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Anglo-Saxon landscapes of the West Midlands

Della Hooke (pp. 3–23)

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ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co	Cornwall
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Nb	Northumberland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somerset
Wt	Isle of Wight
CPNE	<i>Cornish Place-Name Elements.</i>
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.</i>
PN Brk	<i>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Bu	<i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.</i>
PN Ca	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.</i>
PN Ch	<i>The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.</i>
PN Cu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN D	<i>The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Do	<i>The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Du	<i>The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.</i>
PN Ess	<i>The Place-Names of Essex.</i>
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.</i>
PN Gl	<i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Hrt	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.</i>
PN Le	<i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Li	<i>The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Mx	<i>The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).</i>
PN Nf	<i>The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.</i>
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.</i>
PN NRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.</i>
PN Nth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.</i>
PN O	<i>The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN R	<i>The Place-Names of Rutland.</i>
PN Sa	<i>The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–9.</i>
PN Sr	<i>The Place-Names of Surrey.</i>
PN St	<i>The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.</i>
PN Sx	<i>The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN W	<i>The Place-Names of Wiltshire.</i>
PN Wa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire.</i>
PN We	<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Wo	<i>The Place-Names of Worcestershire.</i>
PN WRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8.</i>

ANGLO-SAXON LANDSCAPES OF THE WEST MIDLANDS¹

In the West Midlands we are fortunate to have a large number of Anglo-Saxon charters for which there are detailed boundary clauses (Fig. 1). The Church of Worcester, in particular, was careful to delineate its estates in this way and to ensure the preservation of the documents, Worcestershire being second only to Kent in the number of surviving clauses. The beauty of these documents is that they provide a detailed picture of the topography which is rarely met with in such detail again until the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. As those who are familiar with them will know they contain the names and locations of streams and rivers, hills and valleys, in the most minute detail, and, added to the natural landscape, provide evidence of man's activity and his effect upon the landscape in the Anglo-Saxon period.

From an examination of charters it has been possible to show the sphere of influence of the Hwicce, a people of apparently mixed Anglian, Saxon and British origin, and to show that their kingdom extended over most of present-day Worcestershire, much of Gloucestershire and the western part of Warwickshire, roughly co-terminous with the Diocese of Worcester as established by the later seventh century.² It should be explained that no attempt has been made to refer to the most recent boundary changes on any of the accompanying maps which have continued to show the county boundaries as they were in the mid-sixties, or, occasionally, at the time of the Domesday survey, and that the term 'West Midlands' is used to refer to the three counties of Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Gloucestershire rather than to the modern creation of that name.

While place-names give the basic information about the character of an area, the clauses, where they exist, fill in the finer detail. It will be shown that the information to be derived from them is significantly more than a mere description of boundary landmarks. At first sight the latter seem almost overwhelming in their attention to local detail, and it might be asked what possible significance could be attached to knowing the existence and location of, for instance, an *Eorðmulena þorn*, a *Caerspytt* or a *Niðerbogenan Āc* - an 'earthnut thorn', a 'water-cress pit' and a 'bent-down oak-tree'.³

1. Adapted from a contribution to the Tenth Name Studies Conference held at the University of Durham in April, 1978. The author wishes to thank Dr. M. Gelling and Mr. T.R. Slater for their continued help and encouragement throughout the course of this work.
2. A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire IV*, English Place-Name Society (hereafter E.P.N.S.) XLI (1965) 31; M. Wilson, 'The Hwicce', pps. 20-25 of P. Barker (Ed) 'The Origins of Worcester', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society* (hereafter T.W.A.S.) 3rd ser. 2 (1968-9).
3. S 216, S 64, S 1395; see charters in P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters, an Annotated List and bibliography* (London 1968).

Landmarks of archaeological significance are of more obvious interest. The numerous routeway features which occur in the clauses may be located with precision if the latter can be solved, and the road pattern reconstituted over large areas of countryside. It is possible to show how routeways focussed upon the urban centre of Worcester (Fig. 2) and how many of these were *stræt* routes which appear to have been major routeways, probably of superior status to *weg* routes in both function and composition.⁴ Some of them certainly developed from former Roman roads and, while three of those in the area were known to be of Roman origin, recent excavations have now identified the *Stræte* leaving the town in the south-east also as a Roman route.⁵ Moving into an earlier period a number of *burh* sites such as *Ceadweallan Byrig* on the highest point of a ridge overlooking the Avon valley⁶ show that the pattern of early fortifications as it is at present known is by no means complete. Also, the charters, in referring to a number of Iron Age hillforts as *urbs antiqua*,⁷ show an understanding of the nature of these features only recently realized by archaeologists.

One of the main difficulties concerning the study of charters is the interpretation of the terminology used. It is in this field that the charters may be able to provide additional information in that the features can often be located fairly accurately and a comparison may be made with archaeological data and surface evidence. While conclusions can rarely be definite at least plausible suggestions of meanings may be made.

It is interesting to note, for instance, that an increasing number of *hlāw* sites are being identified with actual burials, and that moreover, these burials are usually of Anglo-Saxon date (Fig. 3). The discovery of a remarkably rich Saxon burial in the barrow of Taplow in Buckinghamshire is well-known,⁸ and Bonney refers to a richly furnished late Saxon grave found at *Posses Hlæwe* in Wiltshire,⁹ and these are not alone. Cameron explains that at least thirty of the seventy names incorporating *hlāw* or 'low' in Derbyshire can be identified as burial tumuli,¹⁰ and Meaney shows that seventeen of these have yielded evidence of Anglo-Saxon burial, often of a secondary nature.¹¹ Only a few years ago in Staffordshire a tumulus known as Wardlow on Wredon Hill, Ramshorn, was excavated in advance of

4. D. Hooke, 'The Reconstruction of Ancient Roadways'; *The Local Historian* 12 (1977) 212-220; figure 2 is reproduced by kind permission of *The Local Historian*.

5. S 1329; details of a Roman road leaving the city on this alignment are to be found in M.O.H. Carver, 'Worcester, Sidbury'; *West Midlands Archaeological News Sheet* (hereafter W.M.A.N.S.) 19 (Dept. of Extramural Studies, University of Birmingham 1976) 42.

6. S 1591a

7. Eg. S 84, Daylesford, Gloucestershire.

8. A. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo Saxon Burial Sites* (London 1964) 59.

9. D.J. Bonney, 'Early Boundaries in Wessex', p. 173 of P.J. Fowler (Ed) *Archaeology and the Landscape: Essays for L.V. Grinsell* (London 1972).

10. K. Cameron *English Place Names* (London 1961) 123.

11. A. Meaney *op. cit.* 72-80.

of quarrying and found to contain at least four Saxon inhumation burials.¹² In Gloucestershire early reports of a tumulus called *Hættles Lawe* in Upper Swell are confused, but the barrow, Pole's Wood East long barrow, was found to contain three intrusive pagan Saxon burials when opened in the nineteenth century.¹³ In Warwickshire a *Lytlan Hlawe* upon the bounds of Long Itchington appears to have been located in precisely the spot at which gravel-diggers uncovered Anglo-Saxon graves in 1876,¹⁴ and other graves were discovered in the later nineteenth century on the site of *Doddan Læw* in Warwick.¹⁵

In Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon burials have been found at two charter *hlāw* sites. Four place-name sites have also produced similar evidence - *Pelgrimsloae*, a former tumulus upon the Watling Street in the north-east of the county,¹⁶ *Tremelau* in Lighthorne,¹⁷ Rowley House near Stratford¹⁸ and Blacklow Hill in Leek Wootton.¹⁹ If the identification of *hlāw* as an Anglo-Saxon burial site on a large number of occasions could be shown to be correct the implications would be far-reaching, for although Anglo-Saxon pagan burials remain most frequent in the areas where they are now known - namely Warwickshire and the Avon Valley, with a secondary grouping on the Cotswold escarpment, the charters and place-names would suggest much further penetration by the pagan Anglo-Saxons into the West Midlands.

