

SAXON CHARTERS AND LANDSCAPE EVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH-CENTRAL HAMPSHIRE BASIN

By CHRISTOPHER K CURRIE

ABSTRACT

Landscape study of the South Central Hampshire Basin north of Southampton has identified evidence for organised land use, based on diverse agricultural, pastoral and woodland land uses in the Saxon period. Combined study of the topographic, cartographic and charter evidence has revealed that the basis for settlement patterns had largely developed by the tenth century. Highly organised common pasturing is identified within gated areas as being the origin of English commons in the later historic period. Evidence for possible river engineering is discussed.

Charter evidence suggests that this developed landscape, underwent reorganisation in the Late Saxon period, with ecclesiastical bodies at Winchester being the major beneficiaries. Although dealing with a small geographical area, this study raises implications for the nation-wide study of the origin of land-use traditions and settlement in England.

INTRODUCTION

The South Central area of the Hampshire Basin is delimited in this essay as that area formerly covered by the historic manors of North and South Stoneham, Bishopstoke, and Durley. These are all covered by Saxon charters giving bounds. It is mainly a region of clays, with large patches of sand and gravel. Modern land uses are restricted almost entirely to pastoral and woodland regimes.

The area was still characterised in the nineteenth century by extensive areas of common and woodland. Piecemeal development, both for housing and for industrial estates following the construction of the M27, threatens much of the region at present, although large areas of woodland still survive for both forestry (Stoke Park Wood) and recreation (Upper Hamble Country Park). This essay derives largely from the study of the bounds of inter-related charters of the later manors outlined above. The post-Norman evidence is considered in a separate essay (Currie forthcoming).

THE CHARTER EVIDENCE

Methodology

The methods used to elucidate the bounds of the charters discussed below are based on a long-standing knowledge of the areas under consideration. This was combined with topographical information given on the earliest Ordnance Survey map (one inch, 1810 edition, sheet XI), particularly with regard to the parish boundaries shown thereon. In some cases this was supported by knowledge of earlier documents. It is accepted that much of the boundaries of these estates will be conjectural. Where the boundary appears to follow close to the earliest known parish boundary, it has been assumed this is the course of the charter bounds, unless there is good reason to think otherwise.

It has been of help in this study to have recourse to Grundy's pioneering work on the bounds in the 1920s (Grundy 1921, 1924, 1926, 1927). However, differences in interpretation noted by this research seem to suggest anomalies in Grundy's methodology. Firstly, it seems he may have worked from maps without detailed knowledge of the area he was discussing on the ground. He also appears to have worked from Ordnance Survey maps that were current at the time (that is 1920s editions). If this is the case, the parish boundaries given on these maps would have been misleading as a number of important changes had been made between the earliest OS maps and the 1920s. Although Grundy must have recognised this, there is no indication that he referred to earlier maps to any great extent.

It is further noted that some of Grundy's translations are at variance with those given in standard Anglo-Saxon dictionaries. This study makes an attempt to work from a translation of the bounds that is more acceptable to modern scholars.

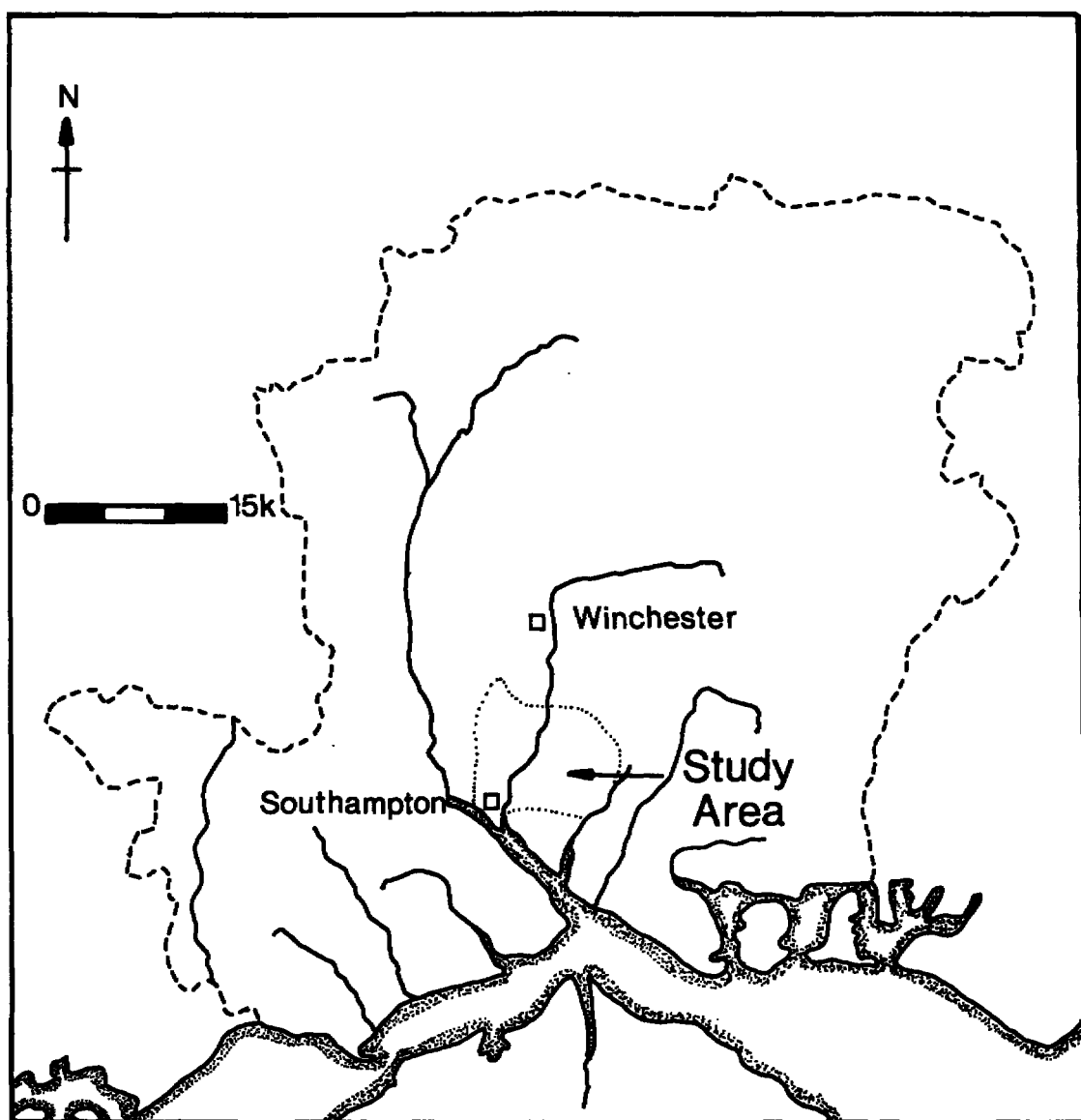


Fig 1. Location map showing the study area

The Charters

Bishopstoke, Durley, and North and South Stoneham are all covered by charters that give bounds. There is also a charter for Horton, but this does not have bounds. This settlement is not recorded as a manor in the *Victoria County History*, but has come to be identified by this study as a 'lost' early settlement.

The relevant charters are discussed chronologically.

a) The Durley Charter (Sawyer 360, Birch 596).

This (Appendix 1) is a charter of King Edward to the New Minster at Winchester dated AD 900. It grants lands at Micheldever, Cranbourne, Curdrige, Durley, *Rigeleah* (Slackstead) and Candover, and gives bounds. Only those for Durley are examined here. Grundy gives the Durley bounds much consideration on account of their differences with the AD 960 bounds of Bishopstoke (Appendix 2), where the two manors adjoin (1924, 82–85). This gave rise to his conclusion that the boundary was altered between AD 900 and 960.

More recently, Brooks (1982) has suggested that this charter may be an eleventh-century forgery. He does not, however, seem to doubt the authenticity of the content, as he considers it was made to justify the administration of a disparate group of estates as a single unit of 100 hides (i.e. a hundred) (Brooks 1982, 215). Interestingly, that additional part of Durley (roughly conversant with the area known in medieval times as East Horton) claimed here by the New Minster is the subject of a later dispute between the monks of St Swithun's Priory and Bishop Henry de Blois (1129–71) (Goodman 1927, 3, 12). How this land came to be disputed is not known, but it suggests that the motives for the original forgery may stem from a dispute between the bishop and New Minster in the tenth century. In this respect, a charter of AD 963 × 975 (Sawyer 827, Birch 1158) granting both Horton and Bishopstoke to the bishop in the same document may be relevant (see below, charter d).

