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The Anglo-Saxon Estates of the Arun River Valley, Sussex: A Study of Amberley, Bury, Coldwaltham and Houghton

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I confirm that this Dissertation is entirely my own work

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the Anglo-Saxon estates of the Arun River Valley in Sussex, investigating their expanse, character and relationship to the rest of late Anglo-Saxon England (c.900-1066). It will utilise a range of primary material, from archaeological reports to nineteenth-century tithe maps, while also considering the overarching historical debate regarding estate settlement in Anglo-Saxon England. Overall, the study aims to map these estates within the Sussex landscape, analyse their output and also examine the political implications and influence of landownership in this area. Chiefly, it will argue that agricultural estates in the interior of Sussex are undervalued and overlooked in secondary research. However, it will also stress how the royal delegation of tenancy lacked any real consideration for local economies and processes, but was instead increasingly concerned with the political advance associated with such property endowments.

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Abbreviations

ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Cited by MS (where page differs from MS A), annal year, corrected annal year from M. Swanton (ed. and trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (London, 2000).
CS	Charters of Selsey: Cited by page number from S.E. Kelly (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Charters VI: Charters of Selsey* (Oxford, 1998).
EHD	*English Historical Documents Vol. 1: c.500-1042*, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1955; 2nd edn, 1979).
DB	*Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds) (London, 2002).
GDB	Greater Domesday Book: *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds) (London, 2002) cited by county, fol., Phillimore reference number.
OE	Old English (the English language c.450-c.1100).
WSRO	West Sussex Records Office

Introduction

This dissertation seeks to establish a greater understanding of the land estates located in the valley of the River Arun, Sussex during the Late Anglo-Saxon period (c.900-c.1066). It is in this period that scholars have identified a point at which populations recovered following the collapse of 'the Roman monetarized economy' four to five centuries previous.[1] Due to this, and the increasing production both industrially and agriculturally,[2] this period is a time of rapid change and therefore concern. The role of rural estates and settlement were a key part of this evolution. Specifically, this study will analyse the estates of Amberley, Houghton, Bury and Coldwaltham located in West Sussex (see Figure A). It will endeavour to realise three key objectives: to map these estates, assess their production and significance, and place them within the context of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom. The chapter structure endeavours to mirror these three key aims, though an environmental introductory chapter will precede them. This structure also reflects the *longue durée* outlook of this dissertation, it is a long term assessment of the landscape in this area and how the people interacted with it. In terms of methodology, this will be accomplished through the study of a number of documentary sources such as Domesday Book and early modern tithe maps but also archaeological reports and landscape studies. Indeed, a defining aspect of this dissertation is its interdisciplinary nature, one that is essential if a clear and accurate portrayal of the Arun Valley estates is to be attained. That said, this dissertation also considers the extensive secondary literature on this period in history, although works specific to the subject area are few and far between.

The investigation into the Arun Valley estates will commence with an assessment of the contemporary environment and landscape in which they were located. It is this aspect of the study that a significant level of scholarly work has been conducted, the work of Martin Welch, Mark Gardiner and various contributors to Kim Leslie and Brian Short's *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* will provide the backbone to this rather succinct and derivative chapter; though it is a necessary foundation to the dissertation.[3] Central to the discussions is the role of the Sussex water courses, and in

[1] M. Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape change in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Sussex, 450-1175' in D. Rudling (ed.), *The Archaeology of Sussex to AD 2000* (King's Lynn: Heritage for the Centre for Continuing Education, University of Sussex, 2003), pp. 151-160, 151.
[2] M. Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape', 154.
[3] M. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex* (Oxford, 1983). K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010).

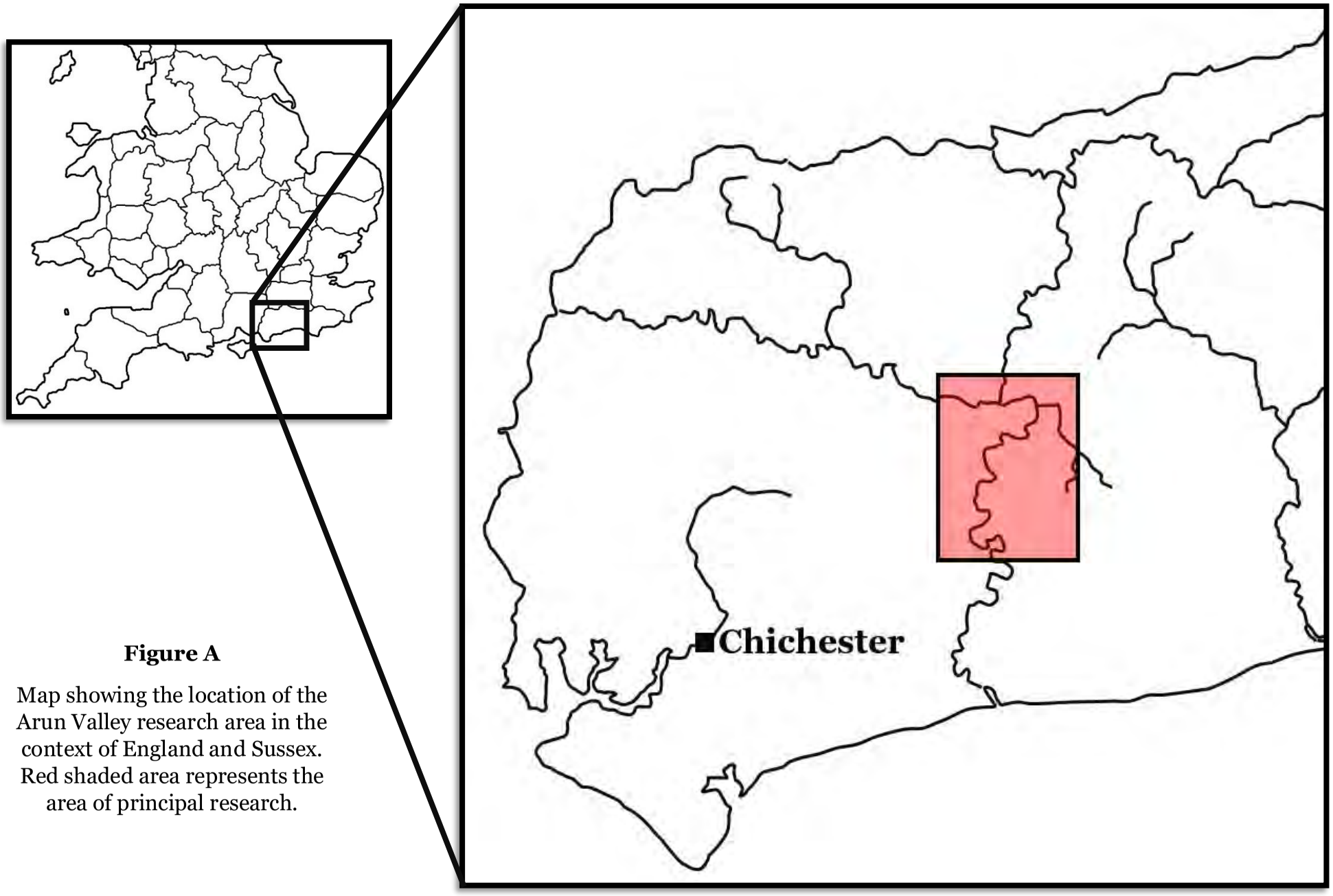


Figure A

Map showing the location of the Arun Valley research area in the context of England and Sussex. Red shaded area represents the area of principal research.

particular the River Arun. It has been identified from an early stage that this river played an important part in the development and character of the Arun Valley estates, and it is significant throughout the entire paper. However, this chapter also discusses how the geology of Sussex has left its mark on the estates, both in terms of their location and output.

The task of mapping the estates of the Arun Valley has been assigned to Chapter Two because it is an important step in understanding the prominence and place of these estates within Anglo-Saxon Sussex and indeed the whole of Anglo-Saxon England. Due to the novelty of this particular chapter, an engagement with historiography will be far more limited in comparison to later chapters. However, historiography will still prove instrumental in qualifying the variety of source material utilised when mapping the estates. In regards to source material, unfortunately a significant amount of investigation will be reliant of nineteenth-century tithe maps simply because detailed land assessments are extremely limited in this period. However, though these documents are not contemporary, they do reflect many medieval features that would have been present in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This data ranges from field boundaries, distribution of woodland to agricultural field patterns. Such patterns will be identified by overlaying the original maps and comparing the results from each estate. Information from these sources will be supplemented by other, more contemporary material such as Domesday but also by place-name evidence. Together, these will strive to form a persuasive argument for the character of the Arun Valley estates in the Late Anglo-Saxon period. This method will extend into the following chapters, although other source material will become far less supplementary. Indeed, by Chapter Four, there is a substantial increase in the use of Domesday and charter data to support historical arguments.

At the core of the dissertation is the discussion of the agricultural and industrial on-goings within the Arun Valley, this has been dedicated to Chapter Three. Much information has been extracted from the 1086 Domesday survey chiefly because it provides the most detailed contemporary (relatively) record of the agricultural output and value of land in England. Although slightly later than the period in question, Domesday provides a fairly accurate assessment of Anglo-Saxon England. For this reason, Domesday data provides the groundwork of many of the arguments made in this chapter. This data will be set against agricultural information extracted from nineteenth-century tithe maps and awards. In a similar method to that in the previous chapter, the original source material will be layered in order to identify geographical

patterns in the data. In all, it will be argued that the Arun Valley estates present a typical and rather expected settlement unit in Anglo-Saxon Sussex, one that was relatively rural though lacking in arable agriculture. It is clear that the River Arun was the central factor in many aspects of the area's output, in terms of what it immediately provided and its tributary influences on the land. It is also apparent that for estates so closely associated with the traditionally labelled wild and unproductive *Weald*, they were comparatively productive and valuable. This is perhaps a reflection of the changing perspectives on the nature of the *Weald*, ranging from Peter Brandon's rather adverse view to Diana Chatwin and Mark Gardiner's more generous standpoint.[4] Also important to this chapter is the nature of multiple estate conglomerations and later estate fragmentation in the tenth century.[5] Due to the number of proprietorship fluctuations with this area in both the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, an analysis of this will commence in this chapter. This will be of far more concern in the proceeding chapter however.

The final chapter of this dissertation is perhaps the most important as it sets the estates of the Arun Valley against the backdrop of Anglo-Saxon England as a whole. This section is far more political and overreaching than preceding chapters, focusing mainly on landownership although other topics are discussed. However, what really separates this chapter from the others is its capacity to change the perspectives of historical arguments that would at first seem alien to a local study in Anglo-Saxon Sussex. Indeed, this chapter is a genuine attempt to bridge the gap that lies between the majority of this study and the general field of Anglo-Saxon history. This is predominantly achieved through the medium of the estate owners both in the Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest periods, many of whom figure prominently in the political history of the time. These range from the Selsey/Chichester bishops, powerful royal affiliated members of the aristocracy (both Norman and Anglo-Saxon), to powerful foreign ecclesiastical institutions. The involvement of such characters with the estates of the Arun Valley are also used to argue the area's significance in both the economy and society. However, it seems clear that the administration of the lands in this area disregarded the local economy and relationship between each estate. The regular transferral of land here, especially to foreign institutions, shows how these estates were simply seen as numbers in a book, mere financial assets than working

[4] P. Brandon, 'The South Saxon *Andredesweald*', in P. Brandon (ed.), *The South Saxons* (Chichester, 1978), pp.174-189, 140. D. Chatwin & M. Gardiner, 'Rethinking the Early Medieval Settlement of Woodlands: Evidence from the Western Weald', *Landscape History*, Volume 27 (2005), pp.31-49, 31.

[5] A. Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life and Landscape* (Stroud, 1999), 81.

communities. This seems to be far more apparent later in the Anglo-Saxon period, namely the ninth, tenth and early eleventh centuries. Indeed, this was consequence of the feudalisation of Anglo-Saxon England, the evolution of the early Anglo-Saxon tribal land-units to manorial estates, as argued by Chris Wickham.[6] Attention is also paid to the ancient history in this area, looking at both the Roman and early Anglo-Saxon influences on the region's later development and importance. The ancient landscape seems to have had a profound influence of estate development

[6] C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005), 350.

Chapter One: Landscape and Environment of Anglo-Saxon Sussex

The River Arun is one of the five major rivers that reside in Sussex, these being: The Arun, Adur, Ouse, Cuckmere and Rother (western).[1] These rivers are of course significant features in the natural landscape of the region, although they are also significant to the human landscape. There are obvious rationales behind the Anglo-Saxon settlement in river valleys; soil quality, resource availability, transportation to name a few. However, there are also subtler motives to settle in a river valley, namely the links between power and economy – between important sites and rivers. All these drives are worth considering in the study of any river valley, although it is also important to contemplate the landscape that surrounds these valleys. Indeed, the most arresting feature of the of the landscape surrounding the Arun Valley, both now and in the Anglo-Saxon period, is the seemingly wild environment of the *Weald*.[2] This undulating area of substantial vegetation constitutes of over half the area of modern Sussex, making it one of the three major zones of the region.[3] Martin Welch established these three zones as the central *Weald*, the South Downs and the coastal plain.[4] However, more recent studies of Sussex's landscape have extended this sectional convenience to five areas,[5] one's that Welch deemed as more minor regions. For this study, it is essential to consider and understand these three areas as the subject area lies on the border between the central *Weald* and South Downs but also relatively close to the coastal plain. As it will be demonstrated, these areas are distinctly dissimilar to each other, something that substantially effects the dynamics of the estates in the Arun River Valley.

The *Weald* itself can be divided into two different areas, namely the 'High' and 'Low' areas which are determined by altitude but also by geology and geography.[6] However, there is also a periphery area adjacent with the South Downs which can be categorized as the 'scarp foot region',[7] or later labelled as the 'Wealden Greensand and

[1] Listed from west to east. There is another River Rother in West Sussex that is a tributary of the River Arun (see Figure???)
[2] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 138.
[3] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 3.
[4] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 3.
[5] R. Williams, 'Natural Regions', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010), pp.6-7, 6.
[6] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 3-4.
[7] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 4.

Gault Clay Vale'.[8] This is the area in which Amberley, Houghton and Bury and Coldwaltham reside, although particularly the clay soiled areas (see Figure???).

To begin with, the *High Weald* is probably the area that least relates to this study as it is situated further to the east and north-east of Sussex, rather than in the south-west. However, it is still important to consider when assessing the estates of the Arun River Valley, for it is part of the regional economy. It is an area of rolling hill countryside reaching a maximum of 240 meters above sea-level, consisting of an alternation of clay and shale soils.[9] The landscape is defined by its deep, steep sided valleys and the flat-top ridges that lay in between and this continues far into neighbouring Kent and Surrey.[10] In terms of the Anglo-Saxon period, this area was probably covered in light woodland with hilltop clearings but lacked any real cultivation due to its infertile and poorly drained geology.[11] Thus, the population density was significantly low even compared to the rest of Sussex.[12] Much of the settlement in this region was likely to have been strictly coastal, and any inland settlement restricted to the valleys of the Ouse, Cuckmere and Rother.[13] This is particularly evident during the Roman period with significantly less sites and Roman roads found here in comparison to the rest of Sussex.[14] However, the *High Weald* does possess a key pull-factor for settlement, naturally occurring iron ore.[15] One of the Southern England's few places of iron ore, there is ample evidence to suggest that there was iron production in this area in both the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods.[16]

On the *High Weald's* western and south-western Sussex borders is the *Low Weald*, a significantly gentler and less dramatic environment, rarely reaching 50 meters above sea level.[17] Consisting of mainly weak clay soils,[18] this area has always been a problem for drainage with the soil often being described as 'like soup in the winter and cement in the summer'.[19] In contrast to the *High Weald's* steep valleys, the

[8] Williams, 'Natural Regions', 7.
[9] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 3.
[10] Williams, 'Natural Regions', 6.
[11] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 3.
[12] D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), 19.
[13] M. Gardiner, 'Late Saxon Sussex c.650-1066', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010), 30-31, 31.
[14] D. Rudling, 'Roman Sussex', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010), 24-25, 25.
[15] P. Drewett, D. Rudling & M. Gardiner, *The South-East to AD 1000* (Harlow, 1988), 330.
[16] Drewett, Rudling & Gardiner, *The South-East*, 327. Particularly the Ashdown Forest area.
[17] Williams, 'Natural Regions', 6.
[18] D. Robinson, 'Soils', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010), 4-5, 5. Mainly Stagnogleys but also mixtures of: Argillic gleys, Argillic brown earths and Podzols.
[19] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 4.

river valleys of the *Low Weald* are far wider and meandering,[20] further adding to the flooding set on by the impermeable clay soils. Not only is the area rather below average in agricultural production today, but the situation would have been similar in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[21] Like the *High Weald*, this area was mostly covered in forest although probably far denser that that found on to the east. The forest was likely to have been dominated by oak, especially *Quercus robur* which would have thrived in the damp conditions.[22] Settlement wise, the area seems to have been rather unpopulated during the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods, and again what settlement there was, was restricted to the river valleys and Roman roads.[23] The presence of such infrastructure suggests that this area was not an impassable barrier as has been suggested, but there was clearly some penetration and taming of this wilderness. This is also supported by the presence of archaic droveways through the landscape, routes used to graze cattle and pigs.[24] The settlement pattern in river valleys is evident from the location of Hundred meeting places. In terms of chronology, the antiquity of the place-names for this area (and indeed the majority of Sussex also) indicate that some form of settlement was old even by the late Saxon period.[25]

Despite both the *High* and *Low Wealds* differing in a variety of ways, they have always been linked by one common feature, the *Andredesweald* forest. Unfortunately, there are very few written references that describe this area in this period, though the most notable one is from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 892.

