

# ◆ The Washington Estate

## NEW EVIDENCE ON AN ANCIENT BOUNDARY

by Robin Milner-Gulland *Although historical evidence for the Anglo-Saxon estate boundary at Washington has been discussed in the past, there has been little on-the-ground investigation to find any physical evidence of its actual route across the landscape. Examination of the boundary's probable course has discovered several sections of earthwork bank, and these are discussed in relation to the historical sources.*

Washington (West Sussex), a fairly large Downland parish (just over 3000 acres in its traditional boundaries, before changes made in 1882 and 1960) was once a significant Anglo-Saxon estate.<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1). Unusually for Sussex, two Anglo-Saxon charters a mere 16 years apart (947 and 963) record its extent and outlying pastures, each giving a detailed, independent but overlapping, survey of its boundaries; together over 20 separate points are named (with some variations of wording).<sup>2</sup>

This has attracted the attention of several scholars, keen to decipher various linguistic problems and relate the named boundary-points to present-day geographical features: E. E. Barker; A. Mawer and F. Stenton; J. M. H. Bevan; S.E. Kelly; and P. Kitson.<sup>3</sup> All agree there is a close, if not precise, relationship between the Anglo-Saxon estate boundary and that of the later parish; also that two locations in the charter surveys have survived in present-day place-names (Ramsdean, Biggen Holt), giving a jumping-off point for identifying the rest, though this has not led to scholarly consensus. A particular problem is occasioned by the neighbouring (post-Conquest) parish of Ashington, apparently an offshoot of Washington, detached portions of which were until recent times embedded within Washington or located on its edge. (See map: Fig. 1) It is also puzzling that the two surveys, though describing evidently the same, or almost the same, tract of land, differ as to its extent: '20 hides' (947), '24 hides' (963). Various explanations are possible; Kitson writes that the difference 'reflects not a change in the size of the estate but a process of increase in assessment'. The hide is, of course, a flexible unit, but even taking it at its maximum plausible extent Anglo-Saxon Washington cannot have been much, if at all, bigger than the traditional parish. The 'Greater Washington' of 59 hides recorded in

the Domesday Book has been variously interpreted, but certainly included land extrinsic to the ancient estate.<sup>4</sup> As for Ashington, the material adduced in this article makes it clear that it must have been carved out of Washington, Warminghurst, Wiston and maybe Shipley during the Norman period. The long 'detached portion' of Ashington on the east side of Washington has no special boundary-marks of its own.

The commentators on the Washington charter boundaries have, very properly, worked from their knowledge of Old English with the indispensable help of Ordnance Survey maps. Only Bevan seems to reveal any first-hand familiarity with the landscape, and he does not take it far. But on-the-ground examination of the geology and topography of Washington casts new light on some of the contentious issues involved, and has led the author of this article almost literally to stumble upon important physical evidence — hitherto unremarked — of the ancient estate boundary itself. Geology determines, for example, that there is only one realistic candidate for the 'Red Spring': a pool (giving rise to a permanent stream) on the highly ferruginous, hence orange-coloured, Lower Greensand; while 'Stone Ridge' could refer to the scarp slope below Chanctonbury, where chalk rock is exposed.

The physical evidence of the boundary was brought home to the author during a walk at the foot of the Downs along the headland of the field called Rowdell Holt on the western parish boundary (Fig. 2). A massive bank — quite unlike normal hedge-banks — over four metres wide and at least one metre high — separated it from the next field (in Sullington parish): contiguous remains of it, much eroded, could be detected running uphill through scrubby woodland on the steep Downland slope, marked (as is often the