Although the bounds given by Grundy are largely accepted, fieldwork has enabled the present author to elaborate on these conclusions.

Further, as Brookes' research does not seem to dispute the content of the charter, it might be allowed that the bounds given are those that the New Minster had claimed in the early tenth century, whether from tradition, or an earlier document now lost, need not concern this discussion. It has been decided, therefore, to take the bounds given as representing genuine marks that may have existed before the making of the Bishopstoke charter of AD 960.

Grundy's main point was that the boundary marks, *Wifel's Stigele* (Wifel's Stile) and *Cuntan Heale* (Cuntan's Hollow) occur on both charters. However, whereas the later Bishopstoke charter names these marks consecutively, the earlier Durley charter has six other marks in between. As both Wifels' Stile and Cuntan's Hollow appear to be on the line of a stream, Ford Lake, it is considered that the later boundary followed the stream between the two points (Grundy 1924, 84–85). At least one of the Durley boundary marks indicates without question that the boundary has moved to the west side of the stream (mark 5: *Of tham stocce be westan burnam on thone grenan weg* – from the stump (stock) on the west side of the bourne to the Green Way).

Although Grundy was partly able to associate marks on the Durley charter with surviving features, he did not offer a detailed opinion on what parts of the estate of Bishopstoke were included in Durley by this claim. The overall impression he gives is that the boundary moved to the west of the stream to the north of the present Snakemoor Farm, up to Knowle Hill, and then across country to 'Cuntan's Hollow', which was identified as the northern tip of Durley parish near Moplands Copse (1924, 84–85). This area of land covers about 200 acres, and includes the entire extent of East Horton Farm as it was in the nineteenth century (HRO 38M48/74). Brook's tracing of the bounds does not differ radically from Grundy's, as he argues it is not possible to identify the individual trees, 'green ways' or 'small paths' mentioned (1982, 196). Although generally agreeing with this point, this author argues that a long-standing knowledge of the area can bring the bounds under closer scrutiny.

The six additional boundary marks require detailed discussion. Grundy's opinion that Wifel's

Stile was near Snakemoor Farm can be improved on. Although, Grundy seems to think that the Durley boundary in this vicinity followed the stream, that shown on the 1810 one inch Ordnance Survey map shows a slight divergence to the west. This takes in only a very small part of the western bank, and quickly resumes the modern stream a few hundred metres north. Such a change could be explained by a shifting stream course. This deviation need not be seen as an argument against the AD 960 boundary of Bishopstoke following the stream for its entire length between Wifel's Stile and Cuntan's Hollow, as the 1810 boundary may have been an earlier stream course. What may be more significant is that at the point where the 1810 boundary diverges from the stream a footpath (SU 499166) crosses it. This accords with Grundy's positioning of the stile, and fits well as a mark on an old path at a ford over the stream.

The next mark is the 'red leafed tree'. This is the first of a number of tree references. The 1810 parish boundary turns north at the corner of Little Snakemoor Copse, a hundred metres NW of the conjectured site of the stile. A perambulation of the neighbouring Botley manor, dated 1769, refers to managed timber trees here (HRO 5M53/1335), and it is thought that Little Snakemoor Copse is an old coppice. The northern corner of this copse is possibly the site, or near the site, of the red leafed tree (SU 498167).

The next marker is the 'old stump'. This is probably a boundary marker on the edge of Horton Heath. This common existed in the medieval period (Currie forthcoming), and its eastern boundaries seem to be much the same in the tenth century as they were at the time of its enclosure in 1825 (HRO: Enclosure Map and Award).

The stump could be at one of two places. The first alternative is on a corner of the Heath, where the 1810/1825 eastern boundary takes a right angled turn to the west, and coincided with the meeting of the earliest recorded parish boundaries between Bishopstoke, Botley and South Stoneham (SU 495166). The alternative is to follow the 1810 boundary of Durley northwards to the edge of the Heath at

approximatley SU 498170. Both bounds are sufficiently close to make little difference to the overall interpretation.

From the stump the bounds followed along the west side of the stream to the 'Green Way'. If the 1810 boundary does follow an old stream course, this part of the boundary would follow this line until it comes to the road at SU 502173. This 'way' is of significance as it leads to the medieval church of Durley, standing alone on a hilltop at SU 505170. Although, the earliest part of the existing church dates to the thirteenth century, a Saxon predecessor is possible. It is worth mentioning that Grundy does not seem to be aware that the 1810 boundary was to the west of the stream. His own analysis seems to be based on the later parish boundary that followed the stream from the Hamble all the way to the northern extremity of Durley, a good distance beyond the points here under discussion.

The boundary now leaves the 'green way' to take the 'small path to Cnollgate'. On the modern map this would cause some confusion as the church road now runs on to Knowle Farm. However, before the enclosure of Horton Heath in 1825, this road is not shown. Instead, the church road turns back on itself and heads south across the Heath to Botley and South Stoneham. It is therefore likely that the 'small path' represents a pathway following the course of the later enclosure road across the heath, or (more likely) it follows the eastern edge of the Heath to 'Knowle Gate'.

The 'Knowle Gate' hints that Horton Heath existed at this date. Access to this common pasture may have been through a controlled entrance, a gate. Adjoining where the present Knowle Lane left the pre-enclosure Heath was Knowle Farm (SU 500178).

Knowle Farm seems an unlikely candidate for the site of an ancient settlement. The farmhouse had all the appearances of a post-medieval enclosure-act building, surrounded by poor sandy soils to the north and clays to the south. Yet a few hundred metres to the east a significant mesolithic settlement has been identified (Boismier 1989). A similar distance north on the hill top a Romano-British site has been excavated (Collis 1974). In the early thirteenth century the

de Knowle family occur frequently in the episcopal records for Bishopstoke (Hall 1903; Holt 1964, 27).

So far, this interpretation differs little from Grundy's. Between 'Knowle Gate' and 'Cuntan's Hollow' he becomes vague and has no suggestions to make for the intervening marks. The present author believes these marks are the most significant.

From Knowle, the charter goes on to the 'white leafed tree'. It is possible this is another marker on the edge of the Heath. A Whitetree Farm stands 300 metres east of Knowle Farm at the exact point where the major routeway from Winchester enters the Heath (SU 496179). This road is of some antiquity, and its existence in the late Saxon period is possible. Indications are that Whitetree Farm is a post-medieval creation. This may be why both Grundy and Brooks fail to mention it. Nevertheless, the name was probably taken from an earlier feature; either a 'white leafed tree' or a field that bore that name. It is not expected that the white leafed tree of Saxon times survived until the post-medieval period, but its offspring could have continued inhabiting the edge of a Heath for many centuries. A field or other topographical feature taking its name from this natural eyecatcher would not be unusual.

The next marker, the 'north bent tree', offers the greatest problem. The addition of 'north' suggests that the reader should find it to the north of the previous marker. Otherwise, this adjective is unnecessary. As the previous mark appears to be on the road from Winchester, it is likely that the bounds now follow this route. From the 'north bent tree' the bounds turn towards 'Cuntan's Hollow', which is probably near the north of the present Durley parish (Grundy 1927, 84; Brooks 1982, 209). A possible place for the tree is at the corner of Mortimer's Lane. Following this lane would bring the traveller direct to the Hollow. At the point where this lane turns off the Winchester road is a modern village with a tree name, Fair Oak. Although first recorded in the sixteenth century (Gover 1961), there had been a small hamlet there previously.

Despite its appropriateness, it is not considered that the bounds turned at this point. Instead they continued along the road to the point where the

1810 boundary of Bishopstoke crosses it (by the Fox and Hounds Public House, SU 494187). Examination of this boundary shows it to be a double hedge with a path running between; in places the path is considerably sunken beneath the hedges, by up to a metre. Such double boundaries with deep holloways are thought by Hoskins (1982, plates 9 & 10) to represent Saxon estate boundaries.