> Here in this year the great raiding-army … came up into the mouth of the Lympne [River Rother, Kent] with 250 ships. That river-mouth is in eastern Kent, at the east end of the great wood which we call Andred. That wood is a hundred-and-twenty miles long or longer from east to west, and thirty miles broad.[26]

The account actually overestimates the length (east-west) of the forest by about thirty miles,[27] though it clearly stresses the scale of the woodland in the late ninth century. The *Chronicle* also contains other minor references to this forest in 477 and 755/7,[28] though neither is as detailed as the one from 892. It is understood that even in the

[20] Williams, 'Natural Regions', 6.
[21] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 4.
[22] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 4.
[23] Rudling, 'Roman Sussex', 25.
[24] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 138.
[25] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 147.
[26] *ASC*, 893 (s.a. 894).
[27] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 141.
[28] ASC, 477 (s.a. 478), 777/7.

sixteenth century, access to some areas of this woodland was restricted, although this is often over exaggerated.[29] Indeed, it has been argued elsewhere that the even the *Chronicle* shows that movement through this area is not entirely unfeasible.[30] This is also supported by, as mentioned above, by the place-name evidence for this area. Although the number of place-names that refer to woodland are substantial, there is a striking number of early place-names that refer to 'open-land'.[31] In addition, there are also names that refer to livestock, the most interesting of these are those associated with sheep. These would be expected on the higher *Weald* areas to the east of Sussex but some can actually be found in the *Low Weald* where the forest is presumed to have been denser.[32] Evidently some significant deforestation had occurred by the Anglo-Saxon period, so much so, that place-names as far north as Shipley ('sheep wood/clearing') ensue.[33] The presence of sheep place-names also suggests that these areas were not the so-called 'pioneer districts' of Anglo-Saxon settlement, as they were raised with great difficulty.[34]

The *Chronicle* entry for 892 also sheds some light on the nature of the waterways in Anglo-Saxon Sussex, namely their size in comparison to today. The entry states that 250 ships of the Great Viking Army were able to pass through the mouth of the river,[35] which is a sizable amount and would suggest a significant channel. A modern comparison for this particular river is fairly impractical considering that the lower channel has migrated considerably southwards since the Anglo-Saxon period. It can be said that the channel would need to be significantly wider that in its present form. Though the sea-level has been rising since the last Quaternary ice age c.15,000 years ago, the amount of coastal land has diminished since the Roman period.[36] This is a result of the high sea levels reducing river flow, filling coastal estuaries with

[29] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 138.
[30] M. De La Pole, *The True Character of Alfred's Burghal Hidage System: An Evaluation of the Burghal Hidage in Relation to the Andredesweald* (Unpublished Undergraduate thesis. University of Winchester, 2015), 39-40. The ASC entry for 893 details how the Viking raid-army made their way through the forest with war-booty in possession, clearly it was navigable.
[31] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 142. Examples include: Lindfield, Henfield, Fairlight and East and West Hoathly.
[32] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 143.
[33] Institute for Name Studies (INS) (University of Nottingham), 'Key to English Place-Names', *Key to English Place-Names*, accessed 24 May 2016, www.kepn.nottingham.ac.uk. Shipley is significantly north-east of this study's most northern estate of Coldwaltham.
[34] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 143. The threat of wolves and scarcity of winter feed being two main issues.
[35] *ASC*, 893 (s.a. 894).
[36] D. Robinson, 'The Coast and Coastal Changes', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010), 8-9, 8.

sediment.[37] Thus, this would explain the reduction in channel size for these estuaries, including that of the Arun, which were essential route-ways into the Sussex interior.

These once large estuaries would have resided in the area we know as the Coastal Plain, even for those rivers that now meet the sea in the South Downs region (Ouse and Cuckmere). The plain is actually the production of the rivers and their estuaries depositing large quantities of alluvium.[38] However, the plain has significantly receded, by at least a mile, covering the areas on plain where the estuaries for these two rivers were located.[39] Far more of the Coastal Plain has survived in the west of Sussex, particularly around the river Arun. This area, and the South Downs to its immediate north, were the most populated regions of Sussex during both the early and late Anglo-Saxon periods.[40] In fact, the area was one of the most densely populated in the whole of Anglo-Saxon England.[41] This is particularly reflected by the numerous cemeteries that exist here in comparison to the *Weald*. Reasoning for this probably rests with the significantly more fertile soils on this plain, a result of the alluvium deposits.[42]

As stated, the area known as the South Downs is to the Coastal Plain's immediate north. Up to six miles in breadth, this down-land region stretches across the majority of southern Sussex and even further into Hampshire and is often 600-800 feet above sea level.[43] Internally, it consists of rounded spurs and valleys, one of which is the River Arun Valley. Originally, the vegetation would have consisted of woodland in the lower areas but scrubland in those areas more exposed.[44] It has been argued that the early Anglo-Saxons settled in these higher areas, mainly because of the evident reuse of Roman settlements.[45] However, in the later period there is clear evidence for a withdrawal from these down-land slope settlements to the more fertile valley floors and scarp-foot region.[46] The estates of this study are a particular example of this migration.

This 'scarp-foot' region or 'Wealden Greensand and Gault Clay Vale' is the primary area in this study. Defined by its division between the sharp slops of the downs and the wooded undulation of the *Low Weald*, this area has benefited from the hill-

[37] Robinson, 'Coastal Changes', 8.
[38] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 6.
[39] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 6.
[40] Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, 19.
[41] Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, 19. Over 20 people per square mile.
[42] Williams, 'Natural Regions', 7.
[43] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 5.
[44] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 5.
[45] Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape', 152.
[46] Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape', 152.

wash of calcareous earths.[47] This has not only made the area fertile but rather easy to cultivate in comparison to the heavier clays of the *Low Weald*. Away from geology, this area also provides a major east to west route-way, possible an ancient Anglo-Saxon *Herepath*.[48] Evidently, with the combination of the river, transport networks and fertile soils, this area is of particular attraction and interest.

[47] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 4.
[48] Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 4.

Chapter Two: Mapping the Arun Valley Estates

It is quite evident that the four estates studied in this dissertation are of Anglo-Saxon origin, if not earlier, though the geographical extent of these units is as far, far from clear. This is rather a continuation of the uncertain natural environment as presented in Chapter One, although some key characteristics are clear to see. These landscape traits are important to consider when trying to assess the scale and of course the output of these estate units. However, it is also important to consider the historical documentation regarding these areas, for these provide essential insights into the partition of the landscape. To map these estates, a variety of source material, in both format and age, has to be utilised. These range from the Anglo-Saxon charters that refer to these estates, to nineteenth-century tithe maps and awards.

Unfortunately, the charters that mention to these estates are not only dubious in origin and date, as mentioned above, but also lack boundary clauses for estates in the Arun Valley. In addition to this, not all the estates are actually mentioned in the charters (Bury) and some of those that are, are subject to possible forgeries or misinterpretation (Amberley and Coldwaltham respectfully).[1] The boundary clauses in the two charters that refer to these estates are restricted to the main holdings around the diocese of Selsey itself. This is due to the seemingly wild nature of this area in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a region where boundaries were hard to define and probably little concerned for. Thus, apart from the hidage values, the charters actually tell us very little concerning the size and expanse of these estates. Instead, we are reliant on later sources for additional information, namely Domesday accounts and tithe maps and awards. However, Domesday, like the charters, only really provides information regarding the production and output on these estates, and of course, at a later date (1086). The comparison between these and the charter hidage figures from the tenth century will prove useful in Chapter Three more so. Therefore, we are seemingly restricted to later sources such as tithe maps among other sources, although these can provide useful insights.

[1] S.E. Kelly, *CS*, 6. Amberley is certainly a later addition which might be associated to as late as the fourteenth century when Bishop William Reed increased the areas importance with the castle. M. Welch, *Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 266. Coldwaltham is simply referred to as '*Waltham*' in charter which might actually refer to Upwaltham further to the south-west. However, it is likelier to be Coldwaltham as it is evident the 'Cold' element was a fourteenth-century addition.

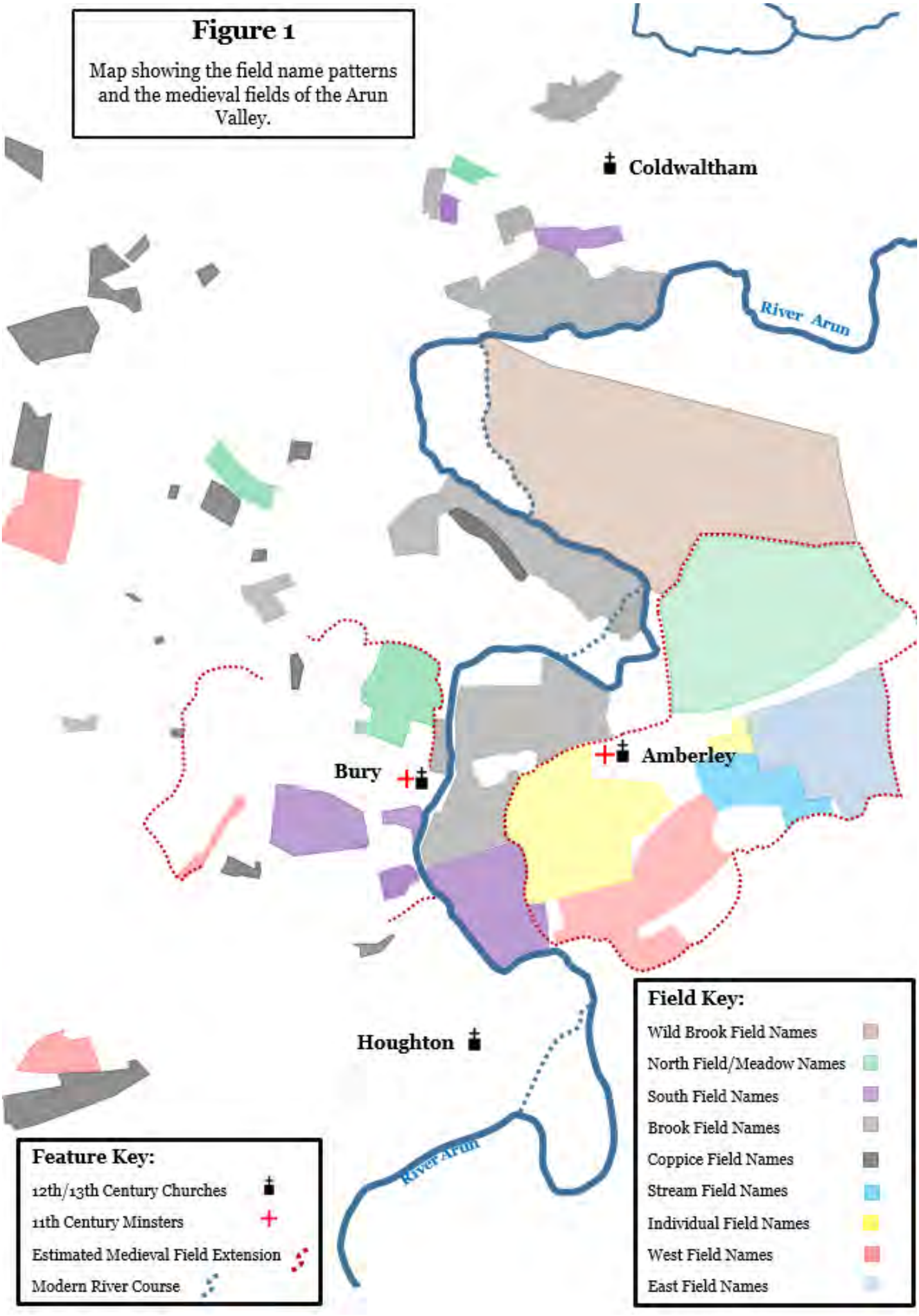


Figure 1
Map showing the field name patterns and the medieval fields of the Arun Valley.
Coldwaltham
River Arun
Amberley
Bury
Houghton
River Arun
Field Key:
Wild Brook Field Names
North Field/Meadow Names
South Field Names
Brook Field Names
Coppice Field Names
Stream Field Names
Individual Field Names
West Field Names
East Field Names
Feature Key:
12th/13th Century Churches
11th Century Minsters
Estimated Medieval Field Extension
Modern River Course

use the place-name evidence. Place-name studies, particularly of the 'topographical' category, have seen a rise in use and importance in studying post-Roman Britain.[2] They help to identify characteristics of the local environment (which has been used above), but for this chapter they are also useful in identifying areas in use by the local populace. Areas that were arable, set as meadow or pasture or even wooded areas for resources. Admittedly, place-name analysis is traditionally used for over-arching names of towns or villages for example, not necessarily the field names detailed in tithe maps. However, it is acceptable to apply such methods to larger field system names, one's that encompass multiple fields, for they are likely to represent the names of the original medieval fields that surrounded the settlements.

To begin with, the estate of Amberley presents some interesting patterns in regards to the field names, as shown in Figure 1. Not only is there ample evidence that shows the medieval field extension, but there is also an indication to the character of the local environment. As Figure 1 demonstrates, there is a clear division between multiple field systems through points of the compass. However, there are also system names that refer to the landscape, such as 'Stream Field' and 'Wild Brook' as well as smaller fields that have more personal names. These names are far less generic and so provide more information regarding the history of the area. In particular, the name element 'brook' seems to have significant importance in this area, present in seventy-three out of the 389 tithe awarded fields in Amberley.[3] In addition to this, the pattern of their dispersion is far from random or irregular. Indeed, there is a definite concentration of 'brook' field names both to the immediate west of the modern village of Amberley, and also to the far north of the parish. This is interesting primarily because of the meaning of 'brook' in place-names and field-names. With field-names, the word 'brook' originates from the Old English *brōc*, meaning 'land beside a stream'.[4] It is similar with the element in place-names, often referring to a small stream, often characteristically muddy rather than clear *burna* watercourse.[5] This distinction between the opaque *brōc* and the clear *burna* would fit with the clay soiled profile of this area (see above). However, it has been argued that *brōc* may have had an additional regional meaning in the South-East, often referring to an area of flat marshland.[6] Again, this would fit the expected environment of this area in the Anglo-Saxon period, especially considering the proximity of these 'brook' areas to the River

[2] M. Gelling & A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000), xii.
[3] WSRO TD/W2.
[4] J. Field, *English Field-Names* (Gloucester, 1972), 31.
[5] Gelling & Cole, *Place-Names*, 7.
[6] Gelling & Cole, *Place-Names*, 7.

Arun. Indeed, John Ogilby's 1675 road map between London and Chichester contains a small reference to 'ye marsh' to the north of Amberley (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

Extract from John Ogilby, *The Road from London to Arundel com: Sussex*, showing the three parishes of Houghton Bury and Amberley and the road to Amberley Marsh. WSRO Dr Ball 9 (1675).

There is a significant difference between the two recognised areas of 'brook' names though, this being the presence of the 'wild' element in the northern area. Although not a place-name per se, this area is of significant size to equate to a place-name, which is also demonstrated by the survival of the name to the present day.[7] Evidently, the obvious meaning of 'wild' may translate to *wilde* meaning the same, an area of wilderness. This would imply that this northern area was an untamed area of marshland, a *wildebrōc*. However, it has also been suggested that the term 'wild' may have stemmed from the Old English *-weald*,[8] meaning 'forest' or later, 'open high ground'.[9] Thus, can this 'Wild Brook' area have been the local edge to the *Andredesweald* forest that spanned the South-East? This is hard to determine considering that the area is not specifically a place-name and its origins before the nineteenth century are hard to determine. However, regardless of the name's origin, it is clear that this northern area was far less tame even in the seventeenth century, an environment that was shared in the medieval period no doubt.

The western area of 'brook' field names is divided and certainly less defined as a distinct area. Unlike the 'Wild Brook' area, the 'brook' name element in the west only

[7] Survives as Amberley Wild Brooks.
[8] Gelling & Cole, *Place-Names*, 254-6. Examples include: Wild in Aldenham, Hertfordshire, Wild in Syresham, Northamptonshire, Westbury Wild, Buckinghamshire and Croydon Wilds, Cambridgeshire.
[9] Gelling & Cole, *Place-Names*, 253.

consists of half the name compound for each field. The other element is exclusive to each field, such as 'Sluice Brook' or 'Lower Ferry Brook'. However, despite the area being rather less defined as that to the north, the 'brook' names still portray a marshy environment here. This is interesting if the wider geography of the area is considered, the location of the neighbouring estate of Bury in particular. Indeed, this expected marshland, along with the River Arun, would have presented a natural barrier or boundary between Amberley in the east and Bury to the west. It was always presumed that the River Arun formed the boundary between Amberley and the other three estates, though it seems that that boundary was far larger than the limits of the river banks. This may account for the divided ownership between these two neighbouring estates in the Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods. The two Selsey charters, as previous mentioned, account for all of the estates, except that of Bury, to be in the possession of the Church. In contrast, Bury is not mentioned in the charters but is recorded to be in secular possession for 1066.[10] Evidently, Bury was either a significant holding that was too valuable to donate to the Church, or is naturally isolated from the other three estates to be included. This discussion will be touched upon below and in Chapter Four.

