon and Post-Conquest Rural Settlement

In the wider English landscape the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods are frequently seen as characterised by development of nucleated settlement, associated with open-field agriculture. Lewis *et al*. (2001, 191; 200) argued for the possibility that 'while nucleation came about as a response to widespread evolutionary pressures, the actual restructuring of the village happened quite suddenly', identifying the period 'between the mid-ninth and early thirteenth as including the "village moment", when villages form in those places prone to nucleation'. The so-called 'village moment' model emerged from research in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, but does not, however, appear to apply to the Island.[300]

With the exception of Carisbrooke, there is little physical evidence for existence of tight settlement nucleations (the second stage of Wright's model) before later twelfth-century planned town foundations. Nonetheless, in addition to the distinct possibility of mid-Saxon settlement agglomeration ('semi-nucleation'), morphological evidence suggests some settlement nucleation possibly originating before the later twelfth century. Potential sites are greenside settlement, reviewed here, and proto-urban sites examined below.

[300] Subsequent to Lewis *et al.* (2001) the Whittlewood (Northamptonshire) project found 'there appears to be little predetermination of settlement form' (Jones and Page 2006, 235).



Map 10.2: St Helens Green in 1862/3. A modern road running southwards from the green is called Newlands, apparently reflecting the creation of additional furlongs linked with new crofts in the medieval period (Fig. 8.23). Basford (2013, 245) has suggested a later medieval date for this in contrast to the apparently earlier settlement at the west end of the green.

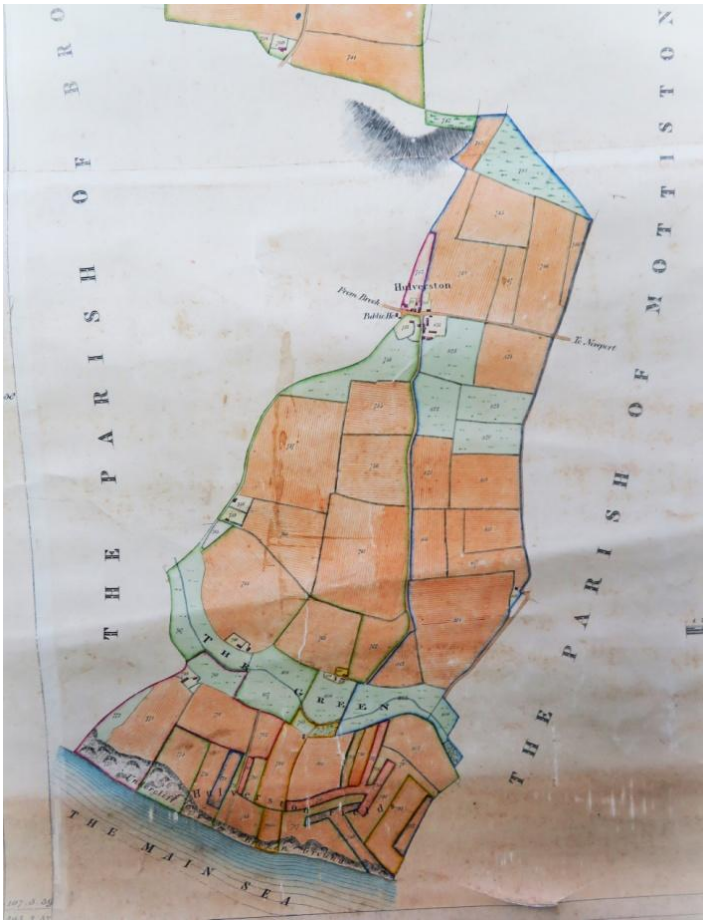
Two possible instances of settlement agglomeration associated with greens are Freshwater Green (Map 8.10) and St Helens Green (Map 10.2). The settlement site at the west end of Freshwater Green appears to predate the apparent planned component along its northern side (Map 8.10). Likewise, settlement at the west end of St Helens Green appears to predate the Newlands area further east.[301] Both of these apparent earlier settlement components could be seen as semi-nucleations, but their origins remain undated.

Other less-regular settlement forms can also be explained by settlement developing along green and common edges. Examples include Heathfield (Calbourne parish: Chapter 9), Hulverstone Green (Map 10.3), Chilton Green (Fig. 8.15) and Nettlestone Green (Basford 2013, 242-7). Such locations can be seen as part of the process of landscape colonization, but at present there is no direct dating evidence for this originating or developing in the early medieval period.[302]

[301] Basford (2013, 229) suggests the development of Newlands in or before the late fourteenth century when St Helens tithing had a large prosperous population.

[302] Basford (2013, 242-7) discussed greenside and common-edge settlement. Greenside settlement such as around Heathfield and at Hulverston may paralleled by settlement drift to greenside locations in Norfolk, for example Hales (Davison 1990).

Map 10.3: Extract from the Shalfleet tithe apportionment map of 1844 (IWCRO JER/T/294) showing the detached portion of Hulverstone and the former greenside settlement. This greenside settlement continued to the west into Brook parish.

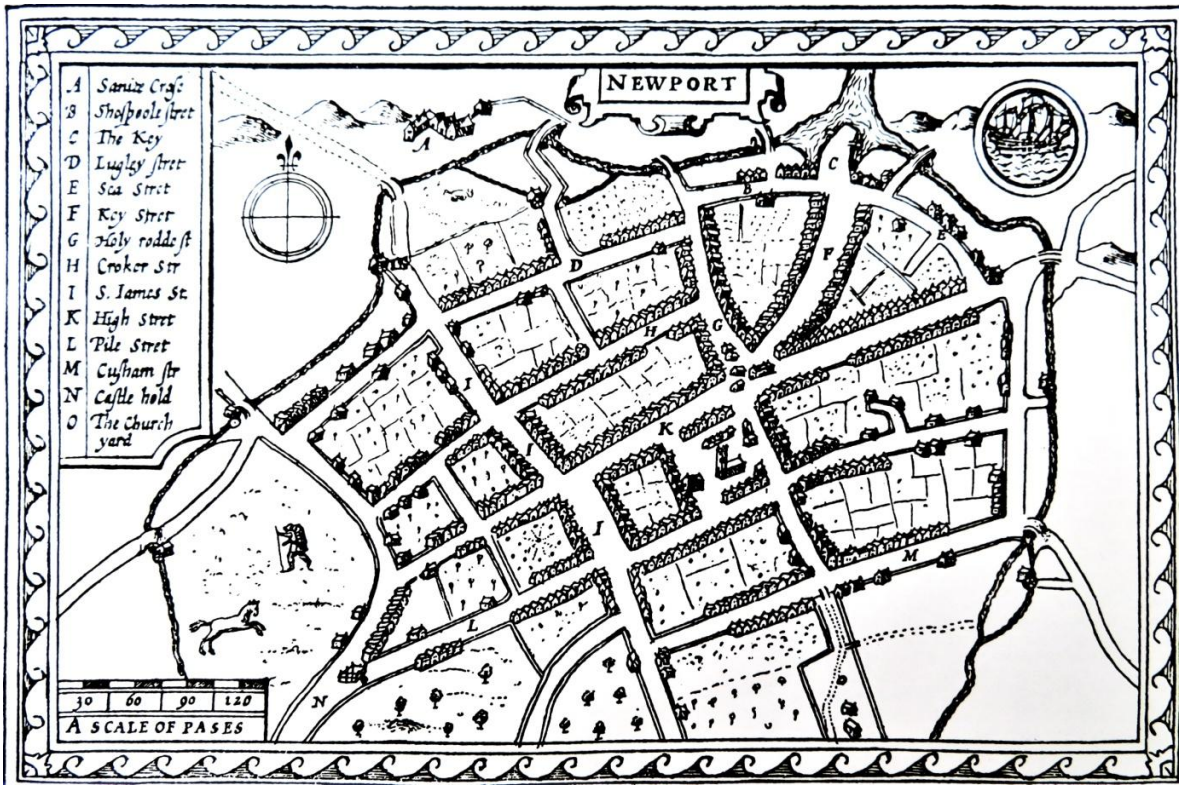


Urban Origins

Carisbrooke's development as a 'central place' within a 'central area' was discussed above (Chapter 9). Domesday Book provides evidence for incipient urban development at three other locations later recognised as towns: Newport, Yarmouth and Brading.

Newport was formally founded by Richard de Redvers 1189x1191 (Bearman 1994, no.66).[303] As a successful new town it took over Carisbrooke's market function, relocating it a mile away. There are indications that Newport's site was a significant place before this: a cell of the continental reforming monastery of Tiron was founded just to the north in 1141x1146, over 40 years before the de Redvers charter (Bearman 1994, no. 19).

[303] This document was possibly issued after Newport's foundation. Lilley (1999, 125) points out it was not mentioned until five years after Yarmouth, 'which seems a little unusual in view of Newport's greater significance as the island's main town and its location next to the earl's main island residence'.



Map 10.4: John Speed's map of Newport in 1611. Quay Street is marked as F. The location of Durnford is the bridge over the Medina just beyond the eastern extremity of the High Street.

This location may have been significant due to pre-existing settlement at or near the Medina's tidal limit. Quay Street is at 45° to the rectilinear street pattern (Map 10.3). Whilst Lilley (1999, 44) saw this as belonging to the first phase of settlement planning, it is possible that the street's alignment originated before this. Quay Street connects the Medina estuary at Newport quay with the pre-existing east-west route-way from *Durneford* on the Medina to Carisbrooke which formed the town's principal axis (Margham 2016a, 41). With the various functions of Bowcombe/Carisbrooke identified above, some development in the Quay Street area can be anticipated before Newport's foundation, potentially many centuries previously: the 1759 discovery of a sceatta 'at Newport' (Ulmschneider 1999, 30) may be significant here.



Fig. 10.3: Coppins Bridge was the site of *Durneford* near the tidal limit of the River Medina. This river crossing is aligned with Newport High Street.

A further observation can be made regarding the lower reaches of the river Medina above the quay. Although Newport was apparently founded largely within Bowcombe manor, there were three small Domesday manors all named Shide on the western side of the river in the Medina gap. One of these, held by William fitzAzor *TRW*, was assessed at 5 virgates *TRE*. It had a recorded population of 15 bordars and 4 slaves (53v), providing a population density of 15 per hide, relatively high for a rural manor. This was worth 60s, an increase from 40s *TRE*, whilst the adjoining manor held by Joscelin fitzAzor increased from 40s to 50s. These figures may represent settlement development soon after the Conquest near or on Newport's later site. The fitzAzor brothers were involved in the development of Carisbrooke and seemingly had commercial interests alongside the Medina.

Yarmouth was founded by Baldwin de Redvers 1180x1186, although a local tradition refers to its foundation in 1135 (Bearman 1994, no. 54; Winter 1981, 9).[304] It was established on a site between the sea, Yar estuary and Thorley Haven, with a rectilinear street plan. There is no documentary evidence for a landing-place here before the town's foundation, but Domesday *Ermud,* 'the gravelly or muddy river-mouth or estuary' (Mills 1996, 113) may have performed such a function. Yarmouth's Domesday entry suggests a typical small rural vill:



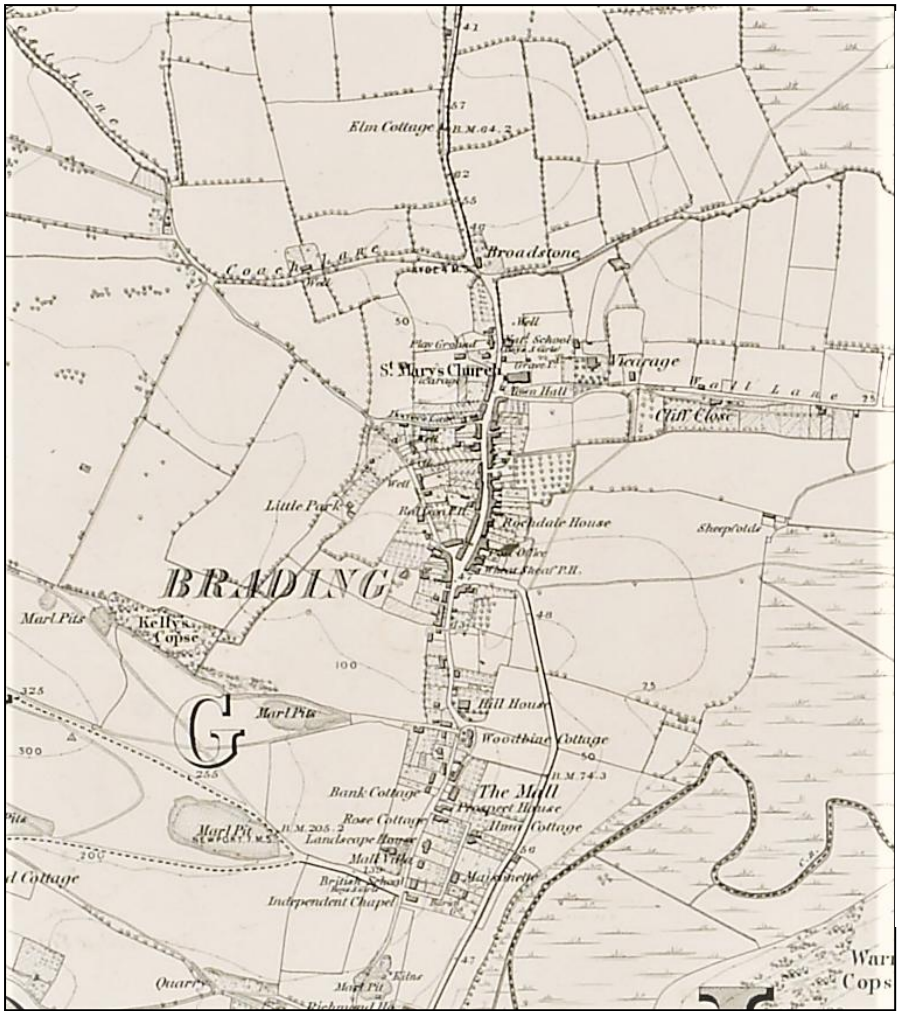
Fig. 10.4: The site of the presumed former staithe at the mouth of the western Yar is now occupied by the Henrician Yarmouth Castle

> Ælfric and Wihtlac have 1 hide and 2½ virgates in YARMOUTH [*Ermud*]. They themselves held it in parage of King Edward. It was then, as now, assessed at 1 hide and 2½ virgates. There is land for 2 ploughs. There are 7 villans and 2 bordars having 2 ploughs. It was worth 12s., now 25s (54).

The area assessed at 1 hide 2½ virgates is on a very restricted site. This may suggest that Yarmouth had a function beyond that of a typical rural manor. Its geld liability may have reflected a staithe settlement.

Brading was recognisable as a small town from the later thirteenth century. Edward I granted a market on Wednesdays and a fair lasting four days at the feast of the Decollation of St John the Baptist, with freedom of toll for all buying and selling there for five years (Page 1912, 159).

[304] Lilley (1999, 125) discusses the possibility that Yarmouth was founded before obtaining formal borough status.



Map 10.5: Brading as depicted on the 1862/3 Ordnance Survey six-inch map. The church is located in the south-west corner of a rectangular enclosure which contained a well, extending northwards to the lane and eastwards almost to the vicarage (Map 5.2). The tidal limit of the now drained Brading Haven was the site of a staithe at the eastern end of Wall Lane. The Romano-British villa site at Morton is just beyond the south-west corner of this map extract.

The double-row plan south of the church suggests settlement planning. It is likely that Edward I's grant formalised an existing market. It is possible that Brading had this function by the eleventh century, the church providing a stimulus, although there is no reference to a toll in Domesday:

> The same William [fitzAzor] holds BRADING [*Bearadinz*], and his nephew holds of him. Alnoth held it as a manor of King Edward in alod. It then, as now, paid geld for 3 parts of a virgate. There is land for half a plough. In demesne is 1 plough, with 4 bordars, and 1 acre of meadow. [There is] woodland for 2 pigs. It was worth 10s.; now 20s (53).

Two aspects can be noted: the connection with fitzAzor, and the apparent population density, with four bordars in an area rated at only ¾ virgate, suggesting a small settlement nucleation. It is uncertain where Domesday Brading was located. The place-name means '(the settlement of) the dwellers on the hill side' apparently referring to Brading Down (Mills 1996, 32) implying a location south of the church. It is possible that it was identical with later Morton manor, which in the early twentieth

century consisted of a narrow strip of land extending from the foot of Brading Down adjoining Yarbridge southwards to the northern bounds of Sandown Manor. Morton was sometimes called the manor of Brading or 'land in Brading'. In 1285 'Brerding, a member of the king and queen's manor of Whytefeld' was the location of the market grant (Page 1912, 158). Whitefield was also a Domesday manor, but by the late thirteenth century there was no record of Brading manor: it had either been subsumed by Whitefield or became known as Morton. Inferences from Brading's Domesday entry receive support from the observation that eighteenth-century estate maps depict plots within Brading held by Whitefield Manor (Basford 2013, n. 231). It has been argued that these represent Brading's foundation as a town by fitzStur who held both Whitefield manors *TRW* (53; Webster 1994).

By the later twelfth century settlement patterns were developing in 'landscapes of colonization' such as Yarmouth and putative development of greenside settlement illustrated by Heathfield. Domesday Book evidence and inferences from case studies do, however, imply that most settlements in these areas consisted of isolated dwellings and hamlet-sized communities with incipient rural settlement nucleation largely confined to 'landscapes of continuity'.

Population

The Island's early medieval population history can only be outlined in very general terms, there being no accurate information regarding absolute levels and population distribution until the seventeenth century (Margham 2021b, 17).[305] However, inferences can be made from various sources, although population continuity in specific locations cannot be proven categorically.

The ending of Roman Britain is often seen as a period of economic and population decline, but recent research demonstrates a general pattern of post-Roman continuity of field systems and woodland cover over south-eastern Britain,[306] although 'In the early medieval period, the intensity of landscape exploitation does

[305] A recent assessment of general trends sees Britain's population increasing significantly from 150BC through to about 250AD followed by a period of decline. This decrease was exacerbated in the fifth and sixth centuries, beginning to rise again from *c.*700, continuing to increase until the fourteenth century (Cooper *et al.* 2021, 403).
[306] From Dorset to Kent and including Essex.

appear to have decreased' (Rippon *et al.* 2015, 167). This research did not include any Island sites, but a radiocarbon-dated peat core from the eastern Yar valley near Alverstone showed an increase in willow *c*.1500BP, *i.e*. fifth century (Robinson 1998, 12), perhaps explained by post-Roman population decline. It is also possible that alder carr development in the same area during the seventh century (MOLA 2015, fig. 8) was in some way related to a low population level.[307] What the emergence of Anglo-Saxon material culture from the fifth century onwards may reveal about population change remains contested (Margham 2021b, 19), as does the debate whether material culture relates to ethnic identity. Bede claimed that Wight was colonized by people of Jutish origin in the fifth century (HE I 15), but was reflecting his perception of the past. In contrast to a potential population increase through immigration, diseases would have caused significant mortality. Although the mid-sixth-century 'Justinian' plague was not documented in Britain, 'Gaul suffered severely from this plague, which makes it very unlikely that Britain escaped' (Charles-Edwards 2013, 216). A plague episode was recorded by Bede for the year 664 and famine in Sussex during the early 680s (HE IV 13, 14) A further reason for population change appears to be the aftermath of West Saxon conquest of the Island in the later 680s, when Cædwalla 'endeavoured to wipe out the natives by merciless slaughter and to replace them with inhabitants from his own kingdom' (HE IV 16). The precise consequences are uncertain.[308]

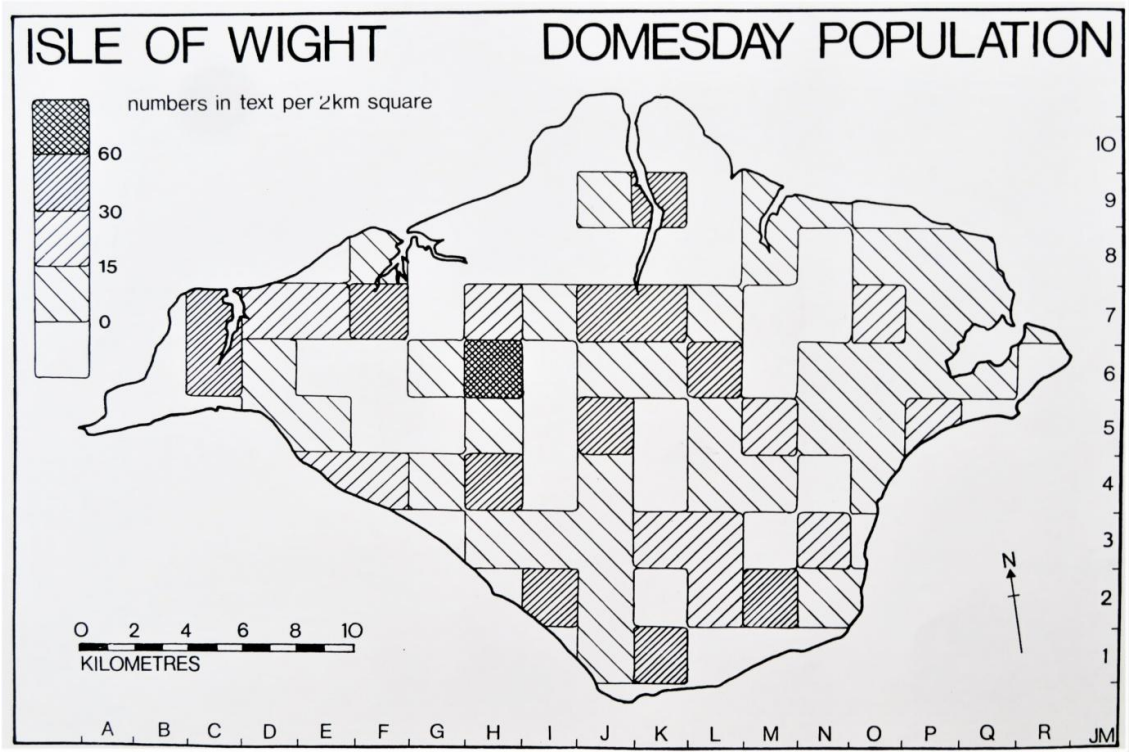
None of this evidence can demonstrate increase, continuity or reduction of population in particular settlement locations. However, the abundance of eighth-century coins found at the Bowcombe valley and Churchill's Farm 'productive sites' indicate that Wight's wealth was significant from *c*.700 onwards and any population reduction during the previous century apparently reversed.[309] Whilst coin losses at these sites appear to represent trading networks rather than very localised exchange, it can be suggested that both the Thorley/Wellow Bembridge limestone and the Bowcombe valley/Carisbrooke areas retained a significant level of

[307] Environmental change can also be explained by the onset of wetter conditions during the fifth and sixth centuries, labelled the Late Antique Little Ice Age, which extended to *c.*660 (Cooper *et al.* 2021, 118).
[308] This episode 'apparently involved what we would now call "ethnic cleansing", the extent of which at present is not known' (Margham 2021b, 20).
[309] Integration into the West Saxon realm by Cædwalla may have been motivated by the attraction of the Island's wealth (David Marshall pers. comm.).

population to facilitate this activity and in the wider hinterlands there was a surplus to be traded produced by a sufficiency of local inhabitants.[310]

Continued economic wellbeing in the Viking Age is implied by the motivation for documented raids in the latter years of King Alfred (897 ASC E). The negative effects of conflict seemingly occurred in the early eleventh century when 'The events of the reign of Æthelred II … would presumably also have had consequences for the Island population with the use of *Wihtland* as a winter base by a Viking fleet in 1006 and a base for raiding in 1009' (Margham 2021b, 20). Prior to this, there was 'a great famine throughout the English race, such that no-one ever remembered one so grim before' (1005 ASC E).

Some idea of Wight's population distribution can be gleaned from the Hampshire Domesday. The recorded population was 1,068 (Welldon Finn 1962, 314) representing only enumerated household heads. A more valuable approach is to map statistics using two-by-two kilometre grid squares to assess relative population densities (Margham 1989; Map 10.6).



Map 10.6: The Domesday population of the Isle of Wight (Margham 1989, fig. 1)

[310] Wright (2015a, 175) supports evidence presented by Moreland (2000a) that rather than emporia being a stimulus for settlement development in their hinterlands, developing rural productivity sustained relatively large, non-producing populations. This may imply that Wight's rural population aided *Hamwic*'s development.

The map is problematical as extensive estates, such as Bowcombe/Carisbrooke and Calbourne, encompassed more than four square kilometres. The map does, however, provide information about population densities within manors with relatively small areas. Nucleated settlements can be suggested for Shorwell (H4), Gatcombe (J5), Niton (K1),[311] Arreton (L6), and Wroxall, the latter being rated at five hides *TRE* but the site being restricted due to topographical restraints within the Southern Massif. Other possibilities are the Atherfield area (I2), and Shide (K7) adjoining the Medina's tidal reach.[312] The overall population distribution, with exceptions due to the foundation of Newport and Yarmouth, appears to have remained relatively stable though the twelfth century. Whilst there was a general trend of population growth in England, the 1225 tax of the fifteenth implies that Hampshire's population as a whole grew slowly relative to broader English trends from 1086 (Lewis and Mitchell-Fox 1995, 9).[313]

Territorial Organization

Continuity of territorial organization has been claimed from the Romano-British period and even the Iron Age throughout much of Britain by Glanville Jones, for example in his study of *Burhshire* (Yorkshire West Riding) (Jones 1979, 29-34). Research specific to Wight has postulated a series of Romano-British estate boundaries running north-south, some of which became Anglo-Saxon estate and ecclesiastical boundaries (Tomalin n.d.). As part of their literature review on the degree to which agricultural activity was in decline in the late Romano-British period, Harrington and Welch (2014, 66) note an apparent decline in large villa estates but it is possible that associated land holdings continued to be worked, and that landholdings large enough to be self-sufficient plausibly continued to be farmed (De la Bédoyère 1993, 122-3; Millett 1990, 186; Lewit 1991, 33). *The Fields of Britannia* project found only limited evidence for woodland regeneration in south-eastern Britain at the end of the Romano-British period with significant landscape change

[311] Although Niton's population included *Abla* (Apse) nearly eight kilometres to the north-east (40).
[312] Both instances reflect the inclusion of three manors of the same name with centres within one two-by-two kilometre grid square. The relatively high population density for Atherfield in this mapping appears to reflect a population distributed over a wider area, whereas that for Shide manors may reflect proto-urban development in and around the area later known as Newport (above).
[313] The later medieval population and prosperity of the Isle of Wight was discussed by Basford (2013, 183-8). See Margham (2021b) for population trends to 1810.

occurring later (Rippon *et al*. 2015) also suggests likely boundary continuity. In the three extensive estates investigated in Chapter 7 Romano-British villa location in their interiors adjoining the Lateral Ridge at Rock, Carisbrooke and Morton, respectively, hint at territorial continuity.[314] The only scientific boundary dating took place on Standen Heath, part of the 'Motkin Boundary', which according to Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) dating originated in the later Iron Age or Romano-British period (SLR 2012, 23).[315] However, whilst inherently likely that there was some boundary continuity, the absence of further absolute dating means that a general picture of definite territorial continuity from the Romano-British period must remain an unproven hypothesis.

Within the early medieval period, Hockey (1982, 2) argued for *parochiae* boundary creation when Daniel was bishop of Winchester (705-745) without reference to the possibility of continuity from the Romano-British period. Cahill (1980, 80) envisaged the creation of six *burhs* in the aftermath of the late seventh-century conquest with associated demarcation of north-south boundaries.[316] A more recent study by the present author drew on Costen's (1992) work on hide estates in south-western England suggesting the existence of 'pioneering hides': the intensification of land-use associated with new settlement (Chapter 9, p.328). This envisaged single hides as mid-Saxon estate building blocks (Margham 2019b, 52). This study did not address Romano-British boundary continuity, unlike possibilities here outlined.

Leaving aside the possibility that estates of one hide *TRE* originated or developed in the early Anglo-Saxon period, there is no definite proof of territorial continuity on the Island until evidence from reliable tenth-century charters. However, it can be plausibly argued that extensive estates such as Calbourne, Bowcombe and Brading had territorial integrity from at least the eighth century (Chapter 7).

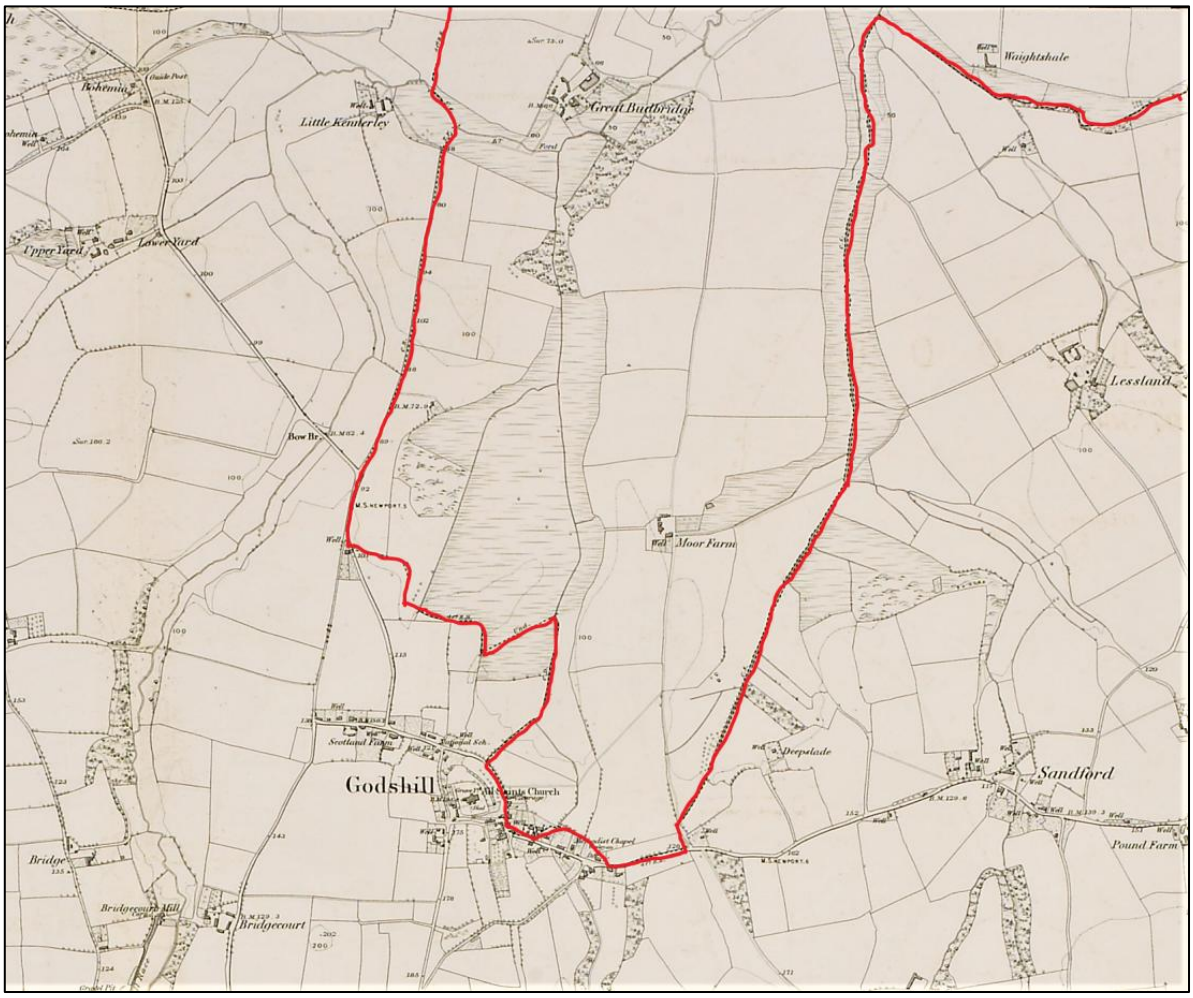
Areas of extensive lordship can be shown in the process of fragmentation by 1086. This theme will be returned to when the issue of landscape localisation is addressed.

[314] The Carisbrooke villa location suggests settlement continuity or at least reuse of the vicinity. A model of boundary continuity from the Romano-British period would have to accommodate other villas within Bowcombe's extensive estate.
[315] The 'Motkin Boundary', north-south across Wight's east-central area (SLR 2012, 3) does not coincide with parish boundaries except for 1.8km (Arreton/Godshill).
[316] Freshwater, Calboune, Carisbrooke, Arreton, Newchurch and Brading. A more plausible context for rectilinear planning at Freshwater and Brading is the creation of minster enclosures (p.379).

Here, it is sufficient to note that this was far more advanced by the later eleventh century in some parts than others. The conservatism evident at Calbourne due to the influence of Winchester's bishopric can be contrasted with the multiplicity of individual manors within Brading's *parochia* (Table 7.6).

In tandem with extensive lordship fragmentation, creation of local churches and their associated parishes generally occurred at a later date. Whilst there may have been some continuity of estate boundaries from the Romano-British period, areas of mid-Saxon secular extensive lordship became sub-divided into ecclesiastical parishes, the process continuing into the post-Conquest period. This pattern may owe something to the presence of 'pioneering hides' originating during an earlier period, later forming manorial cores. Parish boundary mapping from the later eighteenth century onwards (Map 5.1) depicts a pattern of small local church parishes and larger parishes representing areas retained by superior churches despite estate subdivision. Newchurch was the only extensive parish to retain its integrity into the nineteenth century, running from north to south. With the exception of Shanklin parish's mid-twelfth-century origin, Brading retained a substantial area of land south of the Lateral Ridge whereas Calbourne's southern boundary was the Lateral Ridge with its daughter parish of Brighstone to the south.[317] A similar observation can be made regarding neighbouring Shalfleet, although it retained a southern detached portion at Hulverstone (Map 10.2). The block of land in east-central Wight, which apparently extended from the Solent to the English Channel, evidenced by the lost charter of Cuthred (ECW4), is dominated by Whippingham, Arreton and Godshill's superior church parishes. The irregular boundary between the latter two does not relate to topographical features, although it approaches the northern limit of the Southern Massif at its southern-most extent at the base of the hill below Godshill (Map 10.7). The Arreton-Godshill parish boundary configuration has the appearance of low-lying pastoral resource division between two communities, one with its centre just to the south of the Lateral Ridge (Arreton), the other north of the Southern Massif (probably Sandford). Apart from this, much of the Arreton-Godshill parish boundary lies well within the Southern Vale, with its eastern extent following watercourses.

[317] The narrow, northern extension of Brighstone parish over the ridge to Swainstondown Gate is the exception. It would appear connected with stock management in relation to Winchester's estate centre at Swainston.