The main aspect to be stressed in this paper, however, is the use of charter evidence to supplement place-name evidence in furthering an understanding of the Anglo-Saxon countryside, and use has been made of a technique long familiar to place-name scholars - namely the construction of distribution maps of particular features.

It does not seem coincidental that features associated with agriculture are most abundant in particular restricted areas, and that the distribution is not the result of land ownership or charter date. The area of south-east Worcestershire, mid-Warwickshire and north-east Gloucestershire stands out in this respect, notably the south bank of the Avon in Worcestershire and Warwickshire and the valleys of the Evenlode and its tributaries in

12. L.H. Barfield, Wredon Hill, Ramshorn, *Staffs W.M.A.N.S.* 18 (1975) 56.
13. S 1026; A. Meaney *op.cit.* 93.
14. S 898; A. Meaney *op.cit.* 262.
15. S 967; see under Leamington, Emacote in Ordnance Survey *Britain in the Dark Ages*, 2nd edn. (Southampton 1966) 39.
16. A. Meaney, *op.cit.* 259; A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Warwickshire*, *E.P.N.S.* XIII (1936) 104-5.
17. A. Meaney, *op.cit.* 217 under Lighthorne; for the possible identification of the place-name see A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *op.cit.* 247.
18. Ordnance Survey Records, Warwick County Museum; A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *op.cit.* 241.
19. W.J. Ford, Blacklow Hill, Warws. *W.M.A.N.S.* 14 (1971) 21-22; A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *op.cit.* 191.

Gloucestershire. Figure 4 shows the Gloucestershire evidence. Particular care has been taken with the choice of terms accepted as of agricultural significance, such terms as *hēafod* and even *æcer* being dismissed unless there is direct evidence of agricultural use. One term stands out as being particularly illustrative of this type of development – this is *furh*, 'a furrow' (Fig. 5).

When literary evidence is examined the term *furh* does indeed appear to have been used regularly in a farming context. Ælfric writes that *se yrŕlincg amryð his furuh gif hē locað to lange under-baec*, 'the husbandman marreth his furrow if he looketh too long backward'²⁰ and the Leechdoms refer in the *Æcerbot* to the charm the ploughman should say: *þonne man þa sulh forð drife*, and *þa forman furh onsceote*, 'then let one drive forward the plough and cut the first furrow'.²¹ The term appears consistently to describe the furrow opened up by the plough.

Many of the furrows noted in the charters lie alongside later medieval open field systems. In Broadway, Worcestershire, for instance, a large open field called Shear Field extended to the parish boundary to meet the open fields of the neighbouring parish of Willersey at the line marked in the eleventh century by a *Fura*.²² In the eighteenth century the inhabitants were reminded that they were legally obliged to maintain the hedges and ditches which bounded Shear Field²³ and today a deep ditch lying between double banks can still be seen on the upper slopes of the escarpment although it is less distinct at lower levels, the furrow running down the scarp slope towards the Vale of Evesham below. Similar associations of later open fields and *furh* landmarks are seen elsewhere and the charters suggest that the association is often an ancient one. In *Caldinccotan*, which was an estate in Bredon in southern Worcestershire, the furrow ran *anbutan þ Heafod Lond*, 'around the headland', as if it marked the boundary of the latter, and the same charter records that a furrow bounded *þæs Bisceopes At Londes*, 'the bishop's oat lands'.²⁴ *Þære Furh* of Evenlode is shown by a second charter of that estate to have run alongside *Rahulfes Furlung quae est in campo de Euneode*, 'Rahulf's furlong which is in the field of Evenlode'.²⁵

Although there is some suggestion that the furrows aided drainage both water furrows and dry furrows are noted and virtually all of them seem to have run along the boundaries rather than across them, as if boundary demarcation was their prime function. Gelling shows that in Berkshire they occasionally seem to be cutting through pre-existing field systems.²⁶ More

20. Ælfric's Metrical Lives of the Saints, in W.W. Skeat (Ed), *Early English Text Society* 76, 82 (1881, 1885) 349.

21. O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Star-Craft of Early England I Rolls Series* (London 1864) 404.

22. S 786.

23. Broadway Inclosure Award 1771, Shire Hall, Worcester, AI 647.2 (642).

24. S 1347.

25. S 1325, S 1548.

26. M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire III*, E.P.N.S. LI (1976) 627.

Interestingly, in the West Midlands the furrows seem to have been driven over land already cleared for arable in Romano-British times (Fig. 6). Broadway was an estate where the medieval village developed upon an earlier settlement site,²⁷ and the *Furena* of the Evesham charter extended along the southern boundary of Wickhamford immediately adjacent to a Romano-British farmstead site²⁸. In addition to those shown in Figure 5 furrows in areas of Romano-British settlement are known in the same general area in Blishton and Longdon in Warwickshire²⁹ and Naunton and Maugersbury in Gloucestershire,³⁰ and this seems to be the very area where Romano-British farmsteads were most prolific. It also appears to have been an area of intensive agriculture in the later Anglo-Saxon period.

On the north bank of the Avon intensively farmed land rapidly gave way to settlement interspersed with areas of woodland, with the *fyrh* of *Flefer* gradually merging into the area of the later Feckenham Forest. This name survives in the parish-names of Flyford Flavell and Grafton Flyford. *Lēah* place-names are abundant across the whole western two-thirds of the county of Worcestershire, many of the gaps in Figure 6 actually representing the areas of densest woodland in which settlement was limited. Whatever the true nature of the *lēah* itself, as a place-name it indicated settlement within a wooded countryside,³¹ and where it gave rise to the parish name, indicated on Figure 7 by larger symbols, must have been the most prominent characteristic.

Within the west of the present county Worcester sat at the centre of a riverine estate based upon the Severn Valley. This study will examine not the heartland of this area but its fringes because here charters give further insight into a zone where agricultural communities had penetrated an area of former woodland and where active assarting was probably taking place. Place-names reveal that this area lay on the fringe of the *lēah* belt with a handful of such names in evidence, but the charters show a great concentration of such features (Fig. 8). Oddly, in areas of *lēah* place-names, charters are not full of *lēah*-type landmarks, for they are most abundant in the boundary clauses in this fringe zone where the parish name is often of a *tūn* or topographical type.

In this particular area place-names show that farming communities bearing *tūn* or topographical names had become established around the margins of a north-south ridge which formed the watershed between streams draining north-westwards into the River Salwarpe and southwards into the Bow Brook (Fig. 9). The place-names Oddingley and Crowle, 'the *lēah* of the

27. C.N.S. Smith, 'A Prehistoric and Roman site at Broadway, *T.W.A.S.* 23 (1946) 63.

28. S 1599; J.H. Turner, *Register of Countryside Treasures* (Worcester County Planning Department, Worcester 1973) 71.

29. Ordnance Survey records, Warwick County Museum.

30. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England, *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the County of Gloucester I Iron Age and Romano British monuments in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds* (London H.M.S.O. 1976).

31. A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements II*, *E. P. N. S.* XXVI (1970) 18-22.

people of Odda' and 'the *leah* in a nook of land', suggest that the higher land remained wooded and there was sufficient woodland for Crowle in 1086 to have woodland pasture for a hundred swine. The additional number of crosses shown on Figure 8, representing *lēah* names contained in boundary clauses, is particularly noteworthy. Almost every estate for which details are preserved in the clauses had *lēah* features upon its bounds. References to woodland and boundary clauses giving the limits of areas of woodland also indicate an abundance of uncleared although not necessarily unmanaged land.