Another reason for taking the boundary beyond Mortimer's Lane comes from a fifteenth-century document that mentions the 'wood and timber of a grove called Hallelonde in Esthorton' (Himsworth 1981, doc. 18087). Hall Land's Wood is today on the north side of Mortimer's Lane near the 1810 Bishopstoke boundary. East Horton Farm is on the south side of the lane, and by the nineteenth century all its lands were well to the south (HRO 38M48/25-28). This document shows that East Horton's lands once extended north of the lane. It therefore seems that East Horton held the wood called Hall's Land in the medieval period, but subsequently lost it in a later subdivision of estates.

The 1810 manorial boundary of Bishopstoke extends across country to near Pond Farm (SU 515192). This stands in a large hollow close to the north end of Durley parish, where Grundy thought Cuntan's Hollow must be (1924, 84). There is only one problem with this interpretation: the 1810 boundary of Bishopstoke turned north-east above Pond Farm to skirt around Stroud Wood Common, before returning south-westwards to cross the Hollow to meet Ford Lake. However, as a boundary change was conjectured c 960, it is possible that at this later date the boundary was extended around the Common before returning to the Hollow (for interpretation of Bishopstoke charter, see below).

From the Hollow the bounds move on to the little spring. As there are a number of springs in this vicinity, any one of these could be alluded to; it is suggested it must be one to the south and east of the previous point. A number of indeterminate bounds move across to 'the Winding Brook'. These can be interpreted as in Grundy (1924, 84-85) or Brooks (1982, 209), as both seem to largely agree. This Winding Brook must be the one that begins at SU 523175, as the next bound



Fig 2. Charter bounds for North Stoneham and Durley

follows it down to Stapelford. The modern brook makes a tortuous route though Durley parish before it comes to Stapelford Farm (SU 512159).

The next mark, the 'awl-shaped wych (elm)' according to Brooks (1982, 209), is possibly near Broom Farm (SU 525165). The 'hollow marsh (*more*)', the bound that follows, could be the deep marshy valley (SU 526159) that enters the Hamble at Durley Mill. The boundary moves down this valley to this mill (SU 525151), before following the Hamble River until it is joined by Ford Lake.

b) North Stoneham Charter of AD 932 (Sawyer 418, Birch 692).

King Athelstan to thegn Alfred (Appendix 2): these lands were transferred to the New Minster at Winchester soon after.

Until the thirteenth bound is reached, this study generally agrees with Grundy (1927, 242–46). The first mark requiring comment is thought by him (1927, 243) to be near the northern entrance to Southampton Common: this is the 'along the way to the Southgate . . .'. The 'southgate' here probably being the southern entrance to North Stoneham Common, which coincides with the northern entrance to Southampton Common. The enclosure map for North Stoneham Common of 1736 shows gates depicted wherever roads leave it (HRO 102M71/E9). As with the Durley charter, the proximity of a 'gate' to a known later entrance to a large common suggests that these areas had been marked out in the Saxon period.

The most interesting part of the charter occurs after the thirteenth mark, 'then straight to Eastlea'. This demonstrates that the name of the later Domesday settlement of Eastleigh (Munby 1982, 56:2) existed in AD 932. Whether the charter text 'Eastlea' can be used to suggest an existing settlement, or merely 'the east wood' is uncertain (Della Hooke pers comm).

There are then two boundary marks that move northwards. Grundy did not explain these sufficiently. He comes south as far as Middle for the seventeenth mark, 'green lea', and then moves across country to the Itchen following roughly the 1810 boundaries of North Stoneham. This fails to explain the bounds on the north of Eastleigh.

An alternative course can be suggested. There was a considerable area of woodland north of Eastleigh, of which Boyatt Wood was a part, until recent times. The boundary marks 'then north as the haga (game enclosure?) runs to the Bare Lea on its north side' and 'north . . . to the footed oak' can be interpreted as following roughly along the 1810 boundary for that part of South Stoneham that included Eastleigh and part of Boyatt. The 'bare lea' is probably somewhere near the summit of Otterbourne Hill. If it can be accepted that this North Stoneham charter incorporates a later part of South Stoneham, the boundary marks become clearer. The estate's extent now follows the charter bounds more logically than Grundy's analysis.

The unusual manner in which Eastleigh and Boyatt are later attached to South Stoneham has all the appearances of a late reorganisation of estate boundaries. Hence when the bounds move south along the *Straete*, taken to be the Roman road from Winchester to *Bitterne* by Grundy (1927, 246), they do not extend as far south as Middle, as he argues, but follow the course of the road from near Otterbourne Park Wood to Boyatt (Margery 1967, 91). 'Green Lea' would be Boyatt Farm, according to this interpretation. An old footpath used to extend from Boyatt south-east to a holloway just below Ham Farm (SU 456206).

This track, probably of some antiquity, emerged in the Itchen meadows by the banks of the later post-medieval canal at a feature called the 'King's Dyke'.

A large watercourse called the Black Dyke follows the line of this canal a few metres further east. Although this has been redug in recent years (witnessed by the author in the 1960s), it is possible that it follows a similar course to the Saxon 'King's Dyke'. The name 'dyke' is rare in Itchen valley, and its use here may be significant. The Black Dyke emerges on the main river just south of a very large bend. The 1810 boundary of South Stoneham moves north from the Dyke (which it crosses at this point, but does not follow) to incorporate the land in the northern elbow of this bend before turning south down the Itchen. This is exactly as the Saxon bounds here under discussion suggest, 'along the Dyke till it comes to a bend over against the mead of Mucel's family',

and 'then down the Itchen . . . to the . . . Herdsmen's Spring'. Here the bounds continue down the river until it is joined by those of 1810 for North Stoneham. The Herdsmen's Spring is a stream that enters the Itchen from the east, just above Gater's Mill (SU 455158).

The charter ends with the mention of some additional points. These are 'the herd's meadow at Wothering, and nine acres of [arable] land at Genasche, and a mill place by North Mansbridge'. As with the South Stoneham charters (see below), these additional phrases may refer to land outside of the given bounds that are included in the estate. The mill at 'North Mansbridge' probably refers to the medieval mill site now known as Gater's Mill. The bounds appear to move west just north of the mill, cutting a chunk of land out of the Itchen meadows, between the 1810 parish boundary, and the road from Swaythling to Gater's Mill. As the South Stoneham charters seem to follow either the road or the river, they do not appear to claim this land at this date (although by 1810 it was in South Stoneham parish). The land itself is largely meadow, with a strip in the vicinity of the modern Swaythling cemetery on slightly higher land. One of the few pieces of possible surviving ridge and furrow in Southern Hampshire can be seen in the only undisturbed field on this higher land at SU 447156, north of the modern Mansbridge Road. Could this area be the additional land referred to? A Mansbridge Mill is also referred to in the South Stoneham charter of AD 1045. Is it possible that both Stonehams shared this mill at one time? If so, it is a strong indication that they were once a single estate.

c) The Bishopstoke Charter of AD 960 (Sawyer 683, Birch 1054).

King Edgar to Bishop Brihtelm. Given as Itchen Stoke by Sawyer (1968, 227), who notes Grundy's identification with Bishopstoke (1921, 112–14). Correlation between some boundary marks on this charter (Appendix 3), and those on the Durley charter adjoining Bishopstoke confirms Grundy's view.

Grundy's interpretation of this charter appears to be generally correct, but can be elaborated on. At a point along Bow lake, the bounds move

south and head for the Winchester road near the modern Fox and Hounds Public House (SU 490198). They follow a double-hedged path across country to the edge of Stroud Wood Common, and then on round the Common to the 'tree-stump piece where the two ways meet', before coming back across the Common (which was divided between the manors of Bishopstoke, Durley and Upham) to 'Cuntan's Hollow'. If the interpretation of the Durley charter is correct, then an extra bound (the tree-stump piece) has been added to bring the boundary around the Bishopstoke share of the Common. It is possible that Stroud Wood Common had been reallocated from an earlier arrangement, and the boundary to the north of 'Cuntan's Hollow' had changed between the original date of the Durley bounds (see discussion of (a) above) and AD 960.

The boundary now runs from 'Cuntan's Hollow' to 'Wifel's Stile', taking in a large part of the former estate of Durley. From 'Wifel's Stile', the bounds appear to move west towards the Itchen. Two more markers are given before the bounds reach this river. Grundy (1921, 114) translates the first as 'from the (red) ford out to the Itchen to the West Landing Place'. However, the word he translates as 'landing place' is *steth/stathes*, which is more accurately translated merely as 'shore' (Hall Clarke 1916, 274). Despite the translation 'West Landing Place' supporting references to a 'new river' on a later South Stoneham charter to indicate that river engineering had taken place to the south to allow the passage of boats upstream, it must be considered dubious. The final bound seems to move north up the Itchen to the charter's starting point.

d) The 'Horton' charter of AD 963 × 975 (Sawyer 827, Birch 1158).