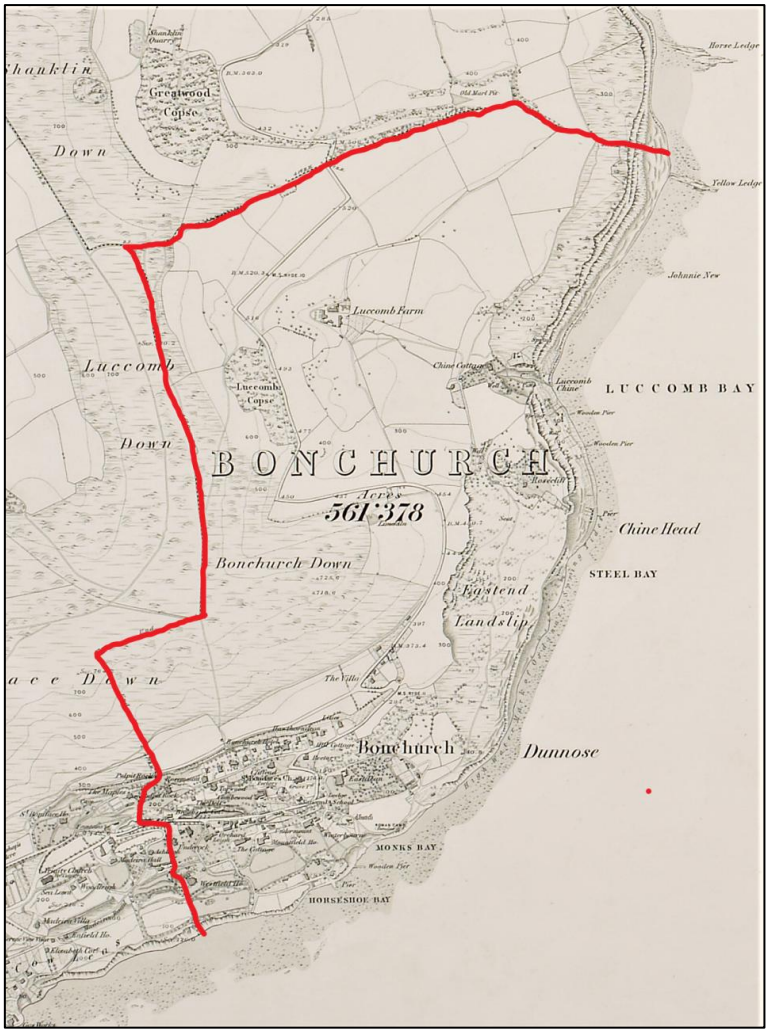
Map 10.7: Extract from the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1862/3 with the Arreton/ Godshill parish boundary to the north of Godshill accentuated. *Tidelingham,* also known as *Ryde Mede* (Hockey 1991, map 4), is the linear wetland area to the north-east of Moor Farm. The Little Budbridge putative early Anglo-Saxon cemetery is just off the map on the parish boundary to the north of Great Budbridge, a site of Romano-British occupation. See Map 5.1 for this salient depicted on an Island-wide map.

The irregular configuration of the boundary suggests sub-division of an extensive landholding. This observation can be related to Everitt's (1986, 264) concept of 'settlement direction', the 'general direction or movement of colonization'. It is significant that the farmstead within the salient of Arreton parish is Moor Farm. This was *Attemore* in 1288 (Mills 1996, 72); immediately east was *Tidelingham,* a potentially early *hamm* name (Appendix 7.4) alongside the watercourse/parish boundary. Further evidence for early colonization nearby is attested by the putative Little Budbridge Anglo-Saxon cemetery identified by the present author from brooches recorded by the PAS (Appendix 2.2), although the IWHER also records

discovery of a Romano-British tegula (roof tile) and rim sherd of Romano-British New Forest ware pottery from Great Budbridge Manor (Chapter 8; IWHER 842).[318]

Everitt (1986, 234-9, 264) relates the concept of settlement direction to local church foundation and dedications. Within 'landscapes of colonization' St John the Baptist dedications were the most common: four rural instances and one at Yarmouth (Margham 1997, 94, 104; Hockey 1982, 7).[319] This pattern is consistent with Everitt's (1986, 252) observation of Kent's 28 instances, all but one originating in the late Anglo-Saxon period or shortly after the Conquest. Jones (2007, 183, 203) describes St John the Baptist as 'Man of the Wilderness, proto-hermit and proto-monk' whose church dedications were found in ancient woodland, wood-pasture and hunting forests. These liminal locations can be seen in the four rural instances: Northwood, on the far side of Parkhurst Forest from Bowcombe; Niton, the Domesday 'new *tūn*' developed within the Southern Massif, including part of the Undercliff within its parish; Shanklin, also a Domesday manor forming the southern-most extent of Brading's extensive estate, and Yaverland consisting of part of the 'Bembridge Isle' on the far side of Brading Haven. There may be some exaggeration regarding the perceived wilderness nature of these areas implicit in the church dedications, Yaverland being an un-hided royal manor *TRE* (39v) and a putative estate centre during the reign of King Ine (Chapter 7; ECW1). However, it may also be significant that no potentially 'pioneering hides' were identified in any of these areas (Margham 2019b, fig. 2, table 2). This is to argue from negative evidence, but the implication is that these four parishes' boundaries were established in 'landscapes of colonization' developed towards the end of the early medieval period.

[318] New Forest ware potteries were established by the late third century (Cunliffe 1993, 261).
[319] Northwood had a pre-Reformation Baptist dedication. Niton's medieval dedication is uncertain, but had a post-Reformation dedication to him. Yaverland and Shanklin were recorded as being dedicated to St John, which may be St John the Evangelist, although the balance of probability is St John the Baptist. The locations of these medieval dedication can be contrasted with that of the nine superior churches identified in Chapter 5: All Saints 4, St Mary 1, St George and St Mildred both 1, with Shalfleet's dedication unknown (Map 5.3). The slightly different alignment of Yarmouth's church to neighbouring property boundaries may suggest foundation before the planning of the town in the 1180s.



Map 10.8: Bonchurch parish depicted on the Ordnance Survey 1862/3 six-inch map with parish boundary accentuated

A nuanced account of boundary-formation of local church parishes can be gained from a study of Bonchurch parish, with evidence demonstrating both continuity and colonization (Map 10.8). The church may be seen as an early foundation associated with St Boniface (Chapter 5) thus potentially outside any 'system' of *parochiae,* but by the twelfth century was a local church with a small parish. The boundary defines an area consisting of Bonchurch itself and Luccombe to the north, comprising Southern Massif downland and the Undercliff coastal strip, including the area known as the Landslip between these locations. Both Bonchurch and Luccombe have Domesday Book entries. Bonchurch appears the less productive, rated as one virgate and valued at 30 shillings *TRE,* with half a ploughland and three bordars (53). This contrasts with Luccombe, one hide and valued at £4 *TRE,* with one ploughland and one plough, six bordars and two slaves (39v). Luccombe was acquired by Quarr

Abbey in the mid-twelfth century (Hockey 1991, no.196).[320] Bonchurch tithe apportionment (IWCRO JER/T/31B&C) shows Luccombe Farm as tithe-exempt, an area amounting to approximately half the parish.[321] Hockey (1970, 32) explains that lands taken into agricultural production whilst in Quarr's ownership were regarded as *novalia* 'new land' and thus tithe-exempt. However, Luccombe was not unproductive when granted to Quarr, as testified by Domesday Book. The situation at the time of the Tithe Apportionment arose due to confusion between the term *labores* (old fields) and *novalia* in the time of Pope Alexander III, whose papal bull of 1178-80 stated that 'no tithe was to be exacted from Quarr or any other Cistercian house on *novalia*, on lands cultivated by themselves at their expense, nor on the food of their beasts' (Hockey 1970, 32). This left Luccombe Grange free of tithe obligation.

Luccombe, one hide *TRE*, was potentially an early Anglo-Saxon 'pioneering hide' and was a productive, self-contained manor by the time of the Conquest. The existence of *novalia* land in the late twelfth century implies the taking in of land for agricultural production during the mid-twelfth century. Bonchurch's Tithe Apportionment specifies the farm consisted of 137 acres arable, 82 acres meadow and pasture, 7 acres woodland, 33 acres downland and 8 acres of gardens, waste and roads (IWCRO JER/T/31B). Due to the broken, steep topography of much of the Luccombe area limiting arable development, it can be suggested that any genuine *novalia* land was downland pasture being more intensively used once in the possession of Quarr. If this was so, then the fixing of Bonchurch's western parish boundary plausibly dates from this period, being stabilised at the top of the break of slope on Luccombe Down/Bonchurch Down, rather than the top of the ridge. This area of chalk downland was presumably formerly intercommoned with Wroxall to the west.[322] The northern boundary of Bonchurch was apparently fixed at an earlier date, as a sunken way rising up to the ridge forms the boundary with Brading's *parochia* and extensive estate, providing downland access from Luccombe.

[320] Confirmation of *Louecomba* was given by Baldwin de Redvers *c*.1141-1143 (Hockey 1991, no. 196). The grant of land for Quarr's construction was given by Baldwin 1132-1135 (Hockey 1991, no. 1).
[321] The 1843 Tithe Apportionment states that 'the under mentioned lands of the said parish are exempt from the payment of tithes that is to say Luccombe Farm', containing 266a 2r 0p (IWCRO JER/T/31B).
[322] Thus explaining Luccombe Down being depicted on the 1862/3 maps predominantly within Newchurch parish, rather than Bonchurch.

Other instances of parish boundary definition on chalk downland after a period of intercommoning can be suggested for Calbourne/Brighstone on Brighstone Down/Newbarn Down, Wootton detached (Chillerton)/Gatcombe on Chillerton Down, Gatcombe/Carisbrooke on another instance of Newbarn Down and Dukem Down, and Yaverland/Brading detached on Bembridge Down. A further instance is on Ashey Down documented in Æthelred's confirmation of *Meolocdune* in 982 (S842iii). This includes *Æþerices mearce* (boundary) and *Byrtlafes mearce* on the chalk ridge and other boundary locations within the Northern Lowlands (Map 3.3).

In the lower-lying landscape regions with extensive land-use parish, boundary definition appears to have developed during the early medieval period, as in the case of Arreton/Godshill. Within the Northern Lowlands Watchingwell, an area dominated by wood-pasture, when confirmed as being in the possession of Wilton Abbey in 968 (S766) had precise bounds on its eastern side, with the western being the established boundary of Calbourne (Margham 2006, fig. 3).[323]

Some continuity of boundaries from the Romano-British period is inherently likely but not proven. 'Pioneering hides' may have formed building blocks of extensive estates which later became fragmented, leaving a multiplicity of individual manors, some of which were defined by tenth-century charter bounds. Parish boundaries also owe their form to the fission of more extensive areas. Whilst these and secular boundaries owe much to this process, the precise definition of estates/manors and parishes appears a product of the tenth to twelfth centuries.

The evidence presented above suggests that the 'core-periphery' model of the early medieval landscape is appropriate for the Isle of Wight. It is this concept that will be developed in providing a model.

The Early Medieval landscape: a model

The most appropriate framework for settlement development during the period of this thesis, *c*.650 to *c*.1150, is the core-periphery model. This has been summarised by Hooke (1996, 81) as comprising 'an area of land which encompasses both a fertile

[323] Further examples of intercommoning followed by boundary demarcation are Whippingham, Arreton and Wootton Commons (Basford 2024, 36-8).

heartland largely given over to crop cultivation and an associated territory which might conceivably be seen as marginal land but which offered equally important resources of pasture, wood-pasture and timber extraction; in some regions this probably involved transhumant communities prior to permanent settlement'.[324] Hooke (1996, 80) emphasises that so called 'marginal' areas should not be seen as undeveloped, instead developing differently from the core areas, providing important complementary resources forming an integral part of the economy. The model would appear to be relevant to the later Romano-British period if the existence of discrete villa estates is accepted. Continuity of the model into the early Anglo-Saxon period is unknown, but development of superior churches and associated estate centres in the mid-Saxon period accords with it. The profusion of local manors and churches would suggest that the model was less valid by the twelfth century in some areas of the Island, unlike the more 'conservative' areas.

Central areas within 'landscapes of continuity' came into focus from the later seventh century onwards. Estate centres apparently developed after a phase of 'abatement' and settlement shift. Estate centre locations within these core areas were determined by route networks, rather than physical geography and soils *per se,* although such factors are interrelated with water supply being important. This process of settlement stabilisation was associated with economic development, of which the two 'productive' sites and the Island's relationship with *Hamwic* were symptomatic (Map 9.9; above p.345). Population growth may have been a significant related factor. Church provision from the late seventh century onwards helped establishment of more permanent settlement sites. Some of these would have had an economic function for the collection of dues and perhaps marketing of surpluses. Most mid-Saxon estate centres were associated with Lateral Ridge margins, particularly with route-ways within or across the ridge. However, the extensive estates centred on Bowcombe and Whitefield/Brading encompassing parts of the Southern Massif may suggest topographical place-names such as Chale and Shanklin represent significant places having a secondary role. Also performing a secondary function were the *tūn* and *hām* sites around Northern Lowland gravel 'islands' and the extensive area of riverine gravels within the Southern Vale.

[324] The 'multiple estate' model is a version of the core-periphery model, but has implications of antiquity which cannot be proven on the Island.

It was these estate centres adjoining or within the Lateral Ridge that became associated with areas of open-field agriculture, such as Freshwater, Bowcombe/ Carisbrooke and Arreton, although at its maximum extent indicated by HLC mapping this had extended outwards. This was not a simplistic relationship of cores of open-field areas around estate centres. There is some later documentary evidence for enclosed arable cores adjoining centres of Domesday manors' centres (Basford 2022) and even at their apparent maximum extent open-field areas were not necessarily in proximity to manorial caputs (Table 10.7; Chapter 8).

Estate/ manor	**Landholder *TRE***	**Plough -lands *TRW***	**% ploughs in demesne**	**% population in demesne**	**Non open-field arable core adjoining centre?**	**Minimum distance to HLC open-fields**
Calbourne	Winchester	25	33%	25%	?	3.7km
Bowcombe	King	15	17%	20%	●	adjoining
Freshwater	Tostig	15	20%	20%	●	1.0km
Shalfleet	Eadric	14	32%	?		1.0km
Sandford with Week	King	12	33%	43%		adjoining
Wroxall	Gytha	10	36%	33%		adjoining
Thorley	Tostig	7	25%	15%	●	adjoining
Brook	Tostig	6	44%	47%		adjoining
Whitefield	Godric of king in alod	6	57%	?		none in vicinity
Arreton	King	5	23%	24%	●	adjoining

Table 10.7: Isle of Wight Domesday manors with five ploughlands or more: manorial structures in 1086 and potential arable cores. Demesne structure statistics are derived from Appendix 8.13. The manors of Afton, Alvington, Watchingwell and Yaverland all with five or more ploughlands have not been included here due to there being no information about manorial structure in their Domesday Book entries. Information about potential non-open field arable cores from Basford (2022).

Winchester's Calbourne estate can be added to the putative corpus of apparent non open-field arable cores. Although HLC did not identify former open-field areas adjoining Calbourne, the strip of land to the north of the Lateral Ridge was demesne land (Chapter 9) and Cahill's (1980) 'sub-chalk arable'.[325] A possible mechanism for

[325] An enclosed arable core north of the Lateral Ridge may explain the apparent lack of former open-field land associated with Whitefield. The nearest substantial former open-field area was on the Southern Vale margins, some 3km away, suggesting a situation analogous with Calbourne of open-fields established to the south of the Lateral Ridge.

arable core origin, whether enclosed or open-field, was development along differing trajectories from infield-outfield agriculture.[326]

The central areas of 'landscapes of continuity' can be contrasted with 'landscapes of colonization': the interiors of the Northern Lowlands, Southern Vale and the Undercliff. The Southern Vale was arguably 'colonized' at an earlier period than the other two lowland landscape regions with its lighter soils, but the 'moors' alongside the River Yar remained an important resource in the later medieval period along with dry heathland. The existence of the three Domesday *Scaldeford* manors, formerly a unified estate and later known as Hyde, raises the distinct possibility that this was a 'pioneering hide' of the early Anglo-Saxon period within the Southern Vale, and that this land unit formed a building block of the later Brading estate.[327] Other estates rated at one hide *TRE* such as Briddlesford within the Northern Lowlands may have performed a similar function. Dungewood within the Southern Vale, the only instance of a *worth* place-name (Appendix 8.6), may evidence a similar process. Despite the existence of the Domesday manors of Bonchurch and Luccombe, the Undercliff largely retained extensive land-use well into the post-Medieval period. A similar process to that suggested for Hyde but at an apparently later date can be envisaged for sites such as Ashengrove on the northern margins of the Lateral Ridge with its *stede* place-name, implying conversion of pasture to a settlement site. Some locations within the Lateral Ridge can be also seen as 'landscapes of colonization', for example *Haldley,* a *lēah* place-name, now known as Rowridge Farm.

By the mid-Saxon period settlement development and landscape change were occuring within extensive estates, although boundaries between them may not have been defined clearly in locations away from estate centres due to intercommoning. Within the lower-lying areas of lowland landscape regions some continuity from Romano-British occupation is a distinct possibility. This is suggested by the PAS and 'early' place-names on the margins of the sub-areas identified within the Northern Lowlands - gravel 'islands' and Bembridge limestone plateau - and the extensive

[326] A system where 'land (usually) nearest the settlement is cultivated every year and manured regularly', in contrast with other areas used as pasture where 'parts of it … are taken into cultivation as required, and returned to pasture when fertility declines' (Blair 2018, 9). Table 10.7 may suggest estates with apparent enclosed arable cores were not those with a greater emphasis on demesne farming in 1086.

[327] Continuity from a Romano-British estate centred on Brading (Morton) Roman villa remains a possibility. The Domesday place-name *Scaldeford* may represent an early settlement site with *ford* a potentially early topographical name.

area of river terrace in the Southern Vale.[328] Within the Northern Lowlands the 'Freshwater Isle' was atypical by the time of Domesday Book, being a developed agricultural landscape with a polyfocal settlement pattern evidenced by its directional place-names. This can be explained by the presence of lighter soils here, providing opportunities for realising this potential, with an apparent process of colonization northwards (Chapter 8).

Place-name evidence (Maps 8.7, 8.8) indicates that some areas within 'landscapes of colonization' were not fully developed by the later Anglo-Saxon period. Somerton, adjoining a gravel 'island' in the Northwood area, is such a location, the place-name implying former seasonal pastoral land-use. Summersbury, within the Southern Vale on the flanks of a locally-prominent hill, presumably had a similar history. These sites complement *-lēah, -land* and *-feld* place-names within the two major lowland regions, suggesting similar trajectories for settlement development. Place-names of economic specialisation (Map 8.8) also feature within these regions, for example Chawton (*cealf* 'calf') and Osborne (*eowestre* 'sheepfold') on the margins of gravel 'islands' in the Northern Lowlands, and Merstone (*mersctūne* 'marsh *tūn*') and Morton (*mōr* 'marsh, moor') within the Southern Vale. Such place-names imply existence of farmsteads with specialised functions within areas of extensive lordship which later became self-contained manors. Development of permanent from seasonal settlement and/or specialised functions is also implied by presence of outlying pastures within the Southern Massif (S1662) and links between Domesday manors of Knighton and Down Court, and Apse and Niton (39v, 40).[329] Niton, the 'new *tūn*' appears a relatively new settlement by 1066. Its open-fields continued into neighbouring Whitwell parish (Chapter 8), an arrangement apparently pre-dating 1086, plausibly an eleventh-century development.

The vast majority of settlement sites remained small in scale and dispersed at the time of Domesday, evidenced by the plethora of small manorial holdings. Exceptions were the developing urban settlement of Carisbrooke and at a lower level of

[328] Settlements adjoining Northern Lowlands gavel 'islands' are often associated with springs. Williamson (2013, 206) states 'The main factor influencing … varied [settlement] trajectories was probably water supply'.

[329] A further outlying pasture was St Martin's Down (*Smerdone*) 'the hill or down where butter is produced' (Mills 1996, 91) but this elevated location did not become a permanent settlement site. Nettlecombe (*netele* 'nettle') implies reoccupation of this *cumb* site (Cole 2003).

magnitude the mid-Saxon estate centres, some of which plausibly fit the 'two stage model' of settlement nucleation as 'minster places'. Possibly other settlement nucleations existed, such as the apparently planned settlement at Freshwater Green, some at least of St Helens Green, other smaller greenside settlements, and precursors to the later towns of Brading, Newport and Yarmouth suggested by a reading of Domesday Book.

The Domesday geography of the Island reflects individual manorial development in many locations, some of which can be seen as 'central places' rather than components of 'central areas'. Arreton is an example, with the superior church alongside the manorial centre. However, this process was only partially complete by 1086, with the manorial centres of Bowcombe and Kings Manor (Freshwater Farm) being at a distance from centres of population and superior church sites. The profusion of smaller Domesday manors can also be seen as a type of localised central place, being the focus of manorial economies. Whilst it can be argued that the Island was developing a market economy in the eighth century era of 'productive' sites, smaller concentrations of sceattas and a relationship with the emporium of *Hamwic,* by the later eleventh century such an economy was evident with the market at Carisbrooke.[330] The incipient development of such a function can be suggested for Yarmouth and Brading, according with the observation that in rural pre-industrial societies 'the maximum distance to market which is usually preferred is in the range of 3-7 km [2-4.5 miles]' (Hodder and Orton 1976, 57). Although physical factors determined their locations, the distance of approximately 8 miles either side of Carisbrooke is significant. The development of Newport and Yarmouth in the later twelfth century, along with the recognition of Brading as a market town in the later thirteenth, reinforces this observation.

Development of such market functions along with foundation of individual manors and local churches implies that the core-periphery model became less valid for the

[330] As we have seen, the profusion of *sceattas* in the eighth century did not last (Churchill's Farm pp.176-7, Froglands Farm p.307). Astill (2006, 240) pointed out that 'The eighth-century level of coin loss was not regained in the south of England until the last quarter of the tenth century at the earliest, perhaps not until the twelfth century'. S*ceattas* can be seen as representing a hierarchy of sites including informal places for sporadic exchange as well as more formalised 'productive' sites (Astill 2006, 238).

Island in the twelfth century.[331] There is, however, a distinction to be made between 'conservative' entities such as Calbourne and Shalfleet where the extensive lordship fragmentation process was only partial by the time of Domesday Book, and the fragmentation of other areas.

The wood-pasture of the Northern Lowlands provided opportunity for Quarr Abbey's foundation with a grant of land by Baldwin de Redvers to the abbot of Savigny in 1132, subsequently becoming a Cistercian house in 1147 (Hockey 1970, 6-8, 19). The site, adjoining the north-eastern coast of the Island, prompted Hockey (1970, 2) to comment 'It is difficult to believe that it was ever possible to consider the site as ideally suitable for a monastery; however, it had great seclusion, proximity to the sea, and to building stone and timber'. This observation is consistent with the 'Myth of the Desert', grounded in the ecological reality of early Cistercian (and Savigniac) foundations (Taranu 2013, 13). Quarr's endowment of estates over much of the Island went some way in counteracting the core-periphery model.[332]

Physical Background or Human Agency?

The relative importance of the physical background and human agency was discussed in general terms in Chapter 3 and above with the location of mid-Saxon estate centres and settlement associated with sub-areas of the two major lowland landscape regions. This apparent dichotomy will now be related to evidence from the wider landscape through examining the bishop of Winchester's extensive estate.

Analysis of Limerstone's landscape (Chapter 8, pp.255-7) showed a close relationship between physical background and land-use in the twelfth century. This may suggest land-use was predetermined by the physical background. However, the role of human agency can be seen in Winchester's emphasis on estate management. Harvey's (1988, 104) review of Domesday evidence stated that 'The bishopric stands out from all other great landholders as having the most marked interest in both demesne agriculture and in the organization of its landed

[331] Astill (1991, 113) stated 'the growth of larger towns had drawn together in one place functions that were previously performed at several distinct locations', *ie.* part of the process of the localisation of the landscape from 'central areas' to 'central places'.
[332] Due to the dispersed nature of its lands (Hockey 1991, maps 1-12).

revenues'.[333] The appointment of Æthelwold to Winchester in 963 (Yorke 1988, 3), as part of the Benedictine reform process, appears to have stimulated a renewed interest in estate management.[334] Using the criterion of more than 30% ploughs in demesne in 1086, Calbourne had a relatively high emphasis on demesne farming (Table 10.8), particularly in the Southern Vale which included Limerstone. However, this was not unique, with Sandford and Wroxall having higher proportions.

Estate	Ploughs in demesne	Ploughs beyond demesne	% ploughs in demesne	Demesne population V B S	Other population V B S	% pop. in demesne
Calbourne	6	14	30%	0 0 11	27 15 0	21%
Robert, Herpul & Alsige	3½	5	41%	0 0 12	3 22 0	32%
Downton	13	17	43%	0 0 40	64 27 0	31%
Arreton	3	10	30%	0 0 7	10 12 0	24%
Bowcombe	3	15	19%	0 0 10	25 15 0	20%
Wm fitzStur		1			1 0 0	
Freshwater	2	8	25%	0 0 7	18 10 0	20%
Sandford with Week	3	6	50%	0 0 10	10 3 0	43%
Shalfleet	2	9½	21%	-	14 19 0	?
Geoffrey		1		-	2 1 0	?
Turgis & Leof		2		-	2 2 0	?
Wroxall	4	7	57%	0 0 17	10 24 0	33%

Table 10.8: Winchester's Calbourne estate structure in 1086, with sub-holdings in Southern Vale itemised separately. Winchester's Downton (Wiltshire) estate and other larger Island manors included for comparison. Island information from Appendix 8.13; Downton from Williams and Martin (1992, 164). See Appendix 8.13 for a more comprehensive presentation of this information for the Isle of Wight.

TRE occupiers of sub-holdings south of the Lateral Ridge (probably *Uggaton,* Waytes Court and Limerstone) were '7 aloderies [who] held these hides of the bishop, and could not withdraw elsewhere from him' (52v).[335] This implies that

[333] This emphasis continued into the twelfth century when bishop Henry of Blois resolved that ploughmen and ploughs were to be considered as sacred as churches and clergy, and all who attacked or injured agricultural workers would be excommunicated (Page 1903, 12).
[334] Whilst no explicit research regarding this has been undertaken (Barbara Yorke pers. comm.), circumstantial evidence would suggest this, for example Æthelwold's involvement in Ely Abbey's estates (Fairweather 2005) and the profusion of Winchester's estates restored or confirmed by King Edgar (Sawyer 1968), including Calbourne itself along with Downton (S821). The provost Leo working under Byrthtnoth, the first abbot of reformed Ely, 'worked hard at the increasing of profit and, if he had exacted any payment, he handed it over in its entirety for communal use' (Fairweather 2005, 149).
[335] This statement can be compared with 'Those who held these lands *TRE* could not separate themselves from the church' in Winchester's Downton estate (Williams and Martin 1992, 164) and the

Winchester was keen to develop areas such as Limerstone whilst maintaining control of its aloderies. Other areas within S274 were independent manors by 1086. Whether these were granted by charter is unknown, but control over aloderies' lands was reflected in the gradual process of Limerstone's 'independence' from Winchester (Margham 2024b). Brighstone parish was one of the most 'productive' in 1086 (Chapter 8), reflecting Winchester's policy of demesne agriculture and maximising production.[336]

This policy at Limerstone resulted in the zoning of complementary land use mirroring the physical background. A recent study of the English landscape has advocated the concept of 'landscape force':

> We cannot ignore the effects of physical differences, nor can we see them as simple causes with straightforward effects. Instead, we emphasise complexities of interactions and develop a notion of landscape force, which is one force among many (Cooper *et al.,* 2021, 107).

In the conclusion to their study of southern Britain in the early Anglo-Saxon period Harington and Welch (2014, 206) note that the range of choices available to landholders 'was predicated on existing topography already laid down across the physical geography and geology' of their study area. It was this landscape force that was operative in the Limerstone area and beyond throughout the early medieval period.

The localisation of a landscape?

The sub-title of this thesis is 'the localisation of a landscape?' This can be demonstrated for Wight in the period *c*.650 to *c*.1150 through reference to local church development (Chapter 5) and 'extensive lordship' fragmentation (Chapter 7).

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dependent thegns of Glastonbury Abbey's Polden estate who 'could not be separated from the church' (Turner 2006, 151).

[336] One would like to know who held the similarly 'productive' and developed estate of Freshwater before Tostig's tenure *TRE.* Freshwater and Brighstone's productivity stands in stark contrast to that of the Bembridge Isle. ECW1 claims that the Bembridge Isle belonged to Winchester from the late seventh or early eighth century. It was not held by Winchester *TRE.* If alienated before the Benedictine reform of the later tenth century this may explain its underdevelopment. An appropriate comparison for the development of Winchester's Calbourne estate in relation to other areas of the Island is Glastonbury Abbey's policy of reorganizing its Somerset estates in contrast with those of the bishop of Bath and Wells (Rippon 2007, 111; 2008, 278-9).

A total of nine ‘superior churches’ have been identified (Table 4.2). By the later medieval period the Isle of Wight had a total of 27 parish churches[337] and two parochial chapels, Brook and Newport. Documented relationships between churches and physical evidence demonstrate presence of 18 local churches by *c*.1200, with at least seven by *c*.1150 (Chapter 5). The eleventh and twelfth centuries were a formative period for such churches, exemplified by the exceptional documentation for Chale’s foundation in 1114. This type of foundation can be seen as aspirational, being one of the criteria of thegnly status (Williams 1992), although some villan foundations may have happened.

A parallel related phenomenon was local manor development from mid-Saxon ‘extensive lordship’. Domesday Book records 124 named land holdings, most relatively small areas, with 30 instances of manors of one hide, and only seven being rated at four or more hides (Chapter 6). Part of this process is evidenced by the granting of small estates in the mid- to late-tenth century, for example Ningwood’s one hide in 949 (S543) and Bathingbourne’s two in 951x955 (S1662). Such locations were probably farmsteads from at least the mid-Saxon period, several having specialised functions before becoming independent manors.

This contrasts with evidence for earlier extensive lordship reflected in the relatively large hidages of estates recorded, or purportedly recorded, before the tenth century (Appendix 3.1). There is good evidence for extensive estates centred on Calbourne and Bowcombe, and more circumstantial evidence for Freshwater, Shalfleet and east-central Wight (Whippingham, Arreton and Godshill). Vestiges of extensive lordship can be seen in evidence of Bathingbourne and *Linlande*’s outlying pastures (S1662), and the Domesday connection between Niton and Apse (40).

‘Localisation’ of landscape during the early medieval period was not a complete process. This is illustrated in an ecclesiastical context by the relatively large areas of superior church parishes depicted on Ordnance maps of the 1860s, for example Brading 8,272 acres, Calbourne 5,539 acres and Carisbrooke 7,486 acres, in contrast with small parishes coterminous with manors such as Wotton. Contrast can also be demonstrated in chronologies of manor and local parish development, with

[337] Including Standen which had attributes of a parish church and St Nicholas within Carisbrooke Castle.

the former occurring before the latter. Chale was a one hide manor in 1066 (52v) and obtained its church in 1114, and likewise Shanklin, two separate manors at Domesday, built a church in the mid-twelfth century. A further contrast was the degree of fragmentation of extensive lordship in different areas of the Island by 1086, for example Winchester's Calbourne estate and the former *parochia* of Brading (Table 7.6).

The 'localisation' of the landscape can thus be demonstrated for the Island, although the 'conservative' influence of powerful institutions in delaying estate fragmentation meant that this process was incomplete by the later eleventh century. The bishopric of Winchester performed this role at Calbourne and Wilton Abbey at Watchingwell. The crown had a similar influence retaining much of Bowcombe manor well into the post-Conquest period. These instances can be contrasted with the large numbers of relatively small Domesday manors throughout much of the Island, particularly noticeable within Brading's former *parochia*.

Evaluation of Thesis Objectives

The specific objectives of the thesis presented in Chapter 1 will be evaluated in turn:

1. To refine the definition of the historic landscape regions of the Isle of Wight:

   The author's identification of the Island's historic landscape regions has been published (Margham 2003). Although the boundaries of these regions remain as originally conceived, the present study has added more information regarding the land-use and landscape change within these regions.

2. To investigate the development of local church provision and assessment of the appropriateness of the 'minster hypothesis' to the Isle of Wight:

   The development of local churches and their relationships with superior churches has been elucidated, as far as the evidence allows. The 'minster hypothesis' is compatible with the evidence presented for Carisbrooke, the bishop of Winchester's Calbourne estate, the Freshwater area and the area centred on Brading church. The hypothesis has proved problematic for the Shalfleet area,

where the church's status is ambiguous and location as a minster is atypical for the Island. In the east-central area of Whippingham, Arreton and Godshill there is insufficient evidence to evaluate the model's validity. The origin of Newchurch parish remains uncertain and the local church at Bonchurch appears to have originated outside any minster 'system'. Contra Hockey (1982, 2) a comprehensive system of *parochiae* encompassing the whole of the Isle of Wight imposed in a particular period of time may be illusory: arguably this appears to be a 'system' from a later perspective.[338]

3. To investigate the development of individual manors and assessment of the appropriateness of the 'multiple estate model' to the Isle of Wight:

Something of the development of small manors can be gleaned from the relative profusion of tenth-century charters. This process was generally well-advanced by 1086, although there were the exceptions, particularly Winchester's Calbourne estate. Three case studies produced varying degrees of accordance with the model. Bowcombe was the most plausible, with lesser evidence for Calbourne and Brading. 'Extensive lordship' is a more appropriate concept for the Island, a term which does not imply close correspondence with a questionable model. Identification of 'pioneering hides' implies that these were components of areas subject to extensive lordship within 'landscapes of colonization'. The 'multiple estate model' assumes antiquity of large estates originating before the early medieval period. Extensive lordship on Wight may have been a product of the mid-Saxon period, although survival of Romano-British villa estates is a possibility.

4. To formulate a model of the development of the settlement pattern of the Isle of Wight from the mid-seventh to the mid-twelfth century.

A nuanced model has been presented based on evidence from the Island. As well as drawing on archaeological and place-name evidence, the model is informed by research in a broader geographical context such as evidence for shifting early Anglo-Saxon settlement which receives support from the local PAS database.

[338] A similar observation was made regarding Worcester's diocece where 'the late Anglo-Saxon network of Episcopal minster churches seems to have been assembled gradually from independent components of diverse origin' (Sims-Williams 1990, 172).

Both continuity and colonization can be demonstrated, for example the identification of ‘persistent places’ and temporary/seasonal settlement becoming more permanent. It has been necessary to consider the legacy of Romano-British settlement in formulating this model.

Recommendations for further work

Historic Landscape Regions

Peat profile coring has not generally included C14 dating of early medieval accumulations. An exception is a site adjoining the Alverstone timber track-way cited in Chapter 8 (MOLA 2015). Deposits such as Ninham Bog and Gatcombe Withy Bed (Scaife 1980) could be re-examined to provide absolute dating of their upper levels from the Romano-British period onwards.

Church Archaeology

A recent development in landscape history is optically stimulated luminescence profiling and dating (OSL-PD) of soil sealed under earthworks (Vervust *et al.* 2020a; Vervust *et al.* 2020b). This could be used in dating the minster enclosure at Carisbrooke, where the north-eastern bank is extant, and enclosures associated with high-status churches at Brading and Calbourne.