The *leah* features bear a variety of names. *Beccan Leahe*, *Snoddes Lea* and *Uffan Lege* are the *leah* of Becca, Snodd and Uffa; *Ceafor Leahe* may be 'the *leah* of the beetles', although in Gloucestershire this also appears as a personal name.³² The *Deor Leage* of Oddingley was probably 'a *lēah* frequented by deer'. We even have some indication of the nature of the *lēah* itself, for this term originally meant 'woodland' but eventually came to mean 'a clearing within woodland'. The *Wulleleah* and *Ac Wudu* of Salwarpe are described quite specifically in the charters as *Tuam Wudan*, or 'two woods', and in Smite we seem to see the regeneration of woodland in the *þornleāge* and *Ympan Leāge*, 'the *lēah* of the thorn-trees' and 'of the young saplings' respectively. Others, however, such as the *Scipene Lea* 'the glade with a cow-shed', and the *Wad Leage* or 'clearing where woad grows', in Himbleton, suggest more open, if rough, land. But here, too, the charters state that the boundary runs through *Efna Lea* 'the flat or level *lēah*' in Himbleton, as if it were a wood. It is likely that woodland could be cleared and subsequently allowed to revert, but whether this was a process reflecting the occasional periodic removal of the trees for agricultural or pastoral purposes as part of a deliberate policy is not clear. Certainly woodland in Anglo-Saxon times came under increasing pressure in this area not only from colonists but from the industrial requirements such as the provision of fuel for the expanding salt industry of Droitwich, which, by the tenth century, was using wood from Bradley some distance to the east of this area and over five miles away from Droitwich itself.³³

This is the very area where hedges were most numerous (Fig. 10), perhaps keeping woodland animals from the growing crops. A *Rah Hege* or 'roe-deer hedge' ran along the eastern boundary of Oddingley and another in Libbery in Grafton Flyford.³⁴ If woodland here was sufficient for the area to be taken into the King's Forest after the Conquest,³⁵ development was active enough for these parts of the Forests of Ombersley and Horewell to be disafforested in 1301, leaving only Feckenham to remain as Forest until

32. A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire IV*, E.P.N.S. XLI (1963) 205: These names are translated and the meaning of *lēah* discussed by C. Johansson, *Old English Place-Names and Field-names containing lēah* (Stockholm 1975). The names appear in the following charters: S 786, S 1591, S 219, S 1597, S 1339, S 1373, S 1593.

33. S 1301.

34. S 1297, S 786.

35. F.J. Mookhouse, 'Worcestershire', p. 246 of H.C. Darby and I.B. Terrett (Eds) *The Domesday Geography of Midland England* (Cambridge 1954)

relatively modern times.³⁶ This is still a well-wooded area with the hamlets of timber-framed cottages reflecting an abundance of timber well into the seventeenth century and with some of the finest timber-framed houses found in the county.

As a third and final example of an area in which charters reveal landscape details a brief examination will be made of an area which seems to have been more densely wooded and considerably less developed. For this we move west of the River Severn to the fringes of the Hwiccan kingdom where woodland seems to have been dense from the foothills of the Malverns northwards to the Forests of Wyre. The boundary surveyors were often forced to fall back upon rather vague natural features for their boundary landmarks in this region, especially ridges, marshes and streams. However, one man-made feature stands out as showing a marked restriction to this kind of area – the *Haga* (Fig. 11).

This term has proved particularly troublesome, for, as a feature in boundary clauses, it seems to be repeatedly linked with dense woodland and with the capture of deer. Indeed the term *haga* was used in medieval times synonymously with 'deer-park', and in this sense is used, for example, in a reference to an enclosed deer-park in Worsley in the Gloucestershire parish of Wotton under Edge in the twelfth century.³⁷ This sense may also be indicated in the eleventh century will of Thurstan granting land in Essex – *ic an mine cnihtes þat wude at Aungre butan þat derhage 7 þat stod þe ic þer habbe* 'I give to my pages the wood at Ongar, except the deer-park and the stud which I have there'.³⁸ The antiquity of this particular enclosure is suggested by the fact that the parish boundary appears to deviate to follow the park outline.³⁹ But the game enclosure in a legal sense was not to become a fully fledged phenomena before the late Saxon period,⁴⁰ and it would be presumptuous to interpret the term precisely in this way. The *haga* was, however, probably to be equated with the Norman *haia* which appear in the Domesday assessment. In this area they often occur in exactly the same places. The boundary of Upton-on-Severn, for instance, ran along a *Hagan* in 962 AD, a *haia* is recorded in the adjoining parish of Hanley Castle in 1086, and medieval evidence suggests that the early *haga* coincided with the boundary of the main Castle deer-park.⁴¹ We are told that the Domesday *haia* features were used for the capture of deer and such a use in no way contradicts the

36. J. West, 'The Forest Offenders of Medieval Worcestershire', *Folk Life* 2 (1964) 81.

37. A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire II*, E.P.N.S. XXXIX (1964) 257.

38. B. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici* (1865) 574.

39. O. Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London 1976) 143.

40. Game laws are fully discussed in J.M. Gilbert, *Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh 1975).

41. S 1300; J.H. Round, 'The Text of the Worcestershire Domesday', p. 323 in *Victoria County History, Worcestershire I* (Westminster 1901); A. Spilman, pp. 94-95 of *V.C.H. Worcs. IV* (1924).

normal translation of *haga* as 'a fence or a fenced enclosure'.⁴² Some linear feature of considerable strength seems to be implied, one which was utilized during the hunting of deer and perhaps protected certain areas from woodland animals; there are references in the West Midlands to a *Wulfhaga* or 'wolf fence'.⁴³ Medieval writers explain how beaters with dogs were used to drive deer in woodland hunts and how the hounds were unleashed as soon as the beast has passed, forcing the game towards the archers or towards nets in the openings of a *hay* or *fence*.⁴⁴ Such *hays* were created in later deer-parks, and probably represented a continuation of an earlier practice.

Figure 12 shows an area to the north-west of Worcester where *tūn* and topographical-named settlements, plus a number of *wīc* settlements, are restricted to an area immediately west of the river. Beyond that, *lēah* names indicate widespread woodland and it is in this less developed area that the western boundaries of the individual estates pass along *haga* fences. As to the physical nature of the *haga*, an estate in Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, is bounded by a massive bank and ditch where the charter records a *Merhagan* or 'boundary fence',⁴⁵ and although this particular bank is cut by a nineteenth century sluice gate it is of the type often connected with a medieval deer-park. However, other *haga* localities in the area have been searched in vain for further decisive field evidence and it seems more likely that the *haga* was a type of fence.⁴⁶ The use of the word *haga* to describe hawthorn may suggest the use of thorns as part of the barrier and certainly not all *haia* were permanent features, for the Shropshire Domesday folios refer specifically to some being 'fixed hays'.⁴⁷ Even today quite weak palisade fences appear to be sufficient to enclose deer on many parks.⁴⁸

It may be asked whether there is any connection between the *hagan* of the woodlands and the *hagan* of the urban centres, which were urban properties. A possible link may be envisaged in the physical nature of the *haga* boundary and perhaps its association with defence. A passage in the Munster Cosmograph⁴⁹ gives unique details of the construction of a *haga*, describing circular enclosures surrounded by a double wall of logs enclosing a core of stones and clay, carrying twigs which grew into a living hedge. While there is no archaeological record of a property boundary of such strength the *hagan* in West Midland centres were limited to those towns developed as fortified *burh* sites, and in Worcester were initially large plots of land immediately within the new walls.⁵⁰

42. T.N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Supplement* (Oxford 1921) 501.

43. S 766.

44. J.M. Gilbert, *op.cit.* Appendix C.5.

45. S 1531; first examined by M. Aston (unpubl.).

46. It is hoped to publish a more comprehensive study of this feature than is possible here in the near future.

47. V.A. Saunders, 'Shropshire', p. 139 of H.C. Darby and I.B. Terrett *op.cit.*

48. A wooden palisade-fence survives around the deer-park of Charlecote House, Charlecote, Warwickshire.

49. S. Munster, *Cosmographiae Universalis Libri VI* (Basle 1554) 857-8.

50. S 1280, S 1297.

This takes the study away, however, from a concern with the rural landscape and it is this which is most accurately revealed by this type of evidence. Degrees of development and perhaps quite different types of development may be suggested across the Hwiccan kingdom. Above all, the landscape, even at this early date, was a long way removed from primeval forest. With its woodlands and undrained marshes it was also a long way from the tamed landscape we know today, but it was obviously a man-made landscape, and, in the words of the historian R.V. Lennard,⁵¹ England was even then 'an old country'.