King Edgar to the church of Winchester: confirmation of land at Twyford, Crawley, Owslebury, Hensting in Colden Common, Hants.; Horton, Bishopstoke, Otterbourne, Chilland in Martyr Worthy, Easton and Hunton, Hants. There are no bounds.

This charter confirms an earlier grant of 64 *mansae* at Bishopstoke, and other lands near Winchester to the bishop of that place (designated

simply as 'the church'). The importance of this document is the inclusion of the place-name 'Horton'. This place was not readily identifiable to early researchers. Grundy gives it as Houghton, near Stockbridge (1926, 145). Finberg suggests that it might alternatively be Horton in 'Stoke Park' (1964, 53–54). Sawyer offers both alternatives (1968, 260).

It is suggested that 'Horton' is in Bishopstoke, and that it represents a sub-manor within the larger bishopric estate. With the exception of Crawley, which appears to be mistakenly interposed after Twyford, the places named run roughly clockwise in order away from Winchester. Hence the next settlement beyond Twyford in a clockwise direction is Owslebury; south-west is Hensting; south-west again is Horton, then west to Bishopstoke, north-west to Otterbourne, and so on. The last three manors do not fit into the pattern, but the proximity of Hensting and Bishopstoke to Horton argues that this is the true identification, and not Houghton near Stockbridge.

The discovery of the forgery of the Durley charter (Brooks 1982) may throw some light on the need to mention Horton and Bishopstoke separately, despite the fact Horton is clearly encompassed within the Bishopstoke estate in AD 960, and in the later medieval manor. This may be the result of the need to define specifically that Horton falls within the lands of the bishop, because it is being disputed by the New Minster. By 1171, this same land is disputed between the monks of St Swithun and the bishop (Goodman 1927, 3, 12). This evidence makes it seem possible that a dispute once existed between the Old and New Minster, which the Old Minster appears to have won. The dispute between the bishop and the monks probably derives from Bishop Wakelin's division of the Old Minsters' lands between the bishop and St Swithun's monks in the late eleventh century (Dr Barbara Yorke *pers comm*).

e) The charter for South Stoneham, AD 990 x 992 (Sawyer 944, Kemble 712).

A grant from King Ethelred to an unidentified person of land at Weston in South Stoneham (Appendix 4). Grundy misidentified both this charter and (f) as belonging to North Stoneham

(1927, 249–50). Both are now accepted as referring to South Stoneham (Sawyer 1968, 284, 301), and so Grundy's interpretation of the bounds can be disregarded. The bounds are similar to a later charter of AD 1045 (Appendix 5), and so it has been decided to discuss them together.

This charter refers to Weston, originally a detached part of South Stoneham on the east bank of the Itchen opposite the mid-Saxon town of *Hamwic*. There is an additional note added on to this early charter, *And Feldees? (?Feldleas) Gemaene* – 'And the open country/pastures are held in common'. This addition is discussed under (f).

f) The South Stoneham charter of AD 1045 (Sawyer 1012, Kemble 776).

A grant of King Edward to the Old Minster at Winchester, which is almost identical to the above, but containing more boundary marks (Appendix 5).

Examination of the bounds of both Stoneham charters (e and f) seems to show that the full extent of the later manor is not given. Interpretation of the bounds indicate that only those areas on both banks of the Itchen below Swaythling are included. The manor's lands, in medieval times, to the east at Allington, Shamblehurst and most of Townhill seem to be excluded, as are Eastleigh and Boyatt. It has been suggested above (charter b) that Eastleigh and Boyatt did not become part of South Stoneham until after AD 1045. This is not thought to be the case for the eastern portion of South Stoneham centred on Allington, even though it is not included in the bounds of charters e or f.

Both charters begin or end at Swaythling. This seems to be a well established place as it starts both South Stoneham charters, and that for North Stoneham. The later hundred court was customarily held here (Grundy 1908, 462). There was an important ford over Monk's Brook here, probably at the upper point of its tidal portion near the present Fleming Arms (Su 441160), and it is thought the Roman road from Winchester to Bitterne passed nearby (Margery 1967, 91).

The bounds move clockwise if normal procedure is followed. There are initially significant differences between the two sets of



Fig 3. Charter bounds for South Stoneham charter AD 1054 and Bishopstoke AD 960

bounds, although they seem to be describing the same area. Both move along the Itchen and refer, at different points, to the boundary of royal land before moving across country to 'Wadda's stump'. The early charter (e) does this in two clauses whereas the later charter (f) moves through six. This might suggest initially that the later charter's bounds are an elaboration of the earlier, but this study suggests that the reason for the differences is that topographical changes had taken place between AD 992 and 1045.

The early charter moves from the Itchen to the

'King's boundary' and the 'Bitch's pole' before coming to 'Wadda's stump'. The later version starts at Swaythling, moves along the stream to the 'King's Row', along the row to the 'Old Itchen', probably in the vicinity of Mansbridge, where there was a crossing point on the river. 'To the upper side of the orchard to the New River' is probably further east near Gater's Mill (SU 453154, probably the mill at Mansbridge mentioned later in this charter). Della Hooke has suggested that the 'King's Row' is a hedge (pers comm), and this fits well as a stock-proof

boundary running along the Mansbridge Road (known to be of some antiquity) on the north side of a possible open field probably associated with the recently discovered Saxon village north of South Stoneham church. The evidence for open fields in this area is discussed below (p. 121).

The latter points are of interest because they suggest that river engineering had taken place, possibly to allow boats to navigate around obstructions in the main river, such as mills and fish weirs. This interpretation of the bounds is supported by the remains of an old river channel of some size visible along the south side of the valley on the edge of the present Riverside park (see Saxon river engineering). The fact that the two rivers are not mentioned in AD 992 suggests that they may not exist at this time. The addition of a number of bounds around the Itchen, and the clay pits, suggest significant topographical changes connected with the creation of the 'new' river between AD 992 and 1045. The appearance of clay pits for the first time in the 1045 charter may also be significant, as the construction of an artificial river would have required this material to make the system water-tight in key places.

The next markers are no longer traceable, but are thought to be on the edge of the later Townhill Common. The charter makes a point of noting that all the points from here to the *Wichythe* are 'along the boundary'. It is thought that this boundary is an internal one within South Stoneham dividing the estate within the bounds from the 'pastures of the open country . . . in common holding' referred to later. It is probably because these pastures are held in common that they are not granted with the rest of the estate. 'Along the boundary to the white stone' probably brings us to the first milestone east of Roman Bitterne on the Roman road from Bitterne to Fairthorne. 'Along the boundary to the landing place of the *Wichythe* at mid stream' is a stream that runs from just south of the first milestone along the later edge of Weston Common, and comes out into the Itchen exactly opposite the site of *Hamwic*. The *Wichythe* can therefore be identified with *Hamwic*, and although the site was probably much decayed by this time, the church of St Mary's survived on the site to provide some later continuity.

The bounds now move up the stream (the Itchen) to the stream, the latter being a stream that enters the Itchen opposite the site of Roman Bitterne. They then move along this stream to *Aecergeate* – 'the gate of the ploughlands'. The 1810 boundary of South Stoneham moves from this stream to the eastern edge of Southampton Common. It can be shown from other charters that gates seem to have been usual in the study area for marking common land off from farmland, as seems to be the case here. The North Stoneham charter suggests that a gated common on the site of the present Southampton Common existed from at least AD 932.

The bounds move up to the 'Hollow Brook'. Today a deeply scoured stream emerges from the north-east corner of Southampton Common to cross the University campus, and enters the Itchen just below South Stoneham church. This is exactly the route described by the charter, 'along the brook to Portswood on its north side to the Green Way'. The Green Way is probably the road from Swaythling along the west bank of the Itchen down to Hamwic and Southampton. Portswood Farm is shown on the 1810 OS map to be north of the stream that passes through the later University campus, although modern Portswood is nearer the Itchen. Both Burgess (1964, 8) and Hase (1975, 137) seem to think the boundary runs north of Portswood, thus including it in the estate. The present interpretation prefers the alternative that Portswood (Farm) is north of the stream. Although the wording of the bounds is ambiguous, the present interpretation fits the topography better, and makes the differences in the later charter bounds of AD 1045 easier to explain. Hase's arguments are based on both charters describing the same area, despite having different bounds in this area. It is more logical to suggest the boundary has changed than to try to explain why the writers should describe the same land differently.