Detailed recording of church fabric has not been undertaken. Recording of Carisbrooke’s nave and Shalfleet’s tower would potentially provide additional information about the construction and development of these early Norman structures.

Knowledge of the development of Carisbrooke and Shalfleet churches would benefit from geophysical surveying. Carisbrooke’s chancel was demolished in the sixteenth century and was not replaced (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 112-3). Whilst the extent of this chancel can be deduced from earthworks in the churchyard, surveying may identify an earlier, smaller early Norman chancel and even provide evidence for

Anglo-Saxon fabric. Shalfleet's present nave, ground-penetrating radar may identify a chancel formerly attached to the tower-nave.[339]

The radiocarbon dating of mortar is a developing field of research (Hale *et al.* 2023). It may be possible to provide a chronology for church fabric which cannot be directly dated by architectural features, refine the dating of churches, and explore hypotheses such as the possibility of pre-Conquest fabric at St Lawrence church.

Boundaries and Meeting-Places

OSL-PD can be applied to estate and parish boundaries. The continuous linear boundary between Newchurch and Brading/Shanklin parishes appears to be of great antiquity, being a candidate for this type of intervention. Such work would build upon OSL dating of the 'Motkin Boundary' at Standen Heath.

There are hints of 'rectilinear landscapes' in the area of Apse Manor, which may merely reflect the setting out of the manorial boundaries in relation to the Newchurch/Brading linear parish boundary, and in the road and field pattern in the Hoxall area south-east of Mottistone. A project examining evidence for coaxial boundaries may identify instances.

A PhD study of Yorkshire boundaries critiqued the Hooper hedge-dating hypothesis (Pollard *et al.* 1974, 79-85) and included hedge-bank herb species in appraisals of this type of boundary's origin and development (Wright 2016). There is plenty of scope for investigating the relative chronology of hedges and their banks, particularly parish and estate boundaries.

The Hatt, the East Medine hundredal meeting place, was documented by Sir John Oglander in the seventeenth century (Kökeritz 1940, 3-4) and its location rediscovered by the present author (Margham 2013a, 5). The mound there (Margham 2017b) deserves archaeological investigation to ascertain its origin. This could be accompanied by systematic metal detector survey of its environs as there are no PAS records in the immediate area.

[339] A ground-penetrating radar survey of the interior of Shalfleet church was attempted but needs repeating with more up-to-date equipment (Tomalin, pers. comm.).

Settlement in the Landscape

Whilst reservations have been stated regarding validity of archaeological field-walking to investigate early medieval settlement (Chapter 8), such a technique may prove useful. A pilot study is proposed, and if proving valuable applied to transects north to south across the Island.

For occupied settlement sites, a programme of test-pitting (Lewis 2017) may prove its value in assessing evidence for the development of villages.[340] As well as sites such as Arreton, an estate centre mentioned in King Alfred's will, this may be useful in appraising settlement development with regular ground-plans potentially originating in or before the twelfth century: Brading, Carisbrooke, Freshwater Green and St Helens, in addition to the twelfth-century towns of Newport and Yarmouth.

Recent research by Blair *et al.* (2020) drew attention to surveyed grids in setting out settlement sites, particularly in the period of *c*.590 to *c*.800 and *c*.940 to *c*.1050. Whilst their study did not identify instances on the Island (Blair *et al.* 2020, fig. 3.14), this remains a possibility particularly in areas of rectilinear topography adjoining superior churches at Brading and Freshwater.[341]

The present author has commenced an England-wide study of *burhtūnas* place-names (Margham, in preparation) identifying over 90 Burton names and variants. The completion of this work will provide a broader context for the interpretation of Barton, first recorded as *Burton* in 1274 (Mills 1996, 26). This can be seen as having an early medieval origin in a strategically important location to the east of the Medina estuary, with the *burhtūn* settlement just below a nearby look out/beacon site. A full study would identify how typical this is in relation to the wider place-names corpus.

[340] Wright (2015b, 111) is sceptical about the value of test-pitting in examining mid-Saxon settlement and advocates the use of evaluation trenches and open area excavation.

[341] A provisional study by the present author applied a grid of long perches (Blair *et al.,* 2020, 102) to the putative 'minster enclosures' at these two sites. Whilst the north-south boundaries at Brading are concave (western boundary) and convex (eastern boundary) the southern side is straight and 20 long perches in length. The rectilinear enclosure at Freshwater fits a 20 by 20 long perch grid on the western, southern and eastern sides.

Place-name study would be advanced by use of the database of Tithe Apportionment field-names developed by the County Archaeology and Historical Environment Service to produce digital mapping. A study undertaken of the Blackdown Hills, Hartland Moors and South Hams areas of Devon (Ryder 2013), despite being a survey of mid-nineteenth century field-names, provided insights regarding early medieval landscapes.[342] Comprehensive mapping of field-names would provide a framework for the study of medieval field- and other minor names documented by Webster (1975-1999).

Further study of open-field areas, although largely dependent upon later evidence, may provide more evidence for their origin, development and association with preferred settlement zones. This wproud examine correspondence between potentially early demesnes and former open-field areas. It may be possible to reconstruct local 'units of settlement and community' and relate these to arable cores.[343]

The Churchill's Farm 'productive site' deserves a thorough, multi-disciplinary study to provide a comprehensive account of this site from the Iron Age to the Medieval period. This could include comparison with the Froglands Farm 'productive site' and their relationship with the *emporium* at *Hamwic* (Southampton).

Conclusions

The aims of this thesis outlined in Chapter 1 were to redress the relative neglect of the Isle of Wight in early medieval studies, and to review previous work then substantially add to this by presenting a coherent account of its landscape history for this period. The thesis has addressed both of these aims, through drawing on past research by others and the present author then adding significantly to this to inform the presentation of a nuanced account of landscape development during the early medieval period. It has emphasised the importance of local studies in examining and evaluating various concepts and models in wider early medieval landscape research and has drawn conclusions as to their applicability to a relatively small, well-defined

[342] Kilby (2020, 108-9) has drawn attention to the possibility that topographical field-names, particularly those associated with water, were coined in the early medival period.
[343] I am grateful to Vicky Basford for this suggestion.

geographical area. The thesis has highlighted the value of quantitative analyses in the development of certain themes. Findings have been integrated to form a narrative reflecting the current state of knowledge of landscape change on the Isle of Wight during this formative period. In doing so, it has provided new information and insights which can be utilised to inform further local research and the investigation of landscape history in the wider early medieval world.

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Appendix 2.1 Isle of Wight Early Anglo-Saxon Cemetery and Burial Sites

Site Name	HER	NGR	Description	Date Range	References and comments
Afton Farm		SZ355862	Silver sieve spoon, brooch fragments including great square headed, rock crystal ball, bracteates, 2 or 3 inhumations	late 5th/6th c	pers com F. Basford (FLO); PAS IOW-OABOD4; Basford 2007, 203; Salter 2010, 58-60; PAS IOW-BDE1F7
Arreton Down	890, 891	SZ53568744, SZ53548744	8 primary and secondary inhumations and cremations	late 5th/early 6th c	Arnold 1982, 75-7; *BA barrow cemetery, used as gibbet site in post medieval period, possible AS meeting site; overlooks centre of estate mentioned in Alfred's will*
Bembridge Down	*1124*	*SZ62588599*	*2 inhumations, secondary?*	*late 5th/early 6th c ?*	Arnold 1982, 84-5*; IWHER 1124, alleged site of barrow, inhumations undated, nearby urn, now lost, apparently prehistoric*
Brighstone (Rowdown Lane)		SZ428830	buckles, brooches, sword pommel and ring	late 5th/early 6th to late 6th/early 7th c	pers com F. Basford (FLO); Salter 2010, 50-51
Brighstone Down		uncertain	cremation	?	Arnold 1982, 87, vague mid 19th c report
Bowcombe Down	449, 629	SZ46158728, SZ46088723	25 inhumations; 19 cremations, 12 of which associated with large BA barrow	late 5th/early 6th to late 6th c	https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1015624 Arnold 1982, 89-96; Tomalin n.d.; Stedman 1998, 115-8. *AS meeting place; Bowcombe place-name, DB hundred, estate and church name derived from that of cemetery site*
Carisbrooke Castle	447	SZ48578772	3 primary inhumations	late 5th/early 6th c	Young 2000, 87-96 *overlooks Froglands Farm 'productive site'*
Chessell Down	138, 405, 1303	SZ39898538	6 cremations, minimum of 107 inhumations	late 5th/early 6th to late 6th c	Arnold 1982, 13-72; Geake 1999, 13-5: *grave 26 may be as late as early 7th c, and indications of 7th c dating of other material; overlooks Churchills Farm 'productive site' on Bembridge limestone*
Chillerton Down	378	SZ47328271	1 cremation, secondary	late 5th/early 6th c	Arnold 1982, 80; IWHER 378

(Sheards barrow)					
Churchills Farm		SZ397870	brooches, bracteate, probable ploughed-out inhumations	5th to 7th c? (FB); late 5th/early 6th (Salter 2010, 67)	pers com F.Basford (FLO); Salter 2010, 62-72 *also a mid-Saxon 'productive site', the only burial site on Bembridge limestone rather than the chalk/greensand Lateral Ridge*
Mottistone Down	245	SZ40538477	secondary inhumations	?	Arnold 1982, 88; mid 19th c account implies inhumations in and around BA barrow
Rowborough Down	520	SZ4585?	possible funerary urns	?	Arnold 1982, 86 (Newbarn Down): vague mid 19th c report; probably Rowborough Down
Presford Farm		SZ464823	Key stone disc brooch with garnets, beads and buckles	late 5th and 6th c	pers com F. Basford (FLO); PAS IOW-A33D42 (brooch)
Shalcombe Down	124, 128	SZ39028544, SZ39438548	secondary inhumations in BA barrow, or in AS barrow	?	Arnold 1982, 81-3; IWHER 128
Shorwell	5560	SZ44888272, SZ44968280	1 inhumation plus plough scatter of artefacts, representing 6 or 7 inhumations	metalwork late 5th to 6th c; helmet from inhumation *c.*500- 550; copper alloy hanging bowl 7th c?	pers com Frank Basford (FLO); Basford 2007, 203; Ager and Abdy 2009a; Ager and Adby 2009b; Salter 2010, 78-85; Hood et al 2012; Geake 1999, 16-8: *presence of hanging bowl indication a 7th or early 8th c date of deposition?*

Appendix 2.2 Isle of Wight possible/probable additional early Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites

Site name	Centred on NGR	Comments
Bathingbourne (1)	SZ550835	on margins of the extensive area of gravel terrace; *-inga* place-name
Chessell (2)	SZ398857	probable extension downhill of Chessell Down site to the north and north-west
Dog Kennel Cottage/Tapnell Farm, Thorley (3)	SZ373880	on margins of the Thorley-Wellow Bembridge limestone area
Down Court (4)	SZ498785	the first potential early AS cemetery site on the chalk of the Southern Massif
Five Houses (5)	SZ433876	*c.*0.7km north of the chalk of the Lateral Ridge
Glebe Farm, Calbourne (6)	SZ421872	*c.*0.8km north of the chalk of the Lateral Ridge
Little Budbridge (7)	SZ527840	on Lower Greensand (Ferruginous Sands) of the Southern Vale
Mersley Down	SZ562872	on chalk of Lateral Ridge, south-facing; 5th-6th c pottery associated with ploughed-out human remains of at least two individuals
Shalcombe Holding (8)	SZ387858	to the north of the chalk of the Lateral Ridge just beyond the southern margins of the Thorley-Wellow Bembridge limestone area
Westover (9)	SZ419857	on northern margins of the Lateral Ridge

All identifications based on PAS records of early medieval brooches (accessed 23/6/22) except Mersley Down (Wessex Archaeology 2024, 4; Kevin Trott, pers. comm.): (1): IOW-10F3B3, -78CB34, -E6D976; (2): IOW-359245, -6195B2, -BC50A9, -52A9AA, -4AC604, -BOC422, -F4EEFA, -655D49, -65CDF2; (3): IOW-BDF9A5, -22A124, -28DEBS, -235E85; (4): IOW-968A80, -DE986F6, -D94975; (5): IOW-5AE188, -14F152, -1654A1, -5B1032, -3D98B9, -8B32DE; (6): IOW-B26F91, -72BA16; (7): IOW-609CF2, -5ED031, -03FAE4; (8): IOW-8DF476, -A18956, -A6B1B4, -654C24, -0EBC1, -C1CCD1, -62B1B6; (9): IOW-BA9531, -B5EC53, -273A25, -E74B96, -8BD381

Appendix 2.3 Isle of Wight undated inhumations

Site Name	HER	NGR	Description	Dating evidence?	Comments and references
Alvington	1892	SZ478882	1 inhumation	none	Cherryson 2005 vol. 3, 92
Arreton Down	2035	SZ536874	1 inhumation	none	Cherryson 2005 vol. 3, 93
Flowers Brook	2149	SZ553770	3 inhumations	none	Cherryson 2005 vol. 3, 95
Bembridge Down	1124	SZ625859	2 inhumations	none	Arnold 1982, 84-5; IWHER 1124, alleged site of barrow; nearby urn now lost, apparently prehistoric
Golden Hill	9991	SZ338878	1 inhumation	none	
Little Chessell	402	SZ402865	2 inhumations	1 inhumation undated; 1 inhumation's artefacts now reassigned to 405	Arnold 1982, 78-9; one inhumation associated with early AS artefacts, but these probably from 405, Chessell Down (IWHER report, Mark Tosdevin, 25.1.1988)
Shalfleet churchyard	5080	SZ413892	9 inhumations	pre-19th c	No grave cuts were visible and the partial remains of 11 skeletons were revealed in the trench. The feet of skeletons 1 and 4 were contained within wooden coffins and were on a similar alignment to the Victorian gravestones of William and Harriet Wheeler. The remaining skeletons were recorded and were buried at a much greater depth than the Victorian burials and are thought to have been much earlier. Subsequent excavation of Saxon burials in the garden of the Old Vicarage (IWHER 5541) revealed that the earlier undated burials recorded during the drainage trench watching brief lay at the same depth and alignment as the Saxon burials. It is highly likely that Skeletons 5 to 11 were originally part of the Saxon cemetery but buried closer to the church site [Ruth Waller, pers. comm., October 2010] (IWHER 5080).
Totland I	66	SZ330871	1 inhumation	none	Cherryson 2005 vol. 3, 97-8
Totland II	67	SZ329871	1 inhumation	none	Cherryson 2005 vol. 3, 98
Ventnor	730	SZ556778	1 inhumation	secondary in BA barrow, early medieval?	Cherryson 2005 vol. 3, 98; Meaney 1964, 101

Appendix 2.4 Dating of artefacts illustrated by Arnold (1982) using research published by Hines and Bayliss (eds.) (2013) Figure 8.16, Tables 8.1 and 10.1

Site name	Arnold 1982 fig. reference	Arnold grave number/ illust. no.	Artefact type (Nielson 2013)	Hines and Bayliss seriation[1]	Hines and Bayliss date ranges* (95% probability)	Arnold 1982 reference
Chessell Down	fig. 5	7v	BR2-a saucer brooch	B(p)	525-550x555-585 (525-550x560-570)	
	fig. 5	12iii	BR2-a saucer brooch	B(p)	525-550x555-585 (525-550x560-570)	
	fig. 6	22i	BR1-f great square-headed brooch, Hines's group XXII	B(p)	525-550x555-585 (525-550x560-570)	
	fig. 6	22vi	BU2-d shield-on-tongue buckle	B(p)	525-550x555-585 (525-550x560-570)	
	fig. 11	45iv	T-key	D(r), E(s)	580-640x660-685 (565-595x610-645)	
	fig. 13	45xiii	BR2-b2 keystone garnet disc brooch of Avent's Class 2	B(p)	525-550x555-585 (525-550x560-570)	p. 52
	fig. 15	60i	BR1-b great square-headed brooch, Hines's group I	B(p)	525-550x555-585 (525-550x560-570)	
	fig. 28	unprovenanced: 69, 70, 81	BU2-d shield-on-tongue buckles	B(p)	525-550x555-585 (525-550x560-570)	
	fig. 28	unprovenan	BU2-c buckle with	B(p)	525-550x545-565	

		ced: 88	rectangular tongue		(525-550x550-570)	
	fig. 31	unprovenanced: 121	SB3-b1 shield boss, convex cone, overhanging carination	B(p)	525-550x545-565 (525-550x550-570)	
	fig. 31	unprovenanced: 126	SB2-b shield boss, tall cone	B(p)	525-550x545-565 (525-550x550-570)	
	fig. 31	unprovenanced: 128	SB3-b4 shield boss, convex cone, overhanging carination	B,C (p)	525-550x565-595 (525-550x550-570)	
	fig. 32	unprovenanced: 129	SP2-a2c spearhead	B,C (p,q)	510-545x580-640 (525-550x565-595)	
	fig. 33	unprovenanced: 134	SP2-a2a spearhead	B,C (p,q)	510-545x580-640 (525-550x565-595)	
	fig. 34	unprovenanced: 138	SP2-a2c spearhead	B,C (p,q)	510-545x580-640 (525-550x565-595)	
	fig. 37	unprovenanced: 161	SX1-b	C,D (q,r)	555-585x625-650 (550-570x585-615)	
	frontispiece	unprovenanced	BE1-Koch 58 beads with applied spiral trails	B(p)	525-550x545-565 (525-550x550-570)	p. 49-50
	frontispiece	unprovenanced	BE1-Reticellar beads	B(p)	525-550x545-565 (525-550x550-570)	p. 49-50
	frontispiece	unprovenanced	BE1-dots regular beads	B(p)	525-550x545-565 (525-550x550-570)	p. 49-50
	frontispiece	unprovenanced	BE1-melon beads	B(p)	525-550x545-565 (525-550x550-570)	p. 49-50
Shalfleet°	fig. 58	1ii	BE1-melonY-G bead	B(p)	525-550x555-585	

					(525-550x560-570)	
Bowcombe Down	f.ig. 65	17i	SP2-b2 spearhead	A,B ((o),p)	pre 525-550x545-565 (pre 525-550x550-570)	

[1]Upper case AS-MB to AS-MF and AS-FB to AS-FE; lower case in brackets age range AS-Mp to AS-Mt (Hines and Bayliss 2013 table 10.1)

*date ranges not in brackets AS-M to AS-MF and AS-FB to AS-FE; date ranges in brackets AS-M p-t (Hines and Bayliss 2013 fig. 8.16)

°finds now reallocated to Chessell Down

Appendix 3.1 Index of Anglo-Saxon charters relating to the Isle of Wight

ECW1 688x726 lost, Ine to the church of Winchester
30 hides in *Ewereland* [Yaverland]
50 hides in *Breredinges* [Brading]

ECW4 740x756 lost, Cuthred to the church of Winchester
40 hides in *Muleburnam* [unidentified]
25 hides in *Banewadam* [unidentified]
22 hides in *Wippingeham* [Whippingham]

S274 826 B Egbert to the bishopric of Winchester
30 *mansae* in *Cawelburnan* [Calbourne]

S281 838 Egbert to the bishopric of Winchester
40 *cassati* in *Scealdanfleote* [Shalfleet]

S1507 873x888 Will of Alfred
Eaderingetune [Arreton]
Welig [Wellow?]

S543 949 B Eadred to *Æ*lfsige
1 *mansa* in *Vexta Insula* [Ningwood]
1 *mansa* in *Winterburnan* [Winterbourne, Wiltshire]

S1662 951x955 B Eadred to ?
2 hides at *Beaddingaburnan* [Bathingbourne]
1 hide at *Linlande* [unidentified]

S1663 955x959 B Eadwig to *Æ*theleard
5 *mansae* at *Beaddingaburnan* [Bathingbourne]

ECW103 959x975 lost, Edgar to the church at Winchester
2 hides at *Aderingefeldam* [Atherfield]

S766 968 B Edgar to the nuns of Wilton, confirmation
10 hides at *Hwætincg* [Watchingwell] and lands in Wiltshire [South Newnton, Sherrington, Deverill, Baverstock and *Frustfield*]

S821 963x975 Edgar to the church of Winchester, restoration
30 *mansae* at *Etdrethecumb* [Bowcombe (Calbourne)]
100 *mansae* at *Duntune* [Downton, Wiltshire] and renewal of Winchester's title to *Cyltancumb* [Chilcomb, Hampshire]

S842 982 B Ethelred to the church of Winchester, confirmation of various lands including
(i) 2 hides at *Heantune* [Branstone]
(ii) 2 hides at *Beadingaburnan* [Bathingbourne]
(iii) 2 hides at *Meolcodune/Meolcburnantune* [Ashey]
(iv) 1 hide at *Stathe* [Fishbourne]

S1391 1043x1044 Exchange between Bishop *Æ*lfwine of the Old Minster and Osgot
[5 hides] at *Wrocceshele* [Wroxall]

S1581 no date B bounds of Calbourne and Downton [Wiltshire]

ECW Charters which have been lost, but are referred to in the *Annales Monasterii de Wintona* (Luard 1865), are referenced by their number in Finberg (1964)

S Extant charters (surviving in later copies) are referenced by their numbers in Sawyer (1968)

Each reference number is followed by the date or date range of the granting or confirmation of the original charter

B indicates that the charter contains one or more Old English boundary clause

Appendix 4.1: Soils of the Isle of Wight

22 Unripened gley soils	formed under saltmarsh in marine alluvium of various textures
341 Icknield	shallow, stony, often humose silty soils on the chalk, thin, loamy topsoil rich in organic matter; soil easily worked
342 Grey rendzinas	
342a Upton 1	shallow, well drained, silty soils with chalk or chalk rubble at less than 30cm depth, usually overlying Middle and Upper Chalk, mainly on escarpments; soils are mainly on steep slopes so most are in permanent grassland or under wood, gently sloping ground is commonly cultivated
342 Brown rendzinas	
343h Andover 1	variably flinty and chalky silty brown rendzinas over chalk, on undulating chalkland dissected by narrow dry valleys; permeable and well structured, easily to work after rain, dries rapidly in spring, can be cultivated in all seasons
511 Typical brown calcarious earths	
511a Aberford	well drained and fine loamy soil over limestone at moderate depth, easily worked, warm up quickly in spring
511f Coombe 1	developed in flinty, chalky drift in broad valley floors and on lower dipslopes, calcarious fine silty soil and often deep in valley bottoms, but shallow on valley sides; easy to work
571 Typical argillic brown earths	
571g Fyfield 4	undulating land with gentle and moderate slopes, brown, course loamy typically argillic brown earths which pass down to sand or sandstone; easy to work
571i Harwell	fertile, easily worked greyish brown and olive coloured soils with a small iron content and large fine sand and silt fractions; presents few tillage difficulties
571s Efford 1	well drained brown loamy soils on level or gently sloping river or marine terraces where drift overlies non-calcarious gravel; most flat land on river terraces easily worked
571w Hucklesbrook	well drained non-calcarious course loamy and sandy soils in river terrace drift; almost entirely arable land use

572 Stanogleyic argillic brown earths

572h Oxpasture	fine loamy over clayey soils with slowly permeable subsoils, mainly on gentle and moderate slopes; mainly arable but little opportunity to work soils in spring
572j Bursledon	loamy soils with interbedded loams, sands and clays giving rise to soils of varied drainage status and complex lateral changes; better drained soils can support arable
572k Bignor	fertile, loamy grey siliceous soils, mostly with impeded drainage, occurring in an area much affected by landslipping along the south coast of the Isle of Wight; moderately easy to cultivate

581 Typical palaeo-argillic brown earths

581b Sonning 1	stony, course-textured, well drained soils formed in Plateau Gravel and river terrace drift; much land under grass usually supporting dairy herds, limitations to arable use being soil droughtiness and presence of stones
581c Sonning 2	developed in pre-Devensian gravelly plateau and river drift which has strongly disturbed by periglacial processes, reddish, flinty coarse loamy over gravelly brown earths are dominant; used mainly for dairy farming , arable limited by droughtiness and presence of stones
581d Carstens	extensive where chalk is covered by aeolian silty drift over clay-with-flints and Plateau Drift, principle soils are deep and freely drained, usually with reddish clayey subsoils; well suited to cultivation

711 Typically stagnogley soils

711h Wickham 4	seasonally waterlogged soils with slowly permeable subsurface horizons, fine loamy or fine silty and with grey and ocherous mottles throughout; little opportunity to work in springtime, autumn cultivations essential, grass yields enhanced by flush of autumn growth

813 Pelo-alluvial gley soils

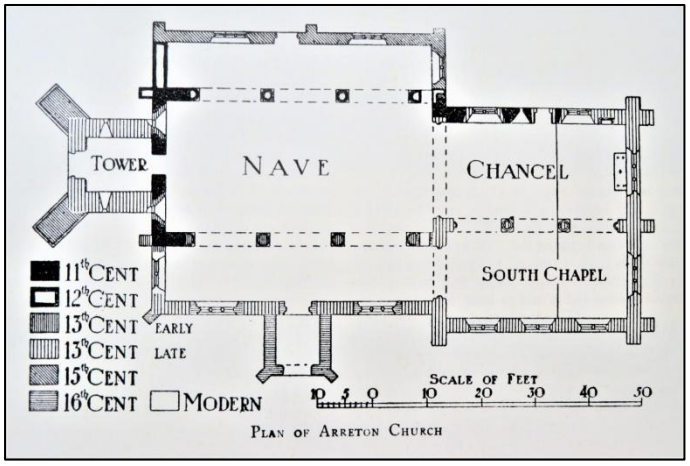
813d Fladbury 3	clayey alluvial soils on the floodplains of rivers, grey clayey pelo-alluvial gley soils, humose topped soils and clayey peaty soils are more important components than usual along the Yar; mainly permanent grassland because of high groundwater levels and flood risk
813f Wallasea 1	the main association on marine alluvium, non-calcarious clayey pelo-alluvial gley soils; clayey topsoils retain large amounts of water, traditionally permanent grassland

Compiled from Jarvis *et al.* (1984) and Soils of England and Wales, Sheet 6: South Eastern England 1:250,000 (1983)

Appendix 5.1 Isle of Wight Churches and Parochial Chapels to *c*.1200: a summary of the evidence and church ground plans in Page (1912)

Arreton

Arreton was one of the churches given by William fitzOsbern to his abbey at Lyre in Normandy between 1067 and 1071 (Hockey 1981a, no. 4). The Church was referred to in Domesday Book along with other holdings of the Abbot of Lyre in the manor of *Adrintone* (39c). The earliest fabric of the church is described in the corpus of Anglo-Saxon architecture by Taylor and Taylor (1965, 30-31) and consists of the side walls of the nave which are 69cm (27ins) thick, and the western wall of the nave which has a doorway at ground floor level with a single splayed round headed window above. The western doorway is cut straight through the wall, *ie*. with no rebate for a door, its ashlar jambs are laid 'Escomb fashion'. Although the voussoirs are not of through-stones, it has been described as ‘a distinctively pre-conquest feature’ (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 30), however, ‘of Anglo-Saxon workmanship’ would perhaps be more accurate. The round-headed window above also has jambs of through-stones and voussoirs which are not. The widely internally splayed window in the north wall of the chancel is described by the Taylors as ‘of Saxo-Norman type’ and the wall here is 79cm (31ins) thick (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 30). The constructional details of this window are obscured by plaster. The north wall of the chancel with its single-splayed round-headed window may be contemporary with the nave as both are constructed of roughly dressed stone, but there is a difference in the thickness of the walls. Despite the Taylor's comment about the date of the west doorway, it is almost certainly contemporary with the single splayed window above. Single splayed windows do occur in pre-Conquest churches and continue after the Conquest (Fernie 2000, 211). However, there was a ‘widespread use of double-splayed windows in the late-Saxon era and the abandonment of them almost immediately after the conquest’ (Taylor 1978, 843), which may imply that the window dated to after the Conquest. If so, the construction of the west wall at Arreton with its openings can be seen as part of the hybrid nature of architecture in lesser buildings in the early Norman period (Gem 1988, 24-25). On architectural grounds the nave and chancel could be dated to the last third of the eleventh century, or possibly even the early twelfth century. An early twelfth century date for the nave and the north wall of the chancel has been suggested, based on the architectural evidence and the dedication of the church to St George (Margham



PLAN OF ARRETON CHURCH

2014, 8-9). In the late twelfth century this church was modified by the provision of a north aisle, the nave wall being cut through to create a Transitional Norman arcade of three bays (Margham 2017c). A Romanesque dragon's head has been repositioned to the internal east wall of the north aisle. This would appear to have formed one of two label stops, perhaps associated with a former chancel arch (Margham 2017c).

Binstead

Binstead church suffered the destruction of its nave in 1843-4 in order to make way for its rebuilding (Cox 1911, 37). The chancel was retained. This has dressed face alternate quoins, the lower four courses of walling are of ashlar, with partially dressed herringbone and random rubble fabric above. The south wall of the chancel is 82.5cm (32in) thick. The former nave was constructed of herringbone fabric (Tomkins 1796, 98), a few courses of which survived the rebuilding low down in the south wall. Herringbone fabric without any other dateable features gives no indication for or against Anglo-Saxon workmanship (Taylor 1978, 760). However, churches in West Yorkshire which are characterised by herringbone fabric would appear to date from the late eleventh and early twelfth century (Ryder 1993, 26) and nearer the Isle of Wight a date of *c.*1080 has been ascribed to the herringbone masonry at Corfe Castle in Dorset (Newman and Pevsner 1972, 164). Gethyn-Jones' (1979, 5) study of the early Norman churches in Herefordshire concluded that herringbone fabric was employed extensively in the late eleventh century. The pre-1843 chancel arch was mentioned by Sir Stephen Glynne in 1825: 'The arch which divides the nave and the chancel springing from brackets having the billet moulding' (Margham 2019a, 13). These stones were referred to by Renn (1969, 269) as 'the imposts to the former chancel arch, with trilobe-tailed dragons....running along a billet moulding', based on an antiquarian account. The whereabouts of these imposts is now not known, but they were illustrated by Stone (1891, I, 9). Three items of Romanesque sculpture were repositioned in the rebuilt fabric: two voussoirs, one depicting a lion, the other a griffin, now high up in the nave west wall, and a nimbed bird in the apex of the porch (Margham 2016c). The former north doorway of the nave has been reassembled in the south wall of the churchyard. This round-headed doorway with a roll-moulding has a plain tympanum (Margham 2016c). A seated figure, known locally as 'the idol', has been positioned above this doorway (Hutchinson and Hutchinson 1969). The provenance of this figure is not known.

Bonchurch

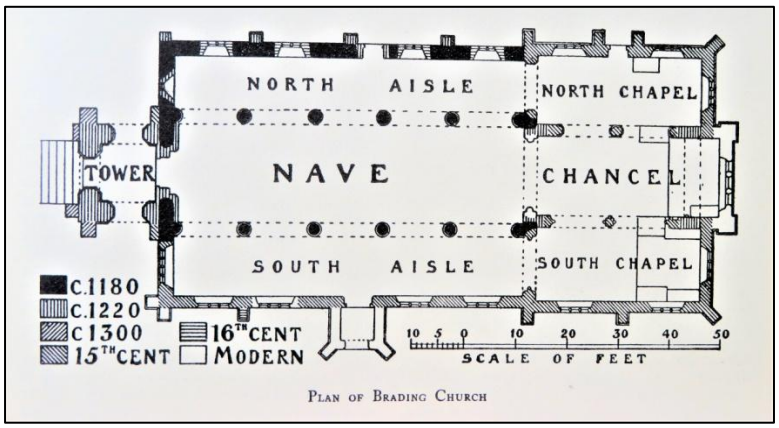
The church of St Boniface is alleged to have obtained its dedication from a visit of the eighth century missionary to Germania (Cox 1911, 39), and there is a tradition that the church was built by monks in the eighth century (Renn 1969, 266). However, the dedication may be due to the mistaken belief of an association with Boniface because of the place-name (Gelling 1981, 7) or the acquisition of the saint's relics at a later date. The Domesday place-name *Bonecerce* indicates the presence of a church by 1086 and can be interpreted as 'Bana's church', a church built by a

murderer (Old English *Bana*) as an act of atonement (Ekwall 1960), or 'Buna's church' (Gelling 1981, 7). However, a re-evaluation of the place-name reverts to the traditional interpretation, with Bonchurch probably meaning 'the church of *Bona', from Old English *cirice* and an Old English personal name which may be a short form of the latin name Bonifatius, *i.e.* Boniface (Coates 1990-91). The chancel arch was reconstructed in a Romanesque style in the early twentieth century, replacing a plain round-headed arch (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 87). The round headed south doorway of the church is composed of voussoirs of chevron and of billet (Margham 2016d), suggesting that this is a composite arrangement. Was this doorway inserted into a pre-existing wall? The north wall of the nave has been lengthened westwards beyond the straight joint in the fabric. The south wall of the nave is only 62cm (24 ins) thick, suggestive of a building of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, '....it is worth looking more closely at a church with walls appreciably thinner than 3 ft to see if there is confirmatory evidence for claiming it as Anglo-Saxon' (Taylor 1978, 760). However, in the case of Bonchurch there is no such confirmatory evidence. According to Sir John Oglander the church '*was erected in ye reynge of William ye Conquerer by one Johannes de Argentine...[who] got itt to be made a p'risch, by means of his brother's sonn Walkelyn, then Bishop of Winchester*' (quoted by Stone 1891,11). The evidence of the church fabric suggests a date for construction by the late eleventh century, a date not inconsistent with the episcopate of Walkelin (1070-1098), with the construction or modification of the south doorway and the extension of the nave westwards in the twelfth century.

The north wall of the nave has a fragmentary wall painting. This has been dated to the first third of the twelfth century. It appears to show 'parts of two draped figures, a tower-like architectural feature, and swags of draperies decorated with stars' (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 87). It can be suggested that as the painting extends eastwards from the chancel arch to just before the external straight joint in the nave's fabric it was produced before the extension of the nave to the west.

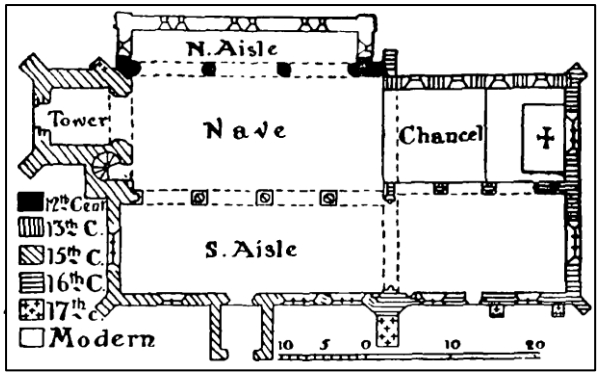
Brading

The earliest dateable fabric in the church is the nave arcades of five bays in the Transitional Norman style of the late twelfth century. Stone (1891, I, 13) says that 'In all probability the church was founded and endowed by the Azor or de Insula family about the middle of the 12th century …', based on a lease prior to 1247. This document refers to gifts of lands 'before and at the dedication' of the church of St Mary at Brading, which 'must have been quite towards the end of the reign of Henry II' (Stone 1891, I, 97). However, there must have been a church here before this. The earliest documentary reference concerns an arrangement about the tithes of Brading's daughter church at Shanklin, during the episcopate of Henry of Blois at Winchester (1129-1171) (Hockey 1982, 6). The document transcribed by Stone (1891, I, 97) would thus appear to refer to the rededication of the church after its rebuilding.