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51. R.V. Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135* (Oxford 1959) 3.

WEST MIDLAND CHARTERS WITH BOUNDARY CLAUSES

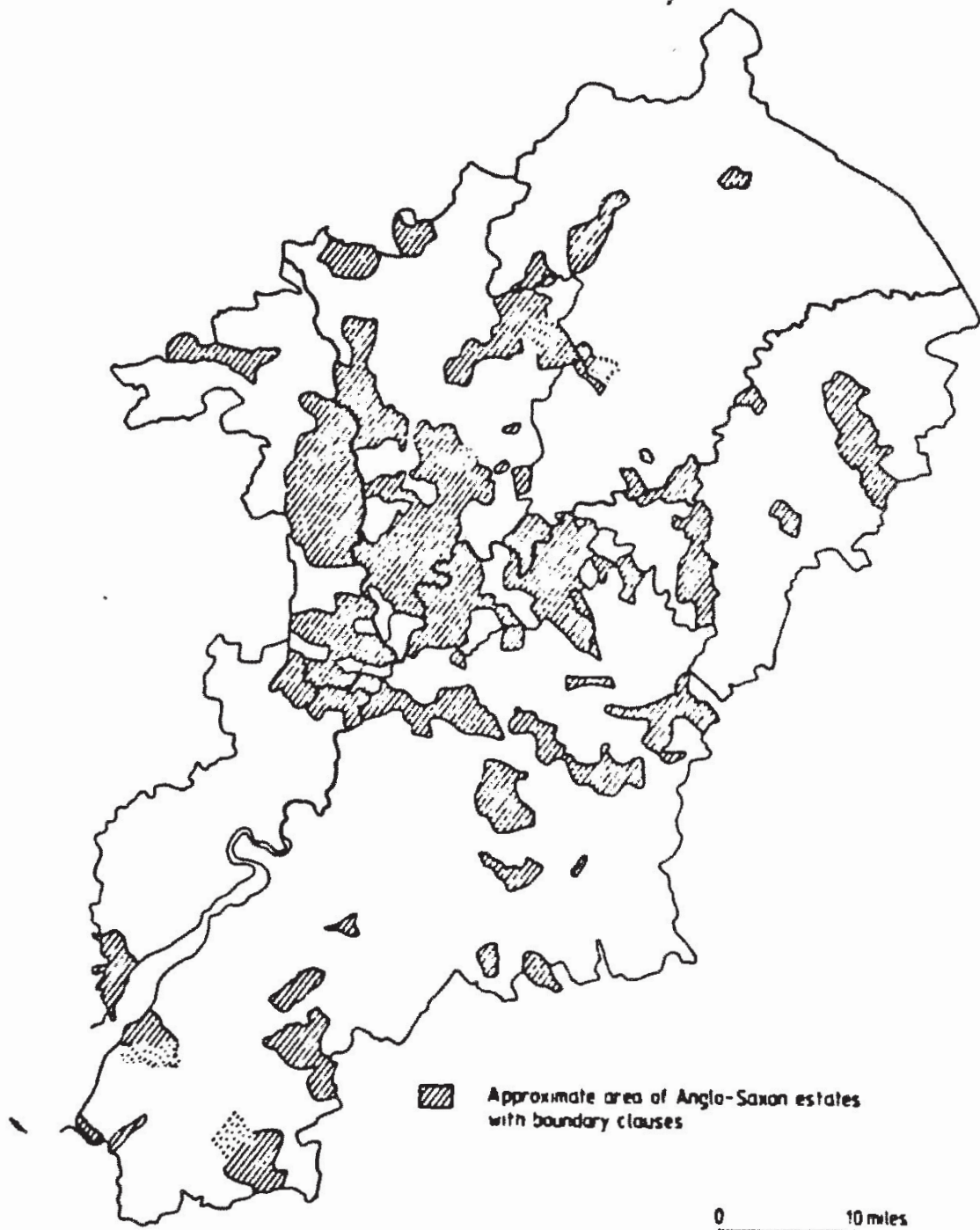


Fig. 1.

EARLY ROUTEWAYS NEAR WORCESTER

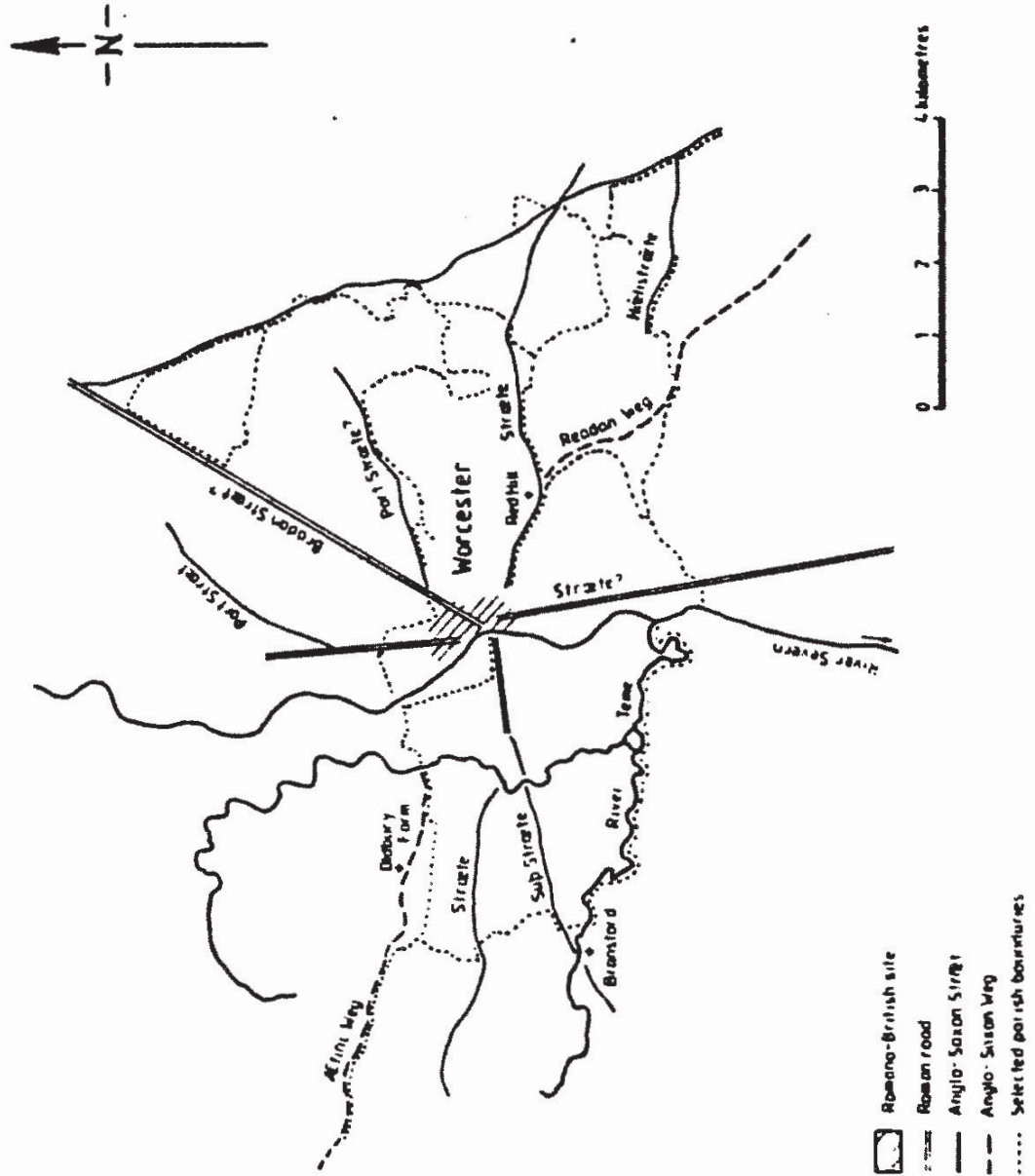


Fig. 2.