The final bound is 'along the *straele* back to the spring at Swaythling'. The *straele* is believed to be the Roman road from Winchester to Bitterne, which is thought to have crossed the Itchen here (Margery 1967, 91). This probably follows the approximate line of Wessex Lane north from South Stoneham church to the ford over Monk's

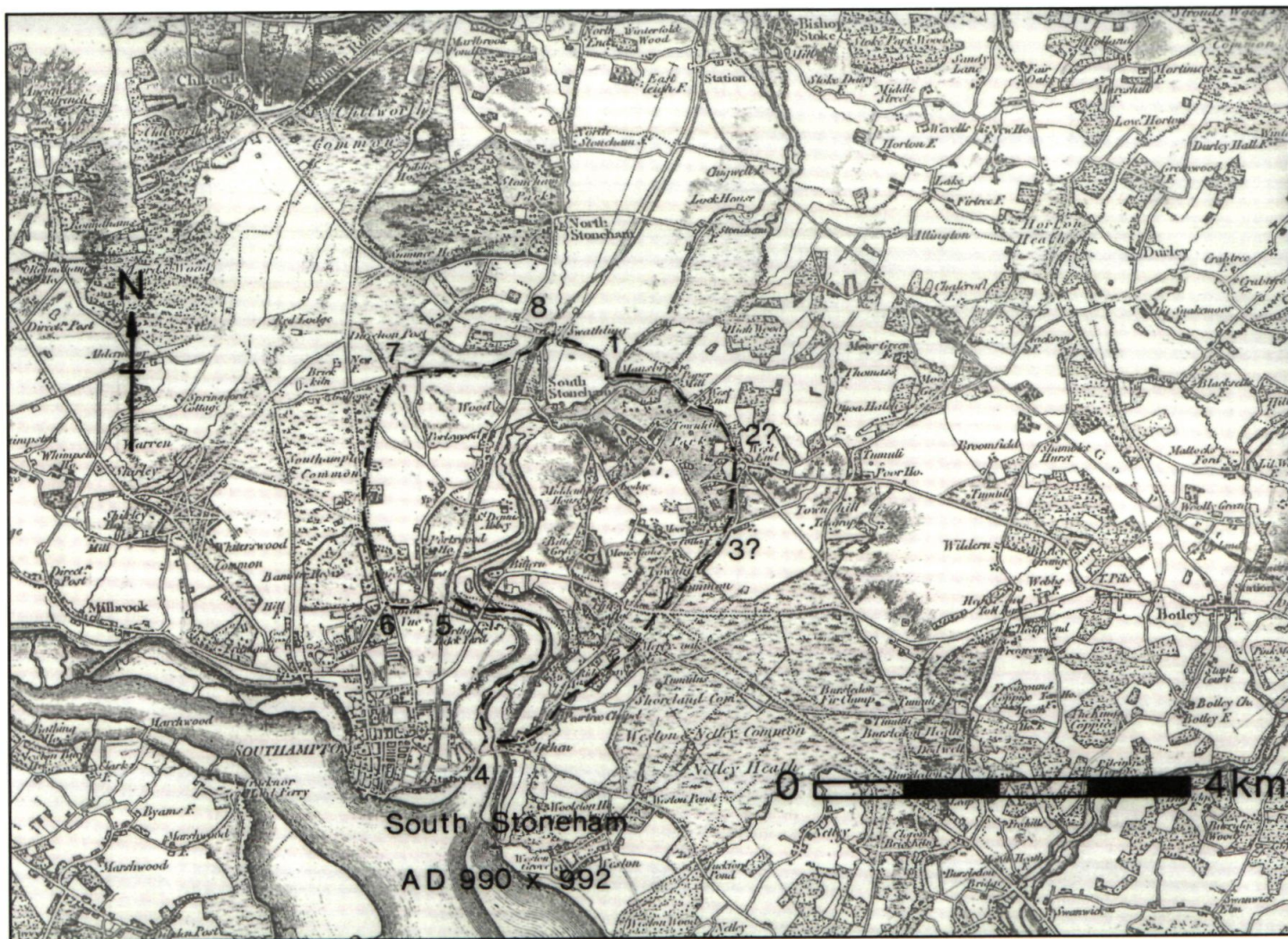


Fig 4. Charter bounds for South Stoneham AD 990 x 992

Brook by the Fleming Arms, near to where a small spring (now culverted) enters the brook on its east side.

The earlier charter of AD 990 × 992 moves direct from *Aecergeate*, 'then up along the way to Swaythling ford'. This suggests that by 1045 the far northern part of the earlier estate had been lost. Instead of following Hollow Brook, the earlier bounds move down the 'way' to Swaythling. This mirrors the North Stoneham bounds of AD 932, and follows the attested track on the site of the later Burgess Road down to Swaythling. This interpretation removes an area roughly equivalent to the medieval tithing of Pollack in South Stoneham from the AD 1045 charter.

The added note at the end of the AD 1045 charter is of major significance as it repeats information given at the end of the earlier (AD 990 × 992) charter that the 'Pastures of the Open Country are in common holding' (Grundy 1927, 250). The later charter gives the additional information that there is a church at Wick (possibly on the site of Hamwic), six strips of ploughlands, an eyot at Port's Bridge, 'half a seaweir', and a mill at Mansbridge. As with the North Stoneham charter, these items seem to be attached to the estate, but seem to be outside of the area delimited by the bounds.

The common pasture is of particular note as it is considered that it is the first record of the great stretches of moorland, evidenced by place names in the east of the manor (see Table 1). Their mention here may explain why they seem to be excluded from the bounds of the South Stoneham estate, although they are clearly part of the later medieval manor. These references support suggestions in other charters that common pasture was of considerable significance within the study area.

The evidence of six strips of ploughland argue that common field agriculture was undertaken within parts of the study area. The bridges at Port's Bridge and Mansbridge must have been reasonably substantial affairs, particularly as the river is quite wide in this vicinity. Both features would have been considerable communal undertakings, and demonstrate a high degree of local organisation. Finally, the seaweir was

Table 1: Place names in vicinity of Horton Heath and South Stoneham demonstrating settlement derived from former moorland, heath, woodland and waste.

Name	NGR reference	Meaning (derived from Ekwell 1960, Field 1972, or Grundy n.d.)
East Horton Farm	SU 507183	<i>Horu-tun</i> 'farm on muddy land', alternatively <i>heorta-tun</i> 'hill frequented by deer' or 'place on the slope of a ridge'
West Horton Farm	SU 476180	ditto
Quobleigh	SU 488179	'clearing in a boggy place'
Oakmoor	SU 501169	'moorland of the oak'
Snakemoor	SU 502163	'moorland frequented by snakes'
Little Snakemoor	SU 507163	ditto
Long Common	SU 505147	'long strip of common land' (local tradition).
Shamblehurst Farm	SU 496148	'shelf of land on a wooded hill'
Moorgreen	SU 480150	'green moorland'
Quob Farm	SU 474152	'bog or marshy place'
Wildern Farm	SU 489132	probably wildene- 'valley of willows'
Brown Heath	SU 526161	'brown heathland'
Broom Farm	SU 521165	'place where broom grows'
Durley (church)	SU 505170	<i>Deor-leah</i> - 'clearing in a wood frequented by deer'

probably a fish trap set in the tidal Itchen to catch salmon running up the river. The bishops of Winchester had a well documented fish weir at Woodmill in South Stoneham from the time of Domesday (Grundy 1908, 481).

Saxon common pasture and trackways

The charter evidence indicates the presence of large areas of common pasture, and a series of 'ways' or roads throughout the study area. The presence of gated common pasture is hinted at near the areas now known as Southampton Common, Horton Heath, and the extensive tracts of land in the later sub-manors of Allington, Shamblehurst, and Townhill, all in South Stoneham. The presence of gateways suggest that

these existed for access, and they argue that the common pastures were surrounded by a stock-proof boundary to keep animals from wandering on to adjoining farmland. A number of early settlements can be identified associated with these pastures, such as Horton. That these did not develop into nucleated villages indicates that the settlement pattern for the area may have been largely dispersed from an early date. This is supported by later medieval evidence (Currie forthcoming).