Plan of Brading Church

There is physical evidence for the existence of a church at Brading by the later eleventh century. Renn (1969, fig. 3) illustrated a carved stone which is in use as a piscina affixed to the south wall of the chancel. If the Brading sculpture was originally formed as a piscina then the pillar piscina with its volute spirals at Sherburn in the East Riding of Yorkshire is a valid parallel (Wood 2004). Renn has pointed out that pillar piscinas usually consist of a column with the capital hollowed out but with no abacus. He also cited Sir Alfred Clapham who argued that the Brading sculpture was a respond from which sprang an arch or vault (Renn 1969, 269). It is quite possible that the sculpture did not start out as a piscina but has been adapted to this use (Margham 2016e). Renn (1969, 269) suggested an Anglo-Saxon date in the eleventh century for this sculpture. This dating was based on parallels from elsewhere: the reeded strip-work flanking the capital and column is similar to the strip-work on the gable ends at St Lawrence, Bradford-upon-Avon and the volute spiral decoration on the capital has similarities with capitals in Lincolnshire church towers. Renn dated the Lincolnshire towers to the early eleventh century, but it is now generally considered that they belong to a later period than this (Fernie 1983, 171). Baldwin Brown (1925, xiv-xvi) suggested a post-Conquest date for these towers. This has been confirmed by more recent research, with Lincolnshire towers having a date range of *c.*1080 to the first decade of the twelfth century (Stocker and Everson 2006, 55). It is however not necessary to look so far afield for comparisons for the Brading volute spirals, as a close parallel exists at Netheravon in Wiltshire. The small volutes on the two southern capitals of the western tower arch are almost identical to the volute on the east face of the Brading piscina. The tower arch at Netheravon can be dated to *c*.1090, the church having been rebuilt shortly after the Domesday survey recorded its predecessor as ‘waste and roofless so that it is almost collapsing’ (Blair 1987a, 273). Volute capitals were introduced into England in the early Norman period and were used in many buildings in the late eleventh century (Zarnecki 1958, 11). The fragment at Brading can be seen as a very poor representation of this new type of capital design.



Brighstone

There is no documentary evidence for the existence of a church here until the papal taxation of 1291 (Astle *et al.* 1802, 211), but the north arcade of the nave of three bays, despite having round-headed

arches, has some dog-tooth ornament on one of the piers. This indicates a date of construction in the late twelfth century (Margham 2015c).

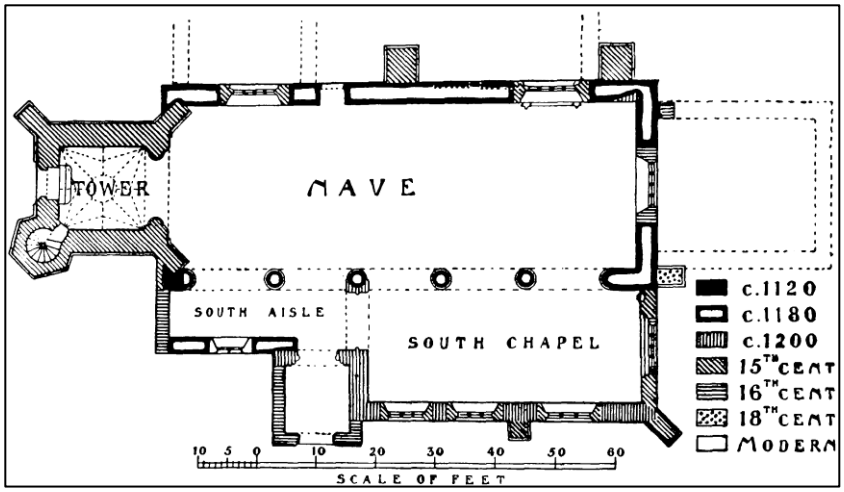
Calbourne

There was a church in the manor of *Cavborne* in 1086 which was part of the lands of the Bishop of Winchester (52v).The earliest extant fabric which can be firmly dated is of the thirteenth century (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 101-102). The church suffered from a drastic 'restoration' in 1840-42 (Cox 1911, 50) when, amongst other changes, the Norman arcade between the nave and south aisle was replaced. Two drawings of the church of *c*.1800 'show tall, narrow round-headed doorways with plain hood-moulds on the north and south sides of the church' (Renn 1969, 268, citing Tomkins 1796, II, 55 and Englefield 1802, reproduced in Stone 1891, II, 18). The proportions of these doorways (Renn 1969, fig. 2) suggest Anglo-Saxon workmanship (Taylor 1978, 817), as do the hood-mouldings which were introduced in about the ninth century and continued in use to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond. Almost all examples of such hood-mouldings are found in contexts which would commonly be accepted as being late Saxon (Taylor 1978, 938). The doorway on the north side of the church was set in the north wall of the transept. The southern doorway gave access to what is now the south aisle. It is possible that this aisle was originally the nave, but an alternative reading of this evidence is that the two hood-moulded doorways were in situ when recorded *c.*1800 and defined the transepts of a cruciform church (or more accurately for Anglo-Saxon architecture a church flanked by *porticus*). This hypothesis, however, would have to explain why the north transept extended out further than the putative south. The wall between the south aisle and the nave (where it has not been rebuilt) is relatively thin, 61 to 69cm (24 to 27ins) thick. This nave would appear to have been aisle-less in the eleventh century and retains one possibly contemporary single-splayed window set in its north western angle. The presence of this window in such a position implies that the church had a western tower by the twelfth century. It would appear that much of the pre-1840 fabric of Calbourne church was probably of Anglo-Saxon workmanship and that it was this church that was recorded in 1086. The font at Calbourne seems to have originated c. 1170 to 1180 (Ron Baxter, pers. comm.). It has incised designs on its cardinal faces, which were later truncated when the font, formerly square in plan, was cut down to its present octagonal form (Margham 2018b).

Carisbrooke

Domesday Book records that the monks of Lyre held a church in the manor of *Bovecome* (52). Whilst it has been pointed out that this church may have been located in the vicinity of Bowcombe Farm (Page 1912, 232, 234; Edwards 1999), *ecclesiam sancte Marie de Caresbroc* was included in a confirmation charter of Baldwin de Redvers between 1142 and 1147 of properties which had been granted to Lyre Abbey by William fitzOsbern (Hockey 1981a, no. 2). It is therefore very likely that Carisbrooke was one of the churches given by William fitzOsbern to Lyre between 1067 and 1071. Carisbrooke church was first explicitly referred to in 1114

(Hockey 1981a, no. 15). A small priory was established at Carisbrooke by Lyre to control, collect and allocate revenue from its Island holdings (Hockey 1982, 17). Hildearius, abbot of Lyre (1142-1147) requested and received permission to settle a few monks near the castle of Carisbrooke, in order to safeguard the interests of the abbey and collect its revenues. Subsequent to this a small colony was established near the church of 'Bowcombe' (Hockey 1982, 36), *ie.* Carisbrooke. The earliest fabric of the church that can be dated in relative terms is the south wall of the nave. This was an external wall 1.17m (42ins) thick in which there were two single-splayed windows with square-headed apertures. These were partially cut away with the insertion of a Transitional Norman nave arcade of five bays in the late twelfth century. The east and north walls of the nave are a similar thickness to the south wall, so these walls appear to be contemporary. The thickness of the nave walls and the construction of the single-splayed windows indicate Norman, rather than Anglo-Saxon workmanship. An early Norman date for the construction of the nave can be suggested. The chancel was demolished *c.* 1565 and the western wall of the nave was destroyed with the construction of the tower in 1471 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 112-3). The round-headed north doorway of the nave is broadly contemporary with the nave south arcade (Margham 2018c). The external north wall of the nave has two arched external recesses, one of which a date of *c.* 1200 can be suggested from the form of the capitals, the other being of a later date (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 113). The weathering of the former priory cloister can be seen high up on the outside of the nave north wall.



Carisbrooke church has two items of stone sculpture pre-dating *c.*1200. An incised slab depicting a cleric presumably post-dates the foundation of the priory *c.*1150 (Margham 2018c). A larger than life-sized right hand in low relief is set into the north wall of the churchyard. This can be seen as the right hand of the figure of Christ from a large rood, or as the *manus dei* (hand of God) above such an assemblage (Margham and Tomalin 2022). The closest parallel for the former is the late Anglo-Saxon rood at Romsey Abbey (Tweddle *et al.* 1995, Romsey 1).

Chale

St Andrews church was dedicated on 1st December 1114 by the Bishop of Winchester, in the presence of Hugh de Gernun, the founder. An agreement was made concerning its relationship with Carisbrooke, its mother church, and soon after

this it had its own burial ground (Hase 1988, 61; Hockey 1982, 6). The earliest part of the fabric that can be firmly dated is the easternmost bay of the south arcade which was constructed in the late twelfth century (Margham 2017d). However, the plain round-headed arch on the south side of the chancel may predate this (Renn 1969, 269).

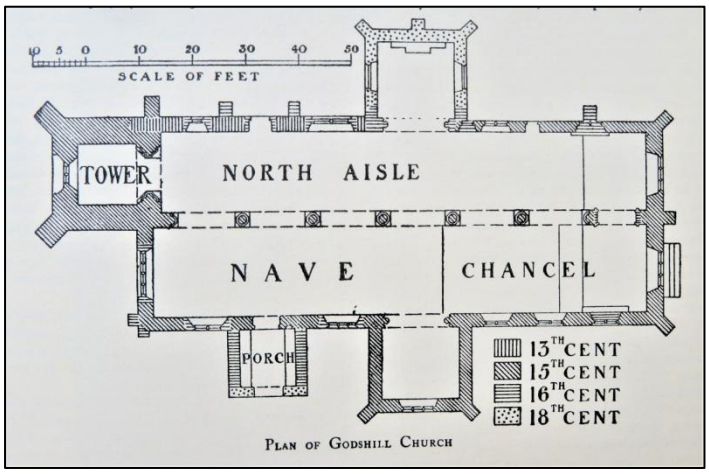
Freshwater

This was one of the Island churches given by William FitzOsbern to Lyre Abbey in the period 1067 to 1071 (Hockey 1981a, no. 4). The earliest fabric is the walling of the three eastern bays of the nave, the formerly aisle-less nave being defined by three long-and-short quoins, the faces of the 'shorts' being cut back slightly where they extend beyond the 'longs' to produce a pilaster clasping the angles of the wall, defining a nave approximately 42ft (12.8m) long. The walls of the nave are 81cm (32ins) thick and are of roughly coursed stone rubble construction (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 246): ‘Long and short quoining is one of the hallmarks of the late Anglo-Saxon period, but it falls out of use soon after the introduction of Norman masonry techniques’ (Fernie 1983, 162). Taylor (1978, 957) would like to see the origins of long-and-short quoins at Barnack (Northamptonshire) before *c*.870, but this early date for the tower at Barnack is far from universally accepted (Fernie 1983, 140-1). They are firmly dated to 1056 at Odda's chapel, Deerhurst (Gloucestershire) and occur in immediate post conquest contexts at Winchester Castle chapel by 1072, at St John Timberhill, Norwich, between 1066 and 1086 (Fernie 1983,162) and Rougemont Castle gatehouse, Exeter,1069-70 (Blaycock and Higham 1990, 37-39): ‘while it is therefore incorrect to speak of this technique as a sure sign of Anglo-Saxon date, it may not be misleading to refer to it as a sign of Anglo-Saxon workmanship’ (Fernie 1983, 162-3). The nave walls of this aisle-less church at Freshwater had Transitional Norman north and south arcades inserted in the late twelfth century, forming three bays. Broadly contemporary with this was the provision of chapels flanking the chancel, indicated by the arches, one on each side (Margham 2017e). A round-headed doorway with chevron moulding was repositioned from the east end of the south aisle during the church restoration of 1875/6. The Purbeck marble font, which originally dated to *c.*1190-1200, was reconstructed in the nineteenth century (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 140; Margham 2017e).

Gatcombe

The church has no dateable fabric before the thirteenth century, with the possible exception of a plain, round headed doorway in the north wall of the nave. A grotesque twelfth-century corbel now forms a feature on the apex of the porch roof, having been reused from elsewhere (Thompson 2008; Margham 2016e). According to Hockey (1982, 6) along with Whitwell (St Radegund), which has twelfth-century fabric, it was founded as a chapel by the de Estur family. Whitwell was endowed so that the rector of Gatcombe should say mass there and maintain the chancel. The implication of this is that Gatcombe was a foundation of the twelfth century or earlier.

Godshill



Plan of Godshill Church

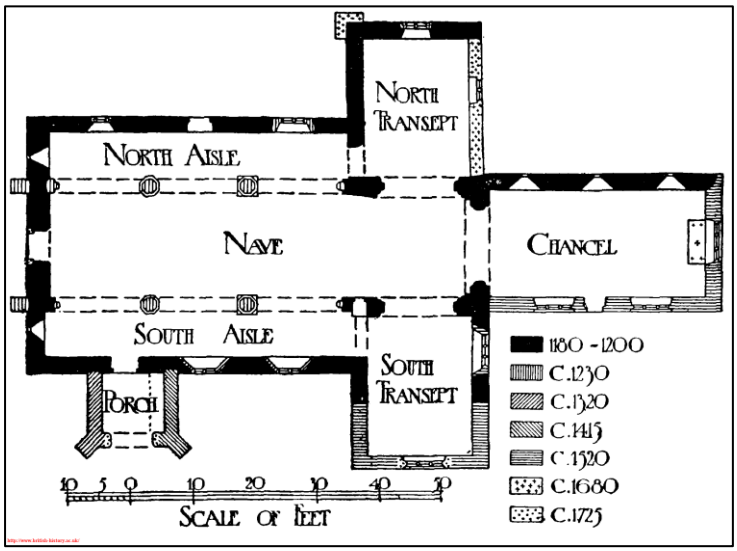
This was one of the churches given to Lyre between 1067 and 1071 (Hockey 1981a, no. 4). Apart from a thirteenth-century fragment of a piscina, the fabric of the church is of the fifteenth century (Cox 1911, 89). There is a loose architectural fragment in the church which is 'a simple engaged cushion capital of eleventh century type' (Renn 1969, 267; Margham 2016g). A small piece of sculpture can be seen in the external wall of the chancel. This may be the central boss of an Anglo-Saxon cross-head but due to lack of any other detail this cannot be conformed (Derek Craig, pers. comm.). There has never been a manor named Godshill, and the place-name was not recorded in 1086. It would appear to have formed part of the Domesday manor of Sandford with Week. The settlement did however have its own identity in the first half of the twelfth century, for a *William de Godeshelle* witnessed a tithe agreement 1141x1147 (Hockey 1991, no. 65). The first explicit reference to the church of *Godeshull* dates from 1155x1158 (Hockey 1981a, no. 11). The place-name raises the possibility that the hilltop church site was a place of pre-Christian worship (Kökeritz 1940, 140), and the local landscape legend regarding the building of the church (Boase 1976, 44-5) may signify a relocation of the church site.

Mottistone

Up to 1863 the nave had a round-headed western doorway of twelfth-century date (Stone 1891, II, 41). The late-medieval north chapel has a reused moulded plinth/string course low down on its eastern external wall. This incorporates two animal forms and a head similar to that at Yaverland. This architectural sculpture can be dated to between 1120 and 1160 (Ron Baxter, pers. comm.). The late twelfth-century font was modified in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century (Margham 2017k). There is no documentary evidence for the existence of a church here until the papal taxation of 1291 (Astle *et al.* 1802, 211).

Newchurch

A church here was given to the abbey of Lyre by William FitzOsbern between 1067 and 1071 (Hockey 1981a, no. 4). Pevsner and Lloyd (1967, 749) recorded that 'Inside the church one finds that to the time of the chancel [*ie*. early thirteenth century] belonged a proper crossing with a crossing tower- *cf*. the one surviving E window. The arches to N, S and E are of three slight chamfers, *ie.* early C13th'. This one surviving east window, high up over the chancel arch is single-splayed with a round head, and may belong to an earlier phase rather than being an archaic form



constructed a little time after *c*.1200. The nave walls above the later transept arches are appreciably thicker than the walls further west above the later nave arcades. This thickening of the walling and the presence of the window above the chancel arch may suggest the presence of the only parish church on the Isle of Wight which had a Norman central tower. A ground plan of nave, central tower and chancel in Norfolk, for example, is usually to be found in churches of the later eleventh or early twelfth century, such as Dunham Magna and South Lopham (Taylor and Taylor 1965, 217-20, 400-1). The church at Netheravon (Wiltshire) was also rebuilt with this configuration in the late eleventh century (Blair 1987a, 273). The place-name was first recorded 1155x1158 as *Necherche* (Hockey 1981a, no. 11) and then as *Niwechireche* 1189x1204 (Hockey 1981a, no. 22). This may refer to a rebuilding of the church rather than a new foundation (Gelling 1981, 8) although a shift of the site of the church is a possibility raised by the place-name (Morris 1985, 58).

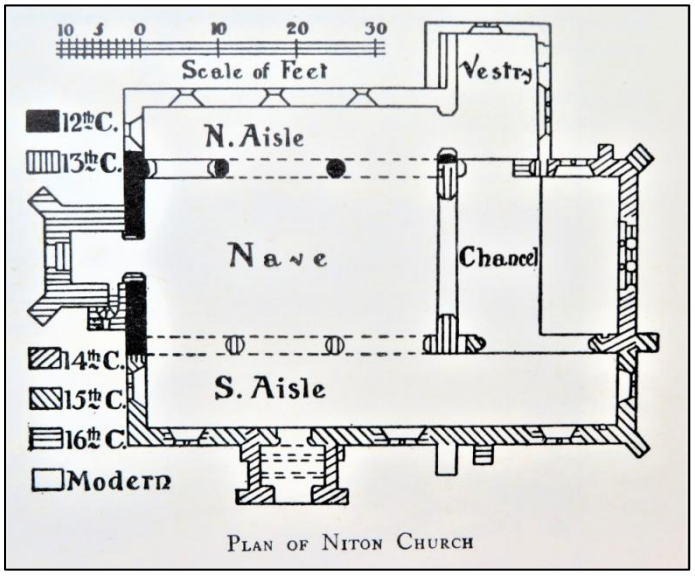
Newport

Newport originated as a planned medieval town in the later twelfth century. The first borough charter was granted by Richard de Redvers II between 1177 and 1184 (Beresford 1967, 444). A chapel at *de Novo Burgo* dependent on Carisbrooke church is listed 1193x1217 in the cartulary of Carisbrooke Priory (Hockey 1981a, no. 10), and the monks of Carisbrooke were to ensure daily divine service in the chapel at Newport recorded in a document of *c*.1200 (Hockey 1981a, no. 11). It was, however, not mentioned in a papal confirmation of the Abbey of Lyre's possession of Carisbrooke church and dependent chapels, 1181x1185 (Hockey 1981a, no. 38), so a date of foundation between 1181 and 1200 can be suggested from the documentary evidence. However, the west-east orientation of the present church, which was rebuilt in 1854-6 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 173), is between 3 and 7 degrees to the south of the orientation of the surrounding street frontages as surveyed in 1864 (Ordnance Survey 1880) which may suggest that the twelfth-century chapel was constructed before the setting out of the surrounding street pattern. The dedication of the chapel provides a *terminus post quem* for its foundation: ‘The town church which stands in the grid near the market place cannot be any earlier than 1172 for it was dedicated to St Thomas of Canterbury; the monks of Carisbrooke Priory contracted with William de Vernon (d.1216) to serve this church’ (Beresford 1967, 444). The Victorian rebuilding of the church swept away the

medieval fabric which included the Transitional Norman nave arcades (Stone 1891, 244).

Niton

A church at Niton was given to Lyre Abbey by William FitzOsbern between 1067 and 1071 (Hockey 1981a, no. 4). The earliest datable fabric is the Transitional Norman north arcade of the nave of three bays dating to the late twelfth century. However, 'In the 1864 restoration, the impost of the old chancel arch was discovered about 18 inches lower, and further south than the present one, but was plastered over again' (Stone 1891, I, 30). There is a distinct possibility that this impost was from a building predating the later twelfth century, but unfortunately no further details were recorded. The tub font has a simple cable moulding may very well have have belonged to a building earlier than that indicated by the north arcade (Margham 2017f).



PLAN OF NITON CHURCH

Northwood

Northwood was one of the chapels dependent on Carisbrooke church 1193x1217 (Hockey 1981a, no. 4). The possession of the chapel of *Nortwuda* by Lyre Abbey had been confirmed by Pope Lucius III, 1181x1185 (Hockey 1981a, no. 43). The nave arcades of three bays are of the Transitional Norman style of the late twelfth century, with low circular piers, square chamfered abaci and pointed arches with a slight chamfer (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 197). The round headed doorway which gives access to the church through the south aisle has a round shafts and chevron ornament around its head. The form of the latter is consistent with a date in the later twelfth century (Borg 1967). The simple damaged stone font which was retrieved from the churchyard in the 1950s could possibly date from the twelfth century but remains undated due to its plainness (Margham 2018a).

St Helens

All that remains of the old church of St Helens is part of the early thirteenth century western tower which has been retained as a navigation mark on the coast: 'The old

church was situated at the extremity of the parish, so near the sea, that the waves washed away great parts of the church-yard, and even endangered the building itself' (Worsley 1781, 200). A small Cluniac religious house was established at St Helens which was dependent on the priory of Wenlock, Shropshire. The foundation at St Helens has been dated to between 1090 and 1155, the latter date being that of the death of Baldwin, Earl of Devon, as it is known that a William was prior of St Helens during Baldwin's time (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 102). An earlier date within this time frame is suggested by various strands of evidence. Stone observed that there is no mention of the priory in Domesday Book and that 'the strongest point in favour of the foundation during the tenure by the Crown lies in the fact that the Priory was endowed with the tithes of the King's lands within what afterwards formed the parish of Brading' (Stone 1891, I, 102, note A). Henry I would appear to have granted various estates on the Isle of Wight to Richard de Redvers soon after his accession in 1100 (Bearman 1994, 18). Practically the whole of the Island was held by the de Redvers family, with only two of the manors mentioned in Domesday Book not forming part of the honour of Carisbrooke (Bearman 1994, 20). This led Stone (1891, I, 21) to suggest a foundation date for St Helens priory before 1100. Oglander claimed a slightly later date: '*In Henry ye Fyrst's time we finde ye church wase mutch augmented, and a Priorye there errected next to ye church dedicated to St Hellen*' (Long 1888, 187). The fact that the Cluniac cell was situated at the site of 'Old St Helens church' is proved by post dissolution documents, for example in 1581 *'...the foundation wher the olde priori house stodd adjoyinge to the chansell and churche of St Hellens*' (Hockey 1982, 63; IWCRO STH/66). An enquiry held in Newport in about 1530 confirms that the church was used by the monks and the parishioners: 'the farmers of the priory for the college [Eaton] never repaired the 'northeyele' and the 'steaple', which were the responsibility of the 'parychyneres' (Hockey 1982, 64; IWCRO C1580, STH/57). However, that the priory did not usually minister in the parish of St Helens is shown by the license of Bishop William de Edyngton of Winchester to prior John de Fescamp to have the care of the parish in 1355, when it had no incumbent (Hockey 1982, 57; HRO, Register of William de Edyngton, i. fo. 84b). The possibility of there being an older foundation on this site is indicated by a tradition recorded by Sir John Oglander in the seventeenth century:

> *This church wase fyrst bwylt by Hildila, yt wase chapeleyne to Sanctus Wilfrydus, then Bischop of Chitchestor; he placed it next to ye east poynt that he might ye oftenor behold Chitchestor ,ye place of his birth, and goe with more ease by boate thethor, he was buryed in hiz owne church*.....(Long 1888,187).

St Lawrence

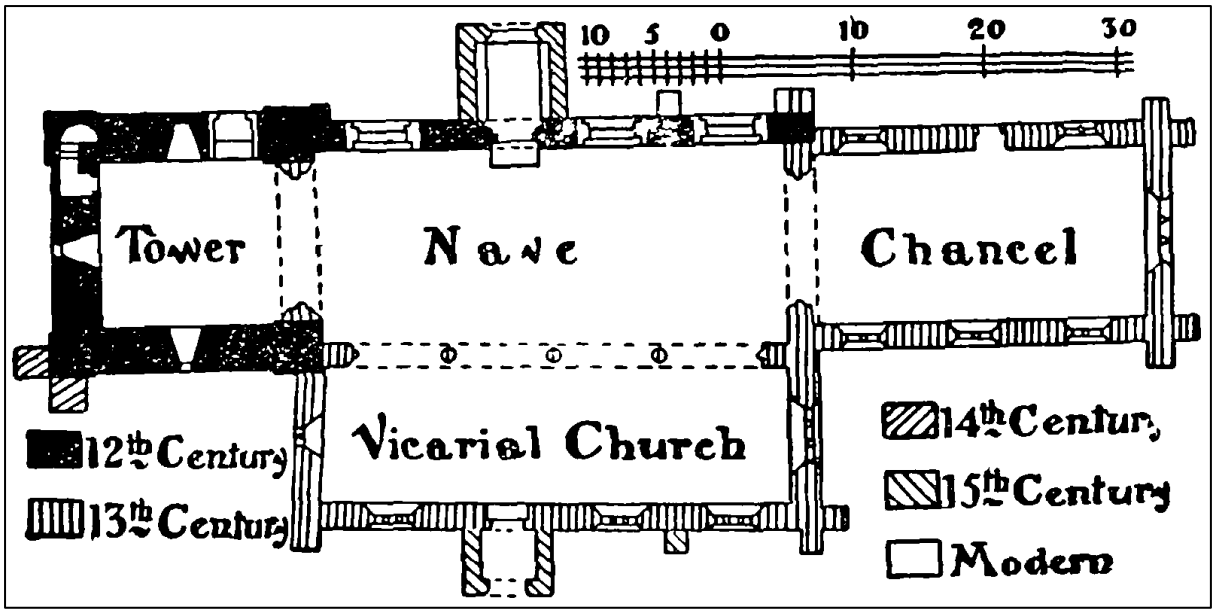
The church is said to have been founded by the de Aula family although there is no specific detailed record of its origin (Hockey 1982, 4). The earliest recorded dateable feature was the lancet window of early thirteenth century form which existed in the east wall before the chancel was extended *c*.1830. A twelfth-century date has been suggested for the walls of the nave (Stone 1891, I, 23). However, an earlier date is a

possibility. The nave has megalithic side alternate quoins, an example being the south-eastern corner, where the lowest block of roughly dressed limestone above the present ground surface measures 63.5x38x61cm (25x15x24in). The north wall of the nave is only 53.5cm (21ins) thick and the south wall 56 cm (22in). Such thin walls, when combined with megalithic side alternate quoins, are suggestive of Anglo-Saxon workmanship (Taylor 1978, 946, 958-9).

St Nicholas

St Nicholas almost certainly originated soon after the Norman Conquest to serve the new castle at Carisbrooke, with the chapel holding the one hide of Shalcombe in 1086 (52v). Some reused Romanesque architectural fragments can be seen in the walls of the present building but because of its location within the castle these do not necessarily come from the chapel.

Shalfleet



There was 'a church' at *Seldeflet* in 1086 (53v). The earliest fabric is the massively built west tower with walls nearly 5ft (1.5 m) thick. It is devoid of ornamentation except for one string course with double billet moulding. The four corners are defined by shallow clasped buttresses. The north-western buttress contains a newel stair which rises to the full height of the tower. The tower is wider than the nave. Much of the north wall of the nave was rebuilt in 1812 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 261) on older footings. The abuttal of these footings with the tower cannot be seen due to the construction of a buttress up against the tower east wall. The tower can be seen as having originated as a tower-nave before the construction of the church's present nave. The tower-arch is not contemporary with the tower, being of a similar form to the south arcade which is dated to the mid to late thirteenth century (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 260). Thus it cannot be ascertained whether the tower-nave had a small attached chancel. Despite the rebuilding of the north wall of the nave in the early nineteenth century, the Romanesque doorway with its tympanum appears to be

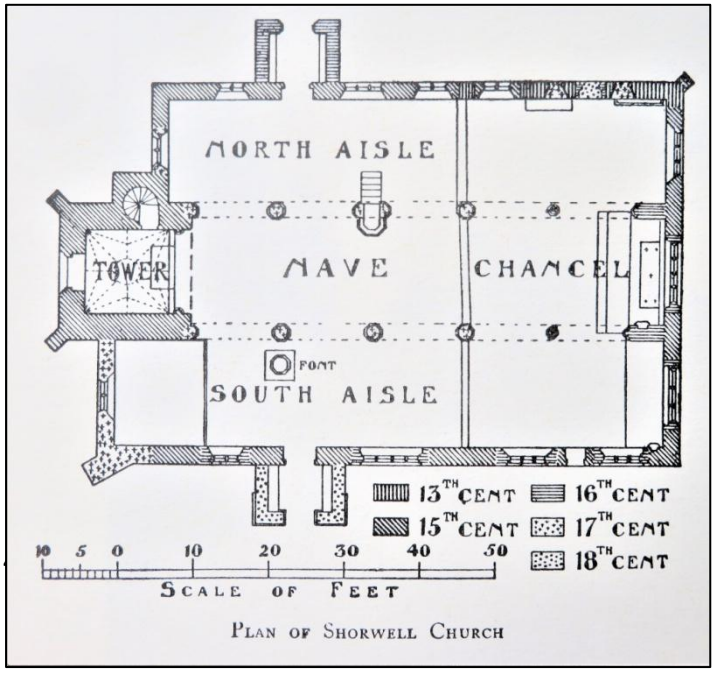
in situ (Margham 2018a 5-6). It is located behind a porch which was constructed in 1754 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 260), and would have provided access to the church from the manorial enclosure to the north. Renn (1969, 268) suggested a date of *c*.1180 for the scalloped capitals of this doorway, due to similarities with the capitals of the nave arcade at Carisbrooke church. A south aisle was added to the nave at Shalfleet at some time before the construction of the present nave arcade, the original width being visible in the west wall of the aisle. Stone (1891, II, 53) suggests a late twelfth century date for this formerly narrower aisle.

Shanklin

There is a document relating to the foundation of the chapel at Shanklin dating from the time when Henry of Blois was Bishop of Winchester (1129-1171). The chapel had 'been set up for the celebration of divine service for Geoffrey de Insula and the men of his manor, as also for the tenants of Ralf de Clamorgan' (Hockey 1982, 6). Whilst the document itself can only be dated to the episcopate of Henry of Blois, an examination of the charters of the Redvers family (Bearman 1994) and of Quarr Abbey (Hockey 1991) narrows down this wide date range. One of the earliest charters witnessed by Geoffrey de Insula 1145x1155 also included the name of Walter de Clamorgan (Bearman 1994, 61). Ralf de Clamorgan was first recorded as witnessing a charter, along with Waltero de Insula, in 1189x1191 (Bearman 1994, no. 109), and was last recorded as a witness *c.*1200 (Hockey 1991, no. 332). A date towards the end of the episcopate of Henry of Blois can thus be suggested for the foundation of the chapel at Shanklin. The earliest dateable fabric is of the early fourteenth-century, although it is possible that the fabric of the chancel and the eastern part of the nave pre-dates this.

Shorwell

Lyre Abbey was confirmed in its possession of '*ecclesiam de Caresbroc cum capellis de Nortwuda et de Sorewell*' 1181x1185 (Hockey 1981a, no. 43). There was a dispute concerning the patronage of the chapel in 1205 (Hockey 1981a, no. 174). Hockey suggests a date of 2nd June, probably 1263, for the consecration of the chapel at Shorwell, but unless this was a consecration of a newly rebuilt chapel, this does not agree with the above evidence from the cartulary of Carisbrooke Priory. It seems more likely that Hockey's alternative suggestion that this was the date of the anniversary of the consecration is correct (Hockey 1982, 5). The earliest datable features at Shorwell are



PLAN OF SHORWELL CHURCH

the reset early thirteenth-century doorway now giving access to the south aisle and the broadly contemporary lancet windows in the north chapel wall (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 270). This lancet window is flanked to the east by a blocked plain round-headed doorway, which may suggest that the doorway is an earlier feature than the window.

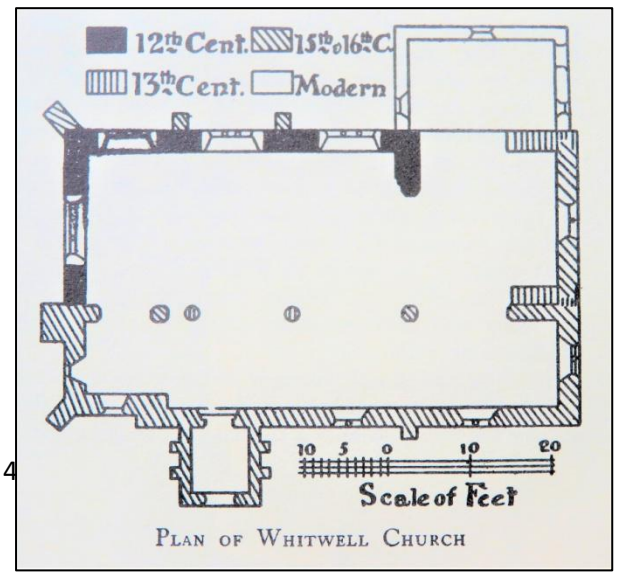
Thorley

Worsley (1781, 265) claimed that the church was probably built by Amicia de Clare, who was married to Baldwin de Redvers IV in 1226 and died in 1245 (Margham 1991, 115). If there is any truth in this, it must refer to a rebuilding, for in 1161-70 Thorley was recorded as having a rector (Hase 1988, 57). The first mention of Thorley church is to be found in a confirmation of properties granted to the canons of Christchurch by Baldwin de Redvers 1151x1155 (Bearman 1994, 34). All that now remains of the medieval church at Thorley is the south porch with a belfry above.

Whippingham

The church was amongst those given to Lyre Abbey by William FitzOsbern between 1067 and 1071 (Hockey 1981a, no. 4). Much of the medieval fabric of the church survived the partial rebuilding of 1804 but was demolished between1854 and 1862 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 293) to make way for the present monstrosity. Tomkins (1796) published an engraving of the church from the south. This, along with Stone's plan of the pre-1860 building indicates a small western tower, a nave with a blocked round-headed opening at its west end, and a square ended chancel both with relatively thin walls. The chancel had a small slit window high up in the south wall. The tower was not buttressed, which could suggest a date for construction by the early twelfth century. All that now remains of the fabric of the medieval church are fragments of stone sculpture reset in the mid nineteenth-century fabric. These consist of three items of eleventh-century pre-Conquest sculpture (Derek Craig, pers. comm.), an inscription of apparant post-Conquest date but pre-dating 1250 (Elisabeth Okasha, pers. comm.; Margham 2018a, 8), and Romanesque sculptural pieces: a short length billet and three short length of chevron moulding, and a carved lintel of probable early Norman date (Margham 2017h).