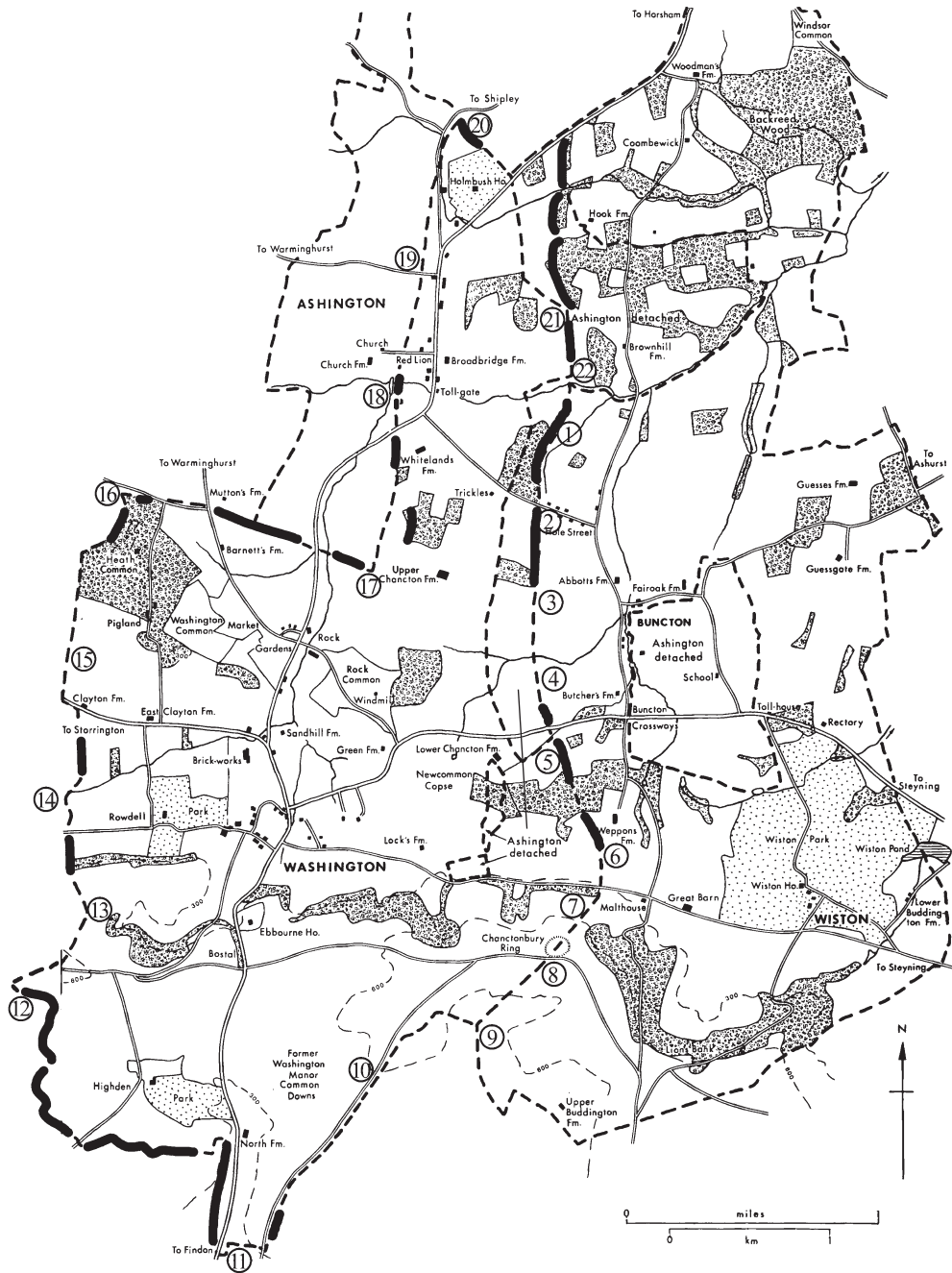


Fig. 1. Washington, Ashington and Wiston c. 1875. (Adapted from the Victoria County History (Sussex) by permission.) Continuous black line indicates visible traces of the boundary bank of the Washington estate. Numbers indicate probable locations of boundary-points (combining both charters), as discussed in text. 1) Dunham (or Duha's) Clearing; 2) Red Spring/Stream; 3) Lidgeard's Tumulus; 4) Tatmann's Apple-Tree/Burial Place; 5) Deneburh's Mound; 6) Hatheburh's Mound; 7) Stone Barrow/Stone Ridge; 8) Wormstall (Dragon's Lair); 9) Army Ditch; 10) Two Thorns/Two Barrows; 11) Raven Down; 12) Short Valley; 13) Bida's Holt; 14) Wiga's Field; 15) Horning Valley; 16) Benna's Hill; 17) Old Cross ('Christmark'); 18) Shining (or Black) Pool; 19) Apple Tree; 20) Dunna's Head; 21) Huna's Knoll; 22) Yoke Stream.