HLAW, HLÆW, IN THE WEST MIDLANDS



Fig. 3.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE CHARTER TERMS



Fig. 4.

FURH IN WEST MIDLAND CHARTERS

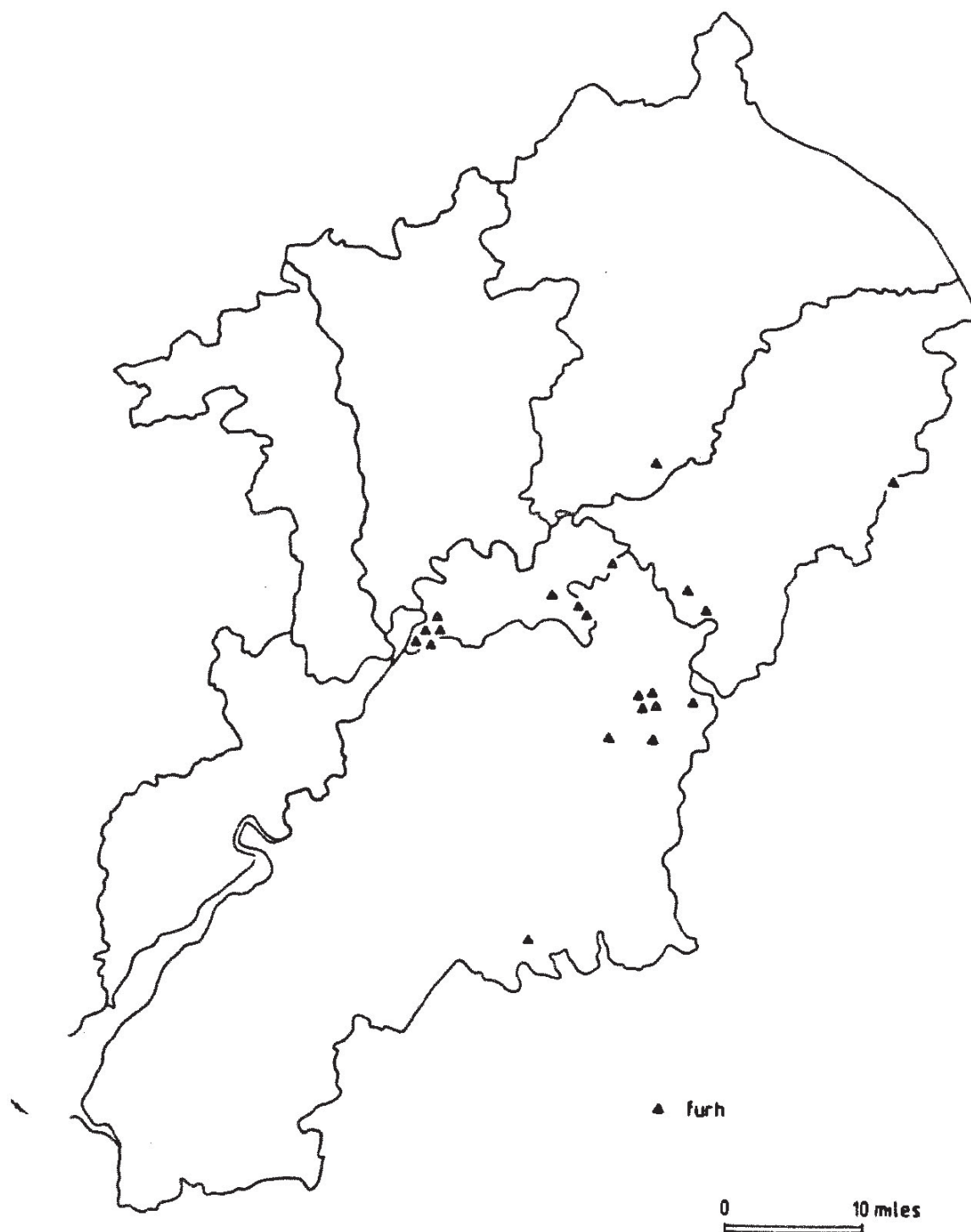


Fig. 5.

THE EVESHAM AREA

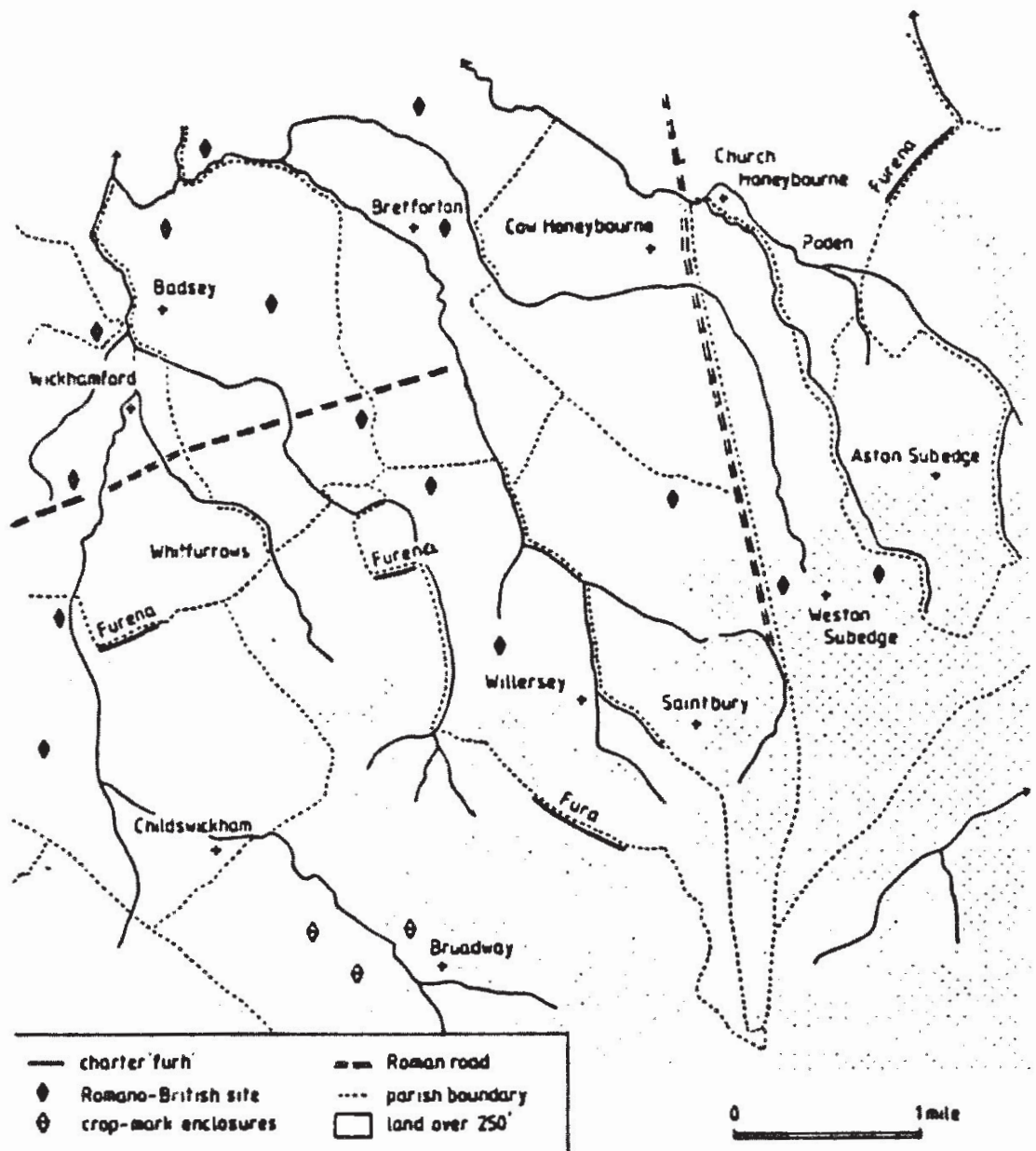


Fig. 6.