Whitwell



PLAN OF WHITWELL CHURCH

The present church represents the union of two chapels of independent origin. What is now the chancel and nave is dedicated to St Radegund and was founded by the de Estur family of Gatcombe (Hockey 1982, 6). The later chancel arch retains a Romanesque jamb and a short length of chevron ornamented archway which was

originally constructed in the twelfth century. The three bay arcade between St Radegunds and the south chapel of St Mary was first constructed in the late twelfth century but has subsequently been modified (Margham 2017i). This chapel of St Mary served as a chapel of ease for Godshill parish (Hockey 1982, 6).

Wootton

There is a tradition that the first church at Wootton was destroyed by fire and that the present church was built on the same site (Worsley 1781, 227). Worsley (1781, 227) also wrote that Wootton parish was taken out of Whippingham during the reign of Henry III [1216-1272] when Walter de Insula built the chapel and endowed it with lands and tithes. However, a more plausible account is 'According to Sir John Oglander ....the church was built by Walter de Insula, in the reign of William Rufus [1087-1100], as a private chapel for the ease of himself and his tenants, and was endowed with lands in Chillerton, near Gatcombe' (Stone 1891, II,49). The south doorway of the nave is round headed with no tympanum, with one order of shafts with cushion capitals. A roll moulding springs from the abaci, and outside this there is chevron ornament and a billet moulding. The opposing doorway in the north wall is of a simple, round-headed form. The opening in the north wall of the nave to the now reinstated chapel of St Edmund has capitals of late-twelfth century date (Margham 2016h). The church is unusual in that there is no architectural distinction between nave and chancel. This arrangement would appear to date from the thirteenth century as the earliest windows in the chancel are lancets and an examination of the north wall reveals thickening at about 2m (6ft) to the east of the chapel entrance, suggesting an extension of the church to the east.

Yarmouth

Yarmouth was chartered as a borough *c*.1170 by the third Earl of Devon (Beresford 1967, 445) and was laid out with a rectilinear street pattern. The town is said to have had several churches: the present church was dedicated to St James and one dedicated to St John is recorded for 1260 (Hockey 1982, 7). Beresford (1967, 445) says that 'The church was originally at the east end of the town but was burned by the French in the raids of 1378 and rebuilt on the present site'. However, it would appear that Yarmouth's first church was on the site of the present building, for William de Vernon made a gift of land at Yarmouth 1193x1208 which was described as lying between the church of St James and the sea (Bearman 1994, 120). Yarmouth may have had more than one church by the later medieval period, but like other small planned medieval towns such as Newport and Newtown would have started life with only one chapel, dependent on a mother church elsewhere, in this case probably Shalfleet (Worsley 1781, Appendix LXXXI).

Yaverland

Worsley records that the church was supposed to have been built and endowed by one of the Russel family (Worsley 1781, 201). Hockey says that it was founded by the de Aula family, *i.e.* before the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas de Aula

married William Russel in the later thirteenth century (Hockey 1982, 4). The architectural evidence indicates the origin of the present building in the twelfth century and thus supports Hockey's statement. The elaborate chancel arch has face chevron with a pellet attached to each point around the inner section of the hood-moulding:

> A date of construction for the church can be suggested through reference to the chancel arch. The chevron and pellet ornament of the chancel arch has a strong parallel with that of the western doorway of the Augustinian priory church of St Mary's within Portchester castle. The now blocked archway in the west wall of the north transept of Portchester church provides an even closer parallel …. The construction of St Mary's can be dated reasonably confidently between its date of foundation in 1133 and the relocation of the priory to Southwick c. 1144-53 (Pevsner and Lloyd 1967, 382). A similar date can therefore be suggested for the construction of Yaverland church, quite plausibly by Warin de Aula, in the 1140s (Margham 2018a, 7).

The south doorway has a tympanum of diaper work which has been cut into to form the square head of the doorway. A carved head, which is probably Romanesque, is now set in the wall over this doorway (Margham 207j). This is presumably 'the loose carved idol at Yaverland' (Renn 1969, 269).

Appendix 5.2: Analysis of Isle of Wight medieval parish churches and parochial chapels using criteria adapted from Hall (2000, Table 3) to identify high-status churches

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	total
Arreton	-	-	-	3	-	-	5	3	5	1	-	-	5	-	3	-	-	25
Binstead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bonchurch	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Brading	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5	2	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	16
Brighstone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	6
Brook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Calbourne	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	1	-	-	5	-	?	-	-	16
Carisbrooke	-	7	-	3	-	-	5	3	5	4	-	-	5	-	-	1	1	34
Chale	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Freshwater	-	-	-	3	-	-	5	-	5	1	-	-	3	-	3	-	-	20
Gatcombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Godshill	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	15
Kingston	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mottistone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newchurch	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	?	-	1	-	17
Newport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Niton	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Northwood	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	4
St Helens	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
St Lawrence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-
St Nicholas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shalfleet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	11
Shanklin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Shorwell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	8
Thorley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whippingham	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	5	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	15
Whitwell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wootton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Yarmouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Yaverland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3

Literary

18 Religious community before 950
19 Non-regular community 950-1150
20 Pre-conquest royal burial
21 Church reference pre 1071
22 Place-name in minster or church
23 Saint's resting place

Economic

24 Domesday secular minster (after Blair)
25 Royal / ecclesiastical ownership TRE
26 Church value 1291: £10-20; £20+
27 Dependent chapels
28 Pensions from other churches (not chapels)
29 Receipt of churchscot

Physical

30 Size of parish: 3-5000a; 5000a+ (1801)
31 Cruciform church, pre-12C evidence
32 Saxon architectural remains
33 Length of nave, 50ft+
34 Roman remains or site

Appendix 5.3 The Isle of Wight: the Papal Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV (1291), Isle of Wight deanery (Astle *et al.* 1802, 211)

Decanatus de Insula	***Taxatio***			***Decima***		
	£	***s***	***d***	***£***	***s***	***d***
Ecclia de Freshewet'e	40	0	0	4	0	0
Et est Pensionar' in	0	6	8	0	0	8
*Ecclia de *Eremwe est Pensionar' in*	0	13	4	0	1	4
Ecclia de Thorleye	8	0	0	0	16	0
Et est Pensionar' in	1	0	0	0	2	0
Ecclia de Shaldeflitte	26	13	4	2	13	4
Vicaria eiusdem	5	0	0	0	10	0
Ecclia de Caubburn	26	13	4	2	13	4
Ecclia de Modeston	13	6	8	1	6	8
Ecclia de Bristetone	20	0	0	2	0	0
Ecclia de Karesbrok cum Capella & porcoe het Ecclia de Chale	80	0	0	8	0	0
Vicaria eiusdem	10	13	4	1	1	4
Ecclia de Shorewelle	26	13	4	2	13	4
Et est Pensionaria in	1	0	0	0	2	0
Ecclia de Chale	20	0	0	2	0	0
Ecclia de Gatecombe	16	13	4	1	13	4
Ecclia de Niweton	8	0	0	0	16	0
Et est Pensionaria in	0	5	0	0	0	6
Ecclia de Godeshulle	66	13	4	6	13	4
Et est Pensionaria in	1	0	0	0	2	0
Ecclia Sce Elene	20	0	0	2	0	0
Ecclia de Wodinton	8	0	0	0	16	0
Et est Pensionar' in	0	6	8	0	0	8
Ecclia de Brerding	53	6	8	5	6	8
Vicaria eiusdem	5	13	4	0	11	4
Ecclia de Niwecherch	66	13	4	6	13	4
Et est Pensionar' in	2	13	4	0	5	4
Ecclia de Arreton	33	6	8	3	6	8
Et est Pensionar' in	2	0	0	0	4	0
Vicaria eiusdem	5	6	8	0	10	8
Ecclesia de Uppinghm	24	0	0	2	8	0
Et est Pensionar' in	0	10	0	0	1	0
Ecclia de Standon	4	3	4	0	8	4
Ecclia de Bonecherche	5	0	0	0	10	0
Capella de Castro	5	0	0	0	10	0

Capella Sci Laurencii	4 6 8	0 8 8
Porcio peurator' Abbis de Lyra	40 0 0	4 0 0

**Eremwe*- Yarmouth

Appendix 5.4 Isle of Wight medieval parish churches and parochial chapels

Parish church	Grid square	Parish area 1862/3	Earliest documentary reference and status	Earliest fabric or fitting	Date of burial ground	Spatial relationship with DB manorial centre	Comments **D: documented daughter church M: minster/mother church** (documented links between churches, other features)
Arreton	SZ5386	9,192 acres	1067x1071° church	11th/early 12th c	by 1340	adjoining curia	estate mentioned in Alfred's will
Binstead	SZ5792	1,207 acres	chapel (B)	late 11th c	by 1793	uncertain	in large sub-circular enclosure 1793 map
Bonchurch	SZ5778	561 acres	1086 (place-name) church	late 11th/12th c	by 1340	uncertain	'new' church built 1847-8
Brading	SZ6087	8,272 acres	late 12thc° church	late 11th c	AS minster?	Whitefield Farm 2.6km	M in rectilinear enclosure
Brighstone	SZ4282	3,114 acres	1291 church	late 12th c	by 1340	Berry Barn 200m	
Brook	SZ3984	713 acres	1305 chapel	probably 13th c	mid 17th c	Brook House 320m	D Freshwater
Calbourne	SZ4286	5,539 acres	1086 church	11th c*	by 1340	within curia?	M within sub-triangular enclosure: curia or minster?
Carisbrooke	SZ4888	7,486 acres	1067x1071° church	late 11th/early 12th c	AS minster	Bowcombe Farm 2.1km	M *manus dei* *c*.950- 1050
Chale	SZ4877	2,222 acres	1114 church	late 12th c	1114	Chale Farm 350m	D Carisbrooke
Freshwater	SZ3487	4,836 acres	1067x1071°	later AS	by 1340	Kings Manor Farm	M in rectilinear

			church			800m	enclosure
Gatcombe	SZ4985	1,401 acres	1291 church	12th c	by 1340	adjoining Gatcombe House	
Godshill	SZ5281	6,628 acres	1067x1071° church	late 11th c	by 1340	Sandford Farm 1.2km	M ?11th c sculpture
Kingston	SZ4781	914 acres	1251 chapel (B)	13th c	by 1793	adjoining curia	
Mottistone	SZ4083	1,100 acres	1291 church	12th c	by 1340	curia on opposite side of road	
Newchurch	SZ5685	8,897 acres	1067x1071° church	late 12th/early 13th c	by 1340	Knighton Farm 1.1km	
Newport	SZ4989	62 acres	1193x1217 chapel	late 12th c*	1582 (Church Litten)	Shide 1km	D Carisbrooke new town 1188x1193
Niton	SZ5076	1,335 acres	1067x1071° church	11th or early 12th c	by 1340	adjoining curia	
Northwood	SZ4992	4,865 acres	1181x1185 chapel	late 12th c	1486	within/adjoining curia	D Carisbrooke
St Helens	SZ6389	1,890 acres	12th c (place-name) church (1291)	early 13th c	by 1340 (parish cemetery) by 1443 (priory cemetery)	*Etharin*/Eddington Farm 600m	adjoined priory founded between 1090 and 1155; 'new' church built 1717-19
St Lawrence	SZ5376	328 acres	1255 (place-name) chapel (1291)	13th c	mortuary not mentioned in 1340	no manorial centre within 2.5km	megalithic quoins-earlier than 13th c?; 'new' church built 1878
St Nicholas	SZ4887	966 acres	1086 chapel (1291)	13th c	no burial ground		Carisbrooke Castle chapel
Shalfleet	SZ4189	6,315 acres	1086	late 11th/early	by 1340	curia on opposite	tower nave

			church	12th c		side of road	
Shanklin	SZ5780	675 acres	mid 12th c chapel	14th c	after 1793	within curia	D Brading
Shorwell	SZ4583	3,613 acres	1181x1185 chapel	early 13th c	by 1340	North Court 200m	D Carisbrooke
Thorley	SZ3689	1,581 acres	1150° church (1291)	13th c	by 1340	adjoining curia	'new' church built 1871
Whippingham	SZ5193	4,638 acres	1067x1071° church	11th c	by 1340	Barton Manor 1.1km	M 11th c sculpture
Whitwell	SZ5278	1,909 acres		12th c	1457	Stenbury Manor Farm 1.3km	D Godshill [included with Godshill 1291]
Wootton	SZ5492	1,076 acres	1291 church 1305 chapel	12th c	by 1340	adjoining curia	D Whippingham
Yarmouth	SZ3589	58 acres	1291 church	1626 rebuild	mortuary not mentioned in 1340	uncertain	new town c1170 D Shalfleet
Yaverland	SZ6185	1,581 acres	1291 chapel	mid 12th c	mid 14th c	within curia	estate centre c700

°later documentary evidence referring to an earlier period

*fabric recorded in illustrations but no longer extant

B- Worsley 1781 appendix lxxxii (*Valor Benefisicorum in Insula Vecta,* Henry Beaufort) [Bishop of Winchester 1405-1447]

1291- Astle *et al.* 1802

1305- Worsley 1781 Appendix LXXXI

1340- Vanderzee 1807 (*Inquisitiones Nonarum*)

Appendix 5.5: Other religious houses and medieval chapels

Parish	Other religious houses, oratories and chapels	Additional references and comments
Arreton	Rookley (domestic oratory)	
	Standen	*Ecclia de Standon* 1291 (Astle *et al.,* 1802, 211)
Binstead	Quarr Abbey (Savigniac/Cistercian)	Founded 1132x1135 (Hockey 1991, no. 1)
Bonchurch	-	
Brading	Alverstone	In existence 1305 (Worsley 1781, appendix LXXXI)
	La Wode	In existence 1372-3 (Worsley 1781, 186)
	Middleton	Mid fourteenth-century licence to celebrate divine service (Page 1912, 169)
	Whitefield (domestic oratory)	In existence 1305 (Worsley 1781, appendix LXXXI)
	Woolverton (St Urian)	In existence 1305 (Worsley 1781, appendix LXXXI)
Brighstone	Limerstone	In existence 1305 (Worsley 1781, appendix LXXXI); 'The foundress was buried in the chapel-probably Mabel de Tichbourne' [1281] (Hockey 1982, 9); pre-Reformation altar slab in Brighstone church is reputed to have come from Limerstone
Brook	-	
Calbourne	Newtown	New town founded 1256 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 190)
Carisbrooke	Newport (St Thomas of Canterbury)	New town founded *c.*1180 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 171)
	Hospital (Maladeria)	In existence 1150x1178 (Hockey 1981, no 20)
	Carisbrooke Priory (alien priory of Lyre)	Priory founded *c* 1147 (Hockey 1981, no 1)
	St Cross Priory (alien priory of Tiron)	Founded 1141x1146 (Bearman 1994, no.19)
	Holy Cross 'under the walls of the castle'	Consecrated by Henry, bishop of Winchester (1305-16) as a burying place for the monks of the Isle of Wight (Page 1912, 275), precise location unknown
	St Mary Magdalene	Recorded 1406/7; Hockey (1991, map II, xxvi) places it on south side of Carisbrooke Road near West Street junction; may have been the same as John Garston's chantry, recorded in 1480 (Page 1912, 263)
Chale	St Catherine's oratory	Founded 1323 (Worsley 1781, 186)
Freshwater	Brennew	In existence 1426x1447 (Worsley 1781, appendix LXXXII)
Gatcombe	-	
Godshill	St Mary Magdalene	

	Appleford (also called Holden) Appuldurcombe (alien priory of Montebourg) Stenbury	In existence 1305; the free chapel of Halydon 1536 (Page 1912, 177) Founded *c.*1100 (Doubleday and Page 1903)
Kingston	-	
Mottistone	-	
Newchurch	Knighton Apse	Not mentioned after the beginning of the fifteenth-century (Page 1912, 186)
Niton	-	
Northwood	-	
St Helens	St Helens Priory (alien priory of Cluny)	Founded 1090x1155 (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 102)
St Lawrence	-	
St Nicholas	-	
Shalfleet	Ningwood (St Mary Magdalene)	
Shanklin	-	
Shorwell	-	
Whippingham	Barton Oratory Briddlesford (St Martin)	Lands bestowed in 1274-5 (Page 1912) In existence 1305 (Worsley 1781, appendix LXXXI)
Whitwell	-	
Wootton	-	
Yarmouth	St John	New town founded *c.*1170 (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006); St John in existence 1260 (Hockey 1982, 7)
Yaverland	-	

Adapted from Hase (1975) Appendix 1

Appendix 5.6: Isle of Wight church dedications

Church	Map reference	'Ancient' (pre-Reformation)	Modern dedication	Comments
Arreton	SZ534867	St George	St George	In 1484 there was an 'Indenture between John, abbot, and Geoffrey Chesyll and George Granger, the church wardens of St George, Arreton, leasing from them, for the honour and praise of God and St George, the land …..' (Hockey 1991, no. 172).
Binstead	SZ574928	Holy Cross	Holy Cross	
Bonchurch	SZ577780	St Boniface	St Boniface	*Bonecerce* 1086, *St Boniface alias Bonchurch* 1528, place-name probably 'the church of *Bona, OE personal name which may be a short-form of the Latin name *Bonifatius* (Mills 1996, 31; Coates 1990-1)
Brading	SZ60606	St Mary	St Mary	*Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Brarding* pre 1247, having been dedicated 'quite towards the end of the reign of Henry II' (Stone 1891, vol 1, 97, note C). This would have been a rededication after the rebuilding of the 'Transitional Norman' church.
Brighstone	SZ428827	St Mary	St Mary	
Brook	SZ394843	St Mary	St Mary	
Calbourne	SZ425866	All Saints	All Saints	
Carisbrooke	SZ485882	St Mary	St Mary	The earliest reference to the church dedication is *ecclesiam sancte Marie de Caresbroc* in the Chale church foundation agreement in 1114 (Hockey 1981, no. 15)
Chale	SZ483775	St Andrew	St Andrew	St Andrew when dedicated in 1114 (Hockey 1981, no. 15)
Freshwater	SZ347873	All Saints	All Saints	
Gatcombe	SZ493850	St Olave	St Olave	
Godshill	SZ527818	All Saints	All Saints	The north side of the cornice over the tomb of Sir John Leigh and his wife (mid 16th c) shield has an inscription 'St Michael and All Angels' (Page 1912, 176), but *the chyrche of All Hallows in Godshyll* in 1524 (Hockey 1982, 167)
Kingston	SZ478812	unknown	St James	St Paul (Stone 1891)

Mottistone	SZ405837	St Peter and St Paul	St Peter and St Paul	Peter and Paul was one of the dedications of Winchester Cathedral (Cahill 1980, 24)
Newchurch	SZ561855	All Saints	All Saints	
Newport	SZ499891	St Thomas Becket	St Thomas Becket	
Niton	SZ505767	St John the Baptist [?]	St John the Baptist	St Michael in 1205x1238 and 1285 (Hockey 1981, no. 39; Hockey 1982, 17)
Northwood	SZ493929	St John the Baptist	St John the Baptist	In 1512/13 there was a fraternity of St. John the Baptist within the church of Northwood (Webster 1975-1999)
St Helens	SZ636894	St Helena	St Helen	*Sancta Eleyne* 12th c (Mills 1996, 90); In about 1260 Henry, son of Hugh de la Furshulle, granted to the church of St. Helens and the monks of Wenlock serving God there a portion of land held by him from the monks in the vill of Hertham (IWCRO JER/P/25)
St Lawrence	SZ536766	St Lawrence	St Lawrence	*Sancti Laurencii* 1255 (Mills 1996, 90)
St Nicholas	SZ485877	[St Nicholas]	St Nicholas	'St Nicholas has of King William 1 hide in Shalcombe' (1086: Williams and Erskine 1989, 52v)
Shalfleet	SZ413892	unknown	St Michael the Archangel	Dedicated to St Michael the Archangel in 1964, the previous dedication being unknown (church web-site)
Shanklin	SZ578805	St John	St Blasius	Known as St John as late as 1890. 'The dedication to St Blasius must therefore be a revival, perhaps of the dedication of a chantry altar within the chapel' (church web-site). St Blaise 1367x1404, *capella Scti Johis de Sentlinge* mid 15th c (Stone 1891, I, 43)
Shorwell	SZ457830	St Peter	St Peter	
Thorley	SZ367891	St Swithun or St Mary	St Swithin	
Whippingham	SZ511935	St Mildred	St Mildred	

Whitwell	SZ521777	St Radegund and the Virgin Mary	St Mary and St Rhadegund	
Wootton	SZ541926	St Edmund	St Edmund	A chapel dedicated to St Edmund adjoining the church had its own endowment and chaplain in 1305 (Worsley 1781, 227)
Yarmouth	SZ354896	St James	St James	St James 1193x1208 (Bearman 1994, 120)
Yaverland	SZ614859	unknown	St John	

Pre-Reformation dedications Arnold-Forster (1899), modern dedications Lloyd and Pevsner (2006)

Appendix 6.1: Charter of Baldwin, earl of Devon, confirming to Hildearius, abbot of Lyre, all the churches, tithes, lands, etc., in the Isle of Wight, [1142-47]

Baldwin, earl of Exeter, to Hildearius, abbot of Lyre, greeting. Notification that he has granted to the abbey all its churches, tithes and lands, men and possessions, rents and benefices in the Insula With, to be held as peacefully, freely and honourably as ever they were in the time of William fitzOsbern, or in the time of his father, Richard de Redvers. And for a tithe of his revenue (*denariorumam*) 50s. every year. The abbot is granting to Geoffrey and Stephen, clerks, the church of St Mary at Caresbroc, in full alms, with all its chapels, tithes, benefices, lands …. With all appurtenances, in such a manner that Geoffrey the clerk will hold in alms half of the church and all of the appurtenances within and without the church, on condition that he recognises its mother-church of Lyre by the sum of £30s. each year. And Stephen the clerk will hold on similar terms the other half with Geoffrey in everything touching the church, on the same condition that he pays 30s. to the mother-church each year for his half. And if either of them changes his way of living for a monastic life, or at any rate after their days, the church of Caresbroc will remain in the hands of the church of Lyre and its abbot, freely and peaceably, to do with it as he wishes, either to hold it among the domains of Lyre, or else to send monks to it. And Geoffrey the clerk has conceded this; his chattels will remain for God, St Mary and the church, or unless he sets aside a portion for God, or will take it with him wither his body shall be (*vel nisi illa que pro deo dividerit vel que reducet quo corpus suum fuerit*). Witnesses: William de Eliou, steward, Geoffrey de Forn(els), Payn, sheriff, Brian de Insula, R(obert) de Widvil, Gilbert son of Uda, Rod(bert) de Piro, Ran' Pever(el), Ladul' de Cadeto, Richard Argent', Pever(el) his son, Rod(bert) de Enrici. And of the other part: Gervase, abbot of Quarr (*Quadrario*), William, prior, Rodbert de Caupel, monk, Berun' chaplain, William, clerk of Godeshul' (*Godshill*), Roger clerk, Guy clerk, Osmund dean. At Caresbroc (Hockey 1981b, no. 2).

Appendix 6.2: The foundation of St Andrew's, Chale, 1114

In the Year of Our Lord 1114, on the first of December, this agreement was made between the church of St Mary of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight and Almetus the priest of that church, and the church of St. Andrew of Chale and Hugh de Gernun who had founded that church, in the presence of William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, who had on that same day dedicated the church of Chale. At that dedication this agreement was discussed and agreed with many men witnessing it.

Almetus the priest claimed that the church of Chale was within the *parochia* of St.Mary of Carisbrooke. Hugh Gernun said that the men of his fee were not parishioners either of the church of Carisbrooke or of anywhere else but that, by ancient custom, alive they could go whatever church they wished, and dead they could go wherever they wished for burial. He said that they could do this, and they had done it. Almetus, however, denied this and offered proof of his accusation.

However, lest damage by caused between churches, and in order that peace and love be confirmed between them and their friends, this agreement was reached by the council of friends and by the grant and confirmation of the Bishop.

Hugh de Gernun granted to the church of St.Mary of Carisbrooke half of all the land, tithe, sepulture and alms (except for those of his own house) which had been or would be given to the church of Chale, whether by men of his own fee or by anyone else.

As for the service of the church, and its upkeep, support and repair, this would be his responsibility without anyone else participating.

Hugh endowed the church with land, the tithe of his own ploughs, and, as mentioned above, the alms of his own house.

The priest of Chale would do all the duties of the church for the living and the dead, and keep the church in books and vestments, and he would be responsible for its support and repair, even if it were to fall down to the foundations, and he would do all these things without any help from the priest of Carisbrooke.

For this agreement Almetus allowed a cemetery to be provided at Chale.

The Bishop witnessed this agreement and signified his approval by fixing his seal on it, and confirmed it with a perpetual anathema, so that whoever should knowingly breach the agreement should be anathema.

With these witnesses: Richard, the Bishop's chaplain and Dean, Stephen the clerk, Roger de Melford, Ralf Mansell (Carisbrooke Cartulary (Hockey 1981b, no. 15; Hase 1988, 61)).

Appendix 7.1 Manors within Carisbrooke's *Parochia TRE*: landholding, hidage, ploughlands and values

Modern place-name	DB name and folio reference	'Owner' TRE	Land holder TRE	Hidage TRE	Plough-lands	Value TRE	Medieval parish
Alvington	*Alwinestune 52v*	Dunna	Dunna	2½	6	£3	Carisbrooke
Atherfield (?Little & Green)	*Egrafel 52v*	(in parage)	Wulfgeat	½	1	10s	Shorwell
Atherfield [Dungewood & Walpan] (A.&A. Green?)	*Avrefel 52v*	three theigns	three theigns	3 [1?]	3 [1?]	£3 [all]	Brighstone (det)&Shorwell
Bowcombe	*Bovecome 52*	King Edward	King Edward	4	15	£20	Carisbrooke
Chale	*Cela 52v*	(in parage)	Ketel	1	1	40s	Chale
Chale	*Cela 54*	King Edward (in parage)	Wulfsi	½	1	10s	Chale
Cheverton	*Cevredone 52v*	(in parage)	Thorkell	1	1½	20s	Shorwell
Cheverton	'in the same place' *52v*	?	?	[½v, 1½a]	?	?	Shorwell
Chillerton	*Celertune 53v*	(in parage)	Blackman	1v	1	10s	Carisbrooke (det)
Chillerton	*Celertune 53v*	(in parage)	Blackman	1v	1	20s	Carisbrooke (det)
Dungewood [Atherfield & Walpan]	*Duniorde 52v*	three theigns	three theigns	3 [1?]	3 [1?]	£3 [all]	Shorwell
Gatcombe	*Gatecome 52v*	King Edward (in parage)	3 brothers	2	4	£6	Gatcombe
Gotten	*Gadetune 52v*	(in parage)	Browning & brother	1	1	20s	Chale
Haldley [Rowridge]	*Heldelie 52*	King Edward	Chipping	6v	3	£3 (TRW)	Carisbrooke
Kingston	*Chingestune 52v*	(in parage)	Wulfric	1	2	£3	Kingston
Loverstone	*Levegarestun 53*	King Edward	2 free men	½h	1	40s	Carisbrooke (det)
Luton	*Levintun 52v*	(in parage)	Wulfgeat Hunter	1	2	20s	Northwood
Luton	*Levintune 54*	(in parage)	Alnoth	1	1	10s	Northwood
St Mary of Lyre	(6 churches) 52v	Lyre Abbey	Lyre Abbey	2h½v (TRW)	?	£20 (TRW)	various
Sheat	*Essuete 53v*	Alric	Alric	1	½	10s	Gatcombe
Shide	*Side*	(in	Ketel	1½	4	£4	Carisbrooke

	52v	parage)					
Shide	*Sida 53v*	King Edward	Ednoth	2h less 1v	4	50s	Carisbrooke
Shide	*Sida 53v*	(in parage)	Ednoth	5v	3	40s	Carisbrooke
Shorwell	*Sorewelle 52v*	(in parage)	3 theigns	1½	3	£4	Shorwell
Shorwell	*Sorewelle 53v*	(in parage)	Wulfnoth	2h1v	2½	100s	Shorwell
Walpan [Atherfield, Dungewood &]	*Valpenne 52v*	3 theigns	3 theigns	3 [1?]	3 [1?]	£3 [all]	Chale
Whitcombe	*Witecome 52v*	(in parage)	Godric	1	1	10s	Carisbrooke
Wolverton [Shorwell]	*Ulwarcumbe 52v*	King Edward (in parage)	Juran	1	1	10s	Shorwell
Yafford	*Heceford 54*	(in parage)	4 freeholders	½	1	10s	Shorwell

Williams and Erskine (1989)

Appendix 7.2 Manors within Brading's *Parochia*/ECW1 *TRE*: landholding, hidage, ploughlands and values

Modern place-name	DB name and folio reference	'Owner' TRE	Land holder TRE	Hidage TRE	Plough-lands	Value TRE	Medieval parish
Adgestone	*Avicestone 53*	King Edward	Godric	1⅓v	1	10s	Brading
Adgestone	*Avicestone 53v*	King Edward	Edric	½	½	5s	Brading
Alverstone	*Alvrestone 53*	King Edward	Tovi	1	2	20s	Brading
Black Pan	*Bochepone 53*	?	?	?	?	10s?	Brading
Borthwood [Branstone & Lessland]	*Bordourde 53*	King Edward	two free men	1h1v [all 3]	2 [in 1 manor]	30s [all 3]	Brading
Brading	*Bearadinz 53*	King Edward	Alnoth	¾v	½	10s	Brading
Chalcroft (Cheverton)	*Celvercote 53v*	King Edward	Oirant's father	½v	½	5s	Brading
Hardley [in Bembridge]	*Hardelei 52v*	King Edward	Godric	1	?	40s	Brading
Kern	*Lacherne 39v*	Earl Harold	Earl Harold	1	1	25s	Brading
Lea [Sandown airport]	*Alalei 53v*	Wulfnoth	Wulfnoth	1v	?	5s	Brading
Nettlestone	*Hoteleston 39v*	King Edward	Alnoth	⅓h	½	10s	St Helens
Nettlestone	*Hotelestone 53v*	King Edward	Alric & nephew	⅓h	½	5s	St Helens
Nettlestone	*Hotelestone 53v*	King Edward	Godesa	⅓h	3	60s	St Helens
Nunwell	*Nonoelle 39v*	Earl Tostig	Wulfgeat	2	1½	60s	Brading
Orham [Bembridge]	*Orham 53*	King Edward	Godric	½	1	40s	Brading
Preston	*Prestetone 53*	King Edward	Tovi	2	1	20s	St Helens
Puckpool [& *Etharin*]	*Chochepon* 39v	King Edward	2 free men	1 [both]	1 [both]	30s [both]	St Helens
Rowborough	*Rodeberge 53*	King Edward	Abbot of Winchester	1v	1	5s	Brading
St Helens [Puckpool &]	*Etharin 39v*	King Edward	2 free men	1 [both]	1 [both]	30s [both]	St Helens
Sandown	*Sande 39v*	King Edward	Wulfnoth	2	3	40s	Brading
Scotchells [Upper Hide, Ninham or Selbournes]	*Scaldeford 39v*	King Edward	Saeward	½	1	13s	Brading
Scotchells [Upper Hide,	*Scaldeford*	King	Osgot	1v	1	16s	Brading

Ninham or Selbournes]	*53*	Edward					
Scotchells [Upper Hide, Ninham or Selbournes]	*Scaldeford 53*	King Edward	Osgot	1v	1	40s	Brading
Shanklin	*Selins 53*	King Edward	Algar	1	1	40s	Shanklin
Shanklin	*Senclinz 53*	King Edward	6 free men	3½	5	£8	Shanklin
Whitefield (Farm)	*Witesfel 53*	King Edward	Godric	3	6	£4	Brading
Witestone [Hill Farm]	*Witestone 53*	King Edward	Aelmar	1	2	30s	Brading
Woolverton [Bembridge]	*Ulwartone* 39v	Earl Godwin	Edeva	½	1	10s	Brading
Yaverland	*Everelant 39v*	King Edward	King Edward	exempt	5	100s	Yaverland
Yaverland	*Evreland 53*	King Edward	Aelmer & Swarting	3	3	£3	Yaverland

Appendix 7.3 Manors within S 274 Calbourne estate *TRE*: landholding, hidage, ploughlands and values

Modern place-name	DB name and folio reference	'Owner' TRE	Land holder TRE	Hidage TRE	Plough-lands	Value TRE	Medieval parish
?Brighstone	*Weristetone 53v*	King Edward	3 free men	2	4	100s	Brighstone
Calbourne	*Cavborne 52v*	Bishop of Winchest-er	Bishop of Winchest-er	32 (17)	25	£16	Calbourne
Calbourne (Westover)	*Cavborne 52v*	(in parage)	Bolla	3h less ½v	2	30s	Calbourne
Chilton	*Celatune 53v*	Ælfric	Ælfric	½	1	10s	Brighstone
Chilton	*Celatune 53v*	(in parage)	Ælfric	½	1	10s	Brighstone
Coombe	*Sevtecombe 53v*	(in parage)	Leofing	1	1	40s	Brighstone
Shate	*Soete 54*	(In parage)	Wulfnoth & Browning	½	1	10s	Brighstone