case) by self-propagated holly bushes.<sup>5</sup> Subsequent investigations revealed many more such fragments of a bank at a variety of locations around the parish boundary, though often weathered almost down to ground level (as is the case at the only such location recorded in the Sites and Monuments Record (hereafter SMR) — where oil-drilling contractors drove a gap through it — though the SMR does not make the connection with the Anglo-Saxon estate).<sup>6</sup> Such large earthworks do not seem characteristic of ‘normal’ early medieval parish boundaries: the only obvious comparison seems to be with the kind of Anglo-Saxon estate boundaries which Hoskins (briefly) describes, though this is an area in which very little appears to have been published, let alone interpreted.<sup>7</sup>

The physical phenomena described in this article have been observed (and in many cases photographed) on the ground. Information on them in relation to the individual sections of the boundary (between the named points) is discussed below. Two notes of caution should be sounded: owing to modern hedges, fences, undergrowth and gardens, it is by no means always simple to get at all parts of the boundary-line, and there are places where surviving remains of a postulated boundary-bank are too slight or ambiguous for certainty. The bank’s present condition varies greatly: sometimes single-sided, occasionally hollowed. Hence the data on the sketch-map (Fig. 1) must count as provisional. Others may decide to read the evidence differently. Ground observation was supplemented by consulting large-scale Ordnance Survey maps, whose makers were much concerned with the exact location and condition of parish boundaries, as well as aerial photographic surveys from the 1940s (both to be found at West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSR0)). A further precious and possibly little-known resource is constituted by the original ‘Boundary Remark Books’, manuscript notebooks made in the 1870s by army surveyors, with the help of local ‘meresmen’, in preparation for the OS 6-inch series. They contain detailed sketch maps of lengths of boundary, often with further brief comments, and always with an indication of its degree of definition and certainty of location.<sup>8</sup> Attempting to trace the boundary-bank and to relate it to the ancient Washington estate and later parish involves discussion both of the relevant Anglo-Saxon charters, into which copyists’ errors may have crept, and of the sometimes contentious

problems of meaning concerning the boundary-points named. With regard to Old English names and meanings, the author claims no expertise, but up-to-date specialist advice has been sought in order to attempt to set out plausible solutions to the problems they pose.

We now set out the boundary surveys from the Anglo-Saxon charters of Washington clause by clause in juxtaposition, followed by annotations on the individual locations and their adjoining sections of boundary, numbered as on Figure 1. Though the purpose is not primarily philological, it is clear that the familiar Mawer/Stenton translations are unreliable, and the translations here attempt to reflect modern scholarship.

If Stone Barrow and Stone *Erige* denote the same place, it will at once be seen that there is an irreconcilable discrepancy between the two surveys (not that most of the commentators have noted it) as to the order in which Hatheburh’s Mound and the Stone Barrow come. That of 963 (with its fuller and better-spaced account of the boundary) is probably the more trustworthy.

**1. Dunham (or Duha’s) Clearing:** probably on the fertile land just north of Trickle Wood (the large wood just N of the Hole Street–Ashington road). This is the point from which the 947 circuit of the boundary begins. The bank is prominent along the north half of the wood (now partly cleared); to the south it has been eroded by the stream.

**2. Red Spring/Stream:** no other candidates for this location match up to the point at the SE corner of Trickle Wood, where a pond just south of the road gives rise to a stream running north alongside the wood through ferruginous Lower Greensand, giving it a reddish-orange colour. South of the Red Spring an apparently ordinary stretch of hedge-bank grows on the broad ‘footprint’ of the Anglo-Saxon boundary-bank.