Returning to the *brōc* field names, there is a stark contrast between the situation in the Amberley estate and that of the others. To begin with, Bury has far fewer 'brook' field names, and no large areas that share the same compound such as 'Wild Brook' in the Amberley Parish. Instead, there are two small, but dense, areas of 'brook' field names, one to the far north bordering the Fittleworth Parish, and one to the east bordering Amberley (see Figure 1). The eastern area is evidently an extension of the *wildebrōc* environment, although the name is not continued across the river. This suggests that the River Arun formed the definitive boundary between these estates, though in reality, the boundary was a far wider area of wetland. It is clear that this marsh area was mainly to the east of the river, the side of Amberley, which is apparent from Bury village's position so close to the river. 'Brook' field names are also present in the Coldwaltham estate to the north, but again there is no overriding compound name like 'Wild Brook'. There are two minor areas named 'Fulbrook' and 'Sedge Brook',[11] though these are far more local than the 'Wild Brook' area in Amberley.[12] Similar to Bury and Amberley, the largest *brōc* field name area is located

[10] GDB, fol. 24v (Sussex, 11:78). It is recorded to be in the possession of 'Countess Goda' who is expected to be Godgifu, daughter of Æthelred the Unready and sister to Edward the Confessor.
[11] WSRO TD/W36.
[12] 'Ful-' probably refers to the level of a stream in the area or an area of significant productivity. Field, *Field Names*, 84.

next to the River Arun, although there are areas to the west and north. This implies that the natural hill that modern Coldwaltham is situated was surrounded by marshland, a clear natural boundary especially between itself and Bury. This apparent isolation of Coldwaltham is reflected in its place-name of 'Waltham', which seems to have been its original name prior to 1340.[13] The name describes a 'Homestead or village in the forest' (OE *w(e)ald* + *hām*),[14] with the first element also referring to its inclusion in the *Andredesweald*.

Figure 3

Image of the quasi-causeway that still remains above the floodplain immediately north of Amberley.

These 'brook' field systems, alongside prominent landscape features, certainly shed light on the boundaries of the old Anglo-Saxon estates as well as the medieval field extension. This is most evident and indeed complete for the Amberley estate, due to the regular field pattern and easily identifiable features. To the north of the estate there is a clear division between the 'Wild Brook' area and the area deemed as 'North

[13] A.D. Mills, *A Dictionary of British Place Names* (Oxford, 2011), 124. 'Cold' seems to have been added to describe the bleak climate in the fourteenth century.
[14] Mills, *British Place Names*, 124.

Meadow' by the nineteenth-century tithe map. However, there is also a substantial artificial boundary that separates these areas, a quasi-causeway in areas (see Figure 3). Indeed, much of this boundary is still visible during the flooding of the plain, of which is a regular occurrence. It is almost certain that this formed the northern boundary to the medieval 'North Meadow' but it is also likely, considering the *brōc* evidence presented above, that this also formed the Anglo-Saxon estate boundary. It is unlikely that the northern parish boundary is of Anglo-Saxon Origin as this full extent of farmed territory is unlikely to have been established/cleared until the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.[15]

However, if the 'North Meadow' area is of Anglo-Saxon origin, it is likely to be rather late. Typically, and in its simplest form, the Anglo-Saxon open-field system consisted of two fields either side of the village or estate centre, often named after the points of the compass (e.g. North and South fields, East and West fields).[16] In the case of Amberley though, it appears as if the designated 'East' and 'West' fields are these original two fields. It was not the 'North' and 'South' meadows/meads as the 'South' mead is a later addition to the system. It lies outside the clear boundary of the estate and is likely to have been part of the 'brook' environment due to its proximity to the river. That said, many Anglo-Saxon villages had three fields instead of two, although, this more than often evolved from the two-field system.[17] Considering the large apportionment of thirty acres of meadowland in Domesday for Amberley,[18] this 'North Meadow' area was certainly part of the estate in the eleventh century, if not the tenth.

In contrast, the two primary fields of the Bury estate appear to have been the 'North' and the 'South' fields. Outside of Amberley, the field pattern between Bury's two main fields is the most consistent and clearest to observe. From this, and the position of the Church of St John the Evangelist in Bury, it is clear that the original settlement or estate centre was in close proximity to the river. The church is the site of an Anglo-Saxon minster and there is no evidence for any 'East' field names which would be expected if the settlement was not next to the river. Many of the minster churches were positioned at estate centres,[19] making the position of the modern village a likely spot of the estate's original Anglo-Saxon centre.[20] There is evidence for some

[15] W.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London, 1955), 39.
[16] Hoskins, *English Landscape*, 38.
[17] Hoskins, *English Landscape*, 40. This is why the North Meadow has been included in the estimated field extension.
[18] GDB, fol. 16r (DB: Sussex, 3:5).
[19] Gardiner, 'Late Saxon Sussex', 30.
[20] Though the higher ground to the north-west is also a likely location, see below for continued discussion.

'West' field names to the west of the village, though these are too infrequent and dispersed to accurately determine a field system. This makes it difficult to estimate the medieval field extension around Bury, though there are some significant boundary features still evident today which have been utilized. However, for the Anglo-Saxon period it is important to understand that arable or field pasture were not the only forms of farming, woodland pasture and timber industry also need to be considered. The numerous field names that refer to a 'coppice' suggests that even in the nineteenth century, this area was reasonably wooded.[21] By comparison, both the Amberley and Coldwaltham parishes have no such field names as well as significantly less wooded areas according to the tithe maps.[22] Many early Anglo-Saxon estates used forests and woodlands as natural bounds,[23] which is probably the case with Bury's northern and western borders. These field names also suggest that this area had been an area of coppicing for some time, an industry that may have had its origins in the medieval period. This, along with the pastoral function of this woodland, will be discussed in the following chapter.

Coldwaltham is the other parish with fully surviving tithe assessments, although they are less informative than that of Amberley or even Bury. Again, there are significant areas of 'brook' field names but it is near impossible to estimate the medieval field extension from the other field names. The two original fields seem to have been 'North' and 'South' but it is hard to even pinpoint the original extent of these. Unfortunately, there is no separate Domesday record for Coldwaltham/Waltham to supplement the tithe award data as there is with Amberley and Bury. Production and ownership for this area may come under neighbouring Hardham to the north-east, which seems to have surpassed Coldwaltham in significance during the eleventh century. However, as will be discussed below, Coldwaltham seems to have been incorporated into a larger Amberley manor in the eleventh century.

It is also important to analyse the natural features of this landscape, rather than just the human partition of it, when mapping these estates. The most prominent of these features is the River Arun, something that has already been mentioned to have

[21] 'Coppice' refers to an area of woodland that is periodically cut for timber while still maintaining a base layer of woodland for future yield.
[22] WSRO TD/W2, WSRO TD/W36.
[23] D. Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest Woodland: Its Distribution and Usage', *The Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (1989), pp.113-129, 115.

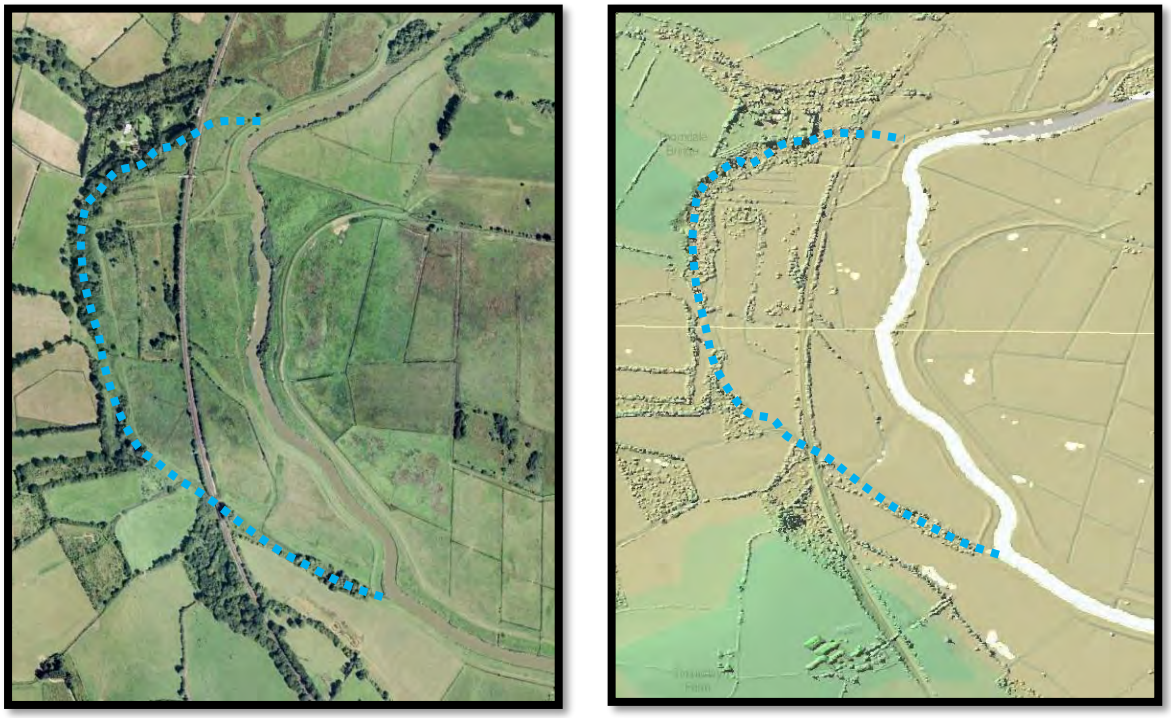


Figure 4

Satellite (left) and LiDAR (right) images to demonstrate the change in course of the River Arun between Amberley and Coldwaltham.

greatly influenced the layout of the estates in this area. It was also a Hundred boundary between Bury and Esewrithe. It is evident, as mentioned above, that the river and its complementary marshland created natural boundaries between the estates, but not in the precise location of its present course. From the analysis of tithe maps, satellite images and LiDAR data, there are three significant course changes in the area of study. The two course changes to the north of Amberley and to the south of Coldwaltham are fairly obvious due to the tithe field names and parish divisions. For the one immediately north of Amberley, the extension of the Bury Parish jurisdiction to the east of the modern course immediately suggests that the river was originally further east than it is today.[24] Further north, satellite and LiDAR imagery are the clearest clues to the original course being significantly further west (see Figure 4).[25] The southernmost course alteration, the Houghton tithe data does not survive to confirm the change, though both satellite and LiDAR imagery are sufficient sources for this.

[24] WSRO TD/W25.

[25] Google Earth 7.1. (2001), *Thorndell*, 50°55'28.37" N, 0°32'47.77" W, *elevation 2m*, www.google.co..uk/earth/index>, accessed 21 June 2016. Environment Agency (2012), *LiDAR Composite Digital Surface Model (DSM) -2m*, Environment Data WMS Service, <www.data.gov.uk/data>, accessed 21 June 2016.

The lay of the land, particularly in terms of elevation, seems to have had a substantial effect on estate positioning too. It is now quite evident that even the earliest Saxon settlers preferred to settle the river valleys of southern England, the rich soils of the river gravels seem a to have been the particular motivation.[26] However, within a landscape such as the Arun Valley it was also important to settle upon higher ground to avoid the regular flooding and possibly even for local defensive purposes. Nowhere is this more apparent than on the Houghton estate with its position on a significant

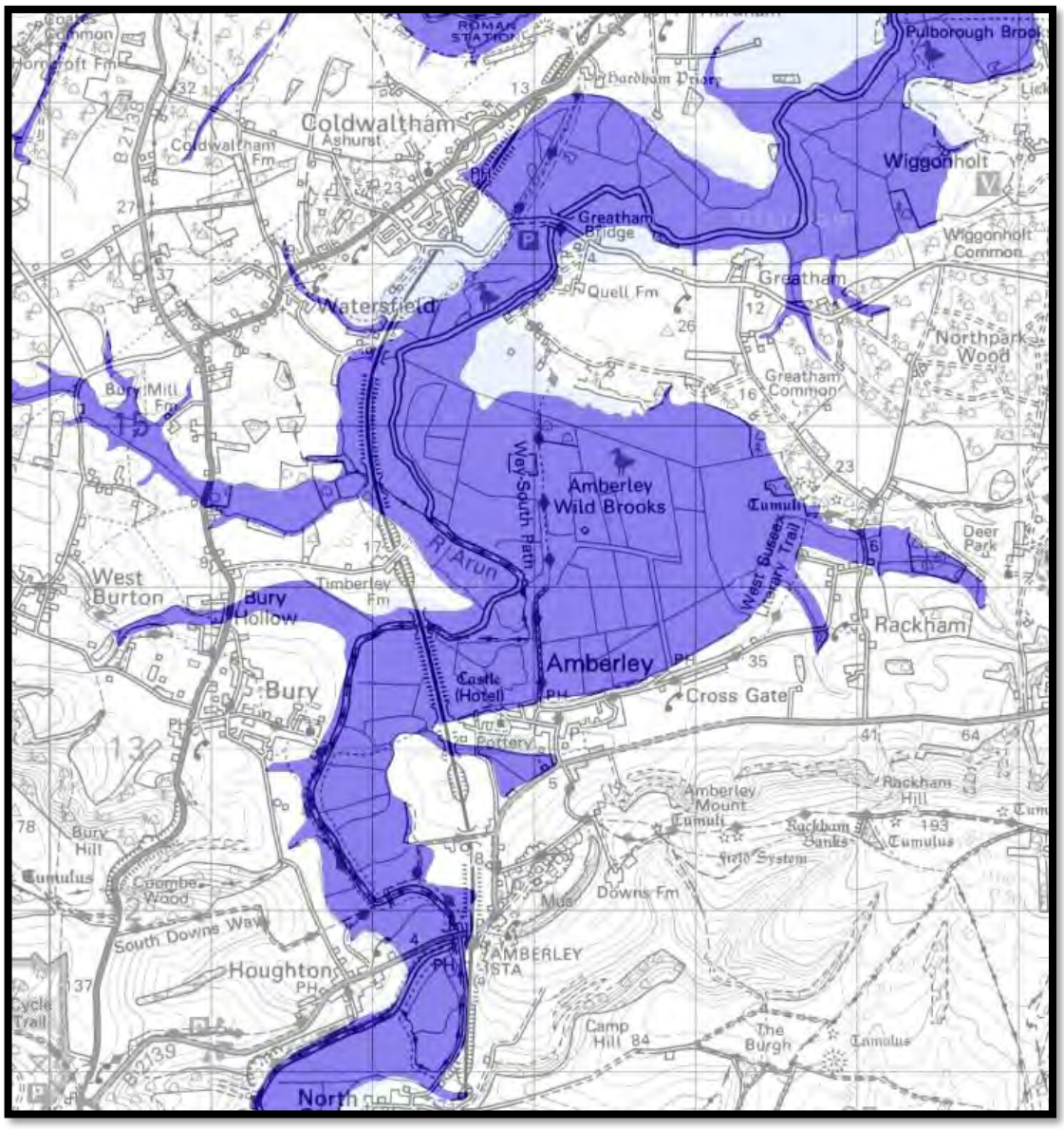


Figure 5

Map demonstrating the scale of the annual flooding in the Arun Valley.

[26] D. Hall, 'The Late Saxon Countryside: Villages and their Fields', in D. Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford, 1988), pp.99-122, 99.

Figure 6

Image of meadowland and River Arun that lies between Amberley and Bury, also showing the elevation that the modern village of Bury resides.

valley spur (see Figure 5), by which it is named.[27] The position of the village/estate centre would have probably been far more dramatic in the tenth or eleventh centuries considering the wider river channel and surrounding marshland. The other three estates occupy similar positions above the flood plain, though none quite so noticeable as that at Houghton. Amberley is situated along a natural ridgeline on the valley floor by which the modern settlement seems to have shadowed. Coldwaltham is on a clear elevation above the floodplain whilst Bury's is not quite so obvious, though still visible (see Figure 6). It is interesting to note that the location of Bury's twelfth-century church (and probably the old minster) is not at the uppermost level of the village's incline. Instead, it lies closer to the river and possibly separated from the original estate centre that was presumably at a higher elevation. Therefore, the minster site was likely to be of some importance especially considering its secular and royal tenure.[28]

[27] Mills, *British Place-Names*, 248. From the OE '*hōh*' referring to a 'heel' or a 'hill-spur' and OE '*tūn*' referring to a 'farm/settlement/estate'.
[28] Refer to note 10.