WORCESTERSHIRE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE lēah

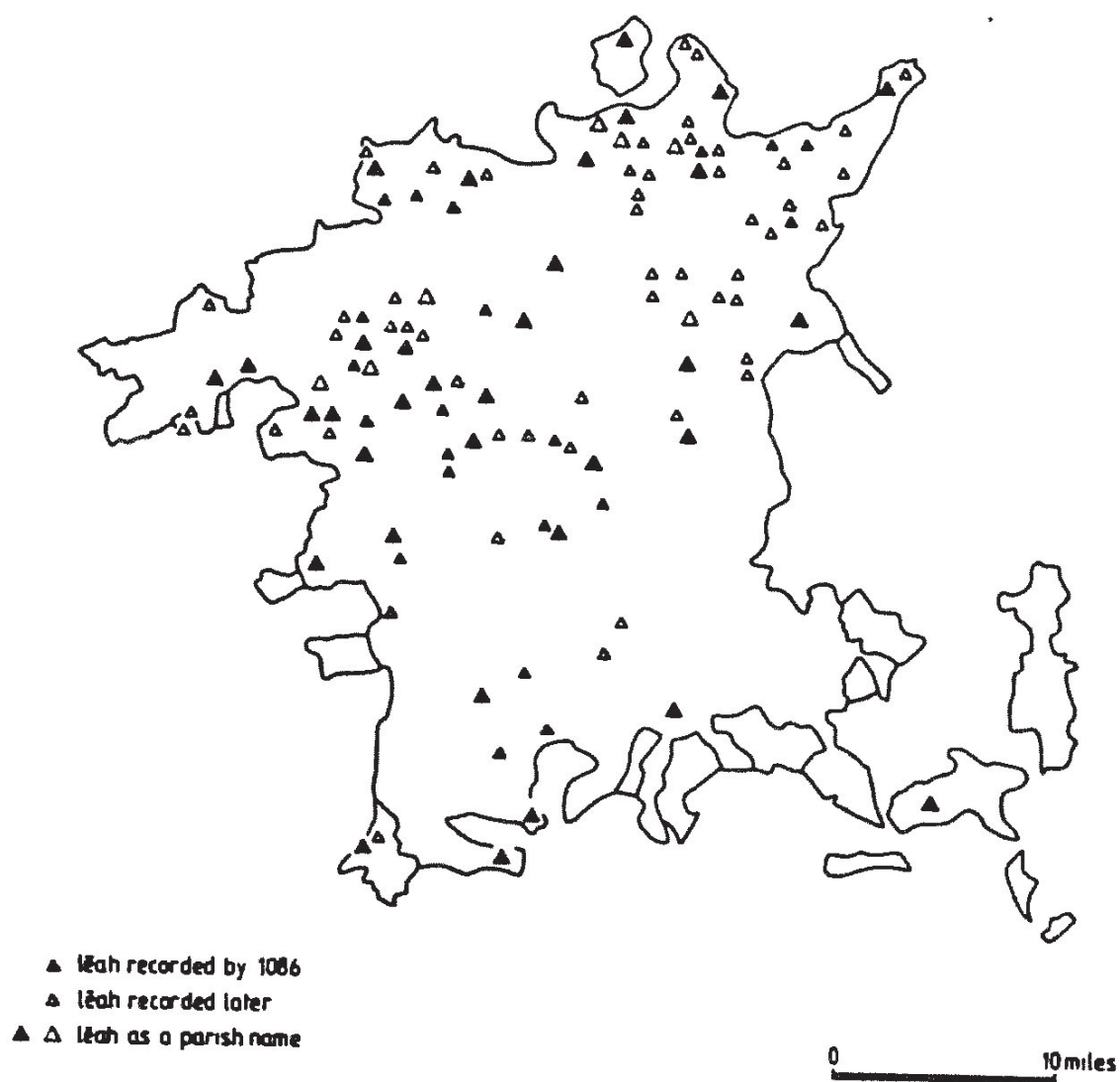


Fig. 7.

WORCESTERSHIRE CHARTER TERMS lēah

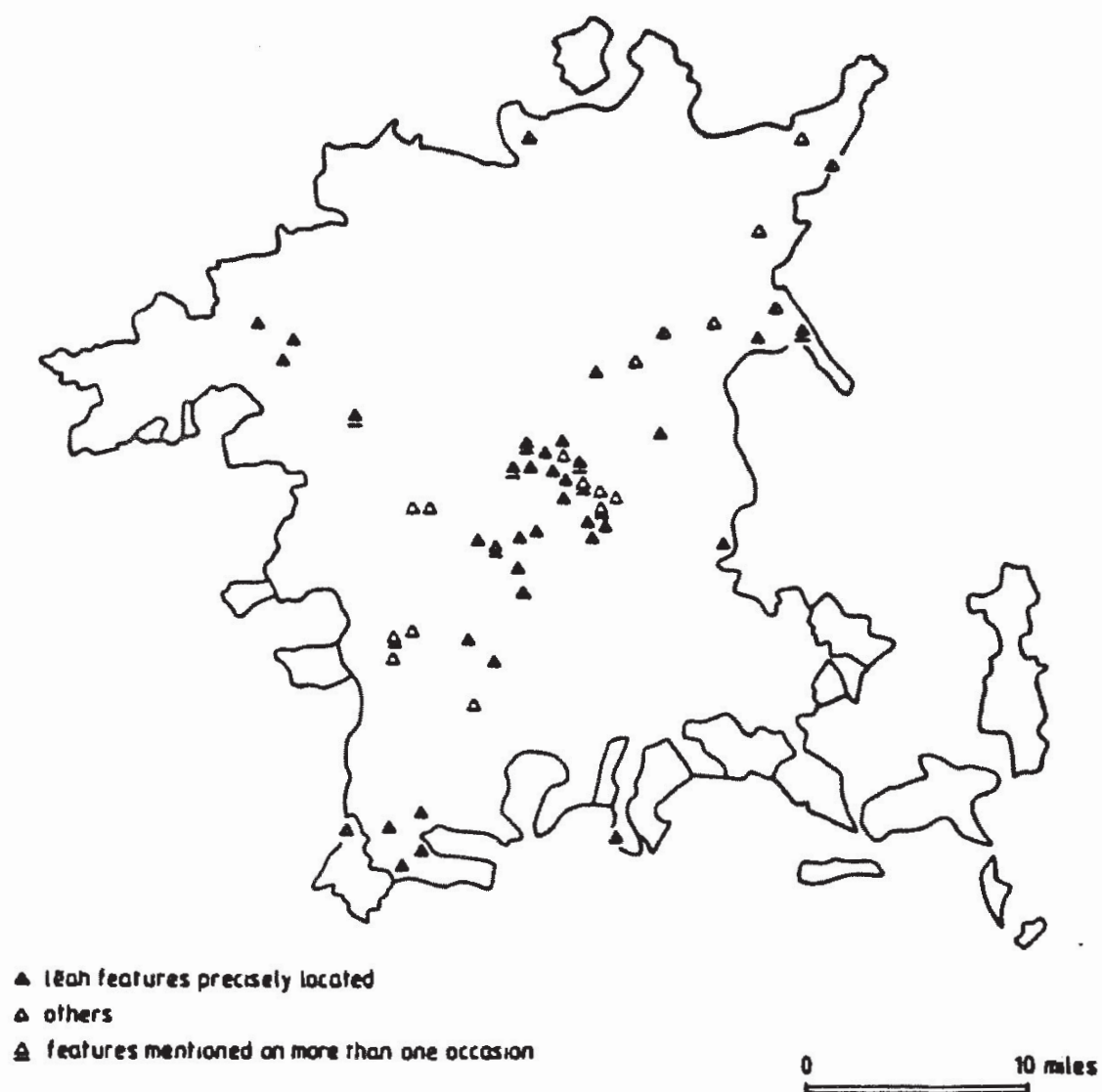


Fig. 8.