**3. Lidgeard’s Tumulus:** doubtless on the ridge east of Upper Chancton Farm, near the line of the Roman ‘Greensand Way’. Any remains of the bank have been ploughed out around here, at least 50 years ago.<sup>9</sup>

**4. Tatmann’s Apple-Tree/Burial Place:** (a rather affecting change of status, if the same place is meant) doubtless close to the stream that leads

S 525 (AD 947): Kelly no. 40	S 714 (AD 963): Kelly no. 98
<i>Ærest on duhan lea</i> First to Duha's clearing	
<i>of duhan lea on readdan wylle</i> from Duha's clearing to red spring	<i>of þam lea to readdan wylle</i> from the clearing to red spring
<i>of readdan wille to lydgeardes broge</i> from red spring to Lidgeard's tumulus	<i>of þam wylle to lidgeardes beorge</i> from the spring to Lidgeard's tumulus
<i>of lidgeardes beorge to tatmonnes apoldre</i> from Lidgeard's tumulus to Tatemann's apple-tree	<i>þonon to tatemannes beorgelese</i> thence to Tatemann's burials
<i>of tatmonnes apoldre to dene burge hleawe</i> from Tatemann's apple-tree to Deneburh's barrow	<i>of þan beorgelse to hæbeburge hlawe</i> from the burials to Hatheburh's barrow
<i>of dene burg hleawe to stan beorge</i> from Deneburh's barrow to stone tumulus	
<i>of stan beorwe to hæbeburge hleawe</i> from stone tumulus to Hatheburh's barrow	
	<i>þanon up to þære stan erigan</i> thence up to the stone ridge (?)
	<i>of þære stan erigan to wyrum stealle</i> from the stone ridge to dragon lair (literally 'wormstall')
<i>of þam hleawe to Here grafe</i> from the barrow to army ditch (or 'grove')	<i>þonon to Heregræfen</i> thence to army ditch
<i>of Here grafe to twam beorgum</i> from army ditch to two tumuli	<i>of Heregrafan west to twam þornum</i> from army ditch west to two thorns
<i>of twam beorgum to Hremnes dune</i> from two tumuli to raven's down	<i>þonon to Remnes dune</i> thence to raven's down
<i>of Heremnes dune to Bidan holte</i> from raven's down to Bida's holt	<i>of þære dune to scortan dene</i> from the down to short valley
<i>of Bidan holte þæt to wigan campe</i> from Bida's holt thence to Wiga's field	<i>þonon to wigan campe</i> thence to Wiga's field
	<i>of wigan campe eft on horninga dene</i> from Wiga's field to Horning valley
<i>of wigan campe to bennan beorge</i> from Wiga's field to Benna's tumulus	<i>Ærst of horninga dene to bennan beorges</i> First from Horning valley to Benna's tumuli
	<i>þonon to ealdan cristes mæle</i> Thence to old cross
<i>of þam beorge to blæccan pole</i> from the tumulus to black pool	<i>of þan cristes mæle to blacan pole</i> from the cross to shining pool
<i>of þam pole to þære apuldre</i> from the pool to the appletree	
<i>þonne to dunan heafde</i> then to Duna's head	<i>of þam pole to dunnan heafde</i> from the pool to Dunna's head
<i>þæt to hunes cnolle</i> thence to Huna's knoll	<i>þonon to hunnes cnolle</i> thence to Huna's knoll
	<i>to geoc burnan</i> to yoke stream
<i>þon' eft on dunan lea</i> then back to Duha's clearing	<i>þonon to dunham lea</i> thence to Dunham's clearing

to Buncton. Boundary-pointers are rather close together in this sector, which perhaps reflects a greater density of population in this fertile area than elsewhere. South of here, on higher ground up to the A283 and luckily surviving, there is a

good section of bank in woodland just east of the large (now-restored) landfill site.