The other prominent feature of the local landscape is the South Downs to the south of the area. Originally, this area of chalk-downland would have been intensely farmed as there was less vegetation to clear compared to the valley areas. However, even by the Roman period, much of their soil had been denuded, leaving stony infertile fields.[29] Thus, in the Roman and Early Medieval periods there is a clear change in the agrarian economy on the downlands, a transition from arable to pastoral agriculture.[30] This was a contributing factor to the Saxon settlement of valleys as mentioned above. These downland areas still remained an integral part of the Anglo-Saxon economy though, with estates using every resource available to them by including a variety of land-types.[31] Nonetheless, these sharp inclines and ridges were seen as the boundaries for the estates, the land above acting both as a resource for livestock but also a natural border.[32] This is apparent from the administrative division of Sussex into Rapes that run as narrow stripes from the coast up these valleys, something that is also demonstrated by the seemingly narrow *parochiae* and hundreds.[33] In this respect, the area, and Sussex in general, was similar in its organisation to Kent.[34]

Due to the lack of boundary clauses in the Anglo-Saxon charters that relate to this area and around it, it remains quite impossible to accurately map the borders of these estates. This can only really be achieved in the presence of a significant natural or even man-made feature. For this area, this particularly refers to the importance of the River Arun in creating inter-estate boundaries. However, is it quite so important to attain such an accurate map of these estates however? Especially if we consider the absence of the modern concept of mapping in Anglo-Saxon culture. There is very little evidence of a 'conventionalized depiction of spatial distributions viewed vertically' (maps) from this period.[35] Instead, "mapping" the landscape was done through vernacular and Latin prose, describing the features of the land and how they related to one another.[36] Thus, the inability to create an accurate map of the estate boundaries is not all too important, instead, the map that has been created is far more useful for looking at internal layouts of these estates. Much has been learnt from the field-name, place-name and natural geography of the area. Primarily though, the natural

[29] Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape', 152.
[30] Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape', 152.
[31] Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape', 152.
[32] Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape', 152.
[33] The Hundreds of Bury and Esewrithe are clear examples of this. For political administration refer to Chapter Four.
[34] Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape', 152.
[35] N. Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (London, 2008), 4.
[36] Howe, *Writing the Map*, 4.

environment appears to have been the greatest influence on the estate layout and division. This is a reflection of the seemingly untamed nature of the area, though this should not be taken to such as an extreme as it has in past scholarship.

Chapter Three: Estate Production and Associated Influences

The two preceding chapters have not only demonstrated the diverse environment which the Arun estates resided, but also the human setting constructed within that environment. Although it has been difficult to assess the extension of these estates, some progress has been made to designate the areas in which these estates actively worked. It has also become evident that a number of different resources were exploited in this region, something that is most obvious by assessing Domesday Book. Indeed, Domesday records are a key window into the internal function and production of these estates, although other source material such as the Selsey Charters must be consulted to paint the clearest picture. This chapter will attempt to identify the primary and most significant characteristics of these estates, analysing the influences of the landscape on agriculture and industry.

An ideal starting point for such investigation is documentary evidence that outlines the value of the estates. The primary of this data coming from Domesday and charter accounts. However, there are immediate issues that arise with the analysis of such data, though many of these have been discussed above. These being the matters of originality, survival, detail and date to name a few. Despite these issues though, these documents are the central focus of research simply because little else is so informative. Charters provide a contemporary glimpse into the size and value of these areas whereas Domesday provides a *relatively* contemporary (1086), though far more detailed, account of these estates. This thesis aligns with the more conservative view of Norman land reforms, one that does not consider any significant change on a *local* level to have occurred.[1] Therefore, Domesday data is treated as a very accurate prediction of the land value and size even before the Conquest. However, Domesday Book only records two of the four estates as separate settlements, Amberley and Bury.[2] This is both interesting and surprising considering that Houghton and Coldwaltham are the only two estates to be solidly confirmed to be in the tenth-century charters.[3] Both Houghton and Coldwaltham are likely to have been merged with larger bordering manors, quite possible Bury or Amberley themselves.[4] This poses interesting questions regarding the value and size fluctuations of the four holdings during the Late Saxon

[1] M. Gardiner, 'Economy and Landscape', 151.
[2] GDB, fol. 16r (DB: Sussex, 3:5), fol. 17r (DB: Sussex, 5:3).
[3] Kelly, *CS*, nos. 1 & 20. Amberley is included but could quite easily be a later forgery.
[4] Kelly, CS, 35.

Period. Why did Amberley suddenly become so significant in the eleventh century? How significant was Bury before the conquest, considering it was not granted out to the Church like the other estates? Such questions will be answered in due course, among many others.

Again, as it was in the previous chapter, Amberley presents an excellent starting point considering it is mentioned in both Domesday and the charters.[5] Despite the seemingly rural nature of the area even today, Amberley is recorded to have a very large population and significant land holdings. It was assigned seventy-five households in 1086,[6] but its modern population is only a mere 586.[7] An interesting contrast would be nearby Pulborough to the north which had sixty-six households in 1086,[8] but has a population of 5,206 in 2011.[9] Clearly Amberley has failed to develop into a large village or town in modern times but what does this day about its Anglo-Saxon past? Primarily, it would suggest that the Domesday account for Amberley is a reflection of a far larger manorial holding, and not just Amberley itself. This would be evident if population density records existed from this period. Unfortunately, Domesday also fails to identify what estates were part of this enlarged Amberley manor. Kelly has argued that lands even as far south as Peppering (near Burpham) were included.[10] However, the presence of fairly significant Domesday holdings at North Stoke, South Stoke and Burpham far closer to Peppering should be considered as far likelier candidates. Houghton has also been included within this Amberley manor due to its close proximity to Amberley across the river Arun. However, Kelly has misinterpreted the area of modern Amberley surrounding the railway station as the original settlement,[11] which was actually far further to the north (this is evident even from nineteenth-century tithe maps). Therefore, by Kelly's geographical logic regarding Houghton, it is just as likely for the estate to come under Bury to the north or even North Stoke than Amberley. That said, the landholding of both Houghton and Amberley in this period supports Kelly's theory more so. Indeed, Amberley is held by the Bishop of Chichester in both 1066 and 1086 according to Domesday and the Brihthelm Charter of the tenth-century supports this.[12] Similarly, both the Brihthelm

[5] Though not in the original document.
[6] GDB, fol. 16r (DB: Sussex, 3:5).
[7] Office for National Statistics, 'Area: Amberley (Parish): Population Density, 2011 (QS102EW)', *Neighbourhood Statistics*, accessed 30 June 2016, www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk.
[8] DB, fol. 24v (DB: Sussex, 11:55).
[9] Office for National Statistics, 'Area: Pulborough (Parish): Population Density, 2011 (QS102EW)', *Neighbourhood Statistics*, accessed 30 June 2016, www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk.
[10] Kelly, CS, 35.
[11] Kelly, CS, 35.
[12] GDB, fol. 16r (DB: Sussex, 3:5). Kelly, CS, no. 1, 3-5.

and Cædwalla (?673) charters place Houghton in the ownership of the Chichester bishops, thus making it extremely likely that Houghton's Domesday figures are within the Amberley data.[13] A similar argument can be made for neighbouring Coldwaltham considering it was a co-grant with Houghton in the same aforesaid charters. It is also quite evident that the later parish of Rackham was part of this larger estate, not only because of its ecclesiastical ownership in Domesday (see Figure 7), but also its inclusion in the Amberley tithe award.[14] Despite being part of the parish of Parham post-1894, Rackham's tithe assessment was included within Amberley's, suggesting that a longstanding relationship between the two estates existed.

Estate Name	**Size 1066 (Households)**	**Ploughland (Lord's, Men's)**	**Charter Hidage Value**	**Ownership (C10th, 1066)**
Amberley	75	7, 17	Share of 32*	Church, Church
Bury	70	2, 18	-	N/A, Secular
Houghton	-	-	8	Church, Church
Coldwaltham	-	-	4	Church, Church

*Though this equates to zero

Table 1

Selected Domesday and Charter data for the Arun Valley Estates.

From place-name evidence, it is reasonable to suggest that Amberley was originally an outlying farmstead of Houghton's in the Early Anglo-Saxon Period. Amberley probably refers to a 'woodland clearing frequented by a bird such as bunting or yellow-hammer' (OE *amer* + *lēah*),[15] whereas Houghton refers to an actual settlement/estate on a hill-spur (OE *hōh* + *tūn*).[16] Perhaps then, this area of large ecclesiastical ownership is an example of Andrew Reynolds' multiple estate model that originates prior to the tenth century.[17] These estate conglomerations entered a period of estate fragmentation in the tenth and eleventh centuries,[18] though this is a general trend through Anglo-Saxon England. It appears as if the Arun Valley was relatively

[13] Kelly, CS, no. 20, 85-91.
[14] WSRO TD/W2. A separate section for the hamlet of Rackham exists in the award tables, though there is no map included in the document.
[15] Mills, *British Place-Names*, 12.
[16] Mills, *British Place-Names*, 248.
[17] Reynolds, *Life and Landscape*, 81.
[18] Reynolds, *Life and Landscape*, 83.

immune to this subdivision before the Norman Conquest, but was instead reorganised around a new estate centre at Amberley. This is reflected in the conversion of Amberley manor into a castle by Bishop William Reed in the fourteenth century.[19] However, the prominence and size of Amberley's Domesday record indicates that this estate reorganisation was not only far earlier that the fourteenth century, but pre-dates the Conquest. With no record of an Anglo-Saxon church or minster (not even in Domesday),[20] the reorganisation of this site is likely to have been rather late in the first-half of the eleventh century. This model of reorganisation also depends on

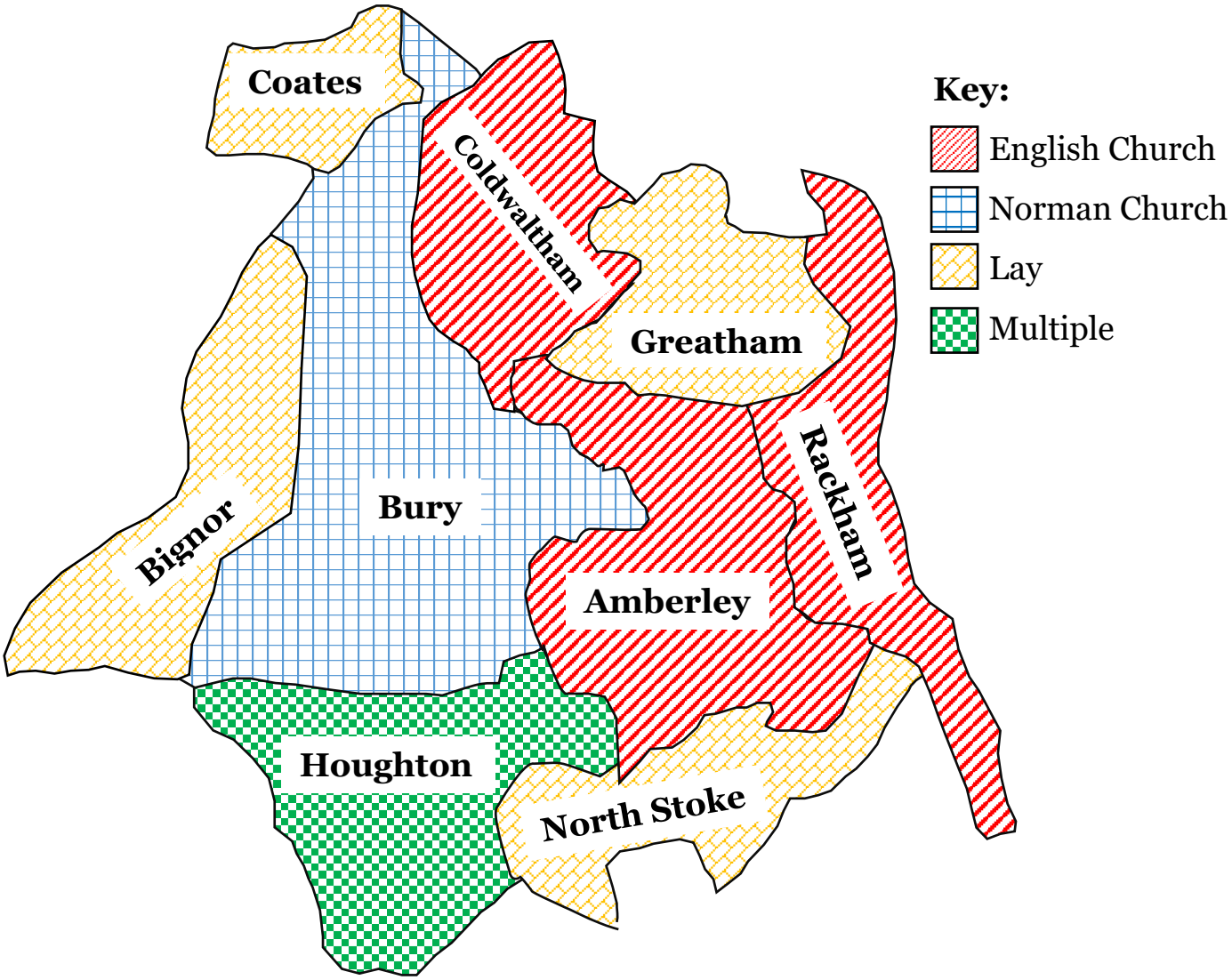


Figure 7

Land Ownership in 1086 of study estates and those surrounding.

[19] Kelly, *CS*, 6. W.D. Peckham, 'The Architectural History of Amberley Castle', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 62 (1921), pp. 21-63, 30-36.
[20] GDB, fol. 16r (DB: Sussex, 3:5).

resource delegation between specialised farmsteads, something that will become clearer once the other estates have been assessed.

Amberley's place-name would then suggest that its pre-Conquest economy was based upon the local woodland, whether this was agrarian or industrial. The farming of pigs in this woodland environment was an essential part of the Sussex economy in this period, with many herds reaching over 500 and some as large as 2000.[21] This differed to the rest of Anglo-Saxon England, where pigs generally made up the minority of livestock populations.[22] However, Domesday only records seven woodland swine render for the estate in 1086.[23] Render being the tax or payment made on livestock ownership (usually paid in kind). This, along with the place-name referring specifically to a 'clearing' (*-lēah*) and not a pasture (*-denn*),[24] suggests that this area was atypical of estates surrounding the *Weald*. Although, this is but one interpretation, Della Hooke for example, argues that *-lēah* actually specifically refers to 'land used for woodland pasture' like *-denn*.[25] Large manors local to Amberley had a far larger woodland swine render assigned to them, examples include: Pulborough with twenty-five, Bury with forty, Sutton thirty and Petworth with eighty.[26] It must also be noted that these manors all had less households than Amberley, some significantly so (see Table 2). A swine render per household value has also been calculated for these manors, a dataset that clearly demonstrates Amberley's unusually low swine render.

Evidently, Amberley's low value of 0.09 render per household suggests it was not an estate traditionally associated with pig rearing, though this may have further implications. It has been previously argued that the estate of Coldwaltham may have been placed under Amberley in Domesday book, though this new data may suggest otherwise. As mentioned, Coldwaltham's place-name refers to 'forest homestead/village' which would imply that the farming of pigs was probably an integral resource, though Amberley only had seven render for the whole manor.[27] Thus, it is possible that Coldwaltham's Domesday accounts may come under a different manor in the area, possibly Bury, Hardham or Pulborough. However, the secular landholding of these three manors in contrast to ecclesiastical Coldwaltham

[21] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 146.
[22] H. Hamerow, *Rural Settlements and Society in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2012), 160.
[23] GDB, fol. 16r (DB: Sussex, 3:5).
[24] Mills, *British Place-Names*, 12.
[25] Hooke, 'Pre-Conquest Woodland', 120.
[26] GDB, fol. 24v (DB: Sussex, 11:55), fol. 17r (DB: Sussex, 5:3), fol. 23v (DB: Sussex, 11:22), fol. 23v (DB: Sussex, 11:18).
[27] Mills, *British Place-Names*, 124.

would suggest otherwise.[28] Instead, Amberley's woodland place-name probably refers to a previous point in time when swine pastures were common in the area, or to a far more industrial usage of the local woodland.

Manor Name	Size (Households)	Woodland Swine Render	Swine Render/Household
Amberley	75	7	0.09
Pulborough	66	25	0.38
Bury	70	40	0.57
Sutton	48	30	0.63
Petworth	44	80	1.81

Table 2

Size and Swine Render data for large manors in vicinity of Amberley.