MID-WORCESTERSHIRE ESTATES

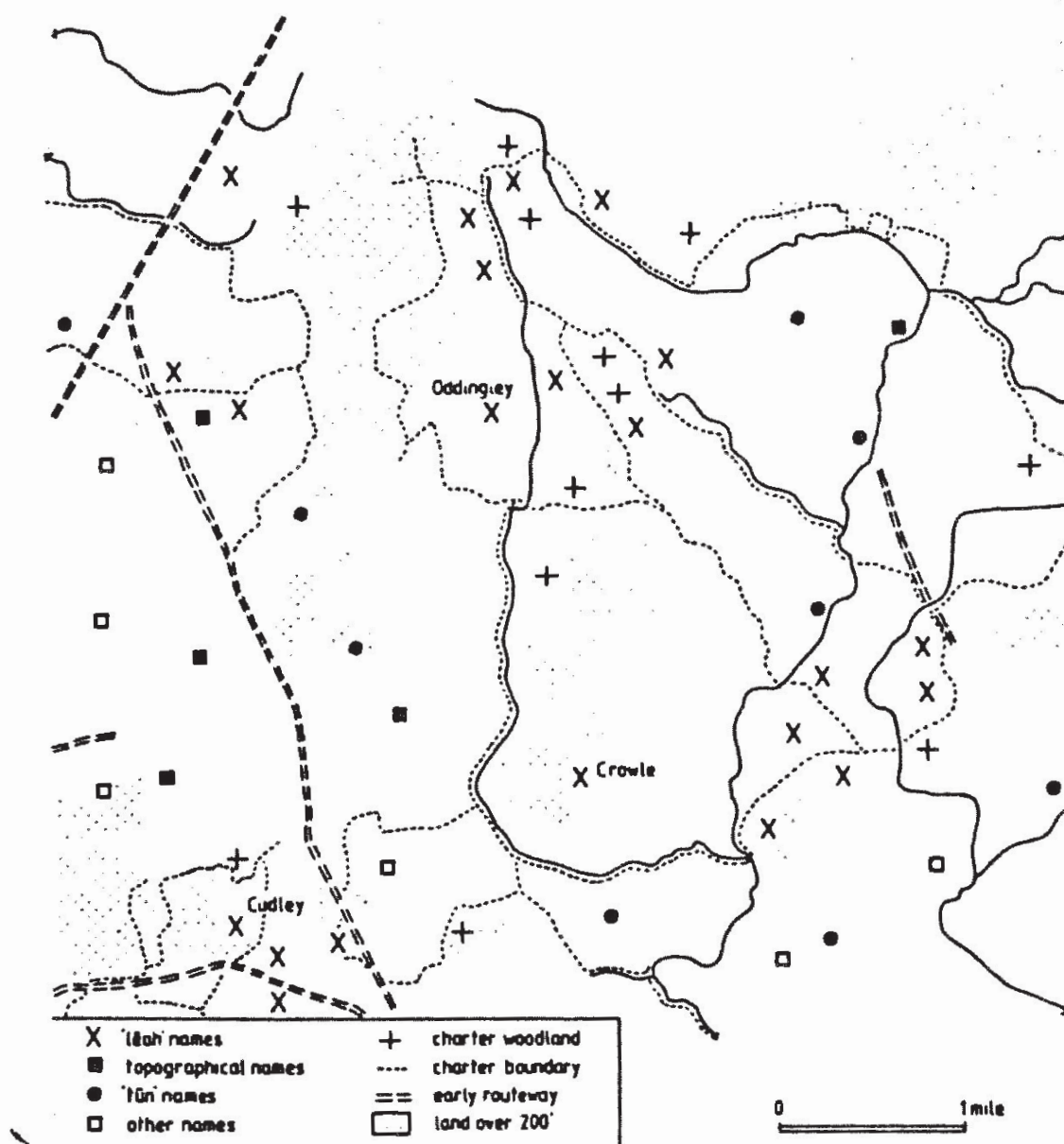


Fig. 9.