Appendix 8.1 Isle of Wight: potentially early topographic place-names

Place-name	Map reference	Earliest recorded name	Date of earliest record	Other place-name elements	References	Comments
brōc						
Brook	SZ390838	*Broc*	1086		M 34	
Brookside	SZ422833	*Brookside*	1781		K 65	?*Brookplace* 1608, formerly *Uggaton*
Carisbrooke	SZ485883	*Caresbroc*	1114	?**caer, *car* ‘hollow, gorge’	H 15, K 95	
Chillingwood Brook	SZ5588	*Chellingebroke*	1338	*ceole* ‘gorge, valley’, *-ing*	K 28	
Claybrook	SZ513916	*Cleibroc*	*c*.1200	*clæg ‘*clay’	K 239-40	now Binfield Farm
Flatbrooks	SZ424888	*Flat Brook*	1781	*flēot* ‘fleet, creek’	H 80	*Flat B* 1775 map
Rodge Brook	SZ4590	*de Rachebroke*	1235	?*hrace* ‘throat, gorge’	K 106-7	
Shetebroke	SZ4984	*aquam atte Shete la Shetebroke*	1314 *c*.1325	***scīete* ‘corner of land’	K 138	
Smallbrook	SZ594907	*Smalbrok*	1251	*smæl* ‘narrow’	M 96	
Smith Brook	SZ5479	*Smith Brook*	1775	pn Smyth	K 160	also known as *Spanne brooke,* now Meadow Brook
Stonebrook	SZ5079	*Stanbroc*	1280	*stān* ‘stone’	K 255	
Westbrook	SZ616909	*Westebroc*	1250	*westan* ‘west of’	K 201	
Wobernbroke	SZ5292	*Wobernbroke*	1307	*wōh* ‘crooked’, *burna* ‘stream’	K 245	now Palmers Brook
burna						
Bathingbourne	SZ548835	*Beaddingaburna*	*c*.953	pn *Beadda, *inga*	M 26	
Calbourne	SZ424866	*Cawelburnan*	?10th c	?*cawel* ‘sea cabbage or cale’, ? *Cawel* Celtic river name	M 36, S 274, E 156	
Debourne	SZ480957	*Debburna*	12th c	*dēop* ‘deep’	K 120	
Fishbourne	SZ554928	*Fisseburne*	1267	*fisc* ‘fish’	M 49	*Staðe* S 842, Ma
Meolcburnantune	SZ583883	*Meolcburnantune*	982	*meoluc* ‘milk’, *tūn*	K 26-7, S 842	now Ashey
Muleburnam	?	*Muleburnam*	?740-756	*mylen* ‘mill’	K lviii, ECW4	
Osborne	SZ516947	*Austeburn*	1316	*eowestre* ‘sheepfold’	M 79	
Wobernebroke	SZ5292	*Wobernbroke*	1307	*wōh* ‘crooked’, *brōc* ‘stream’	K 245	now Palmers Brook

cumb						
Appuldurcombe	SZ542803	*Apldecumbe*	1189-1204	*apuldor* 'apple-trees'	M 23	
Bowcombe	SZ470866	*Etdređecumb*	963-975	*þryþ* 'might, force, multitude, troop, host'	K lix-lx, S 821, M32	*Bovecome* 1086, probably *bufan* 'above'
Bretecombe	SZ4884	*Buntecumbe*	1271	?*bryten* 'spacious', ?*Bryt* 'Briton', ?*beorht* 'bright'	K lxiii	
Combley	SZ544880	*Combelia*	1228-38	*lēah* 'wood, wood-pasture'	M 41	
Combtonfield	SZ452799	*Combtonfield*	1769	pn Compton	M 41	Compton family had lands here from 13th c
?Comforts	SZ484937	*Comford*	1775	*ford* 'ford' or pn Comfort	K 186	
Compton	SZ375850	*Cantune*	1086	*tūn*	M 41	
Coombe	SZ428837	*Seutecombe*	1086	'valley near Shate'	M 41	
Dukem Down	SZ4785	*Diewcumbe*	1198	*dēaw* 'dew'	K 99	
Gatcombe	SZ492849	*Gatecome*	1086	*gāt* 'goat'	M 53	
Idlecombe	SZ465862	*Idlescome*	1635	*īdel* 'uncultivated' or pn *del Idle*	M 62	
Luccombe	SZ576795	*Loveccumbe*	1086	pn Lufa	M 68	
Nettlecombe	SZ527783	*Netelcumba*	*c*.1200	*netele* 'nettle'	M 74	
Rancombe	SZ444835	*Ranecumbe*	1227	*rā* 'roe-deer'	M 86	
Shalcombe	SZ395856	*Eseldecome*	1086	*sceald* 'shallow'	M 93	
Silcombe Lane	SZ3387	*Silkens Mead*	1608	?**sylig* 'miry'	K 130-1	Walter *de Selicomp* 1299
Slocum	SZ455845	*Sloucumbe*	13th c	*slā(h)* 'sloe'	K 222-3	
Venniscombe	SZ560853	*Fennycoumbe*	1287-90	*fennig* 'marshy, muddy, dirty'	K 172	
Watcombe Bay	SZ342854	*de Watecumbe*	14th c	*wæt 'wet' or hwæt* 'wheat'	K 131	
Whitcombe	SZ489867	*Witecome*	1086	*wīd* 'wide' or *hwīt* 'white'	M 108	
Wolverton	SZ453824	*Ulwarcumbe*	1086	pn Wulfweard	M 110	
Wydcombe	SZ506786	*Wydecumbe*	1255	*wīd* 'wide'	M 112	
dūn						
Berdune	SZ540871	*Berdune*	13th c	*bere* 'barley' or *bǣr* '(swine) pasture'	K 7	
Down Court	SZ496783	*Done, Ladone*	1086		M 45	
Downend	SZ533877	*Downend*	1862/3	'self explanitory'	M 45, OS	

Dunnose	SZ582782	*Donnose*	1544	*nose* 'promontory, headland'	M 46	
Emmethill	SZ480806	*Emedone*	1324	*æmette* 'ant'	M 48	
Headon Hill	SZ3185	*Heddune*	*c*.1240	*hæth* 'heath, heather'	M 58	
Holden	SZ512803	*Halydon*	1535	lost place-name *Hayle* 1340	M 60	
Ramsdown	SZ486827	*Romesdone*	1279	*ramm* 'ram' or *hramsa* 'garlic'	M 86	
Sibdown	SZ500842	*Sipedone, Cippedone*	*c*.1248	? **sipe* 'marshy pool'	M 96	
South Down	SZ475787	*la Suthdone*	1285	*sūth* 'south'	K 116	also *le Northdowne* 1445
Standen	SZ524872	*Standone*	1086	*stān* 'stone'	M 97-8	
Warden	SZ324877	*Woorden*	1591	*weard* 'watch, look-out'	M 104	
feld						
Atherfield	SZ470793	*Aderingefelda*	959	pn Ēadhere or Æthelhere, -*inga*-	M 24-5	
Heathfield	SZ441890	*Hetfeld*	1246	*hæth* 'heath, heather'	K 81	
Heathfield	SZ335878	*Heathfield*	1608	*hæth* 'heath, heather'	K 128	Reginald *in le Hethfeld* 1299
Heathfield	SZ516922	*la Hetfeld*	1341	*hæth* 'heath, heather'	K 242	
Marvel	SZ500870	*Mirifeld*	1235	*myrge* 'pleasant, merry-making'	M 70	
Packsfield	SZ526918	*Packesfeude*	13th c	pn *Pæcc	M 245	now Palmers Brook Farm
Porchfield	SZ451912	*Portesfildes*	1559	*Port* family, 13th and 14th c	M 83	
Vittlefield	SZ459893	*Fithelyfeld*	1298	?**fitheling* 'fiddle playing or ?**fithele,* a plant name	M 103-4	
Whitefield	SZ592896	*Witesfel*	1086	*hwīt* 'white'	M108	
Wynfield	SZ653883	?[John de] *Wynnefeld*	1345	**winn* 'meadow, pasture'	K 41	
ford						
Appleford	SZ502803	*Apledeford, Apleford*	1086	*apuldor* 'apple-trees'	M22	
Briddlesford	SZ547900	*Breilesford*	1086	*brigdels* or *brīdels* 'bridle'	M 33	
Clatterford	SZ482876	*Claterford*	*c*.1150	**clater* 'loose stones,	M 40	

				pebbles'		
?Comforts	SZ484937	*Comford*	1775	*ford* 'ford' or pn Comfort	K 186	
Cotteford	?SZ492844	*Cotteford*	1289-90	*cot(e)* 'cottage' or pn *Cott(a)*	K lxiii	?ford SW of Sheat
Durneford	SZ503893	*la Durneford, la ford*	13th c	*dierne* 'secret, hidden'	K 177	adjoins *le Ford Mill* 13th c
Farringford	SZ335862	*Feringeford*	*c*.1250	pn Fēra, *-inga-*	M 49	
Ford Farm	SZ513794	*Northe ford*	1586		M 50	pns *Atteford* 1271 etc. may have referred to this ford
Fulford	SZ540855	*Fuleford*	13th c	*fūl* 'dirty, muddy'	M 52	DB *Lamore*
Horringford	SZ543853	*Horningeford*	1235	*horn* 'river fork', *-inga-*	M 61	
Huffingford	SZ505862	*Ovingefort, Huncheford*	1086	*hūfe* 'hood-shaped hill', *-inga-*	M 30	now Blackwater
Melevsford	SZ376896	*Melevsford*	1086	*mylen* 'mill'	K lx-lxi, DB	
Pidford	SZ503846	*Pideford*	*c*.1290	**pide* 'marshy ground'	M 82	
Presford	SZ467823	*Prestford*	1235	*prēost* 'priests'	M 83	
Sandford	SZ538819	*Sandford*	1086	*sand* 'sand'	M 91	
Scotchells Brook	SZ5783	*Scaldeford*	1086	*sceald* 'shallow'	M 93	
Shish Ford	SZ414882	*Richeford*	1255	***scīete* 'corner of land'	K 84	
Southford	SZ517788	*Southford*	1632	*sūth* 'south'	M 96	
Winford	SZ558842	*Winford*	*c*.1246	**win* 'pasture or meadow'	M 110	
Yarneford	SZ6488	*Yarneforde*	1324	?**ēarn* 'gravelly'	K 62-3	
Yafford	SZ447816	*Heceford*	1086	*hæcc, hecc* 'hatch or grating'	M 112	
healh						
Hale	SZ543846	*Atehalle*	1086		M 56	
Wroxall	SZ559791	*Wroccesheale*	1038-44	**wrocc* 'buzzard, bird of prey'	M 111	
hōh						
?Howgate Farm	SZ646871	*Howgate Farm*		?*hōh* 'heel, point of land'; *geat* 'gate'	K 38	
ora						
Bouldnor	SZ368898	*Boulner*	*c*.1150	**bula* 'bull'	M 31-2	
Dodnor	SZ501909	*Doddenorde*	*c*.1195	Pn Dodda	M 45	
Elmsworth	SZ443921	*Ulmesore*	1213	*ulm, elm* 'elm'	M 48	
Gurnard	SZ477957	*Gurnore*	1280	**gyre* 'marsh, mud'	M 56	

Orham	SZ632866	*Orham*	1086	probably *hamm* ‘river meadow’	M 27	
Werrar	SZ503926	*Werore*	1199	*wer* ‘wier’	M 106	

Abbreviations: DB Domesday Book, E Edwards 1988, H Hockey 1981, K Kökeritz 1940, M Mills 1996, Ma Margham 2012, OS Ordnance Survey 6-inch map 1862/3, pn personal name, S Sawyer 1968. Place-names in **bold** plotted on Map 8.3. For *hamm* see Appendix 8.2, map 8.4.

Appendix 8.2 Isle of Wight place-names: *hām* or *hamm* place-names

Place-name	Map reference	Earliest recorded name	Date of earliest record	Other place-name elements	References	Comments
Billingham	SZ485818	*Billingeham*	1189x1204	**bil(l)ing* 'ridge or hill'	M 28	probably *hām*
Faselham	SZ497844	*Vaselh'm*	*c*.1300	*fæsl* 'seed, offspring' or *fæs* 'fringe, border'; *hyll*	K 136	probably *hamm* as alongside River Medina
Hamstead	SZ400913	*Hamestede*	1086	*stede* 'place, site'	M 56	probably *hām*
Hedenesham	?	*Hedenesham*	1258	?	H 447	in Chale parish, but cannot be precisely located; *hām* or *hamm*
Hertham	SZ6389	*Heordtham*	*c*.1260	?	IWCRO JER/P/25	probably *hamm* due to low-lying coastal location
Newnham	SZ566915	*Nywenham*	*c*.1150	*nīwe* 'new'	M 75	probably *hām*
Newnham	SZ4879	Newnham Lane	modern road name	*nīwe* 'new'	K 115	? named after Richard *Newnam* or *Newman* who held Gotten and Walpan in 1577
Ninham	SZ573826	*Newnhams*	1566	*nīwe* 'new'	M 76	named from William Newnham of Newport
Orham	?SZ632866	*Orham*	1086	*ōra* 'shore'	M 27	probably *hamm* due to low-lying coastal location
Quidhampton	SZ500870	*Quedhampton*	1287x1290	**cwidu* 'resin', **cwid* 'wet place' or **cwēad* 'dirt, dung'; *hāmtūn*	K 102-3	probably *hāmtūn* 'home farm', now Marvel Farm
Sainham	SZ528810	*Sanham-fielde*	1606	? pn Sæwine	K 157-8	probably *hām*
Sandham	SZ597852	*Sande; Sandham*	1066; 1271	*sand* 'sandy'	K 203	probably *hamm* due to location adjoining River Yar floodplain
Tidelingham	SZ534826	*Tidelingham*	1132x1135	pn *Titel; probably *-ing*	K 24, H 1	probably *hamm* due to location next to tributary of River Yar
Whippingham	SZ511937	*Wippingeham*	? 740-756	pn *Wippa; *-inga-*	M 108	probably *hām*
Wilmingham	SZ361878	*Wilmingeham*	1086	pn Wīghelm/Wilhelm; *-inga-*	M 109-10	probably *hām*

Abbreviations: H Hockey 1991; IWCRO Isle of Wight County Record Office; K Kökereitz 1940; M Mills 1996; pn personal name. Place-names in **bold** plotted on map 8.4.

Appendix 8.3 Isle of Wight: *-ing, -ingas, -inga-* place-names

Place-name	**Map reference**	**Earliest recorded name**	**Date of earliest record**	**Other place-name elements**	**References**	***-ing, -inga-, -ingas?***
Arreton	SZ533868	*Eadringetune*		pn Eadhere; *tūn*	M 23	*-ing-*
Atherfield	SZ470794	*Aderingefeldam*	959	pn Eadhere/Æthelhere; *feld*	M 24-5, ECW103	*-inga-*
Bathingbourne	SZ548835	*Beaddingaburnan*	951x955	pn *Beadda; *burna*	M 26, S1662	*-inga-*
Brading	SZ605870	*Breredinges*	688x726	*brerd* 'hillside'	M 32, ECW1	*-ingas*
Chillingwood	SZ558888	*Ceollingwuda*	982	*ceole* or **ceolle* 'ravine, valley'*; wudu*	M 39, S982	*-ing* or *-inga-*
Dungewood	SZ464810	*Dunniorde*	1086	pn Dunna; *worth*	M 46	*-inga-* or *-ing*
Durton	SZ521883	Drodintone	1086	pn Drūt; *tūn*	M 46	*-ing-*
Etharin	SZ6389	*Etharin*	1086	**hæring* 'stony or hilly ground' or **Hæringas* 'the people living on the stony or hilly ground'	K xxxv-xxxvi	*-ing* or *-ingas*
Farringford	SZ335862	*Feringeford*	*c*.1250	pn Fēra; *ford*	M 49	*-inga-*
Horringford	SZ543853	*Horningeforde*	1235	*horn* 'horn-shaped tongue of land'; *ford*	M 61	*-inga-*
Huffingford	SZ505862	*Ovingefort/ Huncheford*	1086	*hūfe* 'hood-shaped hill'; *ford*	M 30	*-inga-*
Lushington	SZ531919	*Lotrinton*	1287x1290	*tūn* of the **Hlūtringas* or *tūn* on the stream called **Hlūtring*	K lxiv-lxv	*-ingas* or *-ing*
tidearing mor	SZ534826	*Tidearing mor*	951x955	pn *Tīdheard	K 145, S1662, Ma fig. 1	*-ing*
Tidelingham	SZ534826	*Tidelingham*	1132x1135	pn *Titel	K 24, H1	probably *-ing*
Watchingwell	SZ446884	*Hwætincg*	968	*hwæt* 'wheat';	M 105, S766	*-ing*
Whippingham	SZ511937	*Wippingeham*	?740x756	pn *Wippa; probably *hām*	M 108, ECW4	*-inga-*
Wilmingham	SZ361878	*Wilmingeham*	1086	pn Wīghelm/Wilhelm; probably *hām*	M 109-110	*-inga-*

Abbreviations: ECW Finberg 1964; K Kökeritz 1940, M Mills 1996; Ma Margham 2007; pn personal name. *-ingas* and *-inga* place-names in **bold** plotted on map 8.5.

Appendix 8.4 Isle of Wight: *tūn* place-names (adapted from Margham 2017, table 1)

Place-name	Map reference	Earliest recorded name	Date of earliest record	Place-name elements	References	Comments
Adebestone	SZ583883	*Adebestone*	1086	*abbod* 'abbot'	K 26-27; M24	
Adgestone	SZ595863	*Avicestone*	1086	pn Ælric	K 50	
Afton	SZ348868	*Affetune*	1086	pn Æffa	K 124-5	
Alverstone	SZ578857	*Alvrestone*	1086	pn Ælfred	K 51	
Alverstone	SZ524928	*Elwarderston*	*c*.1200	pn Æthelweard	K 235-6	
Alvington	SZ474885	*Alwinestune*	1086	pn Ælfwine or Ælfwynn	K 95-6	
Arreton	SZ533868	*Eaderingetune*	873x888	pn Eadhere + -ingtun	K 6-7	
Barton	SZ506896	Barton Village	1862	pn Barton	K 180, M	houses built 1841-51 by Barton, a builder
Barton	SZ519944	*Burton*	1274	*burh* 'defensible enclosure'	K 236	
?Bobberstone	SZ550824	*Boberstone*	1459	pn Bob(b)ere + *tūn* or *stan* 'stone'	K 147-8; M 30-31	
Branstone	SZ557836	*Brandestone*	1086	pn Brandr	K 145,169; M 33	
Brighstone	SZ428827	*?Weristetone*	?1086	pn Beorthwig	K lxii,63-4; M 33-34	
Chawton Farm	SZ493929	*Caulketone*	1248	*cealfa* 'calf'	Ma	
Cheverton Farm	SZ572834	*Cevredon*	1086	*ceafor* 'chafer' + *dun*	M 38	
Cheverton Farm	SZ570833	*Chevertons*	16th c	manorial name	M 39	
Chillerton	SZ491841	*Celertune*	1086	*ceole* 'deep valley' + *geard-tūn*	K 133-4; M 39	
Chilton Farm	SZ413824	*Celatune*	1086	*ceole*' *deep valley'*	K xlvi	
Cockleton Farm	SZ483944	*de Cocheltone*	1255	*coccel* 'corncockle'	K 186; M 40	
Cockelton	SZ473892	*Cockleton*	1810	*coccel* 'corncockle'	OS 1810	now Poleclose Farm
Combton Field	SZ453799	Comptonfields	1781	manorial name	K 219	
Compton	SZ377852	*Cantune*	1086	*cumb* 'bowl-shaped valley'	M 41	
Durton	SZ521883	*Drodintone*	1086	pn *Drut or **prut* 'swell' + ing	K 10-11	
Easton	SZ344863	*Estetune*	1244	*east* 'east'	K 127	
Eddington	SZ632893	*Edyneton*	1104	pn Eadwynn or Eadwine	K 197-8	

Gotten	SZ490791	*Gadetune*	1086	pn Goda	M 54	
Heantune	SZ557836	*Heantune*	982	*hēah* 'high'	K 145-6	
Hulverstone	SZ398840	*Ulvredestune*	1086	pn Hunfrith	K 74; M 61	
Kingston	SZ478813	*Chingestune*	1086	*cyning* 'king'	K 163-4	
Kingston	SZ506943	Little Kingston	1659	manorial name	K 243; M 64	
Knighton	SZ565867	*Chenistone*	1086	*cnihta* 'young thanes or retainers'	K 170; M64	
Limerstone	SZ441826	*de Lemerstestune*	1254	pn Leodmær or Leefmær	K 68-9	
Linstone Chine	SZ331887	*Lynestone*	1271	pn Leofwine	K 129	
Littleton	SZ570779	*de Lilketone*	1299	*lytel* 'little'	K 233	
Littletown	SZ535904	*Little Town*	1769	*lytel* 'little'	A map	
Loverstone	SZ495837	*Levegarsestun*	1086	pn Leofgar	K 137	
Lushington	SZ531919	*Lotrinton*	1287-90	****Hlūtringas*** or on the stream called ****Hlūtring***	K lxiv-lxv	
Luton Farm	SZ487928	*Levintun(e)*	1086	pn Leofan	K 188	
Meolcburnantune	SZ583883	*Meolcburnantune*	982	*meolc* 'milk' + OE *burna*	K 26-7	
Merstone	SZ522854	*Merestone/Messe tone*	1086	*mersc* 'marsh'	K 16-17	
Middleton	SZ333862	*de Medeltone*	1246	*middel* 'middle'	K 129	
Milton	SZ632865	*Middleton*	1246	*middel* 'middle'	K 39	
Moortown	SZ425834	*More, Moretone*	1248, 1320	*mōr* 'marshy ground'	K 69; M 72	
Morton	SZ603861	*la Mortone*	1267	*mōr* 'marshy ground'	K 58; M72	
Muggleton	SZ443823	*Mugleton*	1565	*miclan* 'large'	K 69; HRO 46/M48/365	
Nettlestone	SZ624907	*Hoteleston(e)*	1086	*hnutu-læs* or *hnutu-leas* 'nut tree'	K 198-9; M 74	
Newtown	SZ424906	*Newtone*	1255	*ni(e)we* 'new'	K 82-3	founded 1255-6 Be 445
Niton	SZ507767	*Neeton*	1086	*ni(e)we* 'new'	K xlv; M 76	
Norton	SZ344893	*Northone*	1248	*north* 'north'	K 130	
Perreton Farm	SZ864528	*Perytone*	1531	*pirige,pyrige* 'pear tree'	K 18-19; M 81	
Preston Farm	SZ598914	*Prestetone*	1086	*prēosta* 'priests'	K 199	
Preston	?SZ402885	*Ningewode cum Prestetone*	1151x1155	*prēosta* 'priests'	B 82-3	

Quydhampton	SZ500870	*Quedhampton*	1287-90	*cwidu* 'resin', **cwid(e)* 'wet place', or *cwēad* 'dirt, dung'; *hām* 'homestead, settlement'	K 102	now Marvel Farm
Somerton	SZ493942	*de Somertone*	1316	*sumor* 'summer'	K 190; M96	
Sutton	SZ442810	*Sothetone*	1248	*sūthan* 'south'	K 71	
Sutton	SZ342860	Sutton	1278	*sūthan* 'south'	IWCRO 95/32/13	now Baker's Farm
Swainston	SZ440877	*Sweinestone*	1213	pn Svein or Swegen	K 85-6	
Truckles	SZ600889	*Trocketone*	1287-90	*þroc 'part of a plough'* or pn *þroca	K 61-2	
Uggaton	SZ423831	*Ugelton*	1199	pn *Ugga or OE *ug-* 'something sharp or pointed'	K 71-2	
Upton	SZ572900	Upton	1560	*upp* 'higher'	K 185; M 103	
Wenichetone	SZ5393	*Wenichetone*	1086	pn *Wineca	K lxi, 259-60	
Weston	SZ325867	*Westone*	1248	*west* 'west'	K lxxxiv	
Winstone	SZ552811	*Winiston*	12th c.	pn Wynsige	K 259-60	
Witestone	SZ613889	*Witestone*	1086	**writol* 'babbling'	K lxii; M 59-60	
Woolverton	SZ534763	*Wlferton*	1292	manorial name	K 255	
Woolverton	SZ621868	*Ulwartone*	1086	pn Wulfwaru	K 41	
Wolverton	SZ453824	*Ulwarcumbe, [Wulewarton 1189-1204]*	1086	pn Wulfweard + *cumb*	K 223-4	
Wootton	SZ541927	*Odetone*	1086	*wudig* 'wooded' or *wudu* wood'	K 249; M111	

Abbreviations: A Andrews map 1769, B Bearman 1994, Be Beresford 1967, HRO Hampshire County Record Office, IWCRO Isle of Wight County Record Office, K Kökeritz 1940, M Mills 1996, Ma Margham 2015b, OS Ordnance Survey one inch map 1810, pn personal name, *place-name element which has not been recorded in the extant documentary record but the existence of which can be inferred. Place-names in **bold** plotted on map 8.6.

Appendix 8.5 Isle of Wight: woodland place-names

Place-name	Map reference	Earliest recorded name	Date of earliest record	Other place-name elements	References	Comments
bær						
?*Bereberege*	?	*Bereberege*	1251	*beorg* 'barrow-shaped hill'	K lxxii	lost field-name in Calbourne
?*Berdune*	SZ5387	*Berdun*	1235-8	*bær* or *bere* 'barley'	K lxxii, M 24	now Arreton Down
?Bierley	SZ511780	*Berlay*	1341	*bær* or *bere* 'barley'	K lxxii, M 28	
?*Codibear*	SZ508894	*Codibere*	1287-90	*cot(e)* 'cottage, shelter' or pn **Codda*; *bær* or *bearu*	K 178	now Polars: H map 8
bearu						
?*Codibear*	SZ508894	*Codibere*	1287-90	*cot(e)* 'cottage, shelter' or pn **Codda*; *bær* or *bearu*	K 178	now Polars: H map 8
grāf						
Ashengrove	SZ443875	*Ashingrove*	1630	*æscen* 'ash-tree'	M 24	*æscstede* S 274, S 766
Grove	SZ397900	*Grove*	1759		T	
Grove Farm	SZ592862	*the Grove*	1552		K 55	
Rains Grove	SZ464855	*Reyners Grove*	1781	pn *Rayn/Reynor* or *ræge* 'female roe-deer or goat', *hrīs* 'brushwood'	M 85	possibly associated with *Reyneris* c.1241
Sea Grove	SZ625912	*Sea Grove House, Coppice*	1840	*sæ* 'sea'	M 93	
Skinner's Grove	SZ474928	*Skinners Grove*	1780	pn *Skynnor*	K 190	
The Grove	SZ535940	*the Grove*	*c*.1600		K 242	
hyrst						
Furzeyhurst	SZ484932	*Fosiost Furzeyhurst*	1775 1781	'furze'	K 187	
?Hurst Stake	SZ502903	*Hurst Stake*	1775		K 243	*Hardstake* 1352; *hurst* may have meaning of 'sandbank': C 1989, 97
Parkhurst	SZ492913	*Perkehurst*	*c*.1200	*park* ME 'enclosed tract of land for hunting, a chase'	M 81	

Staplers	SZ523889	*Stapelhurst*	1235	*stapol* 'post'	M 98	
lēah						
Appley	SZ604922	*Appeley*	1219	*æppel* 'apple'	M 23	
Barnsley	SZ607902	*Benverdeslei, Benveslei*	1086	pn Beornfrith or Beornheard	M 25	
Bierley	SZ511780	*Berlay*	1341	*bær* '(swine-) pasture' or *bere* 'barley'	K lxxii, M 28	
Broadlee	SZ586884	*Broadlee*	1791	'broad'	Mi	
Combley	SZ544880	*Combelia*	1228-38	*cumb* 'bowl-shaped valley'	M 41	
Fairlee	SZ505903	*Fayrlege*	1227	*fæger* 'pleasant'	M 48	
Haldley	SZ448862	*Heldelei*	1086	*heald* 'sloping'	K 100	
Hanley	SZ363868	*Hanley*	1775	?*hēan* 'high'	K 129	?*Henley(e)* 1299
Hardley	SZ638877	*Hardelei*	1086	*heard* 'hard'	K 37-8	
Hawley	SZ413862	*?Horle*	1248	*horh, horu* 'filth, dirt'	K80-1	
Heasley	SZ546857	*Haselei*	1086	*hæsel* 'hazel'	M 58	
Heyle	SZ5180	*Heyle*	1340	?*hīeg* 'hay', ?*(ge)hæg* 'enclosure', ?*hege* 'hedge'	M 60, K lxiv	adjoining Holden
Kennerley	SZ525835	*Kenewardle*	1202	pn Cyneweard	M 63	
Lea	SZ578839	*Alalei*	1086		M 66	
Lee	SZ886381	*la* Lye	1279		M 66	
Lukely Brook	SZ4887	*Lokeleie*	*c*.1191	**luca* or **lūce* 'barrier in a stream, mill-dam'	M 69	
Mersley	SZ555869	*Maddokesley*	*c*.1250	pn Madoc(k)	M 71	
Munsley	SZ525827	*Mollesleghe*	1287-90	**mūl* 'muzzle-like hill or pn Mul	K 17-8	
?Nettlestone	SZ624907	*Hoteleston(e)*	1086	*hnutu* 'nut-tree, *tūn*	M 74	either *læs* 'pasture' or *lēah*
Nunneys Wood	SZ4089	*Noneleas Wood*	1248	*nunne 'nuns'* or pn *Nunley*	M 78, K 212	either *læs* 'pasture' or *lēah*
Rookley	SZ503833	*Rokele*	1202	*hrōc* 'rook'	M 88	
Stretley	SZ424906	*Stretleya*	1253-4	*stræt* 'street'	B 445	now Newtown
Thorley	SZ367891	*Torlei*	1086	*thorn* 'thorn'	M 101	
Watchingwell	SZ446884	*Hwætincz le*	968	*hwæt* 'wheat', *-ing, wella* 'spring, stream'	K 87-8, S 766, M105	*lēah* later added to *Hwætinc* K 88

Whiteley Bank	SZ552815	*Whiteley Bank*	1759	*hwīt* ‘white’, ME *banke* ‘bank’	M 109	
wudig or ***wudu***						
Wootton	SZ 541927	*Odetone*	1086	*tūn*	M 111, K 249	
wudu						
Borthwood	SZ574848	*Bordovrde*	1086	*bord* ‘board’ or ‘border’	M 31	
Broadwood	SZ477890	*?Brodewode*	1541	‘broad’	K 97	
Chillingwood	SZ559889	*Ceollingwuda*	982	*ceole* ‘valley place or stream’ or pn Cēola, *-inga-*	M 39	
Chilling Wood	SZ505780	*Chylwood*	1552	*coele* ‘throat, gorge’	K 252	
Holmewood	SZ580908	*Homewood*	1844	*?holm* ‘holly’	M 60	
Ningwood	SZ397883	*Lenimcode* *Ningewode*	1086 1189-1204	**niming* ‘land enclosed or taken into cultivation’	M 76	
Northwood	SZ493929	*Nortwuda*	1181-5	*north* ‘north’	M 78	
Underwood	SZ434902	*Underwood*	1759	*under* ‘under, below’	T	
Woodhouse	SZ529937	*Wodehous*	1329	*hūs* ‘house’	M 110	
Woodhouse	SZ543903	*Wood House*	1769	*hūs* ‘house’	M 110	
Woodslade	SZ406895	*Woodslades*	1608	*slæd* ‘shallow valley’	K 213	
Youngwoods Farm	SZ455912	*la Yengwode*	1294	*geong* ‘young’	K 112	seems to have been called *Underwood* 1781

Abbreviations B Beresford 1967, C Coates 1989, H Hockey 1991, K Kökeritz 1940, M Mills 1996, Mi Milne map 1791, ME Middle English, T Taylor map 1759. Place-names in **bold** plotted on map 8.7.