It appears then, that by the mid-eleventh century, the lands associated with the manor or estate of Amberley contained far less woodland than its place-name suggests. Instead, the estate's primary resource appears to have been meadowland by this point, something that is clearly demonstrated by the thirty acres assigned in 1086.[29] This is likely to have been the case for the tenth and eleventh-century estate also, though perhaps a greater share would have still been woodland pasture. The same argument can be made for the arable land assigned to Amberley in Domesday, twenty-four ploughlands in all.[30] This development in agricultural change from woodland pasture to meadowland and farmland is a prime example of the larger process of deforestation that occurred in Anglo-Saxon England.[31] This would have been achieved through manual cutting of the woodlands but also by the actual pasturing of livestock also, for this grazing slowed regeneration and the density of such areas.[32]

This Domesday assessment for Amberley, consisting of large swathes of meadowland and a relatively large apportionment of arable land is not too dissimilar from the modern environment. As it has been argued, much of the land between the modern village (and likely the old estate centre) and the River Arun was probably

[28] M. Gardiner & H. Warne, 'Domesday Settlement', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010), pp. 34-5, 35.
[29] GDB, fol. 17r (DB: Sussex, 3:5).
[30] GDB, fol. 17r (DB: Sussex, 3:5).
[31] Hoskins, *English Landscape*, 46.
[32] Hoskins, *English Landscape*, 48.

meadow and grazing land which it remains to this day (see Figure 9). The only significant differences appear to have been the increase in size of this meadowland (through deforestation) and its modern division and irrigation. Similarly, it is fairly easy to plot the location of the allocated 'ploughlands' for the Amberley estate. Modern agriculture of the local area places this zone to the east, south and south-east of the village, though a strikingly similar pattern is obvious from tithe assessments. It is quite evident from the nineteenth-century documents that the East, West and 'Individual name' fields (see Figure 1) were the location of the arable agriculture. Of course, this

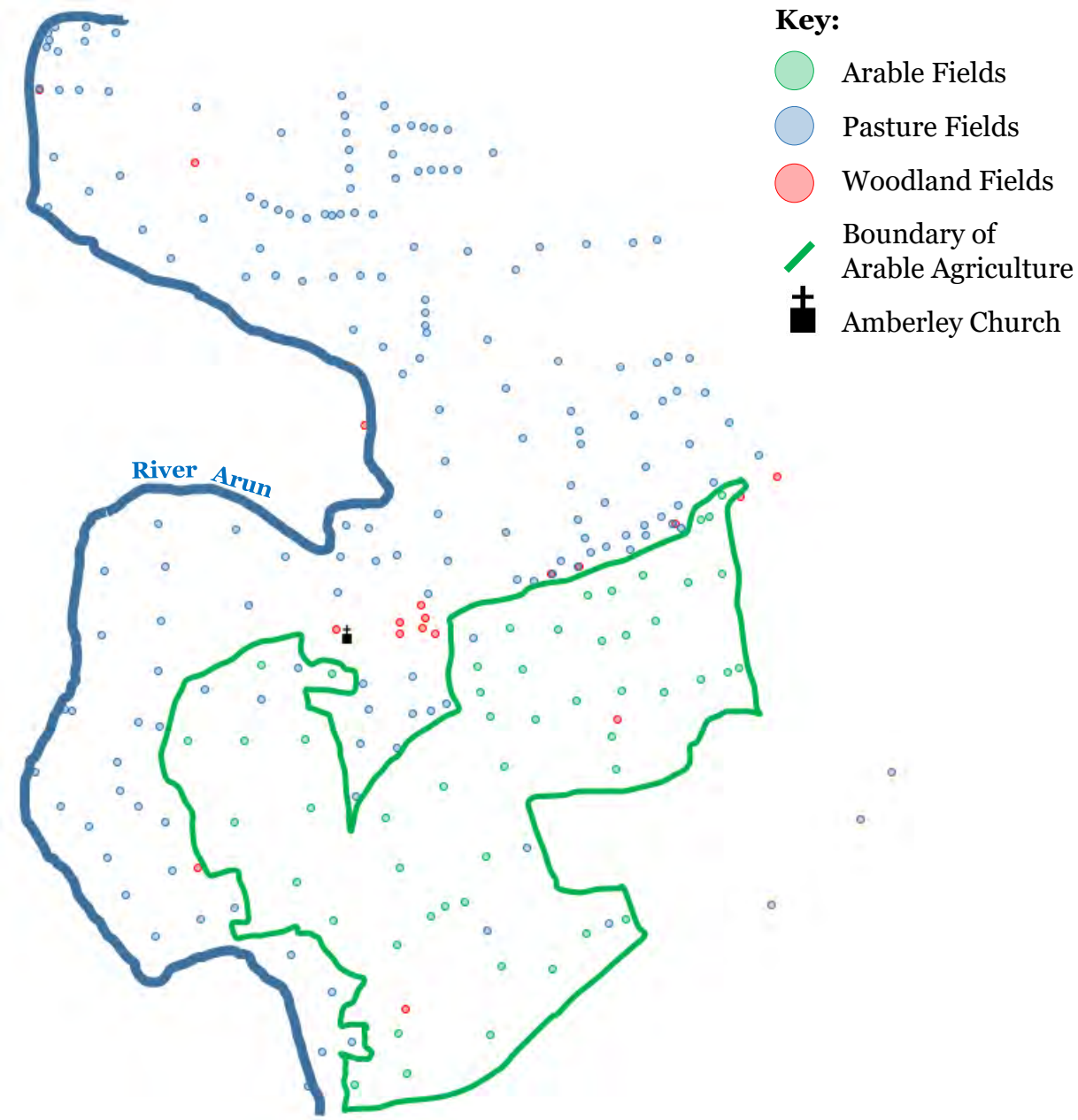


Figure 8

Map showing the different areas of agriculture from the 1847 Amberley Tithe Award. This data-form, along with Figures 10 and 12, is useful for identifying patterns in the agriculture though it does not represent the field sizes, something that must be considered.

does not specifically support the theory that the Anglo-Saxon estate's arable land was located in the corresponding areas. However, the fact that these areas are and were used because of the contrasting geology to the alluvium plain, it is more than likely that the significant ploughlands allocated to Amberley were located in the same zones. Additionally, it is possible to distinguish between the location of the Lord's ploughlands and those of the Men. This was the manorial system of the medieval period, the 'bipartite' division of the estate between demesne and tenant lands.[33] The demesne farm was often distinct and separate from the other farms on the estate.[34] If one refers to both Figures 1 and 8, it is apparent that the area of 'individual field names'

Figure 9

View of meadow/pasture between Amberley and River Arun.

zone (yellow) corresponds exceedingly well with a section of the arable land identified. Due to this, the individual field names and its close proximity to the village centre, it is likely that this area was the Lord's demene land, farmed by seven plough teams. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the East, West and Stream fields were worked by the seventeen Men's plough teams. That said, it has been argued by Sally Harvey that

[33] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 263.
[34] D. Roffe, *Decoding Domesday* (Woodbridge, 2007), 216.

arable land was not necessarily the most valuable asset on an estate.[35] Instead, renting the land out and other estate resources appear to have more profitable to the Lord. This argument based on the rather low ratio of Lord's ploughland to Men's throughout England, although Amberley's was not too low with seven Lord's to seventeen Men's. This slightly higher ratio of Lord's to Men's is probably a reflection of the unique Sussex economy, one that was highly dependent on pannage rather than arable agriculture. Due to this, and the lack of fertile arable land in Sussex, arable land was likely to have been coveted to a far greater extent, hence the significant Lord demesne.

Although in relatively close proximity to Amberley, Bury provides a stark contrast in terms of agricultural production and character. However, the Domesday record for Bury also seems to imply that it was a manorial centre for multiple estates in the area. Like Amberley, it has a very large assessment of seventy households but lacks any medieval or early modern development with only a modern population of 642.[36] Thus, it is likely that Bury was the manorial centre for a rather large area which is reflected in its history as a Sussex Hundred. Although, it is unlikely to have consisted as quite so many estates as the multiple estate at Amberley due to its dissimilar ownership. As shown in Figure 7, Bury was owned by the Norman Church in 1086 and in particular, Fécamp Abbey located on the Normandy coast.[37] However, as previously mentioned, the land was owned by Countess Goda in 1066, thus it is likely to have been secularly owned in the Anglo-Saxon period. In relation to neighbouring estates, this would give sustenance to theory that estates such as Bignor, Coates parts of Houghton were part of this larger estate system, though individual Domesday accounts place this in doubt. Instead, Bury consisted of what is included in the nineteenth-century tithe map alongside some minor holdings in neighbouring Coates, Fittleworth and Houghton.[38] More on the significance of Bury's ownership will be discussed in Chapter Four, particularly this transition from secular to ecclesiastical ownership.

Returning to production, Bury was typical of the tenth/eleventh-century Sussex economy in contrast to Amberley. As Table 2 demonstrates, it had a substantially

[35] S.P.J. Harvey, 'The Extent and Profitability of Demense Agriculture in England in the Later Eleventh Century', *Social Relations and Ideas: Essays in Honour of R.H. Hilton*, eds. T.H. Aston; P.R. Cross; C. Dyer & J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 45-72, *passim*.

[36] GDB, fol. 17r (DB: Sussex, 5:3).. Office for National Statistics, 'Area: Bury (Parish): Population Density, 2011 (QS102EW)', *Neighbourhood Statistics*, accessed 8 July 2016, www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk.

[37] GDB, fol. 17r (DB: Sussex, 5:3).

[38] Although charter evidence does place Houghton under ecclesiastical control in 957, it seems to have been rather divided, something that is reflected in the isolated areas of the Bury Parish in the tithe mapping.

larger woodland swine render value of forty at a ratio of 0.57 per household, which is actually an average amount for the area. Although Bury's place-name does not refer to any agricultural or even natural characteristics of the area, later tithe data presents some interesting information.[39] Aforementioned, Bury's tithe assessment records a substantial number of 'coppice' named fields whereas in both Amberley and Coldwaltham there is no evidence for such naming.[40] Although coppicing is the management of woodland for industrial purposes, the survival of such names also suggests that the Bury estate contained substantial woodland. This would make sense considering the significant woodland swine render assigned to this estate in Domesday. If one refers back to Figure 1, then it is quite apparent that there is an increased concentration of 'coppice' names to the north-west of the Bury estate centre, this is likely to have been the location of the majority of the swine pasture woodlands. Figure 10 also presents a similar picture, with a greater number and concentration of woodland to the west and north of the estate. This figure, in comparison to Figure 9, also demonstrates the contrast between the remaining woodland in Amberley and Bury, which was substantial.

Estate Name	Size 1066 (Households)	Meadowland (Acres)	Meadowland/ Household
Amberley	75	30	0.40
Bury	70	30	0.43
Pulborough	66	30	0.45
Sutton	48	22	0.46
Petworth	44	29	0.66

Table 3

Domesday meadow allocation data for large manors in vicinity of Amberley and Bury.

However, Bury's resources were not limited to swine rearing, the estate was also assigned significant meadowland, arable ploughland and one fishery. Like Amberley, Bury was allocated thirty acres of meadow, a figure that also seems typical of large manors in the area (see Table 3). Perhaps then, this wider context of both Bury and

[39] Bury's place-name simple refers to a '(place by) the fortification or stronghold' although no evidence has been located of such a structure. Mills, *British Place Names*, 89.
[40] WSRO TD/W2, WSRO TD/W36.

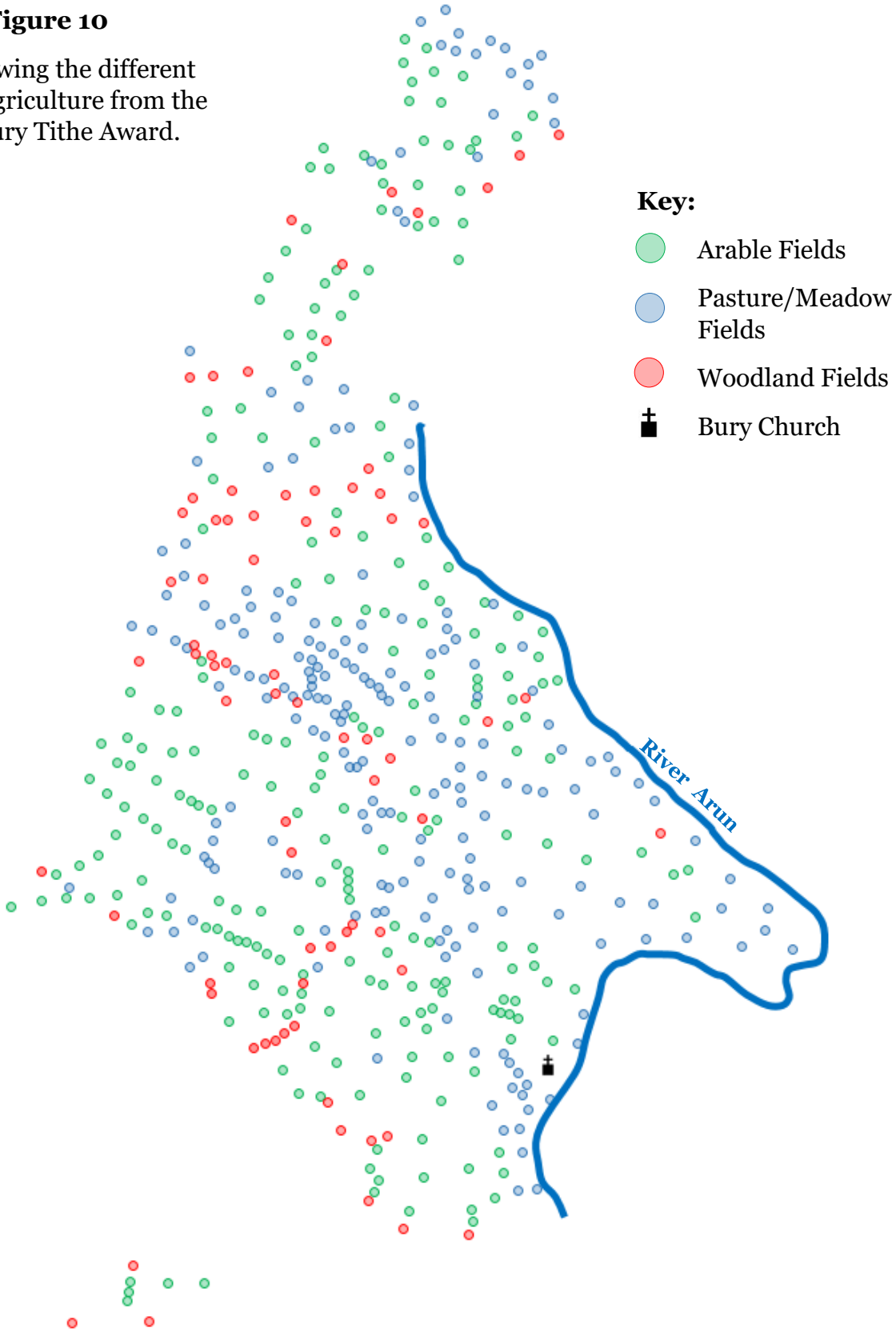
Amberley in Sussex, suggests that the thirty-acre value was a typical *expectation* of production in the area, not necessarily the actual output. This argument is rather convincing if one observes the meadowland per household values. In contrast to the swine render per household values in Table 2, the meadowland figures seem to far more consistent (0.43 ± 0.03, excluding Petworth), thus suggesting the values were not based on actual resource availability, but rather a generic figure for the area. Indeed, this might actually be rather localised, considering that the Petworth manor was the greatest distance from the Arun Valley study area and is the only divergent figure. It seems apparent that the thirty-acre value for Bury was not an unrealistic expectation though. Considering the relatively large size of the pre-1894 parish, the land allocated to pasture/meadow in 1847 (see Figure 10) and the likely inclusion of minor estates surrounding Bury, thirty acres appears to have been more than achievable.

Locating the areas which were allocated as meadowland proves far more of an issue in comparison to locating agricultural areas in neighbouring Amberley. Comparing Figures 10 and 8, it is obvious that Amberley was far more organised and agriculturally segregated than Bury, probably a result of its rather late restructuring in the pre-Conquest era. There are no obvious areas specifically dedicated to meadow/pasture in Bury, though there are areas of high concentrations, particularly to the immediate north-west of the settlement and by the river. If we compare these results to the field names in Figure 1, it is evident that both the North and South fields were dedicated to arable agriculture. Meadow/pasture seems to have been conducted in the areas of 'brook' field names, which is expected considering the damper conditions. Referring back to the annual flooding map in Figure 5, there appears to be a correlation between this and the location of pasture/meadow fields also. In particular, the long but narrow flood water that extends from the River Arun towards what is now known as Bury Mill Farm appears to correspond with the unusually dense cluster of pasture/meadow in Figure 10. Evidently, it seems that specific areas for certain agriculture had been well-established by the nineteenth-century, though this probably originates from medieval systems.