The common pastures of the Saxon period seem to have been the forerunners of later English commons. This suggests that within early Saxon estates resources were shared, or held 'in common'. There has been much debate as to the origins of common field agriculture, stretching back to Gray (1915) and beyond. The evidence of the study area seems to indicate that extensive areas of pasture were also held in common. These are first mentioned early in the tenth century, when they seem to be well-established entities. Over the course of the medieval period, rights were eroded, and much of the land was enclosed in private estates. Much of this is recorded in twelfth and thirteenth century documents as pressure on land intensified, but it must have begun much earlier. The boundary changes indicated by the charters studied here may represent indications that this process was already underway in the late Saxon period.

Communally-controlled pasturing is suggested in Anglo-Saxon law codes. The laws of Ine, dated from between AD 688 and 694, define the penalties incurred for allowing cattle to stray on to arable fields or meadow, and speak of the need for fences to prevent this (Whitelock 1955, 368–69). It seems that it was increased lawlessness of the later Saxon period that required the procedures regarding the keeping of livestock to be further defined. The laws of Edgar, dated AD 962–63, attempt to prevent the stealing of livestock, and urges all men to ensure that purchase of animals are made with the knowledge of the buyer's community, and in the presence of witnesses. Anyone buying livestock unexpectedly was required to bring them 'on to the the witness of his village' (Whitelock 1955, 399). Should he not do so within five days, 'the villagers are to

inform the man in charge of the hundred, and both themselves and their herdsmen are to be immune from penalty'. If, however, the livestock 'remains on common pasture more than five days unannounced, he is to forfeit the cattle . . . and each of the herdsmen is to be flogged' (Whitelock 1955, 400).

These laws suggest that communities were in the habit of pasturing all their stock together on communally-held pasture lands, in the charge of their own herdsmen. The additional lands mentioned after the bounds of North Stoneham suggest that this community kept its stock in a communally-managed herd, when it refers to 'the herd's meadow at Wothering'. The laws further indicate that it was necessary to make hedges, or other suitable boundaries, between pasture land and other lands to keep stock from straying. It seems that it was not until after the tenth century that the enclosure of pasture lands for individual use became common. Even then, our earliest records of 'several' enclosures often make mention of the need for the owners to 'buy out' the common rights of others.

Such references are common in early post-conquest charters relating to the lands of South Stoneham implied by the Anglo-Saxon charters to be common pasture (that is the lands that form the sub-manors of Allington, Shamblehurst and Townhill). A quitclaim of John of Botley, dated 1263, gave to St Denys' Priory near Southampton all his share and claim 'in common and pasture rights at Samelhurst within their close' (*in communa et pastura in terra eorundem apud Samelhurst intra clausum*) (Blake 1981, 225). A composition of 1299 records a dispute between local people and God's House Hospital in Southampton concerning one hundred acres of common pasture in Allington, Shamblehurst and Townhill that the lord of God's House had enclosed for his own use (Kaye 1976, 165). These are just a few examples of what must have been a common occurrence after the tenth century as powerful institutions and landlords saw the advantages of taking communally-held pasture into several ownership.

It is possible that Saxon land-use patterns in the study area were similar to those practised contemporaneously in the area later to become

the New Forest. The commoning rights that exist there today may reflect a survival of land-use that was virtually extinguished elsewhere by later medieval expansion.

Rackham has suggested the origins of English commons as woodland-pasture where 'the pasture element gained the upper hand and grazing was sufficient to prevent the replacement of the trees' (1976, 136). He further notes that their later shapes taper '... away gradually into the roads which cross the common' (Rackham 1976, 139). A study of the local commons on the 1810 Ordnance Survey map demonstrates this tendency. It further shows that most of the ancient routeways of the area follow stretches of common land wherever possible.

The charter evidence hints at a number of roads crossing the Saxon commons of the region. Many of these roads can be shown to correlate with routeways shown on the 1810 map. A good example is the road from Winchester to Botley. The bounds of the Durley charter suggests that this road followed the same route from the Fox and Hounds Public House on Crowd Hill across Horton Heath that it does today. Study of the 1810 map suggests that this road once followed common land for much of its route from Twyford Down to Botley, a distance of nearly thirteen kilometres (8 miles). The map shows it leaving Twyford across Twyford Moors, and then on to Colden Common, still an extensive common over a mile and a half in length at this late date. After leaving Colden Common it passed through a strip of remnant common on Crowd Hill which extends almost to Fair Oak. It then moves on to cross Horton Heath, beyond which was further common land called Long Common nearly all the way to the medieval small town of Botley (Currie forthcoming). In Saxon times, the road would have continued south to the earlier site of Botley (by the old church), where a Roman road forded the Hamble.

Another major routeway was the road from North Stoneham common to the Saxon port of Hamwic. There is a gate on the Saxon charter for North Stoneham of AD 932 roughly where the A33 enters Southampton Common. North Stoneham and Chilworth commons were still huge areas stretching from the southern end of

Chandler's Ford to Southampton Common in the eighteenth century. North Stoneham Common is recorded as covering 2,200 acres in 1736 (HRO 102M71/E9). The gate on the AD 932 charter suggests an access point for a road following the line of the later A33. This road bends SSE near the southern end of Southampton Common. In order to pass into the later medieval town, the road has to turn back due south. If the original line leaving the Common is followed it leads directly to the site of *Hamwic*. The alignment of this road suggests that it was one of the main provisioning routes into the *Hamwic*, particularly for livestock coming from the extensive grazing of the North Stoneham estate.

As well as these major routeways, there are a number of other trackways in the study area that can be identified as having possible Saxon origins. There is one such holloway to the south of Ham Farm near Eastleigh, which leads out into the Itchen watermeadows (SU 457206), following the conjectured bounds of the North Stoneham charter. Other tracks are not recorded in documents but can be conjectured from their relationships with known Saxon features. An example is the sunken track leading from Allington Lane (SU 488183) to join the Winchester-Botley road at Whitetree Farm. In 1810 this followed a remnant strip of common that must have once been part of Horton Heath. Cartographic evidence shows that this was once part of the main route from the 'lost' vill of (West) Horton (mentioned in the charter of AD 963 × 975) on to the Heath. As both can be shown to have existed in late Saxon times, this track is likely to be contemporary.

Perhaps the most interesting of the holloways in the study area is that known as Doncaster Drove, now a muddy track passing from Stoneham Lane (SU 443175) across an old ford on Monk's Brook to Wide Lane (SU 451175). On the 1810 map this track can be seen extending across what is now Southampton Airport to North Stoneham and Chickenhall Farms, on the edge of the Itchen meadows. This track can be extended west via Stoneham Lane along another holloway just beyond the Trojan's Sports Club (SU 435170) that once led to North Stoneham Common. In the post-medieval period, this route

was used to bring stock from winter pasture on the common down to the watermeadows for their spring feed.

The track has old origins. In the early nineteenth century that part that passes from the common to Stoneham Lane acted as the southern boundary of a deer park believed to date back to the medieval period (SRO D/2 639; Grundy 1908, 479). The practice of bringing stock down to spring pasture in river meadows probably dates from at least Saxon times. At Domesday, North Stoneham is recorded as having 224 acres of meadow, one of the largest recorded extents in southern England.

Saxon River Engineering

From the number of mills recorded in Domesday, it is clear that the Saxons must have undertaken a certain amount of river engineering before the Norman Conquest. At nearby Titchfield there is a long artificial leat, nearly 800 m long, feeding the existing village mill. If this mill can be assumed to be on the site of that mentioned in Domesday, then this artificial watercourse is one of a number of suspected Saxon date which suggests that they were involved with major river alterations. Work at Glastonbury, Somerset, has uncovered evidence for a canal there dating from the tenth century (Hollinrake & Hollinrake 1991).

Mills do not need such leats on larger streams and rivers as a matter of course. They are usually constructed because the siting of a mill across the main stream is a major obstacle to access up and down stream. On larger rivers, this would include access for boats undertaking local trade, but even on smaller rivers the blockage of the main stream was a frequent cause of litigation, as it prevented salmon and other migratory fish access to the upper reaches to spawn. Salmon have always been important in the economy of any river system, and rights to fish were jealously guarded. The provision of diversion leats to prevent mills blocking rivers was therefore important, and it can be assumed that the Saxons would have needed to construct them.