Appendix 8.6 Isle of Wight: place-names of seasonal occupation, 'colonization' and economic specialisation

Place-name	Map reference	Earliest recorded name	Date of earliest record	Other place-name elements	References	Comments
cealfa						
Chalcroft	SZ572833	*de Chaluecrofte*	1255	*croft*	K lx	DB *Celvecrote,* now Cheverton
?Chawton Farm	SZ493929	*Caulketone*	1248	*tūn*	Ma	K 186 *cealc* but no chalk in vicinity
feld						
Atherfield	SZ470794	*Aderingefeldam*	959x975	pn Eadhere/Æthelhere, -*inga*-	M 24-5, ECW103	
Combtonfield	SZ452799	*Combtonfield*	1769	pn Compton	M 41	Compton family had lands here from 13th c
Heathfield	SZ441890	*Hetfeld*	1246	*hæth* 'heath, heather'	K 81	
Heathfield	SZ335878	*Heathfield*	1608	*hæth* 'heath, heather'	K 128	Reginald *in le Hethfeld* 1299
Heathfield	SZ516922	*la Hetfeld*	1341	*hæth* 'heath, heather'	K 242	
Marvel	SZ500870	*Mirifeld*	1235	*myrge* 'pleasant, merry-making'	M 70	
Packsfield	SZ526918	*Packesfeude*	13th c	pn *Pæcc	M 79-80	now Palmers Brook Farm
Porchfield	SZ451912	*Portesfildes*	1559	*Port* family, 13th and 14th c	M 83	
Vittlefield	SZ459893	*Fithelyfeld*	1298	?**fitheling* 'fiddle playing or ?**fithele,* a plant name	M 103-4	
Whitefield	SZ592896	*Witesfel*	1086	*hwīt* 'white'	M108	
Wynfield	SZ653883	?[John de] *Wynnefeld*	1345	**winn* 'meadow, pasture'	K 41	
hīd						
Hyde	SZ572817	*Hyde*	*c.*1280		M 62	
land						
Blackland Copse	SZ474943	?*Great Blackland*	1608	*blæc* 'black'	K 185	

Blacklands	SZ527893	*la Blakelond*	*c*.1215	*blæc* 'black'	M 29	
Bockland	?	*Boklond*	1274-7	*bōc* 'book' or 'beech' ? 'land granted by charter'	H 67-8	Newchurch parish in the Ryde area
Cleavelands	SZ546801	*Clyvelonde*	1504	*clif* 'cliff'	K 257-8	*del Cliue* 1235
Dow's Place	SZ528807	*Dowysland*	1551	*?dūn* 'hill, down'	K 150	
la Eldelonde	?	*la Eldelonde*	1310	*eald* 'old'	K 210	lost place-name in Shalfleet parish
Fleetlands	SZ423902	*Flatlands*	1769	*flēot* 'creek, fleet'	M 49-50	*Fletplace* 1507
Froglands	SZ483872	*Froglane* *Frogland*	1395 1608	*frogga* 'frog'	M 51	
Galley Lane	SZ4282	*?Gall(e)yland*	1608	*gafol* 'tax, tribute'	K 68	
Haylands	SZ582912	*Hillands*	1559-60	*hæg* 'enclosed'	M 58	
Lessland	SZ542829	*Liscelande, Litesland*	1086	**lycce* 'enclosed or enclosure'	M 66	
Locks Farm, Locksgreen	SZ444908	*Lokkeslande*	1387	pn *lokke*	K 81	
Longlands	SZ624865	*le Langelonde*	15th c	*lang* 'long'	M 67	
Pratlands Copse	SZ337892	*Plotland, Plateland*	1608	*plat* or *plot* of land	K 130	
Roughland Cliff	SZ3883	*?Rofland*	12th c	*rūh* 'rough'	K 74	
Ruffins Copse	SZ481940	*?la Roghelond*	1324	*rūh* 'rough'	K 190	
Scotland Farm	SZ523821	*Skotland*	1371	*scot* 'payment, tax'	M 93	
Totland	SZ3286	*Toteland*	1341	***tōt*** 'look-out place'	M 102	
Wackland	SZ553849	*Wakelonde, Wakelande*	1249	**wacu* 'watch'	M 104	
Whitelane Homestead	SZ471870	*Wythelond, Whitelane*	1520	*hwīt* 'white'	K 111	
Yatland Copse	SZ424893	*del Yatelond*	1299	*geat* 'gate'	K 92	
Yaverland	SZ614859	*Ewerelande*	?688x726	*eofor* 'wild boar'	M 113, ECW1	
mersctūn						
Merstone	SZ 522854	*Merestone/Messetone*	1086	*mersc* 'marsh', *tūn*	K 16-17	
mortūn						
Moortown	SZ 425834	*More, Moretone*	1248, 1320	*mōr* 'marshy ground', *tūn*	K 69; M 72	

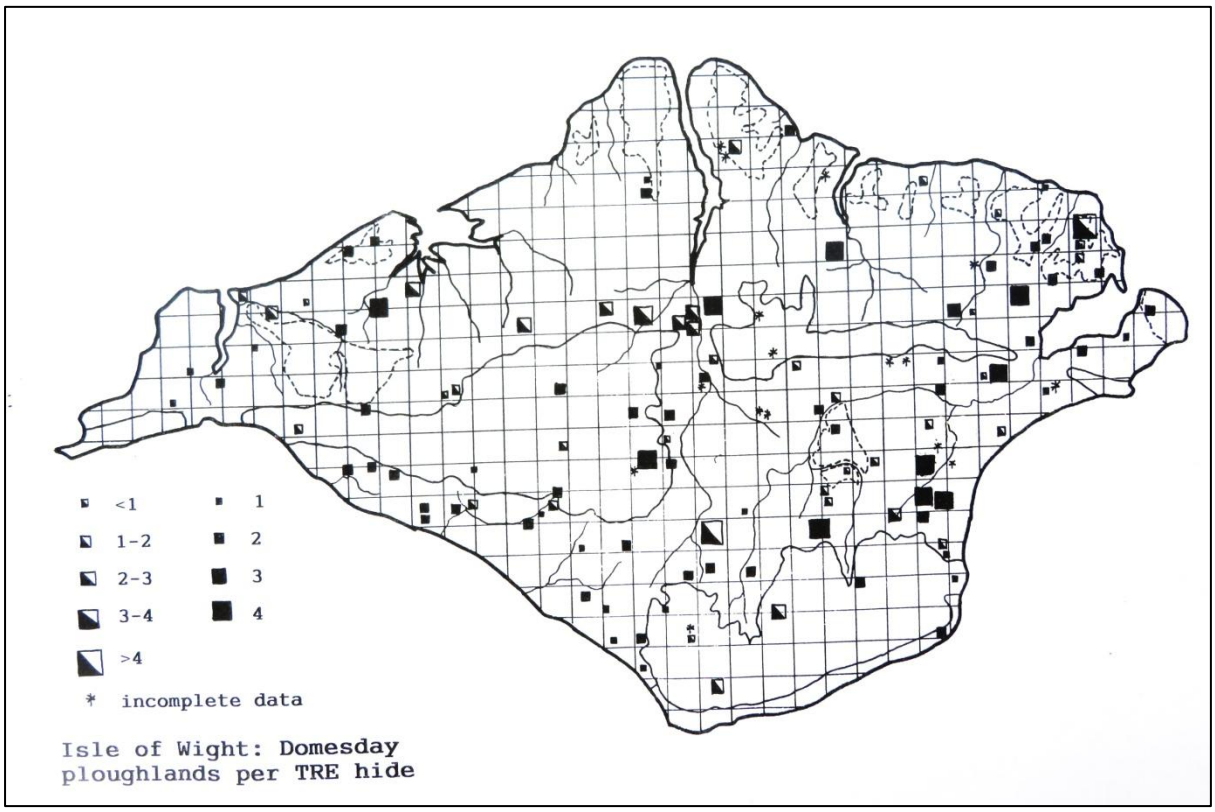
Morton	SZ 603861	*la Mortone*	1267	*mōr* 'marshy ground', *tūn*	K 58; M72	
niewehām						
Newnham	SZ566915	*Nywenham*	*c*.1150	*nīwe* 'new'	M 75	probably *hām*
niewetūn						
Niton	SZ 507767	*Neeton*	1086	*niwe* 'new'	K xlv; M 76	
Newtown	SZ424906	*Newtone*	1255	*niwe* 'new'	K 82-3	founded 1255-56 B 445
niming						
Ningwood	SZ397883	*Lenimcode* *Ningewode*	1086 1189-1204	**niming* 'land enclosed or taken into cultivation'	M 76	
eowestra						
Osborne	SZ516947	*Austeburn*	1316	*burna*	M 79	
smeoru						
St Martin's Down	SZ561802	*Smerdone*	*c*.1240	*dūn*	M 91	
stede						
Ashengrove	SZ443875	*Ashingrove*	1630	*æscen* 'ash-tree'	M 24	*æscstede* S 274, S 766
Binstead	SZ576926	*Benestede*	1086	*bēan* 'bean'	M 29	
Hamstead	SZ400913	*Hamestede*	1086	probably *hām*	M 56	
sumor						
Somerton	SZ 493942	*de Somertone*	1316	*tūn*	K 190; M96	
Summersbury	SZ544824	*Somerisbourgh*	1291	*beorg* 'barrow-shaped hill'	M 100	
wīc						
Bagwich	SZ515822	*Abaginge*	1086	?pn Bagga, ?**bagga* 'bag'	M 25	
Week	SZ5381	*Wica*	1086		M 105	in Godshill Park area Hpc
?Wicken Hill Lane	SZ4381	*Wykendeshulle,* *Wygingeshulle*	1251	*wīc-endes-hyll* 'the hill … where there was a *wīc*' *or* 'the hill at the end of the village'	K 72	
worth						
Dungewood	SZ464809	*Dunniorde*	1086	pn Dunna, *-ing-* or *-inga-*	M 46	
wuduhus						

Woodhouse	SZ529937	*Wodehous*	1329	*hūs* ‘house’	M 110	
Woodhouse	SZ543903	*Wood House*	1769	*hūs* ‘house’	M 110	
wudutūn						
?Wootton	SZ 541927	*Odetone*	1086	*wudig* ‘wooded’ or *wudu* ‘wood’	M 111, K 249	

Abbreviations-B Beresford 1967, DB Domesday Book, ECW Finberg 1964, H Hockey 1982, Hpc Hockey personal communication, K Kökeritz 1940, M Mills 1996, Mi Milne map 1791. Place-names in **bold** plotted on map 8.8.

Appendix 8.7 Domesday Book: ploughlands per *TRE* hide

This map is based upon the work of Rippon (1994, 242; 1997, 176-178). His analysis is based upon a comparison of the hidage of each Domesday Manor with the assessment of the number of ploughlands: 'The hypothesis presented here, is that where the eleventh-century ploughland assessment exceeds the older hidage, there may have been an increase in the agricultural productivity of that area, most obviously, an expansion of the cultivated area; this in turn implies late Saxon reclaimation' (Rippon 1994, 242).



The data from the Isle of Wight has a feeling of artificiality in that out of the total of 125 manors, 39 (30%) had two ploughlands per hide, and 19 (15%) had one ploughland per hide. The rather idiosyncratic way in which the data has been plotted has been devised to reflect the artificiality of this data. Despite this observation, there is a value in analysing the data from the Island. Both the hidage and the number of ploughlands would be dependent upon the quality of the soil within each manor. Assuming that one hide, assessed in the late tenth or early eleventh century (Margham 2003, 39-40) was equivalent to 1 ploughland, assessed in or shortly before 1086 (Harvey 1985, 92),[344] there was much expansion of arable agriculture

[344] Harvey (1985, 92) says that 'The argument which will be advanced in this article is that the ploughland figures are, first and foremost, contemporary fiscal assessments of 1086-7. As such, they will naturally often reflect agricultural or simply arable capacity'. An analysis by the present author of data from nine manors in the West Wight (Margham 2003, table 3) indicates an inverse correlation between acres per ploughland and value in 1086 per square mile. There is, however, a stronger

on the Isle of Wight during the eleventh century leading up to Domesday. This is particularly marked for manors within the claylands of the 'Northern Lowlands' (Ningwood, Carisbrooke/Bowcombe, Pan, Briddlesford and Rowborough) and some manors within the Southern Vale (Appleford, Sandford, *Scaldeford* and Adgestone). Nettlestone is atypical of the smaller manors on the margins of the gravel plateau within the Northern Lowlands as most suggest moderate expansion of arable. The map does indicate that the two manors within the Freshwater Isle (Freshwater and Prior's Freshwater) provide no evidence for expansion of arable in the later Saxon period. This is potentially very significant in that the Freshwater Isle was atypical of the Northern Lowlands in general, having better soil for arable agriculture than much of the Northern Lowlands (572j Bursledon rather than 711h Wickham 4). The Freshwater Isle also had a well-developed open-field system which encompassed much of the area to the north of the Lateral Ridge. The data presented on the map implies that the Freshwater Isle area had a well-developed open-field system before the hidage assessment, still current at Domesday, was made. This conclusion is also supported by the *TRE* Hidage and Medieval parish areas map (Appendix 8.8).

inverse correlation between the acreage per ploughland and value in 1066 per square mile, suggesting that if the ploughland did have a fiscal function, its assessment was based on data relating to the period before 1066, *ie. TRE.*

Appendix 8.8 Domesday Book:*TRE* hidages and medieval parish areas

Margaret Gelling produced a series of county maps plotting the *TRE* Domesday hidage against historic parish boundaries in her study of *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (1992b). These were created ‘on the assumption that there is likely to be some relationship between hidage assessment, area, and the quality of land’ (Gelling 1992b, 191). This mapping produced expected contrasts between different landscape regions. An example of this can be seen in comparing the two halves of Warwickshire with small parishes and large hidages in the Feldon of the south and Avon Valley at its centre, compared with the larger parishes of the north-west which were lightly assessed (Gelling 1992b, 192). Other contrasts were demonstrated in Staffordshire with the low assessments of the moorlands, and in Cheshire also with low hidages on the Pennine margins and north-central marshlands and heath, compared with the most highly-developed area of the Wirral with high assessments (Gelling 1992b, 194, 196).

Gelling’s approach to the ‘productivity’ of contrasting landscape regions was developed by Margham (2003, table 2) for the Isle of Wight. This included calculating the ratios between *TRE* hidage assessments and the areas of land units. In a case study of the West Wight it was possible to reconstruct Domesday manorial boundaries with reasonable certainty. However, like much of the West Midlands (Gelling 1992b, 191), it has not been possible to reconstruct these boundaries for much of the Isle of Wight, so historic parish boundaries are used here. There are limitations to the application of this idea to the Isle of Wight: in the degree of coastal erosion especially along the south-western coast previous to Ordnance Survey mapping, the wide range of parish areas, and exemptions and ‘beneficial hidation’ in the hidage assessment. The idiosyncrasies of the pattern of parish boundaries mean that a precise hidage amount can be ascribed to particular areas in the case of small parishes such as Mottistone and smaller detached portions such as the ‘Bembridge Isle’ area of Brading parish. These areas can be contrasted with the larger, more extensive parishes such as Arreton and Brading which encompass two or three landscape regions. Incomplete data prevents Island-wide coverage. This can be due to one Domesday Book entry comprising two or more landholdings with differing names and lands in separate parishes, such as Atherfield, Dungewood and Walpan (52v). Two manors of the king’s demesne were exempt: Merstone as ‘it belonged to his [King Edward’s] farm, and did not pay geld’ (53) and Yaverland where ‘King Edward held it. It is not assessed in hides’ (39v). There are also two known instances of ‘beneficial hidation’. The first does not present a problem, as in Winchester’s Calbourne estate ‘There are 32 hides; but it it only paid geld TRE, as now, for 17 hides’ (52v). The hidage of Bowcombe was assessed at 4 hides *TRE*. There are good reasons for suggesting that the actual hidage was in the order of seven or eight (Chapter 7, p.190-1).

Despite these caveats, the plotting of *TRE* hidages in relation to parish boundaries as a ratio is a valuable exercise, providing evidence for the 'productivity' of much of the Island before 1066. Assuming that the hypothesis is correct that Domesday ploughlands were a current assessment in or slightly before 1086 and that hidage assessments were antiquated and outdated at the time of Domesday Book (Harvey 1985, 92; Rippon 1994, 242) the figures of acres per hide are relevant for some time in the late tenth century or the early eleventh century (Margham 2003, 39-40) rather than the late eleventh century.

Parish/area	***TRE* hidage**	**Acreage**	**Acres/hides**	**Landscape region [sub areas]**
Freshwater Isle	16	*3041	190	NL 79% LR 21%
Brighstone	16.8	*3425	204	LR 27% SV 73%
Freshwater: Afton, Compton, Wilmingham	8	*2054	257	LR 27% NL 62% SV 11%
Brook	3	*856	285	LR 28% SV 72%
St Nicholas (Shalcombe)	1	292	292	NL 70% [b 38%] LR 30%
Brighstone det (Atherfield)	1	*323	323	SV 100%
Thorley	4.125	1513	366	NL 95% [b 56%] LR 5%
Shalfleet det (Watchingwell)	3	***1227	409	NL 95% LR 5%
Godshill	16	6628	414	SV 66% [t 3%] SM 32% U 2%
Calbourne	13	5539	418	NL 74% LR 26%
St Helens	4	1896	421	NL 100% [g 34%]
Brading	15	6622	434	NL 41% [g 6%] LR 5% SV 53% SM 1%
Shalfleet det (Hulverstone)	1	*495	495	LR 8% SV 92%
Wootton	1	465	465	NL 100% [g 27%]
Gatcombe	3	1401	467	LR 64% SV 36%
Shorwell	7	*3786	489	LR 42% SV 58%
Shalfleet	10	4945	495	NL 92% [g 7%, b 12%]

				LR 8%
Mottistone	2.5	*1331	532	LR 39% SV 61%
Arreton**	14	9192	634	NL 29% LR 19% SV 52% [t 7%]
Bonchurch	1	*693	693	SM 51% U 49%
Chale	3	*2442	698	SV 66% SM 28% U 6%
Wotton det (Chillerton)	2	388	776	LR 100%
Brading det (Bembridge)	2	1518	790	NL 85% [g 23%] LR 15%
Kingston	1	865	865	SV 96% LR 4%
Whippingham	5	4538	928	NL 97% [g 26%] LR 3%

*These parish areas include inferences about land lost due to coastal erosion (see Chapter 4) for the south-west coast of the Southern Vale, and for other areas from Halcrow (1997, figs. 5.1 to 5.18)
**includes area not hided (Merstone)
***includes area lost to Great Park after 1066
****corrected for former area of Thorley Haven

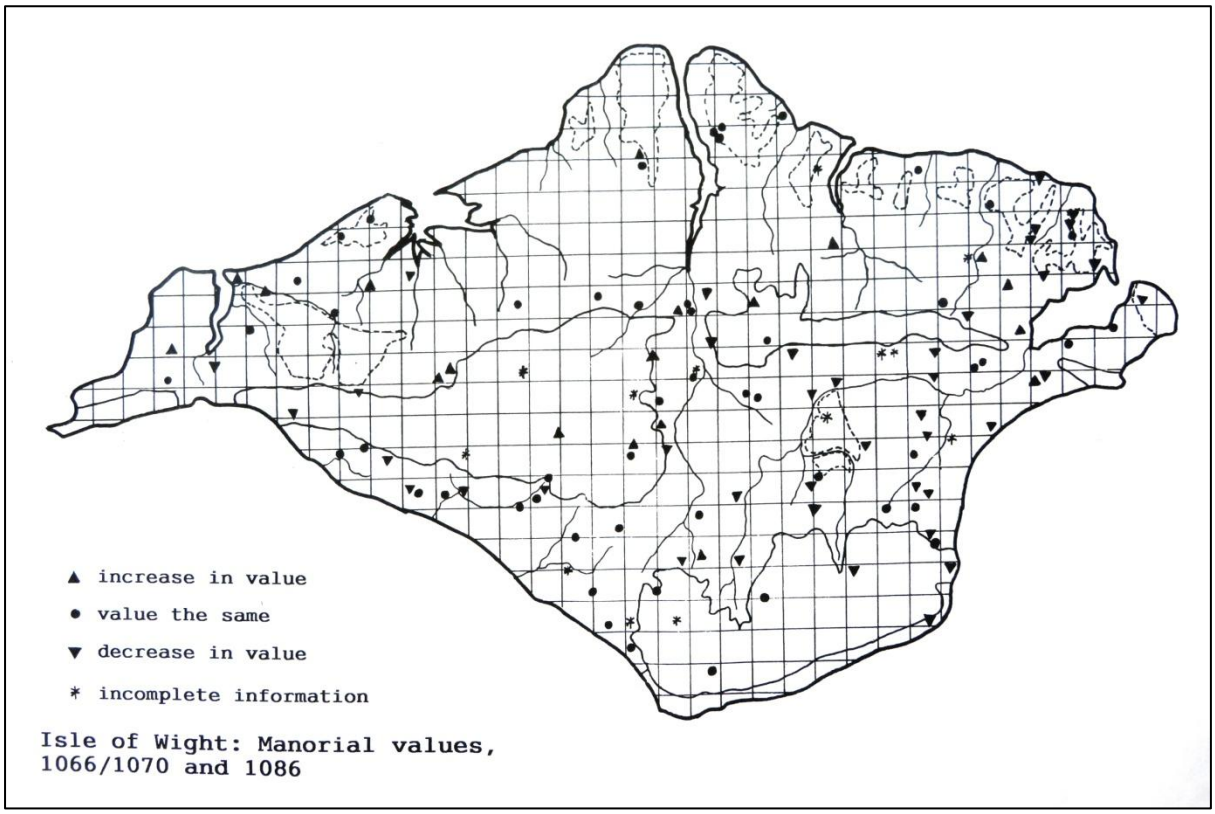
Sub-areas of landscape regions g: NL plateau gravels, b: NL Bembidge limestone, r: SV gravel terrace
The following parishes have been excluded from this analysis due to incomplete Domesday information: Binstead, Carisbrooke, Newchurch, Niton, Northwood, St Lawrence, Shanklin, Whitwell, Yarmouth and Yaverland.

The figures for the 'productivity' of various areas of the Isle of Wight suggest that the Freshwater Isle and Brighstone parish were the most agriculturally developed. The area of Freshwater parish to the east of the Yar was also relatively well developed, with Freshwater parish as a whole being atypical of much of the Northern Lowlands. The areas of the West Wight which included significant areas of soils derived from the Bembridge limestone (Shalcombe and Thorley) were also quite productive. It is difficult to come to specific conclusions regarding the extensive parishes of the western half of the Island that encompass more than one landscape region (Calbourne and Shalfleet) from this evidence but it can be suggested that access to complementary resources would boost their 'productivity' quotient (Margham 2003, 34). This can be observed in the evidence from Watchingwell (Shalfleet detached) and Gatcombe parishes. Extensive medieval parishes were also to be found in the eastern half of the Island, with Arreton and Godshill encompassing three landscape regions and Brading four. Again, this represents the exploitation of a wide range of resources, although in these three cases divided amongst several manors by the time of Domesday. It is probably significant, however, that the figure of 434 acres per hide for Brading parish west of Brading Haven demonstrates 'productivity' significantly greater than the figure of 790 for Brading detached (Bembridge) to the east of the haven, which mainly consisted of the Northern Lowlands. Brading

detached is amongst the least productive areas according to this analysis, along with Wootton detached (Chillerton), almost entirely of chalk downland, and Kingston which mainly consisted of land within the Southern Vale. The least productive parish in this analysis was Whippingham, almost exclusively within the Northern Lowlands but with the apparent advantage of a significant area of gravel plateau.

Appendix 8.9 Domesday Book: manorial values 1066/1071 and 1086

As with all other aspects of data from Domesday Book, the plotting of documented changes in manorial values is far from straight forward. Firstly, there is the issue of which dates we are comparing: ‘The entries for many counties give annual values for manors for three dates- *tunc*, *post* and *modo*- that is for 1066, some subsequent date, and for 1086 ..... the intermediate dates do not all refer to exactly the same year, but most would seem to lie between 1066 and 1070’ (Darby 1977, 232). The values for manors on the Isle of Wight are presented either *TRE* (1066) or an intermediate date (between 1066 and 1070), and 'now' (1086). Secondly, ‘Values were often round sums such as £3, or 20s, which suggest estimates or approximations, rather than exact totals’ (Darby 1977, 209). Thirdly, there is the problem of exactly what was meant by the annual value of a manor: ‘The basis of valuation was probably an estimate of the rent which could be obtained for the property on the basis of current population and equipment’ but ‘How a valuation was determined was uncertain’ (Welldon Finn 1973, 78). Welldon Finn (1973, 82) also points out that ‘Manors given identical values in Domesday Book display amazing variations in their equipment ... But such details are not necessarily totally illogical. The character of the soil, the richness of the pasture, and the extent and condition of the livestock may have shown considerable variation’.



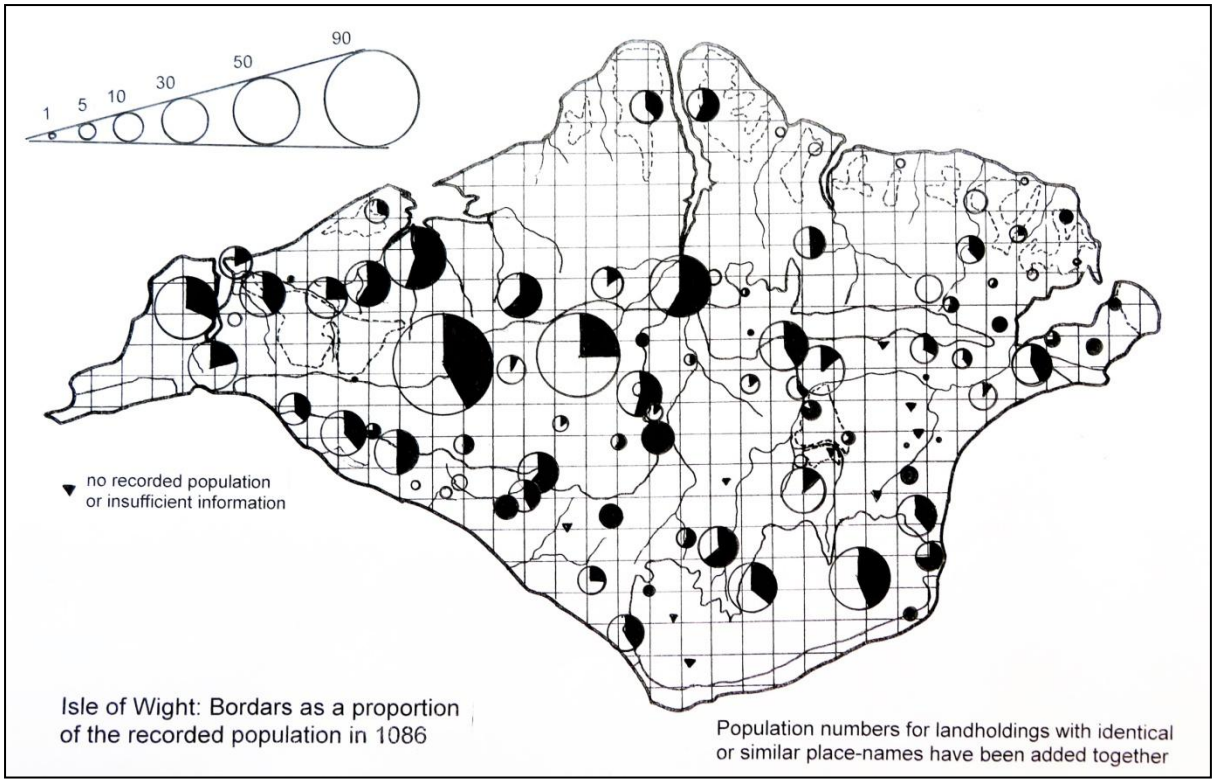
Isle of Wight: Manorial values, 1066/1070 and 1086

On the Isle of Wight, 16% manors saw an increase in value between 1066/1070 and 1086, 41% remained the same, 33% had a decrease in value, and 10% recorded a value for 1086 only. Of the nineteen manors which increased in value, 11 were within the claylands of the Northern Lowlands or were manors such as the two Calbourne manors which were on the margins of the Lateral Ridge and the Northern Lowlands. Most of the remaining manors within the Northern Lowlands retained their value. The only significant cluster which is an exception to this are the manors in north-east Wight centred on the margins of gravel plateaux: Puckpool, Barnsley (x2), Nettlestone (x2), *Witestone* (Hill Farm) and *Etharin* (St Helens), all of which declined in value. Other manors centred on the margins of gravel plateaux retained their values: Hamstead (x2), Luton, Whippingham (x3), Binstead and Preston. The situation to the north of the Lateral Ridge can be contrasted with that of the Southern Vale, where from a total of 60 manors within the vale or on its margins, 25 (42%) decreased in value and 24 (40%) retained their value. These statistics indicate that there is a relationship between the changing value of manors and their location in relation to landscape regions. With the exception of the north-east Wight, a significant number of manors within the claylands of the Northern Lowlands increased their value, with the remainder maintaining their value. This can be contrasted with the situation to the south of the Lateral Ridge, where a little less than half of the manors decreased in value with most of the remainder maintaining their value.

Appendix 8.10 Domesday Book: bordars as a proportion of the recorded population 1086

The distribution and relative numbers of bordars itemised as part of the Domesday population statistics for each manor would appear to be of relevance for the process of assarting and colonization. This idea originates in the research by Sally Harvey (1979). Whilst it is acknowledged that *bordarii* appear to have provided the labour force for manorial demesnes, as wage labour, as *famuli* (servants) or providing manorial services (Postles 1986, 123), a plausible case can be made for another function of bordars in certain areas. Higham (1993, 206) observed that 'The word may imply a role on the border or edge, so perhaps, men active in assarting and the exploitation of woodland and waste'. Harvey (1979, 109) stated the thesis that bordars are associated with substantial levels of population, or active expansion particularly in woodland areas, or both of these. This conclusion was reached through examining the Domesday population structure of counties with high numbers of bordars compared with counties with lower numbers. She saw this role for bordars as one of active expansion in western and south-western counties, in particular associated with woodland environments where they had grazing rights but were not associated with ploughing (Harvey 1979, 108-9). Higham (1993, 206) cites some evidence for this 'colonizing' role in Cheshire, particularly in the centre of the county where 79% of the 214 bordars were recorded from manors with woodland. A study of the bordars of Derbyshire concluded that the distribution of bordars was associated with local circumstances, perhaps as demesne or wage labour, but that on royal 'multiple-estates' bordars 'may have reflected the re-colonisation of the dispersed estate, initially in the berewicks' (Postles 1986, 126). This implied re-colonization can be shown to be associated with 'waste' but in Barlborough *cum* Whitwell in north-eastern Derbyshire this was happening in a woodland environment (Postles 1986, 126). There is also some evidence for bordars being associated with assarting in the Rockingham Forest area of Northamptonshire, where rents for *borderlands* in the mid-15th century within Geddington's royal manor refer to assarts which did not form part of field systems (Bellamy 1994, 36).

The hypothesis that high proportions of bordars recorded in Domesday Book were associated with colonization of wood-pasture and heathland can be supported by evidence from the Isle of Wight. The West Wight manors of Freshwater, Afton and Thorley where other evidence suggests the development of these areas before the eleventh century bordars comprise less than 50% of the recorded population. Compton and Brook have similar proportions. These proportions are slightly higher at 50% at Mottistone and Coombe. The adjoining small manor of Hulverstone has a proportion of more than 50%, which may be associated with colonization of the low-lying, wet area adjoining the coast.



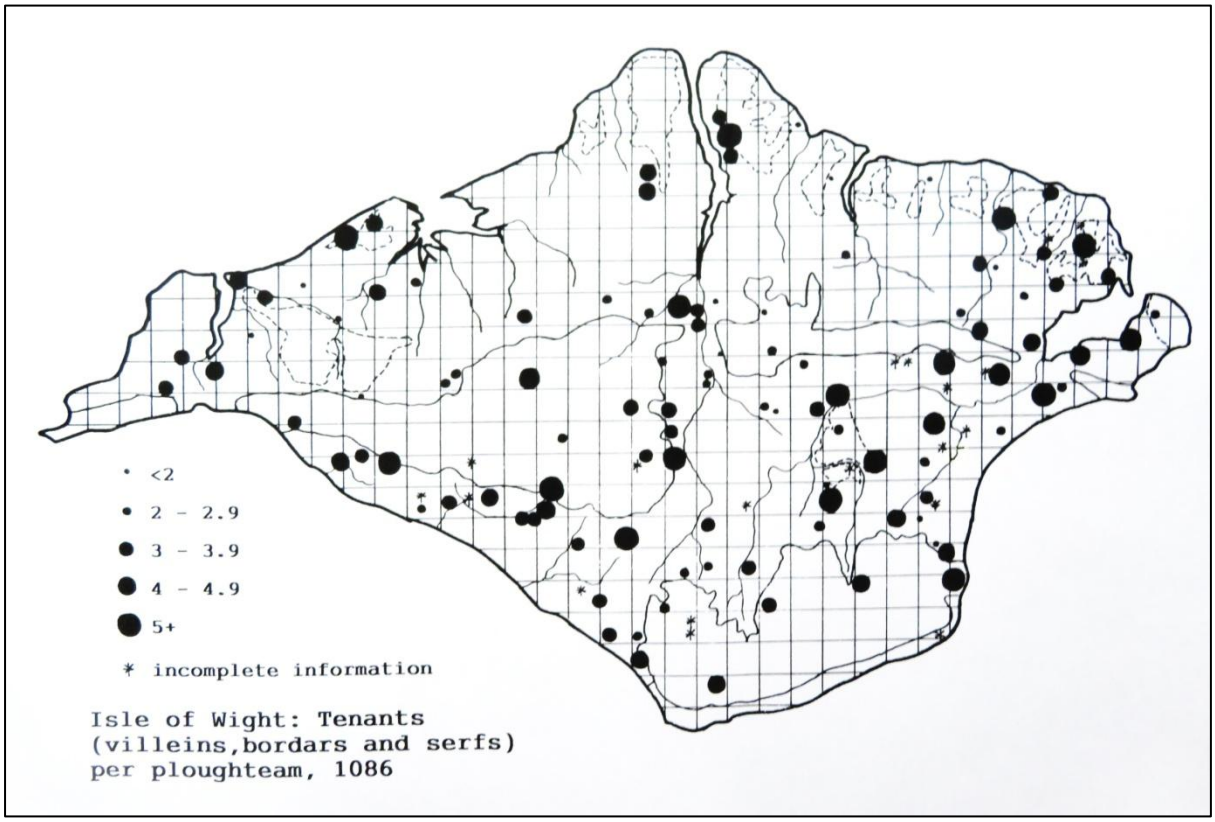
Manors with their centres well within the tertiary claylands of the Northern Lowlands: Ningwood, Shalfleet, Watchingwell and Briddlesford have proportions in excess of 50%, compatible with the *lēah* place-name of Watchingwell in the 10th century, the **niming* place-name of Ningwood in 1086 (Appendix 8.5, 8.6) and the woodland for 20 pigs within Domesday Shalfleet (53v). Calbourne had a similar area of woodland (52v) but a lower proportion of bordars, perhaps explained by the area of chalk downland within its bounds. Bowcombe, another extensive manor encompassing more than one landscape region had little over 25% bordars. One of the Shide manors had a proportion of over 50% which perhaps represented exploitation of the Medina valley and Northern Lowlands. Further south along the Medina valley Gatcombe had a higher proportion and Loverstone's recorded population consisted entirely of bordars. Although both of these manors included chalk downland, these bordars may have been associated with the development of the lowlands of the Medina valley: Gatcombe recorded 26 acres of meadow in 1086 (52v). Kingston, lying in the Southern Vale also had a population consisting entirely of bordars, but so did Gotten, consisting mainly of downland. Roud, on the southern margins of the Southern Vale, had 6 bordars and 4 slaves, the population structure perhaps representing the exploitation of valley and downland resources. The downland manors of the Southern Massif, Stenbury and Wroxall had proportions of a little less than 50%, with higher proportions at Niton and Apse, although the latter included part of the Southern Vale. The two manors within or largely within the Undercliff, Bonchurch and Luccombe, have high proportions of bordars which may accord with the development of this marginal region in the eleventh century (Chapter 10, p.363-4). The manors of the Bembridge Isle were also small but with a high proportion of

bordars, again perhaps representing the agricultural development of this area. Manors on the peripheries of gravel ‘islands’ of north-eastern Wight had a proportion of bordars significantly less than 50%. This would appear to represent the agricultural development of these manors before the later eleventh century. The only exception is Nettlestone with the entire recorded population consisting of bordars. The Domesday place-name here, ‘the farmstead in or near the nut-tree pasture or nut-tree wood’ (Mills 1996, 74) may possibly be of relevance here, with the expansion of more intensive land use into this *lēah* or *læs* (Appendix 8.5). To the west of Wootton Creek Wootton, in a similar location, Wootton had no bordars. However, Whippingham had more than 50% bordars which may represent the development of wet heathland and wood-pasture beyond the limits of the gravel ‘island’.

Appendix 8.11 Domesday Book: recorded population per ploughteam 1086

This map is based upon the work of Darby (1977, 133-134, fig. 44). He noted marked regional differences on a national scale, ranging from five or more men per team in much of Norfolk and Lincolnshire, to under two men per team in much of Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. He asked

> Were large numbers in these districts [Norfolk and Linclonshire in particular] 'maintaining themselves as independent members of society on resources which can have been little more than adequate for bare subsistence?' (Stenton 1943, 510). Or could it be that these relatively large numbers of men per team were helping to maintain themselves by other activities such as sheep-farming? And what of the fairly large numbers per team in parts of Cornwall, Dorset, Hampshire, Kent, Middlesex and other counties? Were they, too, dependent upon activities other than tillage for a livelihood? (Darby 1977, 133).



An analysis of the data plotted for the Isle of Wight at a much more localised scale would suggest that manors which had access to more than one landscape region or sub-area had a relatively high proportion of tenants per ploughteam, whereas those which were restricted to the claylands of the Northern Lowlands or the lighter soils of the Southern Vale had a lower proportion. However, this argument cannot be taken too far: compare for example the contrasting values for adjoining Great and Little

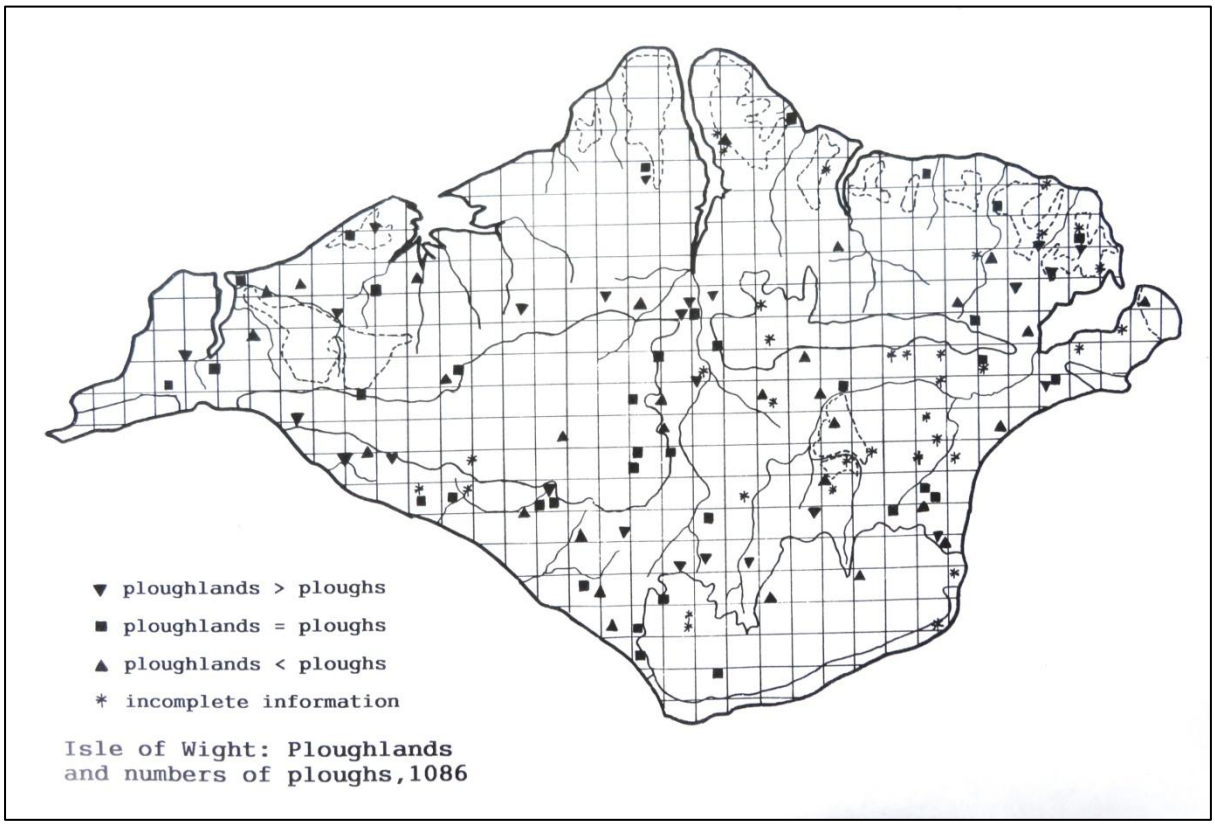
Whitefield within the Northern Lowlands and the great differences between manors adjoining the gravel plateaux within the Northern Lowlands, comparing Luton and Whippingham with Wootton, Binstead and *Wenichetone* (King's Quay). A tentative explanation for the values plotted is that the manors with higher values (four or more per ploughteam) were less dependent upon arable agriculture than manors with lower values (less than three per ploughteam). Many of these manors had access to extensive chalk downland, where sheep would have been an important part of the local economy, or significant areas of gravel plateaux, where again pasture would have been important. However, this data from the Isle of Wight needs more detailed analysis and comparison with other data generated from the study of Domesday Book and other sources before any firmer conclusions can be reached.