As mentioned, the arable agriculture of the Bury estate appears to have been located in the North and South fields. Like Amberley, these are likely to have been the

Figure 10

Map showing the different areas of agriculture from the 1847 Bury Tithe Award.



location of just the Men's ploughlands, in this case eighteen according to Domesday.[41] The demene ploughland of the lord seems to have been to the west of the estate centre, an area with no recognisable pattern of field names (see Figure 1). Domesday only

allocates two lord's ploughlands in Bury, though the record does specify that there is land for sixteen.[42] It is unclear what this 'land for' actually accounts for, though considering that only two ploughlands provide directly for the lord, it is extremely probable that these sixteen were rented out. This is logical considering the ownership of the land in 1086, namely the Norman Abbey of Fécamp.[43] It is unlikely that the Abbot would have resided in Bury for long if at all, thus very little land was required to provide for the lord's sustenance. Instead, the Abbey rented out much of the land to increase the fiscal output of the estate. This is also a clear example of Harvey's previously mentioned point, that arable land was not necessarily the most valuable land on an English estate, and is therefore rented out instead.[44] Prior to 1066 however, the land was in secular control and so the lord's ploughlands were likely to have been substantially larger, although the semi-royal ownership (Countess Goda) may have limited this also. Marriages to a number of foreign nobles likely made her presence uncommon, though more on such political affairs will be discussed in due course.[45]

The crops grown on the agricultural land on all the Arun Valley estates during the Late Saxon Period are, yet again, something that is hard to ascertain. Later medieval studies presume that manors in this area grew large acreages of wheat and barley, maintaining fertility by growing legumes in the winter.[46] However, these estates are very much on the periphery of this zone, bordering areas that were less fertile.[47] This makes wheat the more likely summer crop to have been grown in the Arun Valley, though there is no place-name evidence to provide any solid indication. Interestingly, if the main crop was wheat, and therefore probably 'bread wheat' due to its common use in the period,[48] the lack of Domesday recorded mills presents a puzzling picture. Indeed, neither Amberley or Bury have a recorded mill that would be used to grind any wheat produce into flour. This is unexpected not only because of the suspected wheat production, but also due to the availability of a mill power-source, a river. Windmills did not exist in this period; instead, millstones were driven by water which would explain why Domesday only refers to 'mills' rather than any specific

[42] GDB, fol. 17r (DB: Sussex, 5:3).
[43] GDB, fol. 17r (DB: Sussex, 5:3).
[44] Harvey, 'The Extent and Profitability', *passim*.
[45] H. J. Tanner, 'Eustace (II), Count of Boulogne (d. c.1087)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52359, accessed 2 Aug 2016].
[46] M. Gardiner, 'The Medieval Rural Economy and Landscape', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010), pp.38-9, 38.
[47] Gardiner, 'Medieval Rural Economy', 39.
[48] D. Benham & R. Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford, 2014), 23.

type.[49] This absence of any recorded mill for both Amberley and Bury might be down to the channel of the river itself. With both settlements situated next to the floodplain, it is likely that the wider channel of the River Arun at this point resulted in a far reduced river velocity. This would make placing a watermill here rather moot. However, creating a mill channel would solve this issue, though the fact that there is no evidence for such a channel may suggest that the volume wheat production was not worth the resources to construct. If any wheat was produced, it was either taken to neighbouring Pulborough to the north that was allocated two mills in 1086,[50] or was grinded on a domestic scale.[51] The latter is the more probable, with much of the arable land likely to have been used to support the large livestock populations, particularly pigs. Della Hooke also notes that mills may have created significant obstacles for river transport, which may account for this absence, though she does argue that interference was rather limited.[52]

The other agricultural resource mentioned in Bury's Domesday record was its fishery.[53] Most commonly recorded in settlements based next to a river or estuary,[54] early medieval fisheries were an important resource in this area and indeed Anglo-Saxon England. Fishery recordings are usually restricted to the farming of fresh-water fish, though, it is evident from archaeology that salt-water fish was part of the Anglo-Saxon diet.[55] The earliest record of fishing in the immediate area actually pre-dates Domesday, in the form of fishing rights in the Brihthelm Charter (957):

> *… cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus, campis, pascuis, pratis, siluis, capturis piscium*.[56]

Particular attention should be spent on the final words of the above extract, especially to the phrase '*capturis piscium*' ('the taking of fish'). However, it is not all uncommon for charters in Sussex and the South-East to refer to rights to fishing among other resource, though they are by no means universally included in the charters. What is interesting, is the correlation between the charter records for the estates listed in Brihthelm and their corresponding Domesday accounts. Most of the estates have a

[49] Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*,230.
[50] Although a single Domesday mill reference may actually refer to multiple mills or millstones.
[51] GDB, fol. 24v (DB: Sussex, 11:55).
[52] D. Hooke, 'Uses of Waterways in Anglo-Saxon England', in J. Blair, *Waterways and Canal Building in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2014), 42.
[53] GDB, fol. 17r (DB: Sussex, 5:3).
[54] Hooke, 'Waterways in Anglo-Saxon England', 46. This is especially so in Anglo-Saxon charter rights.
[55] Hooke, 'Waterways in Anglo-Saxon England', 46.
[56] Kelly, CS, no. 20, 85-91. This extract can be loosely translated as follows: 'together with all things that belong to it, in fields, pastures, meadows, woods and the taking of fish.'

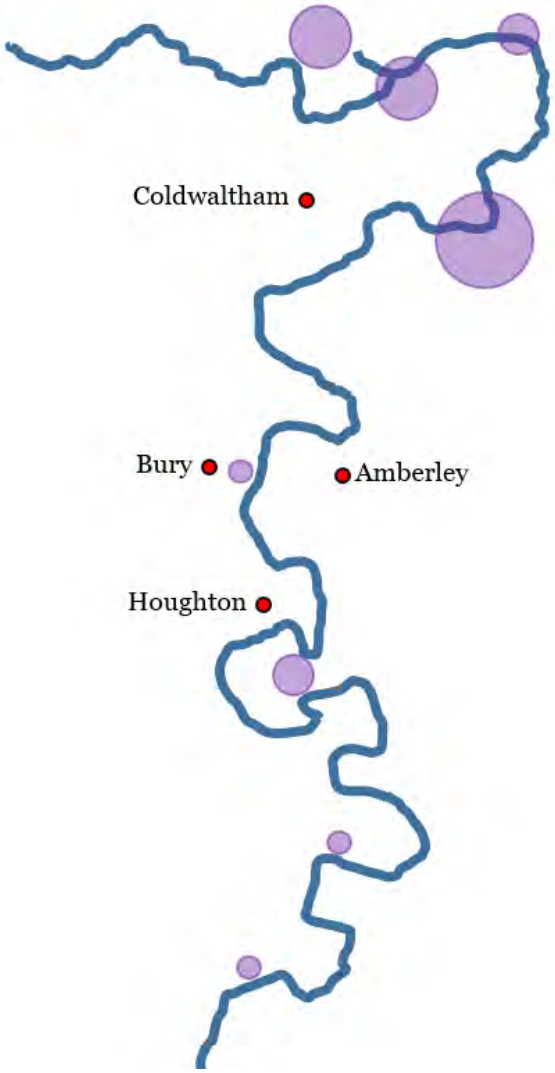


Figure 11

Map showing the number of fisheries in the Arun Valley. Number of fisheries is relative to the size of diagram circles. Scale runs from 1-4 fisheries. The specific location of the circles relates to the nearest stretch of river to the settlement it represents.

Domesday record although both the two of interest, Houghton and Coldwaltham, are lacking these. The estate listed as '*Egesawyde*' is unidentifiable and so a Domesday account is also unavailable. The majority of these estates are located in close proximity to the Selsey Diocese itself but, interestingly, all their Domesday resource lists fail to mention any fisheries. This is likely to be because of their immediacy to the sea (where fisheries do not seem to be recorded) and lack of rivers in the area. Thus, the inclusion of the fishing rights must refer specifically to the land in the Arun Valley, the estates of Houghton and Coldwaltham. As argued beforehand, Coldwaltham was originally part of either the larger Anglo-Saxon estate at Bury or Amberley. Although, because

Amberley lacked any fisheries in Domesday, it seems that Coldwaltham was originally part of Bury. Though, only being assigned one fishery, this argument is contentious.

Houghton is far less likely to have been the estate to which the Brihthelm fishing rights refer to, simply because of Domesday patterns in fishing along the River Arun (see Figure 11). It is quite clear from Figure 11 that level of fishing substantially increased further upriver, particularly in the areas to the north and east of Coldwaltham.[57] South of Coldwaltham, only a small portion of the numerous estates were assigned fisheries, in fact, there are none south of the most southerly estate recorded in Figure 11 (Arundel). There also appears to be a place-name pattern that corresponds to the location of the fisheries recorded in Domesday. Three of the four settlements to the north of Coldwaltham (and indeed Coldwaltham itself) contain the Old English name element *-hām* (*or -hamm),* of which the latter version refers to an 'a settlement hemmed in/surrounded by water'.[58] Hence, '-ham' place-names in this area of Sussex seem to specifically refer to the latter definition, rather than simply just an estate or farmstead. Obviously such places would have probably relied on fish as an essential food-source. The one site in this northern area that does not contain this place-name element is the previously mentioned Pulborough. Recorded as *Poleberge* in Domesday, its Old English name (*pōl* + *beorg*) refers to a 'hill or mound by the pools',[59] which is interesting considering the large number of fisheries that were there and in the surrounding area. Hooke has argued that '*pōl*' may refer to a fish breeding pool, though this meaning is usually found in conjunction with the Old English word '*-tēam*'.[60] It is possible that this northern area played host to an organised operation of fishing, one that both harvested and bred fish, complete farming in a sense.

What is still unclear though, is why this area was chosen for this operation, especially considering the extremely rural nature of the area in this period. Perhaps, Pulborough's place-name and some landscape observations can provide clues to this also. As well as a fishing reference, the '*pōl*' name element may also refer to a pool created by the confluence of tributaries or other rivers with the Arun at this point. Similar to how weirs were hotspots for Domesday fisheries due to the decreased water current,[61] river confluences are also good spots for fishing. By assessing the landscape, it is quite evident that there are and were a number of adjoining tributaries to the River

[57] These are Greatham, Pulborough, Hardham and Stopham (listed downstream upwards).
[58] Mills, *British Place-Names*, 522. See preceding note for settlement names.
[59] Mills, *British Place-Names*, 377.
[60] Hooke, 'Waterways in Anglo-Saxon England', 46.
[61] Hooke, 'Waterways in Anglo-Saxon England', 45.

Arun in this area, the major one's being the Rother and the smaller Stor. This created an ideal location for fish breeding and harvesting, and is a likely explanation for the significant number of fisheries in this area. Another, and far more feasible explanation may rest with the mills recorded in this area in Domesday. As mentioned, Pulborough is recorded to have two mills in 1086, though this figure may actually exceed two. Like weirs, mills were a great source for fish and eels in the medieval period which may explain why there is a substantial number of fisheries in this northern area.

Coldwaltham is the other estate that parish tithe maps still survive to account for the ownership, field names and field agriculture. However, unlike Amberley and

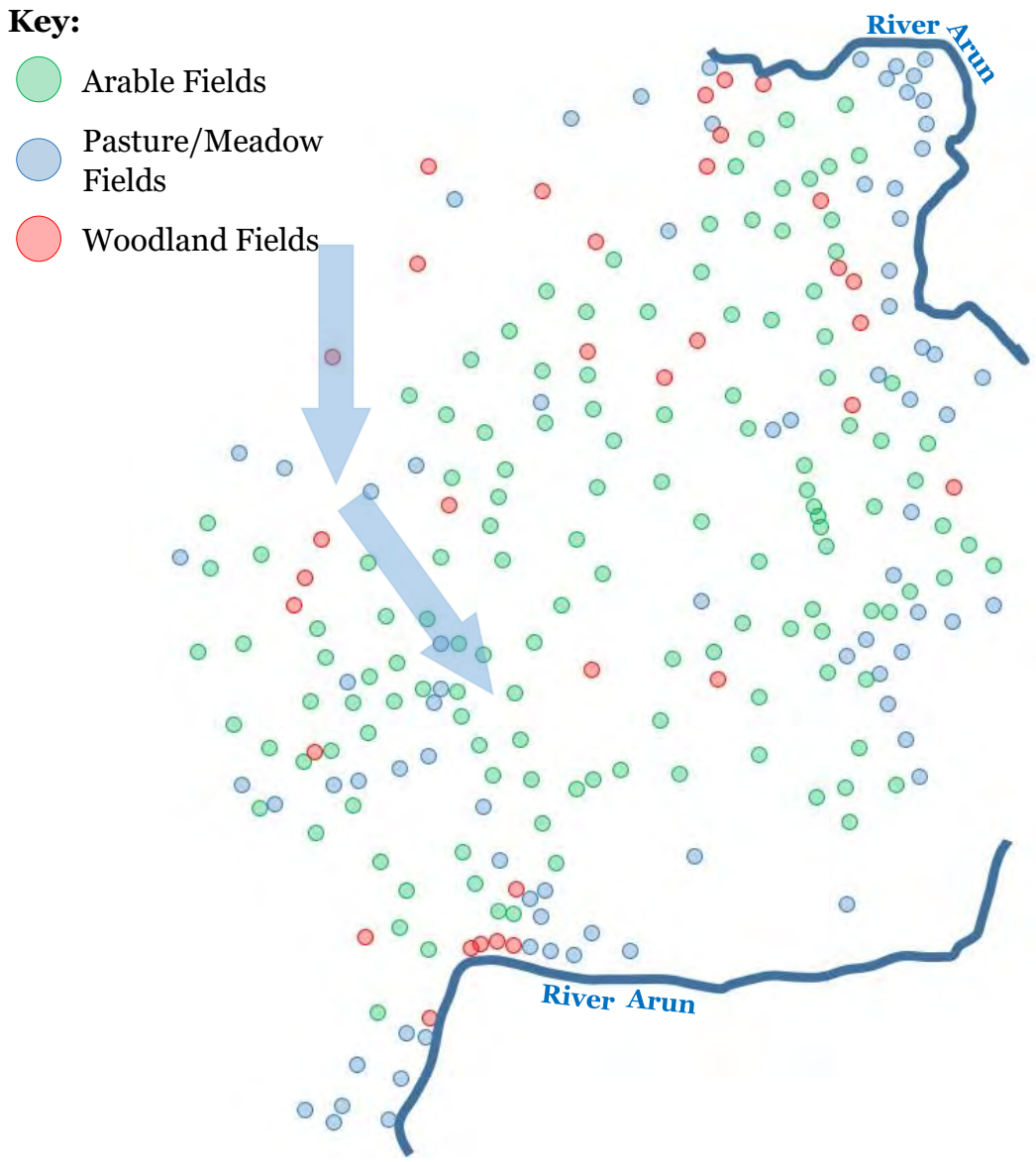


Figure 12

Map showing the different areas of agriculture from the 1847 Coldwaltham Tithe Award. Faded arrows represent an extended stretch of pasture/meadow fields away from the river.

Bury, there is no Domesday account for this settlement and only a slightly dubious record in both the Brihthelm and Cædwalla charters. It is quite evident from the discussion above, that Coldwaltham was originally part of a larger estate, either Amberley or Bury. In terms of land-use, Coldwaltham is far more consistent with the agricultural situation in Bury as oppose to Amberley. There seems to have been a fair balance between arable and pasture/meadowland but there also was a significant level of woodland. Indeed, the ratio of woodland to other types of agriculture in Coldwaltham was substantially high in the tithe award, far greater than Bury even. This would suggest that the area was subject to far less clearance in the tenth and eleventh centuries in comparison to the other estates, something that is reflected in its place-name.[62] Though there is no recorded Domesday land to plot against the data in Figure 12 as there was for Amberley and Bury, other information can be extracted. In particular, there appears to be a stretch of pasture/meadow fields that stray away from the river. This is unusual considering that most of this agriculture is predominantly in close proximity to the river on all the estates. This stretch could possibly be evidence for an ancient tributary of the River Arun, something that is echoed by the settlement of Watersfield along this line. The settlement does not seem to be of Anglo-Saxon origin (first recorded in 1316 as a market),[63] but its place-name seems to fit the proposed environment.[64] This would suggest that Coldwaltham was surrounded, at least of 3 sides, by water which would suggest that David Mills interpretation of the name referring to a 'homestead/village in the forest' is incomplete.[65] Instead, the name is likely to refer to a 'homestead/village in the forest surrounded by water', due to the *-ham* element originating from the Old English *-hamm* rather than *-hām*.

To summarise, an attempt has been made to characterise not only the environment, but also the agricultural production of the estates in the Arun Valley. To generalise, the area seems to have been rather typical of Anglo-Saxon Sussex though some local variations and features have individualised this area in contrast to its surroundings. Indeed, the chief factor in this appears to have been the River Arun itself. Not only did this watercourse dictate the natural environment that was settled but also the human activity that occurred in these settlements, especially in terms of agriculture. It is quite evident that the river basin provided an ideal environment for dense, damp woodland that was used for swine pasture, such as that in Bury and

[62] Mills, *British Place-Names*, 124.
[63] J. Bleach & M. Gardiner, 'Medieval Markets and Ports', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010), pp. 42-3, 43.
[64] Mills, *British Place-Names*, *passim*. 'Water' often referring to a stream or channel in OE.
[65] Mills, *British Place-Names*, 124.

probably Coldwaltham. However, it is also apparent that the river's floodplain was an ideal location for meadowland and grass pasture for other livestock. Amberley seems to have had a significant concentration of meadowland, and probably Houghton also. Although, it must be said that Bury and Coldwaltham also seem to have noteworthy meadow and pasture lands. Clearly, livestock was a significant part of the agricultural economy in the Arun Valley during this period which also seems the case for fishing. Although rather absent from the particular estates in question, the practice of fishing seems to have been important to the Arun Valley in general and therefore probably rather important even to those where there were no recorded fisheries. Any domestic scale fishing is not accounted for in Domesday, but the rights to take fish mentioned in the Brihthelm Charter would suggest that this probably occurred. Arable agriculture was of course present on areas of these estates but does not seem to have been their greatest resource. In essence then, this area does not seem to have been too undeveloped or worthless as has been suggested with estates in or surrounding the *Weald*.[66] Instead, the more recent view of the area presented by Chatwin and Gardiner as a slightly more valuable asset seems more appropriate.[67]

[66] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 140.
[67] Chatwin & Gardiner, 'Early Medieval Settlement of Woodlands', 31.

Chapter Four:
The Estates as part Anglo-Saxon England

Preceding chapters have discussed the internal on-goings and character of the Arun Valley estates, almost creating a micro-history of this particular area in the Anglo-Saxon period. This is indeed useful in terms of acquiring the intended level of detail but this study has, as so far, lacked any wider context or consideration of the political climate of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom. In addition to this, the way in which these estates fit into the society, economy and military organisation of Anglo-Saxon England will also be considered. A key focus for these themes will be the communication networks associated with this area. Landownership will be an important focus in this chapter, something that has been briefly touched upon above. However, far greater attention will be paid to the land proprietors themselves, investigating what significance these particular lord's present in possessing lands in Arun Valley.