5. *Deneburh's Barrow*: presumably where the boundary-line crosses the A283 on the east side of a

small hill, or possibly at the north end of Copyhold Wood nearby (NGR TQ 141133). The bank can be clearly seen — in winter, anyhow — marching uphill to the wood, from the A283 itself. It can be traced entering and leaving the wood, but in the middle it has been lost amid streams and boggy ground; however, the ‘Boundary Remark Book’ (OS 2610598) shows the ‘Old Bank’ running continuously through the wood. Copyhold Wood has the characteristics of ancient woodland, so if the bank runs through it this could testify to the latter’s greater age.<sup>10</sup>

**6. Hatheburh’s Mound:** the 963 charter is more likely to be right in placing this here, rather than on the far side of Stone Barrow. There is a prominent knoll (scarcely noticeable on the 2½ inch map) south of Weppons Farm that would fit the location. The boundary-bank can be traced as far as here from Copyhold Wood, then is lost in ploughland and old quarry-workings at the foot of the Chanctonbury escarpment.

**7. Stone Barrow:** (947)/[up to the] *Stone Erige* (963): the last word has puzzled OE scholars, but most assume the two named points represent the same geographical location, though of course this need not necessarily be the case. *Erigan* might mean ‘ridge’, but Coates suggests it could be a distortion of ‘*herigan*’, ‘temples’ (pers. comm.). This would accord with Chanctonbury Ring, within which two flint-built temples have been excavated — though if ‘wormstall’ (see below) is the same place, one of these markers in the 963 charter would seem to be redundant. Bevan ingeniously suggests ‘stony place marking the edge of ploughland’. *VCH* claims that ‘across Chanctonbury Hill the Wiston-Washington boundary was undefined. Boundary marks in that area were mentioned in 1530, but by the end of the 18th century the boundary... was uncertain’; the 6-inch OS map based on the 1875 survey records it as ‘undefined’, following the ‘Boundary Remark Book’ (OS 2610598).

**8. Wormstall:** Kitson argues at length (and persuasively) that this means ‘Dragon’s Lair’, and refers to Chanctonbury Ring, where the roughly circular Iron Age hillfort encloses two Roman temples and other constructions, whose remains (still only just below the modern turf and tree-roots) would doubtless have been visible ruins, maybe with



Fig. 2. Boundary bank at west end of Rowdell Holt, between points (13) and (14) as shown on Figure 1.

supernatural connotations. There is no sign of a bank apart from the prehistoric fortifications.

**9. Army Ditch:** the parish boundary descends steeply (and rather puzzlingly) down the south face of the Chanctonbury ridge to the deep, narrow valley called Well Bottom and the Wiston/Findon triborder (i.e. meeting-point of three parishes), before climbing equally steeply. Presumably all three parishes needed a share in the well. This natural valley would make a metaphorical ‘ditch’, though it is conceivable that the ancient boundary ran along the summit ridge to the still prominent bank-and-ditch half a kilometre west of the Ring, a more literal one. The line of the boundary descending and ascending Well Bottom is recorded as ‘undefined’ in the OS 1975 survey. Nonetheless, there are humps and bumps in the scrub immediately west of Well Bottom that might indicate a former bank.



Fig. 3. Boundary bank on Downs within a shaw, approximately midway between points (11) and (12) as shown on Figure 1.

**10. Two Thorns/Two Barrows** (not necessarily the same place): somewhere on the long ancient track from Chanctonbury to Findon, probably where the boundary, climbing up from Well Bottom, meets it. It might be thought that the track itself made an adequate boundary-marker without the need for a bank. Yet it has an unexplained feature. For a long stretch south from the proposed ‘two thorns’ location, there is a continuous strip of rough ground alongside the track (to the south-east), now covered with hawthorn and bramble scrub. Is this the ‘footprint’ of the Anglo-Saxon estate bank, long eroded away in the exposed conditions of this Downland ridge? It is just the right width. Close to the south end of the track, the latter diverges a little eastward from the boundary: our bank, carrying a line of old trees, is visible a few yards to the west. Where the boundary-line swings westward across ploughland no bank is visible, but soon re-emerges — see (11) — on the far (i.e. western) side of the A24.

**11. Ravens’ Down** (Ramsdean): nowadays immediately south of the southernmost point of Washington (i.e. just in Findon). The boundary runs within a shaw parallel to the A24, eroded but unmistakable; two gaps for heavy machinery have been made in it (cf. SMR no. 5206-W53913). SMR gives the measurements here as 0.55 m high, 8.0 m wide (surely an exaggeration), with adjacent ditch 0.6 m wide and 0.5 m deep.