It is with this in mind that the mention of the 'Old' and 'New' river in the vicinity of Woodmill and Gater's Mill on the Saxon charter for South

Stoneham of AD 1045 is significant. This appears to suggest that river engineering associated with both mills, almost 1.5 kilometres apart, had been undertaken by this date. The lack of mention in the charter of AD 990 × 992 seems to suggest that the work may have been undertaken between those dates and 1045.

Although Roberts (1985) has shown that the so-called medieval canal to Alresford along the Itchen was an antiquarian myth, it would seem that boat traffic could pass beyond Gater's Mill in the eleventh century. What appears to be the remains of an artificial river course can be clearly seen running alongside the edge of woodland bordering Riverside Park (beginning at SU 443151). This is still shown on the 1810 one inch Ordnance Survey map, although later maps seem to show that it had been much changed for land drainage. The 1810 map seems to show that it would have once enabled access to the upper river by-passing Woodmill and Gater's Mill (the latter the 'Allington or Up Mill' of medieval documents). The remains of this channel show that, where it has survived unmodified, it was at about 15 m wide and 1.5 kilometres long, and would have allowed barges to pass each other without trouble. Although only excavated evidence could prove the date beyond question, the evidence suggests that this feature may be artificial, and of Saxon date.

In a recent synthesis of the reasons for the decline of *Hamwic*, Morton (1992, 75) has suggested that many of its functions had migrated upstream to Winchester by the early tenth century at the latest. If the construction of the artificial river was to facilitate the moving of supplies into that town, it might be expected that it would have been undertaken by that date. The evidence, however, suggests that the work was carried out between AD 992 and 1045, and there is no clear evidence that boats could have reached Winchester until the building of the Itchen Navigation in the post-medieval period.

That the 'new river' was designed, at least partly, to take boat traffic around obstructions in the river seems highly likely, but the destination of that traffic must remain conjectural. A mill already existed at 'North Manesbridge' in AD 932, probably on the site of Gater's Mill. By 1086

there are two mills and two fisheries in the two Stonehams (Munby 1982, 3–16, 6–8), all of which would have probably caused obstructions on the Itchen. A mill and a 'sea weir' are first mentioned at South Stoneham in AD 1045, but they are not mentioned in AD 992. Could the need for the artificial river have been the building of a substantial new mill, with an important fishery, at Woodmill between AD 992 and 1045? Or was it simply that the problem had existed for much longer, but it had been tolerated until an, as yet, unknown factor came into play, forcing the hand of the authorities to carry out what would have been a very substantial undertaking?

DISCUSSION

This study has shown that the wide expanses of heathland to the east of the Itchen had been brought under an organised management from an early date. Early tenth century charter evidence suggests that the common at Horton was already deliberately marked off from surrounding land, and that access was controlled by gates. Similar management of common lands with gated access is indicated in a number of other places throughout the region, including the present Southampton Common.

Excavated bone evidence from *Hamwic* suggests that the town was well provisioned with meat, particularly cattle, throughout the eighth and early ninth centuries (Morton 1992, 70). It would be expected that the surrounding rural hinterland would have played a part in this supply. It is, therefore, of little surprise to find that a large part of this area was organised as common pasture.

The two Stonehams may have once formed one large estate, whose principal purpose became to provide food to an important mid-Saxon port. Hase (1975, 142–43) has argued that this originated as a large royal estate, administered from *Hamwic*. Detached portions of South Stoneham are evidenced at Weston, on the opposite bank of the river to *Hamwic*. Charter evidence seems to suggest that transfer of lands between the north and south divisions were still incomplete in the tenth century. From the evidence that is available, a large single estate

may have once stretched along both banks of the Itchen, from the estuary mouth up as far as the southern boundaries of Bishopstoke and Otterbourne. The subdivision of large Saxon estates, in the upper Itchen valley north of Winchester, from the eighth century has been demonstrated by Klingelhofer (1990, 31–39). Hase (1975, 129–143) seems to consider a similar pattern may have developed around Southampton.

Disruptions caused by Viking raids, and the rise in importance of Winchester are thought to be amongst a number of reasons responsible for the decline of *Hamwic* (Morton 1992, 75–77). The charter evidence, which shows the granting of the Stonehams to church estates in Winchester, may be partly reflecting the shifting of power in the region northwards (Yorke 1984, 66). As the economic ties of the Stonehams with *Hamwic* declined from the mid-ninth century, so the urge to reorganise them and their boundaries must have been felt. There appears to be some delay before the process is completed, probably in the first half of the eleventh century. This, plus the apparent date of c AD 992–1045 for major river engineering, suggests that other factors may have been involved.

By the tenth century, settlement expansion also seems to be underway. The 'vill' of Horton, in Bishopstoke, is first recorded between AD 963 and 975. It is suspected that this settlement was well-established by the late Saxon period, and had expanded considerably before the thirteenth century had begun (Currie forthcoming). Elsewhere, settlement patterns can be shown to have been well-established by the time of Domesday.

Continuing expansion from the late Saxon period would have put pressure on the predominantly cattle farming communities in the area. This is reflected in a decline in the rural hinterland's ability to provision the new town of Southampton from the tenth century. This pressure does not appear to be relieved until the sixteenth century (Bourdillon 1980, 85). From the time of the earliest records in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, continued assarting is recorded into lands that were formerly used for cattle pasture. The larger local landholders made efforts to obtain these rights for themselves, and



Fig 5. Possible Saxon features in Stoneham where earthworks survive to the present day (based on the Ordnance Survey map, with permission)

to enclose the former communally-held lands. Population pressure continued until the fourteenth century, when there was probably some relaxation on the demand for land. Extensive areas of common still surviving in 1810 suggests that either settlement retreated from the more marginal lands, or the situation reached an equilibrium in the late medieval period whereby remnants of the mid-Saxon system were allowed to survive (Currie forthcoming).

Other commentators have argued that much of the area under consideration had come into the Royal Forest after the Norman Conquest. This is hinted at in Botley and Chilworth, both heavily wooded manors in the post-medieval centuries. Domesday Book records that Chilworth was worth £10 in 1066, but 'now [1086] 4, because he [the lord] has no authority in his woodland' (Munby 1982, 39:4). At Botley there is a similar entry stating, 'woodland is lacking' (Munby 1982, 29:6). Welldon Finn is of the opinion that this was the result of the manor's woodlands being placed in the Royal Forest (1962, 332). The extent of Botley woodlands can be gauged by the intense interest still shown in them in the post-medieval period (Currie 1991a). Likewise, the Durley charter for AD 900 contains a number of trees used as boundary marks. This led Grundy (1924, 85) to suggest that the land was 'in, or on the edge of, the [later] Forest of Bere'.

A charter of Henry II to the son of William Biwere, referring to the bounds of the royal forest of West Bere (Gilbert 1992, 7), partly confirms these beliefs. Here, it is stated that the Biweres held the same rights in this forest in the reign of William Rufus, and that these rights extend 'between the bars of Southampton and the gates of Winchester, and between Romsey water [the River Test] and Winchester water [The River Itchen] unto the sea'. A later perambulation of c 1300 suggests a greater extent to the east of the Itchen was once claimed with Hambledon and Flexland (in Soberton), beyond the River Meon, on the boundary 'before the coronation of King Henry [III]' (Hanna 1988, 192). This is apparently confirmed in a thirteenth-century grant to the lord of the manor of Botley of free warren, 'so that the woods shall not fall under the kings' forest' (HRO 5M53/1049).

There is only limited evidence for open field systems in the area. The Saxon charter for South Stoneham suggests that there were open fields within this manor in the mid-eleventh century. These were probably to the south of the 'gate of the ploughlands', between Southampton Common and the later medieval town. Nine acres of arable land near Manesbridge seemingly recorded in the North Stoneham charter that could coincide with a possible rare survival of ridge and furrow. This is on the opposite side of Manesbridge Road to two largish arable fields on the 1844 Tithe Map for South Stoneham (HRO Tithe Map and Award: South Stoneham) known as Great and Little Stoney Fields (SU 444157). The proximity of these fields to the recently discovered Saxon 'village' of South Stoneham (SU 439156), and their names, may indicate that they were once part of the fields of that settlement. The western edge of this possible open field may be represented by a particularly large former hedgebank that survives parallel with Monk's Brook at SU 442155. Late map evidence suggests that open fields may have existed to the east of the village of Bishopstoke, in the area now covered by housing estates around Hamilton Road. Field names such as Middle Field and Upper Field are suggestive of former open fields that may not have survived long into the post-medieval period.