Even from a brief and shallow investigation into the estates in the Arun Valley, it is quite evident that the role of the Church, both as a social and political institution, was central to the dynamics of this area. Even from an early date (?673), a significant swathe of land in the area was in the possession of the Church, and in particular, the Bishops of Selsey (later Chichester).[1] Of course, this seventh-century date is dubious considering the arguments made by Kelly and others concerning the originality of the Cædwalla Charter.[2] However, the Brihthelm Charter concerns land to be '*restauraretur prefato monasterio*' ('restored to the aforesaid monastery'),[3] thus suggesting that the land mentioned was certainly in the possession of the diocese in the period prior to 957. Although, whether this land was under the ownership of the Selsey Bishops since the seventh century remains unclear. What is clear though, is that these lands in the Arun Valley appear to have been of some significance or value during the tenth and eleventh centuries. As mentioned, the estates of Houghton and Coldwaltham were restored to the bishopric in 957 after being seized by an individual by the name of Ælfsige. This was in return for one hundred mancuses of pure gold,

[1] Kelly, *CS*, no.1, pp. 3-5. The diocese was relocated to Chichester following the Council of London in 1075. Also see Figure 7 in Chapter Three.
[2] Kelly, *CS*, 5.

with one mancus being a month's wages for a single skilled craftsman. Clearly, this was a substantial sum to pay for this grant, which would suggest that these lands were of noteworthy value. In regards to the appropriating individual simply named as Ælfsige, this figure has not yet been identified.[4] However, there was a politically active member of the high clergy that shared the same name from the exact period, this being Ælfsige, Bishop of Winchester and later Canterbury.[5] Considering that Bishop Ælfsige is not only considered to have acquired titles through simony, but also his transferal from Winchester to Canterbury within a year of the Brihthelm grant, makes him a likely candidate. Indeed, he was also one of the largest landowners in Wessex at the time. Ælfsige is also known to have travelled to Rome in late 958 (a journey that he died on), which again, would have made the grant of land to Brihthelm far smoother. Regardless of who this Ælfsige actually was, the fact that the lands were so desirable to provoke appropriation suggests the estates in the Arun Valley were of some importance. This is interesting considering that *Weald* based lands were usually just outlying lands of the more important coastal manors to the south (see Figure 13).[6] Of course, these lands were not obviously the principal holdings for the Selsey Bishops, though Domesday evidence (Figure 13) does suggest that they had a similar high manor value to number of ploughs ratio to the southern holdings.

However, the Chichester Bishops are not the only ecclesiastical landholders recorded by Domesday in this area. The Norman Abbey of Fécamp also held the Bury manor in the post conquest period. It is not known to when these lands were granted to the Abbey, although Bury's former proprietor suggests that the transferral may have been fairly immediate following King William I's conquest of England in 1066. Indeed, the previous holder was Countess Goda, often known as Godgifu (1004-?c.1047),[7] who was the daughter of the marriage between Æthelred II and Emma of Normandy and sister to Edward the Confessor (r. 1042-1066).[8] Before the Conquest, Goda was the owner of thirteen of estates in Sussex, the core of which were around Lewes and

[4] Kelly, *CS*, 88. Kelly simply refers to the individual as 'Ælfsige'.
[5] B. Yorke, 'Ælfsige (d. 959)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/192, accessed 23 Aug 2016].
[6] Gardiner & Warne, 'Domesday Settlement', 34.
[7] It is presumed that Goda died c.1047 due to her Husband's remarriage (Eustace II of Boulogne) in c.1049, although she is still recorded as a landholder in 1066 by Domesday Book. In addition, Ann Williams makes a convincing argument that a known divorce that Eustace was involved in (assumed to be with Ida of Lorraine), was in fact with Goda in 1049. This would certainly explain why Goda was still recorded as a landholder in 1066 and why her land was confiscated; for she was no longer married to Eustace, one of William's greatest supporters in the 1066 campaign. A. Williams, *The World Before Domesday: The English Aristocracy 871-1066* (London, 2008), Appendix 2.
[8] F. Barlow, 'Edward [St Edward; known as Edward the Confessor] (1003–1066)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8516, accessed 25 Aug 2016].

Eastbourne in the west of the region (see Figure 13).[9] Indeed, apart from Bury and the small estate of Littlehampton to the south of the Arun Valley, all of Goda's Sussex lands were in this area to the east. This would imply that the Bury estate was significantly self-sufficient and thus, very profitable; probably why it was in royal hands (Goda). Pauline Stafford's definition of royal estates is accepted here, one that extends beyond the 'land of the king' to all the land directly owned by the royal household.[10] Domesday also sheds light on the matter of Bury's value, for it is exempted sixteen units (hides); tax exemptions are often a sign of former royal tenure.[11] However, whether this exemption referred to a grant that awarded Goda the land in the early eleventh century or in fact William's short ownership of the estate before granting it to Fécamp, remains unclear. Nonetheless, Bury certainly had some importance in the Pre-Conquest period, though this seems to have dwindled following 1066 considering it was not granted to a more important Norman aristocratic rather than Fécamp.

It is also important to note that Goda held many other estates across England, ranging from lands in Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Dorset, Gloucestershire and Surrey.[12] Despite their geography, all of the estates under her ownership had one thing in common, they were all confiscated by William. Of course, different areas were granted to different Norman aristocrats and ecclesiastical institutions, though her lands in Sussex were predominantly granted to the Norman Counts of Mortain and Eu.[13] The fact that her lands were confiscated supports Ann Williams' theory that she was in fact still alive in 1066, and that she had been divorced by Eustace II of Boulogne in 1049.[14] It is unlikely that her lands would have been confiscated if she was still wed to one of William's greatest supporters from the 1066 campaign.[15] However, Bury was, of course, not granted to either of the Mortain or Eu counts, but was instead bequeathed to Abbey of Fécamp. Fécamp is also recorded in possessing two other estates in Domesday, namely Steyning and Rye (both in Sussex also).[16] Steyning had

[9] A. Powell-Smith & J.J.M Palmer, 'Countess Goda', *Open Domesday*, opendomesday.org, accessed 26/08/2016.
[10] P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1997), *passim*.
[11] Roffe, *Decoding Domesday*, 3.
[12] Williams, *World Before Domesday*, 18.
[13] Robert of Mortain (William I's half brother) was certainly the new proprietor of many of Goda's lands in 1066, though the particular Count of Eu to receive land is not recorded for it is assigned to Count Robert (r.1080-1091). Though it is more than likely that his father, Count William Busac was the one to be granted the Sussex estates.
[14] Williams, *World Before Domesday*, Appendix 2.
[15] Tanner, 'Eustace (II)'.
[16] GDB, fol. 17r. (DB: Sussex, 5:1, 5:2, 5:3)

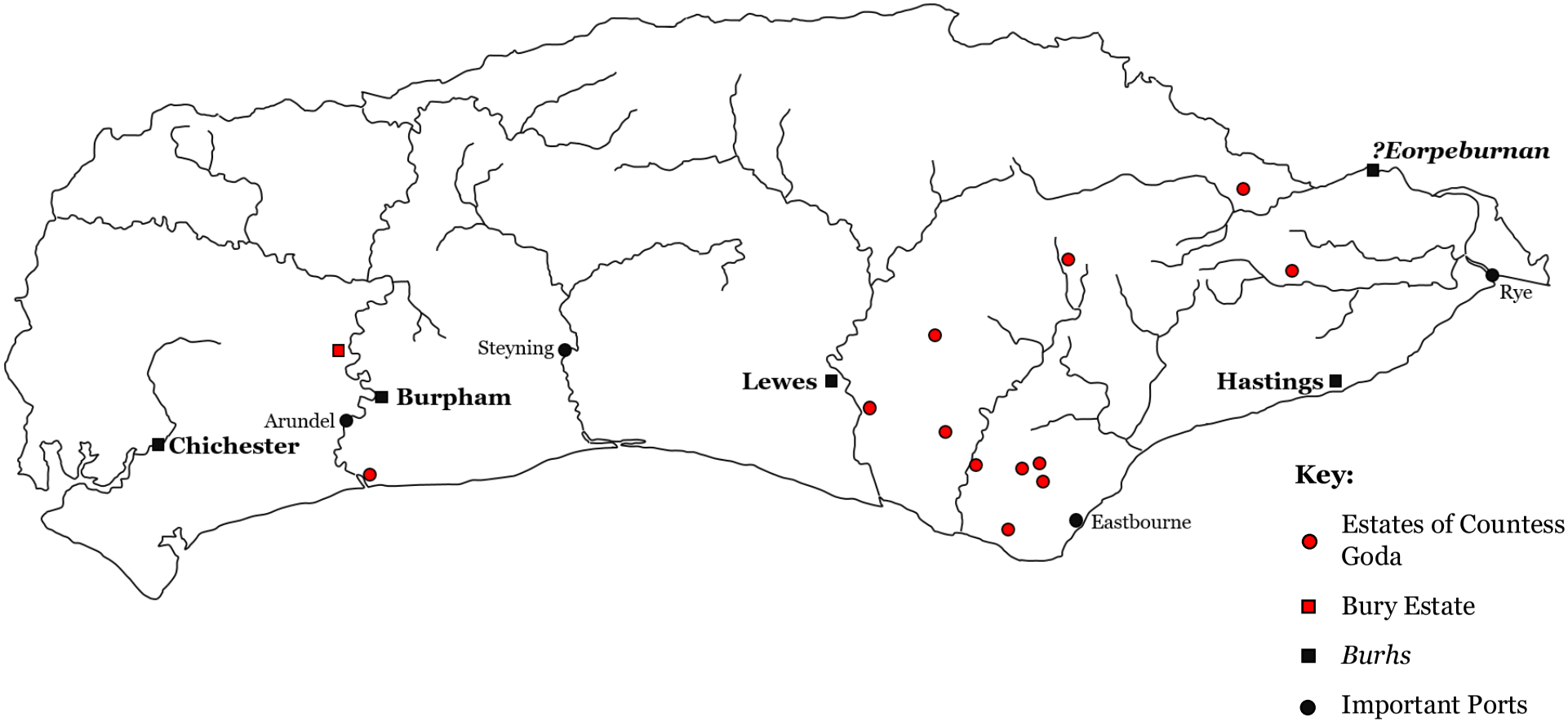


Figure 13

Map showing the Sussex estates of Countess Goda before the Conquest, including Bury.

actually been given to the Abbey by Edward the Confessor and Rye by King Cnut (r.1016-1035);[17] they were confiscated by King Harold (r.1066) in 1066 but restored by William following his victory. All three of the bestowed estates were significant in terms of size, though Bury had the least number of households of all three.[18] The grant of Steyning has some further significance for Bury's stature however. Steyning was recorded in the Will of Alfred the Great (873-888), granting it to his nephew Æthelwold along with Godalming and Guildford (Surrey).[19] It was also the original burial place for King Æthelwulf of Wessex (d. 858).[20] Clearly this site has a long history of royal patronage and proprietorship, which may place Bury in a similar category.

Bury was granted to Fécamp because of the abbey's support for William, but the bestowment of Bury in particular expresses the nature of the estate's external links. Fécamp was granted both Rye and Steyning because they were important ports during this period,[21] for, as discussed in Chapter One, the coastline penetrated far deeper inland; as did the navigability of rivers (see Figure 5). For English based lands to be useful and profitable to the Norman abbey, links to the continent would have been essential and the bestowment of Bury suggests that it was at least a basic port or landing site for ships in the pre-Norman period. Indeed, evidence for such a function is clear from even before the Late Saxon Period with a number of ancient log-boats found in the area, the nearest being across the river in Amberley.[22] This particular boat (Amberley III) has been radiocarbon-dated to the mid seventh century; thus, by the tenth and eleventh centuries the scale of operations may have expanded to include larger, international trading ships. The retreating shoreline since the last glacial period (c.15,000 years ago)[23] meant that the function of Bury as a harbour has long since gone, and was probably diminishing even in the tenth and eleventh centuries. However, the emergence of Arundel as an important port (particularly in the Norman period) would have also significantly diminished Bury's importance. A similar case has been made by Mark Gardiner for the demise of Eastbourne in East Sussex, losing prominence to neighbouring Pevensey under Robert of Mortain.[24]

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[17] Æthelred the Unready was the original benefactor but died before the grant could be made.
[18] Steyning with 328, Rye with 189 and Bury with 70. GDB, fol. 17r. (DB: Sussex, 5:1, 5:2, 5:3)
[19] *EHD*, 494.
[20] *EHD*, 494.
[21] Gardiner, 'Late Saxon Sussex', 31.
[22] S. McGrail & R. Switsur, 'Early British Boats and their Chronology', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, Vol. 4 (Sept., 1975), pp. 191-200. The other in the area was found at Hardham, even further upriver.
[23] Robinson, 'Coastal Changes', 8.
[24] Gardiner, 'Late Saxon Sussex', 31.

The civil defence of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom is also another useful indicator for the importance of Bury and the rest of the Arun Valley estates. In particular, the establishment of the *burh* fortification at Burpham suggests that this land was worth protecting. Burpham was one of the thirty-three *burh* fortifications listed in the *Burghal Hidage*, a tenth-century list/account of the West Saxon state fortifications. Only placed in locations of strategic and pragmatic value, these forts helped to protect the borders and internal lands of Wessex (and later England) from foreign threats, particularly Vikings. Specifically, many *burhs* were used to prevent invaders from travelling upriver; Burpham is a prime example of one of these, especially considering its lack in economic function.[25] It was clearly not chosen to become an urban centre like the other Sussex *burhs*, such as Lewes or Chichester, but simply to protect the river traffic and local area. For this reason, and its location upriver from Arundel but *downriver* from the Arun Valley estates, Burpham seems perfectly suited to protect the fairly significant economic centre at Bury. This is also interesting considering that neighbouring Watersfield was a market in the medieval period.[26] Perhaps then, this area of rural estates in the Arun Valley were far more commercial than first presumed given their location in the Sussex Weald.

Bury's place-name actually indicates that there was some sort of fortification there also, likely to be associated with the Hundred meeting site.[27] Probably referring to an ancient fortification or earthwork (OE *byrig*), the location of the site is now lost but the eleventh-century charter that confirms Fécamp's grant of the land refers to the site as *Beriminstre*.[28] Perhaps this suggests that the Hundred meeting place was at, or in proximity to, the minster Church and therefore the earthworks. That said, many Old English *burh* names refer to ancient sites such as Iron Age hillforts; this could easily place the meeting place upon the large neighbouring Bury Hill. In addition, the current Bury Church (St. John the Evangelist) has been dated to the eleventh or twelfth century; it is likely the product of Fécamp Abbey.[29] Therefore, even if the Hundred meeting site was at the Anglo-Saxon minster, it would not necessarily be in the location of the current church. Dating Anglo-Saxon churches in Sussex has always been

[25] H. Sutermeister, 'Burpham: A Settlement Site within the Saxon Defences', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 114 (1976), pp.194-296, *passim*. Sutermeister does argue for some economic activity though the arguments are contentious.
[26] Bleach & Gardiner, 'Medieval Markets and Ports', 43.
[27] O.S. Anderson, *The English Hundred-Names: The South-Eastern Counties*, Lunds Universitets Arsskrift, 37.1 (Lund, 1939), 79.
[28] Anderson, *The English Hundred-Names*, 79.
[29] Arun Churches, 'St John the Evangelist, Bury', *Arun Churches*, www.arunchurches.com, accessed 31 Aug 2016.

difficult however, due to the relatively poor level in stone masonry which shows very few characteristically Saxon features.[30]

This problem persists for the other churches in the Arun Valley, so linking them back to their Anglo-Saxon origins is difficult. Both Bury and Amberley are thought to be to be eleventh-century minsters,[31] although it is clear that Coldwaltham's and Houghton's churches are slightly later in origin (twelfth century). This is peculiar, considering that both Coldwaltham and Houghton were supposedly the earlier settlements in the area, due of their charter recordings. The two charters that mention these estates pre-date 957, which suggests that this area was reorganised under new centres at Bury and Amberley in either the late tenth or early eleventh centuries. This is supported by the fact that Houghton and Coldwaltham were not recorded separately in 1066. This also gives even more sustenance to Kelly's argument that the inclusion of Amberley is a later forgery, forged because of the newly emerged centre there.

Figure 14

Photograph of Amberley Church, likely dating from the early twelfth century.

[30] E.A. Fisher, *Saxon Churches of Sussex* (Newton Abbot, 1970), 13. Many features can easily be dated half a century either side of the Conquest.

[31] N. Rushton, 'The Parochialisation of Sussex 1000-1086-1291', in K. Leslie & B. Short (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Sussex* (Chichester, 2010), pp.36-7, 7. Although the evidence that has been used to support this is unclear.