An analysis of nine Domesday manors of the West Wight where manorial boundaries are reasonably certain (Margham 2003, 36-39; table 3), indicates no significant correlation between the numbers of ploughs per square mile and recorded population per ploughteam. Thus the numbers of recorded population per ploughteam in 1086 is not a valid indicator of the relative importance of arable production in this area. It may have validity within other areas, but this cannot be tested over much of the Island where many of the Domesday manorial boundaries are unknown.

Appendix 8.12 Domesday Book: ploughteams and ploughlands 1086

This map is based upon the work of Higham (1990). It is based upon the assertion that the ploughland was used as a unit by which to measure the area of arable in 1086 (Higham 1990, 36). Higham concluded that

> In general terms, there is a broad similarity between areas where the creation of large-scale and often township-wide open-fields was early and where Domesday ploughs and ploughlands closely correspond. Conversley, areas where ploughs frequently exceed ploughlands regularly coincide with irregular field systems or systems which were reorganised at a date which could well have been later than 1086. In 1086, there were substantial differences in the degree of rationalisation of field systems from region to region and from manor to manor. Such differences provide a causal framework for analysing the relationship between ploughs and ploughlands and apparent excess of ploughs may be explicable by the absence of highly organised open-fields, with cultivation fragmented on individual farms or hamlet field systems staffed by a population living in dispersed settlements (Higham 1990, 42).



On the Isle of Wight, in terms of the total numbers of manors, there is a reasonably equal distribution of the differences between ploughlands and ploughteams, with ploughlands greater than ploughs 21%, ploughlands equalling ploughs 28%,

ploughlands less than ploughs 24%, and incomplete data 27%. The plotted data does not present any obvious pattern in relation to landscape regions. Much of the Island consisted of dispersed settlement in the eleventh century, so perhaps one would expect a higher proportion of manors where ploughlands exceeded the number of ploughs. One of the few areas which would appear to have had a well developed open-field system by 1086 was Freshwater. However, here there were 16 ploughlands and only 11 ploughteams. This discrepancy can perhaps be seen as consistent with Higham's observations but the situation in other manors where ploughlands exceeded ploughteams has to be explained.

Kapelle (1979, 166-169) provides an alternative explanation for manors where the number of ploughs exceeded the number of ploughlands in 1086, which he describes as 'overstocked manors': ‘The obvious inference from the excess team and a half [in Handsworth] is that the arable land of the village had been expanded, not that there was a floating corps of plowmen [sic]’ (Kapelle 1979,167), and ‘In these areas [of Yorkshire] the Normans increased agricultural production in an attempt to augment their own wealth by expanding the arable of existing villages and probably by redeveloping nearby waste holdings. This is the meaning of the extra plows [sic]’ (Kapelle 1979, 169). Whilst much of Kapelle's discussion is concerned with the response of landholders to the 'Harrying of the North', it may have a relevance to the expansion of arable agriculture into formerly non-arable areas.[345] This would certainly have been appropriate for manors within the claylands of the Northern Lowlands. It may be significant that Briddlesford and Great Whitefield were both apparently 'overstocked', and saw an increase in their value between 1066/1070 and 1086.

[345] Darby (1977, 177) cited Stenton who ‘suggested that the excess [of ploughteams over ploughlands] was sometimes due to the creation of new demesne’.

Appendix 8.13 Domesday Book: Plough-teams and recorded population structure within and outside manorial demesnes 1086

Sally Harvey (1988, 45) has written that 'Relatively little attention has been given to the structure of Domesday manors except by Russian historians, yet the consistent record of both plough-teams in the demesne and of the peasants enables county-wide comparisons'. The tabulation presented below is a comparison of recorded number of plough-teams within demesne lands along with those outside manorial demesnes. The intent here is to make comparisons within the Isle of Wight whilst also enabling wider comparisons where appropriate. This type of information within the Island Domesday folios is not complete, there being inconsistencies and omissions, but 102 out of a total of 124 manors can be tabulated where manorial demesnes are mentioned. Most manors recorded plough-teams within the demesne and likewise most recorded teams outside demesnes. The various records of fractions of teams, such as 1½ in Cheverton's demesne and ½ in Durton's, can be explained by plough-teams consisting notionally of eight oxen (Harvey 1988, 45).

The recorded population for each manor has also been included as these figures form an important component of manorial structures, it being common practice to record the number of villans, bordars and slaves within and beyond demesnes. Where not specified, it has been assumed that slaves formed part of the assets of the demesne, otherwise the statistics are taken directly from the text. Slaves were to be found largely within demesnes, with the exceptions of Roud (2), the two instances of Shanklin (2 each), one of the three Shide manors (4) and one of the two Whitefields (1). Some bordars were enumerated within demesnes but were predominantly found outside. The vast majority of villans were outside demesnes, the exceptions being the composite manor of Borthwood, Branstone and Lessland (1), Lessland (4), one of the two Merstone manors (1), Puckpool and *Etharin* (3), and *Witestone* (Hill Farm) (3).

There are some inconsistencies within the tabulated data. Whilst it is possible, as in the case of Adgestone, that there were no plough-teams and no population beyond the demesne, the entry for Afton can be questioned. This recorded two plough-teams within the demesne but the entire population of 14 villans and two bordars being resident outside the demesne having six plough-teams. This may be explained by the population performing duties within the demesne with their own plough-teams (Harvey 1988, 90). Harvey (1988, 46) comments that 'The information [regarding plough-teams] is reliable; however, there are also deficiencies, which have an administrative rather than a geographical explanation, of which we must be wary'.

Modern place-name	DB name and folio reference	Plough-lands	Ploughs in demesne	V B S within demese	Ploughs outside demese	V B S outside demesne	Medieval parish
Adgestone	*Avicestone 53v*	½	½	0 2 2	-	-	Brading
Afton	*Affetune 52*	8	2	-	6	14 2 0	Freshwater
Alverstone	*Alvrestone 53*	2	-	-	-	1	Brading
Alvington	*Alwinestune 52v*	6	-	-	4	8 2 0	Carisbrooke
Appleford (West)	*Apleford 52v*	2	½	-	3	0 3 0	Godshill
Appleford	*Apledeforde 53v*	1	½	0 1 0	-	-	Godshill
Appleford	*Apleford 54*	1	1	0 0 3	-	-	Godshill
Arreton	*Adrintone 39v*	5	3	0 0 7	10	10 12 0	Arreton
Ashey	*Abedestone 39v*	3	-	-	4	11 0 0	Newchurch
Atherfield (?Little & Green)	*Egrafel 52v*	1	1	0 1 0	-	-	Shorwell
Atherfield, Dungewood & Walpan	*Avrefel 52v*	3	2	-	2	1 10 0	Brighstone (det) & Shorwell
Barnsley	*Benverdeslei 39v*	2	-	-	1	3 0 0	Brading
Binstead	*Benestede 53*	2	-	-	2	2 0 0	Binstead
Borthwood Branstone & Lessland	*Bordourde 53*	2 [in 1 manor]	½	1 2 0	-	-	Brading Newchurch Godshill
Bowcombe William fitzStur	*Bovecome 52*	15	3 -	0 0 10 -	15 1	25 15 0 1 0 0	Carisbrooke
Brading	*Bearadinz 53*	½	1	0 4 0	-	-	Brading
Briddlesford	*Breilesforde 53*	4	1	-	4	5 5 0	Arreton
?Brighstone	*Weristetone 53v*	4	1	-	-	-	Brighstone
Brook	*Broc 52*	6	2	0 0 9	2½	3 7 0	Brook
Calbourne Robert, Herpul & Alsige	*Cavborne 52v*	25	6 3½	0 0 11 0 0 12	14 5	27 15 0 3 22 0	Calbourne Brighstone
Calbourne (Westover)	*Cavborne 52v*	2	2	0 0 3	1	1 3 0	Calbourne
Chalcroft (Cheverton)	*Celvercote 53v*	½	½	0 1 0	-	-	Brading
Chale	*Cela*	1	1	0 0 4	1	0 4 0	Chale

	52v						
Chale	*Cela* *54*	1	½	-	½	0 2 0	Chale
Cheverton	*Cevredone* *52v*	1½	1	-	1	3 1 0	Shorwell
Chillerton	*Celertune* *53v*	1	1	-	-	-	Carisbrooke (det)
Chillerton	*Celertune* *53v*	1	1	0 2 1	-	-	Carisbrooke (det)
Chilton	*Celatune* *53v*	1	-	-	1	2 0 0	Brighstone
Compton	*Cantune* *52*	4	1	0 0 1	2	7 3 0	Freshwater
Durton	*Drodintone* *54*	?	½	-	1	1 1 0	Arreton
Freshwater	*Frescewatre* *52*	15	2	0 0 7	8	18 10 0	Freshwater
Freshwater	*Frescewatre* *53v*	1	1	0 3 0	-	-	Freshwater
Fulford	*Lamore* *53*	1	1	-	½	0 5 0	Arreton
Gatcombe	*Gatecome* *52v*	4	3	0 0 6	5	6 15 0	Gatcombe
Haldley [Rowridge]	*Heldelie* *52*	3	1	-	2	4 1 0	Carisbrooke
Hale	*Atehalle* *53*	1	1	-	1	1 4 0	Arreton
Hamstead	*Hamestede* *53v*	1	-	-	1	2 2 0	Shalfleet
Hardley [in Bembridge]	*Hardelei* *52v*	?	1	0 0 8	½	0 3 0	Brading (det)
Heasley	*Haselie* *39v*	4	2	0 0 15	2	4 4 0	Arreton
Huffingford [*Blackwater*]	*Ovingefort* *54*	?	-	-	½	1 0 0	Arreton
Huffingford [Blackwater]	*Huncheford* *54*	1	½	0 1 0	-	-	Arreton
Kern	*Lacherne* *39v*	1	1	0 2 5	-	-	Brading
Knighton & The Down	*Chenistone & Done 39v*	?	2	-	-	-	Newchurch Whitwell
Lea [Sandown airport]	*Alalei* *53v*	?	½	-	-	-	Brading
Lessland	*Liscelande* *39v*	2	2½	4 0 0			Godshill
Luccombe	*Lovecube* *39v*	1	1	0 6 2	-	-	Bonchurch
Luton	*Levintun* *52v*	2	-	-	2	4 2 0	Northwood
Luton	*Levintune* *54*	1	½	0 2 0	-	-	Northwood
Melevsford	*Melevsford* *53v*	½	1	0 1 0	-	-	Thorley
Merston	*Merestone*	?	1	1 0 0	-	-	Arreton

	53						
Merston	*Messetone 53*	1	1	-	1	2 1 2	Arreton
Mottistone	*Modrestan 53v*	4	1	0 0 7	1	0 7 0	Mottistone
Nettlestone	*Hoteleston 39v*	½	½	0 3 0	-	-	St Helens
Nettlestone	*Hotelestone 53v*	½	½	-	-	-	St Helens
Nettlestone	*Hotelestone 53v*	3	1	-	-	-	St Helens
Ningwood	*Lenimcode 54*	4	1	-	3	6 10 0	Shalfleet
Niton & Apse	*Neeton & Abla 40*	8	3	0 0 9	5	7 18 0	Niton Newchurch
Nunwell	*Nonoelle 39v*	1½	1	0 0 3	½	1 2 0	Brading
Orham [Bembridge]	*Orham 53*	1	1½	-	½	0 5 0	Brading (det)
Pan	*Lepene 53v*	4	1	-	2	4 0 0	Whippingham
Preston	*Prestetone 53*	1	-	-	1	8 0 0	St Helens
Puckpool & *Etharin*	*Chochepon* 39v	1	1	3 0 0	-	-	St Helens
Roud	*Rode 53*	6	2	-	1	0 6 2	Godshill
Rowborough	*Rodeberge 53*	1	1	-	½	1 2 0	Brading
Sandford with Week	*Sandford Cv Wica* 39v	12	3	0 0 10	6	10 3 0	Godshill
Sandown	*Sande 39v*	3	1	-	3	7 1 0	Brading
Scotchells [Upper Hide, Ninham or Selbournes]	*Scaldeford 39v*	1	-	-	1½	3 0 0	Brading
Scotchells [Upper Hide, Ninham or Selbournes]	*Scaldeford 53*	1	-	-	1	3 0 0	Brading
Scotchells [Upper Hide, Ninham or Selbournes]	*Scaldeford 53*	1	1	-	-	-	Brading
Shalcombe	*Eseldecome 52v*	2	2	0 1 0	-	-	St Nicholas
Shalfleet Geoffrey Turgis & Leof	*Seldeflet 53v*	14	2 - 2	- - -	9½ 1 2	14 19 0 2 1 0 2 2 0	Shalfleet
Shanklin	*Selins 53*	1	½	-	1	3 2 2	Shanklin
Shanklin	*Senclinz 53-53v*	5	2	-	2	4 2 2	Shanklin

Shate	*Soete 54*	1	-	-	1	3 0 0	Brighstone
Sheat	*Essuete 53v*	½	1	0 1 2	-	-	Gatcombe
Shide	*Side 52v*	4	1	0 0 1	3	5 8 0	Carisbrooke
Shide	*Sida 53v*	4	1	0 0 3	1½	3 2 0	Carisbrooke
Shide	*Sida 53v*	3	0	-	1½	10 15 4	Carisbrooke
Shorwell	*Sorewelle 52v*	3	1½	0 0 6	1	2 8 0	Shorwell
Shorwell	*Sorewelle 53v*	2½	1	0 0 3	1½	2 6 0	Shorwell
Standen (East?)	*Standone 53*	?	1	-	1	2 3 0	Arreton
Standen (West?) Peverel	*Standone 53*	2	1 1	0 1 0 -	- -	- -	Arreton
Stenbury & Whippingham	*Staneberie & Wipingeham 39v*	7	2	0 0 12	6	7 10 0	Godshill Whippingham
Thorley	*Torlei 53v*	7	2	0 0 7	6	10 11 0	Thorley
Watchingwell	*Watingewelle 52v*	8	-	-	5	7 12 0	Shalfleet (det)
Wellow	*Welige 52*	4	2	0 0 4	1½	6 3 0	Shalfleet
Wenechetone [near Kings Quay]	*Wenechetone 39v-40*	2	-	-	2	2 0 0	Whippingham
Whippingham	*Wipingeham 53*	?	½	-	1	3 2 0	Whippingham
Whippingham	*Witingeham 53v*	½	½	0 3 0	-	-	Whippingham
Whitefield (Little?)	*Witesfel 53*	?	1	-	½	1 3 1	Newchurch
Whitefield (Farm)	*Witesfel 53*	6	4	-	3	4 0 0	Brading
Whitcombe	*Witecome 52v*	1	1	0 3 0	-	-	Carisbrooke
Wilmingham	*Wilmingeham 52*	1	-	-	2	3 0 0	Freshwater
Witestone [Hill Farm]	*Witestone 53*	2	1	3 0 0	-	-	Brading
Wolverton [Shorwell]	*Ulwarcumbe 52v*	1	-	-	1	1 2 0	Shorwell
Wolverton [Hulverstone]	*Ulvresdestune 53v*	2	1½	0 0 4	1	1 3 0	Shalfleet (det)
Woolverton [Bembridge]	*Ulwartone* 39v	1	1	0 3 1	-	-	Brading (det)
Wootton	*Odetone 40*	?	-	-	3	4 0 0	Wootton
Wroxall	*Warochesselle 39v*	10	4	0 0 17	7	10 24 0	Newchurch

Yafford	*Heceford 54*	1	½	-	1	0 5 0	Shorwell
Yarmouth	*Ermud 54*	2	-	-	2	7 2 0	Yarmouth
Yaverland	*Everelant 39v*	5	-	-	5	12 0 0	Yaverland
Yaverland	*Everelant 39v*	5	-	-	5	12 0 0	Yaverland

V- villans; B- bordars, S- slaves

The above tabulation has been analysed to identify any significant differences between the numbers of plough-teams within and without demesnes in manors of contrasting sizes. Although there were few large manors, some comments can be made regarding the possible influences of major land holders on manorial structure before the Conquest.

Seven manors were rated at four or more hides *TRE* (Afton, Arreton, Bowcombe, Calbourne, Freshwater, Shalfleet and Wroxall). All of these had plough-teams both within and outside demesnes. The mean number of plough-teams within demesnes (not including sub-holdings in Calbourne and Shalfleet) was three, with a mean of 10 outside manorial demesnes. Two of these large manors were held by King Edward before the Conquest: Arreton and Bowcombe both had three plough-teams within their demesnes. This is consistent with the observation that demesne cultivation was 'by no means as important as the size of the royal lands might suggest' with most royal manors not having more than three or four plough-teams, with one or two being more typical (Harvey 1988, 90). This can be contrasted with the six teams, plus a further 3½ in the sub-holdings to the south of the Lateral Ridge, within the Bishop of Winchester's Calbourne estate. This bishopric 'stands out from all other great landholders as having the most the most marked interest in both demesne agriculture and in its landed revenues' (Harvey 1988, 104). Differences in the structure of larger manors would thus seem to be a function of landholders' policies, rather than similarities in size. It has been observed that 'it seems that it was the Anglo-Saxon predecessors of Norman lords who determined the structure and organisation of some of the largest demesnes' and patterns observed in 1086 suggesting 'that lands inherited from the Godwin family, particularly from Harold or from Harold's mother, Gytha, had been devoted to large-scale demesne agriculture before the Norman Conquest' (Harvey 1988, 119). On the Isle of Wight Wroxall had been held by Countess Gytha of her late husband Earl Godwin having a ratio of plough-teams within and without the demesne of 4:7, a similar proportion to that of Winchester's Calbourne of 9½:20 (including sub-holdings). However charter S1391 documents that Wroxall was held by Osgot previous to 1043x1044 when Winchester Old Minster obtained the estate through an exchange expiring at Osgot's death, so Gytha apparently had little time to develop the agriculture there before her flight abroad in 1066 (Barlow 2002, 169). Similarly, her son Harold held the three hides of Heasley with a ratio of 2:2 (39v), in contrast to his brother Tostig's larger estates of Afton 2:6 and Freshwater 2:8 with less emphasis on demesne agriculture in these

two land-holdings.[346] Shalfleet was held by a certain Edric before 1086 with a ratio of 4:12½ (including the two sub-holdings in 1086), again contrasting with the emphasis on demesne agriculture within Winchester's Calbourne estate, Gytha's Wroxall and Harold's Heasley.

The mean figure of three teams within demesnes and 10 outside in large manors can be contrasted with statistics from the 24 manors rated at less than one hide *TRE*. The mean number of plough-lands both within and outside was a figure less than one which was a function of the small size of these manors. In contrast with large manors four of these small manors recorded no plough-teams within their demesnes, and 11 with none beyond demesnes. These apparent anomalies when compared with the more apparently logical figures for large manors may be due to administrative issues of how to deal with such small manorial holdings.

[346] Tostig also held Brook 3 hides 2:2½ and Thorley 3 hides 2:6, and Nunwell was held by Wulfflæd of Tostig.

Appendix 8.14 Domesday Book statistics for manors consisting mainly of clayland and for manors on the margins of gravel 'islands' within the Northern Lowlands of North-East Wight

Manor and reference	*TRE hidage*	Plough-lands	Plough-teams	Recorded population V B S	Value *TRE*	Value *TRW*	Ploughlands per *TRE hide*	Population per ploughteam	Ploughteams per ploughland	Medieval parish
Mainly clayland										
Briddlesford 53	1h	4	5	5 5 -	20s	40s	5	2.5	1.25	Arreton
Rowborough 53	1v	1	1½	1 2 -	5s	20s	6	2	1.5	Brading
Wenichetone 39v-40	1h	2	2	2 - -	£3	£3	2	1	1	Whipping-ham
Whitefield 53	1h	?	1½	1 3 -	?	20s	2	3.3	?	New-church
Whitefield 53	3h	6	7	4 - -	£4	£7	2.3	0.6	1.2	Brading
Gravel 'island' margins										
Barnsley 39v	1h	2	1	3 - -	40s	20s	2	3	0.5	Brading
Barnsley 53	½h	1	?	- 1 -	10s	7s	2	?	?	Brading
Binstead 53	5v	2	2	2 - -	10s	10s	1.6	1	1	Binstead
Etharin & Puckpool 39v	1h	1	1	3 - -	30s	20s	1	3	1	St Helens
Nettlestone 39v	⅓h	½	½	- 3 -	10s	5s	1.5	6	1	St Helens
Nettlestone	⅓h	½	½	- - -	5s	5s	1.5	?	1	St

53v										Helens
Nettlestone 53v	⅓h	3	1	- - -	60s	20s	10 [?]	?	0.3	St Helens
Preston 53	2h 1½v	1	1	8 - -	20s	20s	0.4	8	1	St Helens
Whippingham 53	1h	?	1½	3 2 -	10s	10s	?	3.3	?	Whipping-ham
Whippingham 53v	½h	?	½	- 3 -	10s	10s	?	6	?	Whipping-ham
Wootton 40	1h	?	3	4 - -	?	£3	?	1.3	?	Wootton
Witestone (Hill Fm) 53	1h	2	1	3 - -	30s	20s	2	3	0.5	Brading

Appendix 9.1 Early Medieval 'Persistent Places' on the Isle of Wight

9.1a High Status churches

Location	Nearest RB villa site	Nearest early AS cemetery site	Landscape region(s) within region/ less than 500m away	1810 road network, through routes within 500m	Local topography
Arreton	Combley 1.2km	Arreton Down 0.6km	SV/LR	E-W, N-S	overlooked by Arreton Down to north
Brading	Morton 1.4km	*Bembridge Down 2.1km	NL/LR	N-S	N of Yar gap
Calbourne	Rock 2.4km	•Westover 1km	NL/LR	E-W, N-S	N of col over LR
Carisbrooke	Carisbrooke 120m	Castle 500m	NL/LR	E-W, N-S, SW-NE	entrance to Bowcombe valley
Freshwater	?Farringford 1.6km	Afton 1.3km	NL	N-S	alongside Western Yar estuary
Godshill	Combley 6km	•Little Budbridge 2.1km	SV	E-W, N-S	hill top outlier of SM
Newchurch	Combley 5.2km ?Mersley 1.6km	•Bathing-bourne 2.3km	SV	N-S	on bluff overlooking Yar 8.1to north
Shalfleet	Rock 5.3km	?Churchills Farm 2.5km	NL	E-W	head of tidal Shalfleet Lake
Whippingham	Gurnard	Carisbrooke	NL	N-S	on margin of gravel

	4.2km (over Medina estuary); Combley 6.5km	Castle 6.5km; Arreton Down 6.8km			'island'

9.1b Other estate centres of five hides or more *TRE*

location	*nearest RB villa site*	*nearest early AS cemetery site*	*landscape region(s)* *within region/ less than 500m away*	*1810 road network, through routes within 500m*	*local topography*
Bowcombe	?Bowcombe adjoining Clatterford 1.1km	Bowcombe Down 1km	LR	SW-NE	within Bowcombe Valley
Wroxall	?Wroxall adjoining Combley 9km	*Ventnor 1.3km	SM	not through route	'blind' valley within SM
Yaverland	Morton 1.3km	*Bembridge Down 1km	SV/LR	SW-NE	east side of Yar gap

9.1c Burh site

location	*nearest RB villa site*	*nearest early AS cemetery site*	*landscape region(s)* *within region/ less than 500m away*	*1810 road network, through routes within 500m*	*local topography*

Carisbrooke Castle	Carisbrooke 400m	same site	LR/NL	E-W, N-S, SW-NE	on promontory overlooking church site

9.1d Probable Anglo-Saxon meeting sites

location	*nearest RB villa site*	*nearest early AS cemetery site*	*landscape region(s)* *within region/ less than 500m away*	*1810 road network, through routes within 500m*	*local topography*
Bowcombe Down	?Bowcombe 1km Clatterford 1.7km	same site	LR	SW-NE	LR ridge top
Bunts Hill	Gurnard 4km	Bowcombe Down 4.4km	NL	E-W, N-S	locally prominent hill
Gallibury Hump	Rock 2.2km	Bowcombe Down 4km Shorwell 4km	LR	SW-NE	LR ridge top
The Hatt	Combley 1.5km	Arreton Down 1.3km	LR/SV	E-W, N-S	overlooking Arreton to east
The Longstone	Rock 1.7km	Harboro 500m	LR	E-W	top of valley between greensand and chalk ridges

9.1e Meeting site by 1100?

location	*nearest RB villa site*	*nearest early AS cemetery site*	*landscape region(s)* *within region/ less than 500m away*	*1810 road network, through routes within 500m*	*local topography*
Shide Bridge	Shide 550m	Carisbrooke Castle 1.8km	SV/LR	N-S, E-W	In Medina gap

9.1f 'Productive' sites

location	*nearest RB villa site*	*nearest early AS cemetery site*	*landscape region(s)* *within region/ less than 500m away*	*1810 road network, through routes within 500m*	*local topography*
Churchills Farm	Rock 3.8km	?same site *Little Chessell	NL	N-S	Bembridge limestone plateau
Froglands Farm	Clatterford 200m	Carisbrooke Castle 500m	LR	SW-NE	Within Bowcombe Valley

9.1g Concentrations of Romano-British metalwork associated with Iron Age staters and/or Early Medieval sceattas identified from PAS

location	*nearest RB villa site*	*nearest early AS cemetery site*	*landscape region(s)* *within region/ less than 500m away*	*1810 road network, through routes within 500m*	*local topography*

Arreton	Combley 1.5km	Arreton Down 1.0 km	SV/LR	N-S, E-W	adjoins superior church and estate centre
Chessell	Rock 2.9km	Chessell Down 0.3km	LR	N-S, E-W	probably northward, downslope continuation of cemetery site
Corfe	Rock 5.3km	•Five Houses 2.5km	NL	N-S, E-W	within claylands
Dog Kennel	Rock 6.2km ?Farringford 4.0km	Afton Farm 2.5km	NL	N-S	margins of Bembridge limestone plateau
Gatcombe	Clatterford 2.3km	Bowcombe Down 3.4km	LR	E-W	elevated location overlooking the coombe
Mersley	Combley 1.6km ?Mersley 0.45km	Arreton Down 1.3km	SV/LR	N-S, E-W	RB corn-drier 450m to SE of metalwork concentration
Shalcombe Holding	Rock 3.7km	Shalcombe Down 0.3km •same site	NL/LR	N-S, E-W	between LR and Bembridge limestone plateau
Tapnell	Rock 5.5km Farringford 4.0km	Afton Farm 2.2km	NL	N-S, E-W	Bembridge limestone plateau

Nearest RB villa site- ? possible site based on coin-hoard or other evidence; nearest early AS cemetery site- * undated inhumations, • cemetery site inferred from PAS, ? ambiguous evidence

Appendix 9.2 Analysis of areas and locations of former open-fields identified in HLC (Loader 2008, fig. 63)

Parish	*Approx area ²km*	*Associated place-names*	*Landscape region*	*Soil classification*	*Agricultural land classification*
Freshwater	4.5	* Easton, Middleton, Sutton, Weston, Totland	NL	572j	3
Freshwater	1	Norton, Pratlands, Heathfield	NL	572j	3
Freshwater	1	Afton	NL	572j	3
Freshwater	0.5	Wilmingham	NL	572j	3
Thorley	2	# Thorley	NL	511a	3
Thorley	1	# Tapnell	NL	511a	3
Shalfleet	1	# Wellow	NL	511a	3
Shalfleet/ St Nicholas	4	# Ningwood, Shalcombe	NL	511a, 711h	3
Shalfleet	0.3	Shalfleet	NL	711h	4
Shalfleet	0.6	Shalfleet	NL	711h	3
Calbourne	1	Street Place	NL	711h	3
Calbourne	1.2	Newtown, *Stretley, Underwood*	NL	711h	4
Northwood	0.4	Stagwell Farm	NL	711h	3
Northwood	0.4	Debourne	NL	711h	3
Northwood	0.2	?	NL	581b	3
Whippingham	0.5	Alverstone, Heathfield	NL	581b, 711h	3
Binstead	0.2	Binstead	NL	711h	3
St Helens	0.8	St Helens, Eddington	NL	581c	3
Brading	0.3	Hill Farm (*Writleston*)	NL	581c	3
Brading det	3.5	* Bembridge (*Orham*), Longlands, Wynfield	NL	711h, 581c	3
Freshwater	0.2	Compton	LR	341	4
Carisbrooke/ Gatcombe	6	* Froglands, Whitelane (*Wythelond*), Marvell (*Mirifeld*)	LR	571i	2/3
Carisbrooke det	0.4	* Chillerton	LR	571i	3
Carisbrooke det	0.6	Loverstone, Rill	LR	571i, 571g	3/4
Whippingham	0.7	* Pan	LR	342a	3
Brook	0.4	Brook, Roughland	SV	571g	3
Brook/ Shalfleet det	1.5	Brook, Hulverstone	SV	571s	3/4

Mottistone/ Brighstone	3	* Mottistone, Chilton, *Uggaton*, Brighstone	SV	571s, 572h	3
Brighstone	5	* Brighstone, *Galleyland,* Wicken Hill, Limerstone, Sutton	SV	571g, 571s, 572h	3
Shorwell	1.2	* Wolverton, Shorwell	SV	571g, 571i	3
Shorwell	0.7	Wolverton, Yafford	SV	571g	3
Shorwell/ Brighstone det/Chale	2.5	Atherfield, Pyle	SV	571g, 572h	2/3
Chale	1.5	Chale	SV	571g	3
Godshill	1.2	Rookley	SV	571g	3
Godshill	1.2	Godshill, Scotland, Bagwich	SV	571g	3
Godshill	0.3	Appleford	SV	571g	3
Godshill	1.6	Roud	SV	571g	3
Godshill	0.4	Sandford	SV	571g	3
Arreton	0.4	Merstone	SV	571g	2
Arreton	1	* Arreton	SV	571g	2/3
Newchurch	0.8	* Knighton, Mersley	SV	571g	3
Newchurch	1	Bobberstone, Whiteley	SV	571g	3
Brading	0.2	Borthwood	SV	571g	3
Brading	1.7	* Adgestone, Grove	SV	571g, 572h	3
Brading	0.3	Languard	SV	571g	2/3
Brading	0.1	Black Pan	SV	571g	4
Yaverland	1.5	* Yaverland	SV	571g, 572h	3
Niton	1.2	^ Niton	SM	571i	4
Whitwell	0.3	Wydcombe	SM	571g	4
Whitwell	1	Southford, Whitwell	SV/SM	571g	3
Whitwell	1	^ Whitwell	SM	571i	4
Whitwell/ Godshill	1	Nettlecombe, Stenbury	SM	571i	4
Newchurch	2	^ Wroxall	SM	571i	4
Bonchurch	0.3	Luccombe	SM	572k	4

See Appendix 4.1 for soil classification; B- Beresford 1967; *open-field HLC interpretation on or within 500m of the Lateral Ridge, # open-field HLC interpretation associated with Bembridge limestone, ^ open-field HLC interpretation on or within 500m of the Southern Massif.

Appendix 9.3: Domesday Book entries for Bowcombe, Isle of Wight, and Amesbury, Wiltshire

The king himself holds BOWCOMBE in demesne. It belonged to King Edward's farm. It was then assessed at 4 hides; now at nothing. There is land for 15 ploughs. In demesne are 3 ploughs; and 25 villans and 15 bordars with 15 ploughs. There are 10 slaves, and 8 acres of meadow, and a mill rendering 40d. From a toll, 30s, and [there is] a salt-pan without rent, [and] woodland for 5 pigs.

Of the land of this manor William fitzStur holds half a virgate. There is 1 plough with 1 villan. It is worth 10s. Jocelin and William his brother hold 1 virgate, which before them rendered rent; but these men have not paid it.

The monks of Lyre hold the church of this manor, with 1 virgate of land.

Of this virgate of land Humphrey holds a portion where he has 8 men paying 5s, and William fitzAzor 2½ acres where he has 4 houses. They hold without the consent of the priest. There belong to this church 20 bordars' messuages, and they render 14s. There is a mill rendering 6s, and all the tithes of Bowcombe belong to this church. The whole, TRE and afterwards, as now, worth £20; what the abbot has, £4 (Williams and Martin 2002, 129).

The king holds AMESBURY. King Edward held it. It has never paid geld, nor has it been assessed in hides. There is land for 40 ploughs. In demesne are 16 ploughs, and 55 slaves and 2 coliberts. There are 85 villans and 56 bordars having 23 ploughs. There are 8 mills rendering £4.10s, and 70 acres of meadow, pasture 4 leagues long and 3 leagues broad, [and] woodland 6 leagues long and 4 leagues broad.

This manor, [….] with its appendages, renders a farm of 1 night with all customary dues.

In this manor are included the lands of 3 thegns, which they themselves held TRE. These [lands] in Amesbury Earl William gave in return for the loan of BOWCOMBE [I.o.W., Hants].

Of the land of this manor, King Edward, in his infirmity, gave 2 hides to the Abbess of Wilton, which she never had previously; afterwards, however, she held them. # Earl William gave "Quintone" and Swindon and [? Great] Cheverell, which were thegnlands, for land in the Isle of Wight, which belonged to the farm of Amesbury (Williams and Martin 2002, 162).