River navigation seems to have had an important role in the local economy. Timber from Botley was moved down river to Bursledon and Portsmouth in the post-medieval period (Currie 1991), and it is suggested that Southampton was served in the same way at an earlier date. Saxon charters refer to a 'new river' near Swaythling, but this is probably a late Saxon response to the obstruction of traffic that had been plying the lower river for generations.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has found evidence for mid-Saxon organisation of resources, probably utilised temporarily to serve the port and *villa regalis* at *Hamwic*. Charters seem to suggest that a settlement pattern comprising most of the major

medieval elements was already in existence by the tenth century at the latest. Although there is much evidence for the erosion of commoning rights in the medieval period, the settlement pattern seems to have been largely formed before the disruptions of the Danes had become serious in the later ninth century.

Change in the local economy by the early tenth century is apparent in the reorganisation of local estate boundaries in favour of the major churches in Winchester. It is possible that this activity is connected with a shift in local power from *Hamwic* to Winchester by this time. There is evidence to suggest that the splitting up of large estates may have been underway from the eighth century (Klingelhofer 1990; Barbara Yorke pers comm). The activity noted in the Southampton area is reflected elsewhere by the creation of private hundreds from the tenth century onwards (Brooks 1982).

Even as this is underway, there is evidence, at Horton in Bishopstoke, and possibly at Eastleigh, of a secondary dispersed settlement pattern being established at an early date. Much of this already existed in the study area by the Norman Conquest, and a substantial part of that is recorded in tenth century charters. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a continuing expansion of settlement. The position of roads, trackways and major fording points seems to have had an influence on settlement siting. Animal bone evidence from Southampton suggests that increased demand and population pressure further reduced the capacity of the local hinterland to supply the town with the same efficiency that was shown in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Finally, it is possible to detect traces of Saxon common pasture traditions that survived later pressure for land in the New Forest. This suggests that the Norman kings were unable to extinguish commoning rights there, thereby reflecting a limitation of their power in the face of Anglo-Saxon traditions. A medieval landscape emerges that was already largely developed before the Norman Conquest. Such research continues to demonstrate a greater Saxon influence on later medieval landscapes than previously considered, and diminishes, in landscape terms, the impact of the Normans.

APPENDICES

The transcriptions of the charters in appendices 1, 2 and 3 rely on Birch (ii 596, 692; iii 1054). Those for appendices 4 and 5 are taken from Grundy (1927, 248–9). The present author is responsible for the translations used in this study.

Appendix 1

Saxon charter: AD 900–01, King Edward to the New Minster, Winchester; grant of lands at Micheldever, Cranbourne, Curdridge, Durley, Rigeleah (Slackstead), and Candover, Hants. (Sawyer 360, Birch 596).

Bounds for Deorleah (Durley)

1. Aerest on cysle burnam innam hamele thaer cysle burnam aerest ingaeth.
2. Up andlang cysle burnam to wifeles stigele.
3. Of wifeles stigele on thaet read leafa treow.
4. Of tham read leafa treowe on thone ealden stoce.
5. Of tham stocce be westan burnam on thone grenan weg.
6. Of tham grenan wege andlang thaes smalan pathes to cnollgete.
7. Of cnollgete omm thaet hwite treow.
8. Of tham hwitan treowe on thaet north healde treow.
9. Of tham north healdan treowe to cuntan heale.
10. Of cuntan heale on thone lytlan wyll.
11. Of than lytlan wyll forth ofer beorh holt on tha langan bryce.
12. Of thaere langan bryce innan wohburnam.
13. Andlang wohburnam to stapol forda.
14. Up of stapel forda to awelwican.
15. Of awelwiccian into than holan more.
16. Andlang thaes holan mores innan hamele.
17. Andlang hamele thaer cysle burnam gaeth into hamele.

Appendix 2

Saxon Charter: AD 932, King Athelstan to thegn Alfred, 12 hides at (North) Stoneham; document records transfer to New Minster, Winchester soon after (Sawyer 418, Birch 692).

1. Aerest of Swaethelingforda.
2. West to Smerebrocesforda.

3. And thanon westweard andlang herespathes to Hrumbroces aewelme.
4. And swa forþ andlange weges on suthhealfe gaetes hlaewe that hit cymth to feower treowum.
5. Thonon thanen north andlang herespathes to Gywrics wille.
6. And swa forþ andlang weges oth hit cymth to Fearnbedde.
7. Thanon easton thet Slaed oth hit cymth to holanbroce.
8. Thonne thanon north andlang holanbroces oth tha sand pyttas.
9. Thanon on Byrewege oth hit cymth on Cytanbroces aelwilme.
10. And swa andlange broces oth hit cymth t[o] Ipping-pame.
11. Thonne suth be efist oth thaet slaede tha scit to maeranbroce.
12. Andlang broces oth hit cymth to waergithforda.
13. Thanon on gerihte to eastlea wearden.
14. Thone north swase haga scyt to Baranleage northwearden.
15. Thonne thanon north oth hit cymth to there fotyhtan aet.
16. And swa suth andlange straete.
17. Oth hit cymth to grenan leage.
18. Thon thaer east and suth oth hit cymth to Cynnings dic.
19. Andlange thaere dic oth hio brgth ongean mucelinge maede.
20. Northwearde ut on Icenan
21. Thon swa Icenan scyt oth hit cymth foran ongean hierderwylles aewylm.
22. Thanon weast to scortan thorne.
23. Thanon suth to thane herepathe the lyth to Mannes brycge.
24. And swa weast andlang herepathes on Swaethlingeforde and waer hyrde sio maede to aet Wotheringe and nigon aeceras on eal northwearden geonum aescan and a mylansteall benorthan Mannesbrycge.

Appendix 3

Saxon charter: AD 960 King Edgar to his kinsman Brihthelm, bishop. Grant of land at Bishopstoke. (Sawyer 683, Birch 1054).

1. Aerest of breting maede northe weardre ut on icenan.
2. Fram bretinge to thaere gearn windan fet.

3. Of thaere gearn windan faet bretinge to stybban snade ther waer tha twegen wegas tolicgath.
4. Thonan to cuntan heale.
5. Of than heale to wifeles stigele.
6. Of thaere stigele to geolesburna.
7. Of tham burnam to tham readan fordan.
8. Of tham forda ut on icena on thaet west steth.
9. Ut andlang west stathes eft on bretinge thaer we aer on fengon.

Appendix 4

King Ethelred to ?; grant of land at Weston in South Stoneham (Sawyer 944, K713)

1. Aerest of icenan of Cynings mearce on bican stapol.
2. On waddan stocces.
3. Andland mearce to Wichythe.
4. Upp andlang streames on the lace.
5. Upp andlang mearce of (on?) aekergaete.
6. Thanon upp andlang weges on Swaethlingford. And feldles (feldleas?) gemaene.

Appendix 5

Saxon charter: AD 1045 King Edward to the Old Minster, Winchester, grant of land at South Stoneham. (Sawyer 1012, Kemble 776).

1. Aerest on Swaytheling wylle.
2. Andlang streames upp to thaes Cingaes raewe.
3. Andlang raewae on tha caldan icenan.
4. On ufwyrd thonae orcerd on the niwan ea.
5. Andlang maercae on the lampyttas.
6. Andlang mearce on waddan stoc(c)e.
7. Andlang mearce on thaene hwitan stan.
8. Andlang mearce on wichythe aet midne stream.
9. Andlang streames up tha lace.
10. Andlang . . . to aecergaete.
11. On holan broc.
12. Andlang broces on Porteswuda northe-wyrdan on thone graenan weg.
13. Andlang straete aeft on Swaetheling wylle. And seo feldles (?feldleas) gaemene, and thaet mynster aet Wic, and seo hid thae thaerto lith, and vi aeceras and se iggath aet Portes brice and healfc saewaere and se mylnstede aet Mannaes brice.

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Author: C K Currie BA, MPhil, MIFM, MIFA, 15 Claudeen Close, Swaythling, Southampton, Hants SO18 2HQ

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