Returning to commercial activity and importance, it is important to mention the Roman history of the area, and how this may have influenced the Anglo-Saxon development of the estates. The three main features/structures from this period that would have influenced the Saxon settlers were: The Roman villa at Bignor, the Roman way station/*mansio* at Hardham and the Roman road of Stane Street that runs north-south to the west (see Figure 15). Commencing with the Bignor Villa, it seems far from coincidental that this earlier centre of rural settlement lay immediately to the west of the Anglo-Saxon estates at Bury and Houghton. Its proximity to Bury is particularly interesting, for it is likely that Bury was made a Hundred meeting place because of its

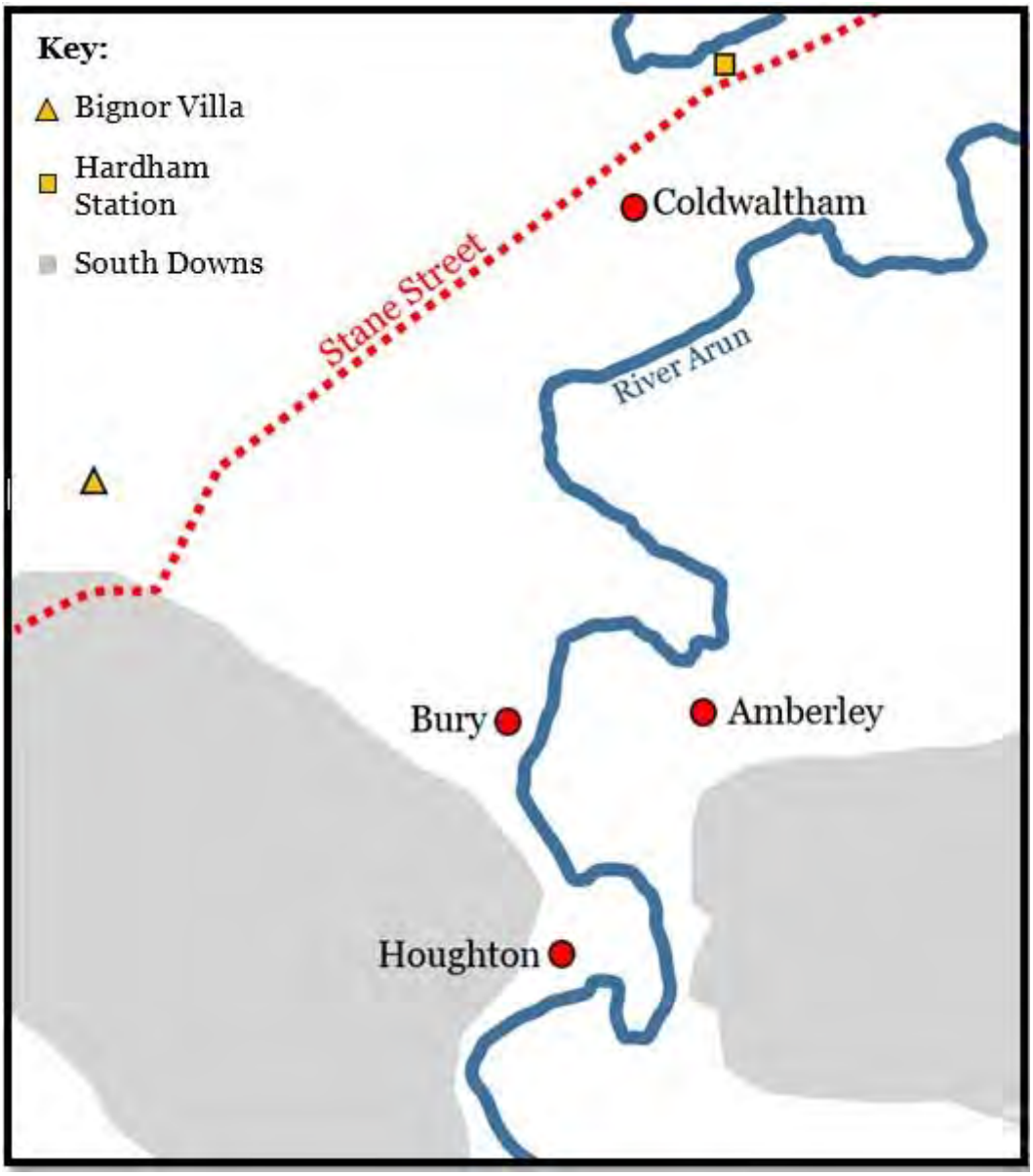

Figure 15

Map showing the location of Roman structures/features in the Arun Valley.

immediacy to this ancient site, as well as the River Arun. In addition, there is also evidence of a possible villa upon Bury Hill itself.[32]

In regards to the other two features of Roman origin, Stane Street and Hardham Station, they both represent the key importance of road communication not only in the Roman period but also throughout the Saxon Age. There is ample evidence that the Anglo-Saxons used the old Roman roads for transport and communication,[33] the clearest of which is reflected by the Old English place-names that span Stane Street.[34] Of course, there is little doubt that many of the stretches of Roman road fell into disrepair which would have prevented their use; though new routes to by-pass these areas are also evident from place-names.[35] Coldwaltham potentially represents one of these diversionary routes because of its intriguing proximity to Stane Street. It is quite evident from comparing the nineteenth-century tithe maps and the accepted course of Stane Street that is quite likely. Firstly, it is obvious that only sections of the road's course now survive as modern routes or field boundaries in both the Bury and Coldwaltham parishes, which would imply that the road was diverted in areas. Although, enough remains to be sure that the medieval field boundaries do consider the road. Secondly, the medieval route that passes through Coldwaltham is parallel to the former route of Stane Street, thus suggesting its origins as a diversion to Stane Street. This is supported by the fact that there is a more than suitable crossroad to where this alteration seems to have commenced (see Figure 16). Not only would the course of Stane Street have naturally flowed into this proposed route, but there were convenient routes that link Bury and the northern parishes of Coates and Fittleworth to this point. Even if this is not the case, the emergence of Coldwaltham in the *Weald*, even in the Early Saxon period (which is evident from the Cædwalla Charter), suggests it was quite accessible; it seems that this accessibility was provided by Stane Street. Indeed, perhaps this outside-link was a reason why Coldwaltham was granted to the Selsey bishops in 673, for the road runs directly to Chichester.

[32] Rudling, 'Roman Sussex', 25.

[33] J. Baker & S. Brookes, *Beyond the Burghal Hidage: Anglo-Saxon Civil Defence in the Viking Age* (Leiden, 2013), 140. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* often refers to the Roman roads as '*Herepaths*' which would imply that they were still regularly used.

[34] G.J. Copley, 'Stane Street in the Dark Ages', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 89 (1950), pp.98-104, 104. G. Gower, 'A Suggested Anglo-Saxon Signalling System between Chichester and London', *London Archaeologist*, Vol. 10:03 (2002), pp.59-63, *passim*.

[35] Copley, 'Stane Street', 104. A. Langlands, *Travel and Communication in the Landscape of Early medieval Wessex: Volume 1* (Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Winchester, 2013), 242.

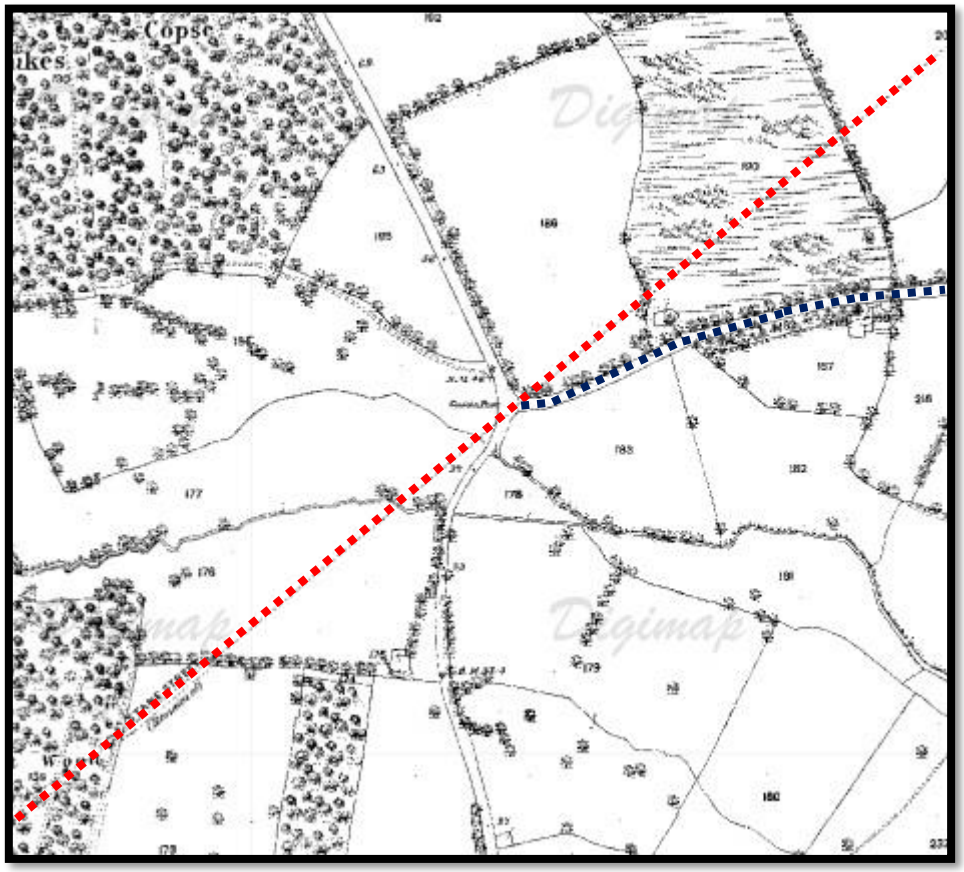

Figure 16

Map showing the commencement of the medieval diversion (blue) of Stane Street (red) towards Coldwaltham (eastern road). The north and south routes run to Fittleworth and Bury respectfully. Map is an edited form of 1870s OS map courtesy of EDINA, 'Ancient Roam', *Digimap*, accessed 04 September 2016, www.digimap.edina.ac.uk.

It seems quite evident that the Arun Valley held some significance in the wider Anglo-Saxon kingdom. This prominence originates from the area's ancient beginnings in the Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon periods. Although, the estate and later manor at Bury held particular importance, both as a royal holding and as a commercial port/landing site; the latter is apparent from its post-Conquest history. By this point however, Bury was on the decline in terms of status, having held a far greater one in the Anglo-Saxon period. Thus, it aligns with the model of inland Sussex centres such as Steyning decreasing in stature; this was due to not only various Norman reforms post-1066, but also the changing natural environment beforehand. Although, the charters to not mention the Bury estate, this seems to misrepresent its importance; for its absence from these records suggests that it was prized by the Anglo-Saxon royal household, and not granted to any lesser aristocrats or institutions. The same cannot be said for

both Houghton and Coldwaltham and possible Amberley also, although Amberley's status started to increase late in this period.

Conclusions

Altogether, each chapter has provided a different perspective on the estates of the Arun River Valley during the Late Saxon period. The first chapter established the environmental backdrop to the study area, both its immediate landscape and that of the entirety of Sussex. This was an essential foundation as the natural environment seems to have been the greatest influence on rural settlement in this area. The following two chapters were rather interchangeable for they both established the character of the human settlement on the Arun Valley, firstly in terms of expanse and then internal occupations. Chapter Two argued that certain medieval field systems were still attainable from tithe data despite the significant lack in Anglo-Saxon charter boundary evidence. Although, a genuine attempt was made to establish the extent of the estates within that landscape by assessing tithe maps and place-names. The other middling chapter identified the Arun Valley estates as fairly typical for Sussex, in terms of agricultural priorities (swine pasture and meadowland). However, this section also argued that the agricultural production of these estates was atypical in terms of quantity and that some certain unique features did exist. Finally, the political dimension of these estates as part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom was considered. The main argument here, and perhaps throughout the whole study, is that these estates were far more important and valued that one would initially expect. Instead, these supposedly rural and unimportant lands were central to a host of political episodes and conflicts in both the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. Indeed, this not only shed light on the estates being investigated but also on other historiographical disputes associated with these periods.

It was immediately clear, even prior to the substantial research into the Arun Valley, that the natural landscape and environment of Sussex had a profound effect of the character of the Arun Valley estates. Central to this was the River Arun, especially when historical accounts, as well as geological studies, suggest that the river was easily navigable and accessible in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[1] This was particularly important to the conclusive statements made for all the following chapters, for the river affected estate organisation, agriculture and transport/communications. It also became evident that the *Weald* was another feature that proved to be a massive influence of the Arun Valley, for the area served as a link between the *Weald* and the

[1] *ASC*, 893 (s.a. 894). Robinson, 'Coastal Changes', 8.

denser coastal settlements. This is an example of Gardiner's and Warne's relationship model between coastal manorial centres and their northern outlying lands, Selsey being the original centre from charter evidence.[2] The geology of the Arun Valley was also a key consideration in this chapter, especially considering the impact it seems to have had on the conclusions made in Chapter Three (see below). The soil kind and quality seems to have profoundly impacted the type and location of agriculture in this area.

In truth, the aim to accurately map the extent and boundaries of the Arun Valley estates was ambitious considering that the Cædwalla and Brihthelm charters were lacking boundary clauses and are subject to forgery indictments.[3] However, the tithe map data did provide much to consider, especially in terms of medieval field systems and their locations. This was particularly clear for the Amberley estate. Not only was it possible to identify the extent of the medieval field system here, but to also deem which side of the bipartite estate division areas were subject to. The ability to identify the lord's demesne land through individual name elements helped to locate the original estate centres, Amberley's seemingly being in the vicinity of the later thirteenth-century castle. Undoubtedly, this implies that the later medieval castle was a redevelopment of an earlier medieval centre. A similar case can be made for the Bury estate, the original centre being located to the west of the medieval church. However, it is near impossible to plot the original estate boundaries for the Arun Valley estates. Though, they were likely to have been relatively similar to the pre-1894 parish boundaries. Perhaps the lack of boundary evidence itself suggests that the Saxon inhabitants of this part of Sussex had little care (or need to care) for specific boundaries. An outlook that is reflected by the relatively wild and untamed surrounding environment. This is further support for Howe's argument that Anglo-Saxon "mapping" was extremely feature based, locations were relevant to the surrounding landscape.[4]

Through the process of comparing both tithe and Domesday data, the agricultural output of the Arun Valley estates has been assessed. It was immediately evident that the estates are a typical representation of the Sussex agrarian economy in the Anglo-Saxon period. This is particularly characterised by the large allocations of woodland and swine render in the Domesday records for each estate. Though the large

[2] Gardiner & Warne, 'Domesday Settlement', 34.
[3] Kelly, *CS*, *passim*.
[4] Howe, *Writing the Map*, 4.

allocations may also make them atypical. Again, the River Arun was central to this; it provided the damp conditions for both the flat meadowlands on its floodplain and the dense oak forests for swine pasture. Although not present in the place-names, it is fair to assume that the livestock was varied beyond just pigs, but would have probably included cattle and sheep also. The meadowland providing the fodder for the cattle and the now exposed down-lands grazing for the sheep. Thus, it is clear that late twentieth-century thought on this area as a desolate landscape needs to be reassessed further,[5] something that has already been started by Chatwin and Gardiner.[6] It is also quite apparent that the Bury and Amberley estates were certainly far more significant than both Houghton and Coldwaltham in the later Saxon period. This is evident from their Domesday records but also from evidence that surrounding parishes were included in their tithe award even into the nineteenth century.[7] These two larger estates are prime examples of what Reynolds refers to as 'multiple' estates, estates that were centres for a larger estate conglomeration.[8] These generally faded out during the tenth and eleventh centuries, but the estates in the Arun Valley seem to have been relatively immune from this. For Amberley, this was because of its relatively new (in the eleventh century that is) status as a multiple estate centre, and Bury's was undoubtedly a product of its status as a Hundred meeting site.

Indeed, the relatively high status of these estates, particularly Bury, originates in the Roman and Early-Medieval periods. The significant Roman and evident Early Saxon settlement of the area immediately suggests that area was of significant agricultural value.[9] However, considering the significantly deeper penetration of the sea inland during this period, the area probably had respectable access to the sea and therefore commercial value. Certainly, such a function (Bury in particular) is apparent from the Fécamp grant after the Conquest, considering the port function of both Rye and Steyning. This also explains the isolated royal estate at Bury and its exclusion from the grants to Selsey in the Cædwalla and Brihthelm charters. Goda's ownership of the estate before the Conquest suggests that the land was too valuable to donate to the Church, despite its obvious integration with, and dependency on, the other Arun estates. Herbert Finberg's thesis that control ecclesiastical estates was resumed by West Saxon kings because of the ninth and tenth century Viking threat would be

[5] Brandon, '*Andredesweald*', 141.
[6] Chatwin & Gardiner, 'Early Medieval Settlement of Woodlands', 31.
[7] See Rackham for Amberley and West Burton for Bury.
[8] Reynolds, *Life and Landscape*, 81.
[9] In terms of livestock and meadowland than arable so much.

applicable here,[10] though the fact that Bury was not granted to Selsey even in the seventh century suggests otherwise. Perhaps though, Bury was retained by the royal family even into the eleventh century as a pursuit of this policy. At the same time however, royal delegation of tenancy lacked any real consideration for local economies and processes, but was instead increasingly concerned with the political advance associated with such property endowments. Such policy seems to have intensified following the Norman Conquest, for the installation of foreign proprietors increased dramatically. This is expected considering the numerous strata of Anglo-Saxon aristocracy that William needed to replace, though isolated grants such as Bury to Fécamp demonstrates a failure to consider local economies and societies. Perhaps then, it would be wrong to assume that rural estates in both Late Anglo-Saxon and Early-Norman England were run so autocratically, especially if one considers the absentee lords installed by the royal elite.

[10] H.P.R. Finberg, *Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester, 1964), 221.

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