WORCESTERSHIRE CHARTER TERMS
hecg, hecge, hege

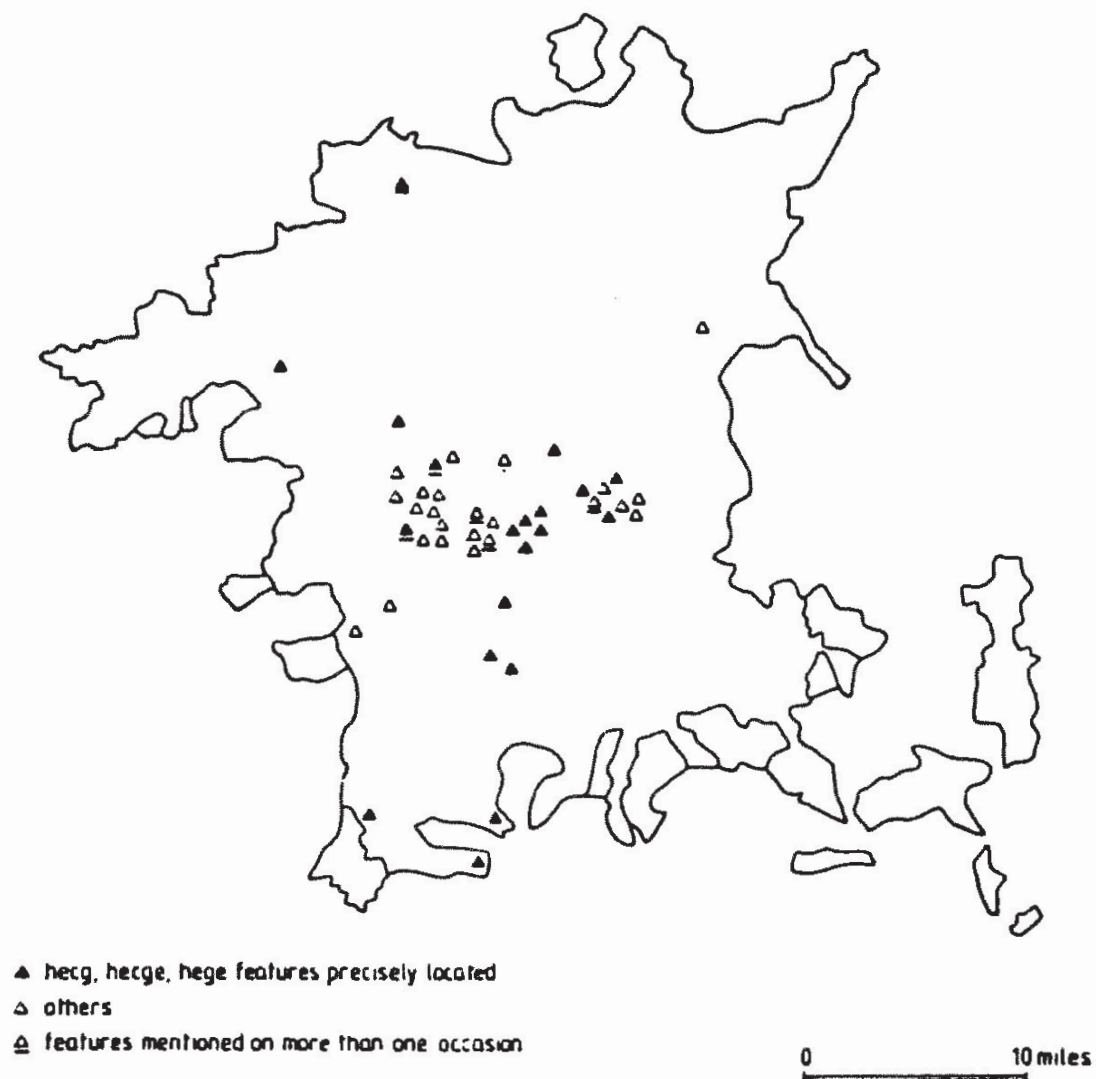


Fig. 10

HAGA, HAGEN IN THE WEST MIDLANDS

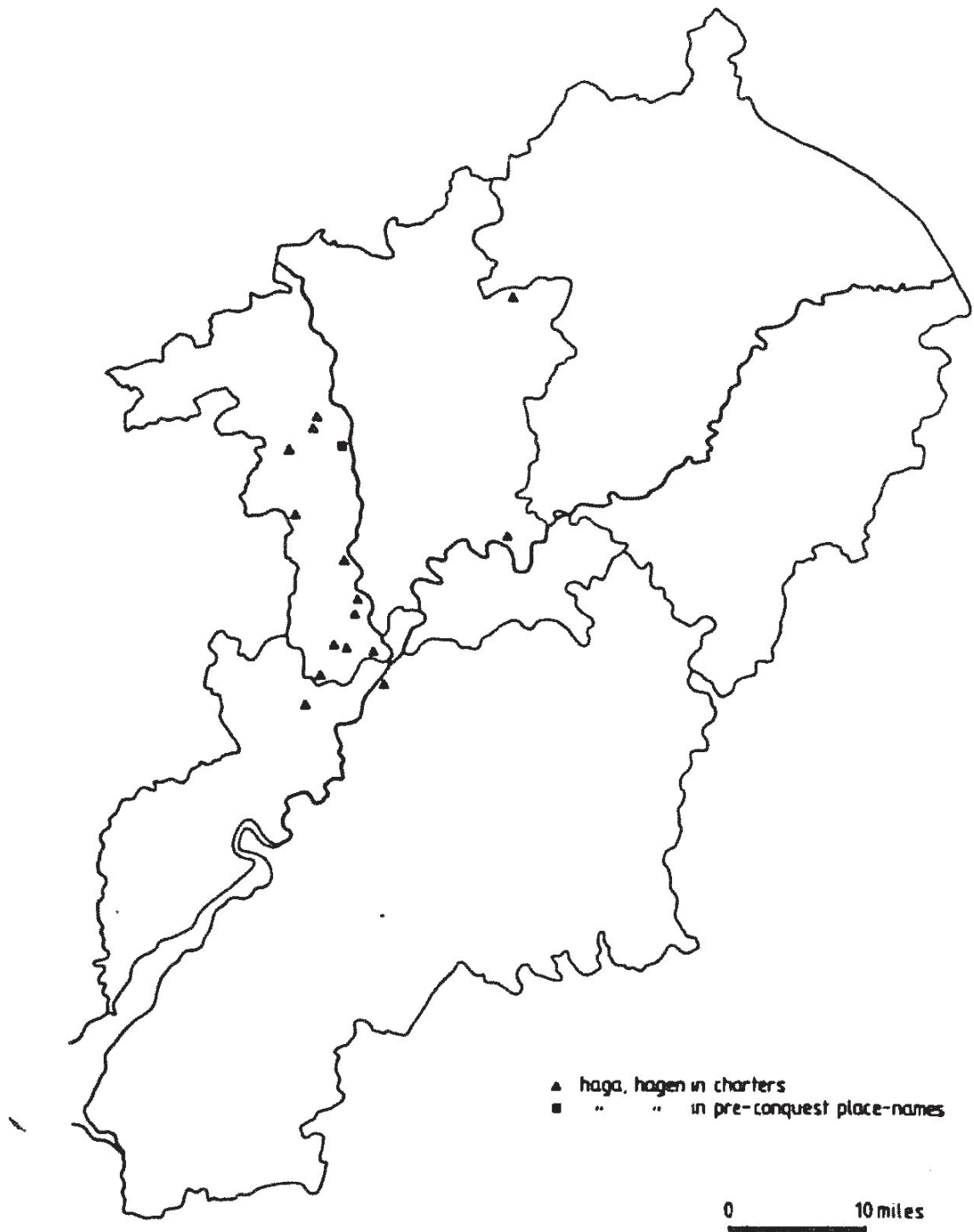


Fig. 11.

WICAN

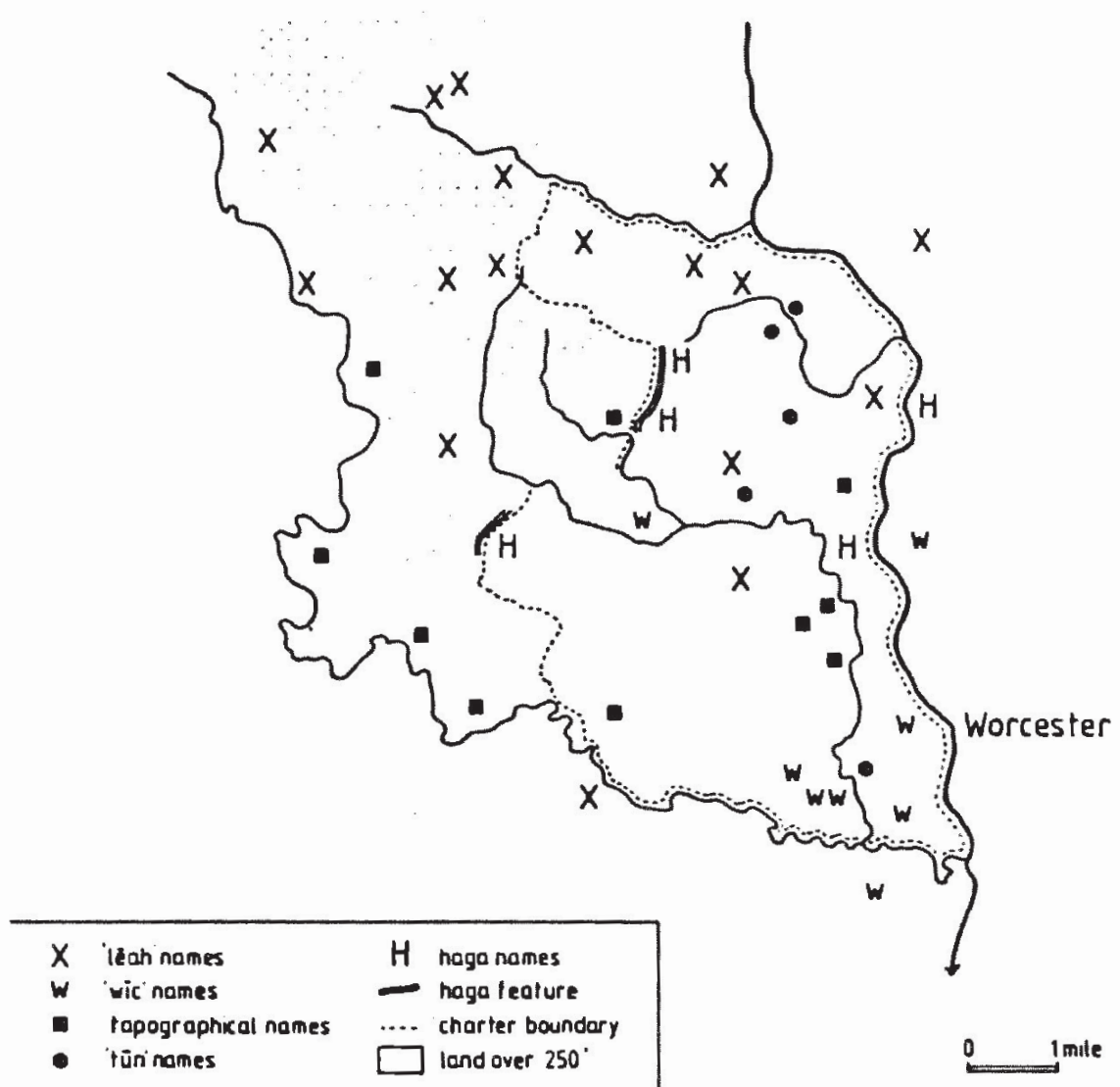


Fig. 12.