Where the boundary turns west, it has recently been ploughed out; then it continues uphill in a long, well-preserved stretch within a strip of woodland to Highden Barn (see Fig. 3). At some points it appears that flints were deliberately preferred in the construction; there appears to be a secondary feature in the form of a terrace on the downhill (south) side. Beyond Highden Barn it turns north and continues with short gaps, still within a shaw, to the woodland of Highden Beeches. There a fine stretch of bank for

several hundred yards carries the remains (up to five or six courses, around 300 mm thick) of flint-and-mortar walling, presumably of a later date: this was the edge of the Muntham Estate in modern times.

**12. Short Valley:** This must be one of the valleys above Highden, most likely the steep-sided one that causes a westward salient (with triborder) in Highden Beeches; the bank can be followed on the hillside through the woodland, but peters out as it reaches the valley floor. The line of the boundary climbs steeply to the crest of the South Downs, where it followed (according to OS maps up to the ‘First Series’ 1:25,000) a 350-yard long ‘cross-dyke’ — maybe prehistoric, maybe in fact the Anglo-Saxon bank. This has been completely ploughed out and is not indicated on the 1:25,000 ‘Pathfinder’ map: cf SMR no. 3414 — WS 1168, but can be seen on the relevant photograph of the aerial survey of August 1947.<sup>11</sup>

**13. Bida’s Holt** (now Biggen Holt): a long strip of woodland flanking a shallow valley just north of the crest of the Downs and reaching to the boundary with Sullington. At the foot of the escarpment (SW corner of Rowdell Holt) is a singularly well-preserved fragment of the bank — flattened out by the time it reaches the NW corner of the field (see Fig. 2) — at least 4 m wide by 1 m high, and still detectable on the steep wooded slope to the S (with

self-propagated hollies, often characteristic of our bank). The hilltop above has been ploughed, yet in raking light a 'shadow' of our boundary-bank is perceptible across it. It is clearly seen on the aerial photograph of 1947.

**14. Wiga's Field:** perhaps on the Upper Greensand ridge (now carrying the old track from Washington to Sullington), just N of Rowdell Holt. The bank has disappeared in ploughland here, but reappears, well-defined though undermined by rabbit activity and a stream, within a shaw that reaches to the gardens on the south side of the A283. As Kitson notes, the place-name scholar Richard Coates has indicated that the OE word *camp* (among its various meanings) is 'a secure indication of Roman-period activity' implying 'uncultivated land on the edge of a villa estate'.<sup>12</sup> Could the undiscovered Roman villa of Washington have been located a little to the east, around Rowdell?

**15. Horning Valley:** this is the point at which the 963 charter begins its clockwise survey. It must be in the neighbourhood of Clayton Farm or Hamper's Lane. There are indications of a bank on the east side of the latter, though quarrying operations and gardens make it impossible to distinguish with certainty. Further up the lane, the bank is visible in the garden of 'Eastwolds' and where it intersects the drive to the adjoining property, Rosebay Cottage.

**16. Benna's Hill:** Doubtless Longbury Hill or its slightly lower twin to the west: the boundary goes between them to a triborder with Warminghurst and Sullington. On this stretch, and to the east, there are other places at which the bank might be visible, but the whole area is infested with impenetrable rhododendron scrub. The boundary runs close to, then merges with, the Roman road now called the 'Greensand Way' (from Pulborough or Hardham to Barcombe Mills) — here identified, incredibly, as late as 1953. From Muttons Farm to Spring Gardens the Roman road is visible as a hedge-bank within a shaw, sometimes hollowed out (as a later road?). Where it is a bank, it may represent the Roman *agger* — but it is more likely that it is in fact the Anglo-Saxon boundary bank, following the course of a derelict highway. This impression is reinforced on the east side of the A24, where a characteristic bank runs along the north side of a small stream and up a steep hill towards

Upper Chancton (the modern access-road avoids this stretch). Then it is lost in ploughland. Close by, the famous late-Saxon coin hoard was found in the 1860s.<sup>13</sup>

**17. Old Cross (literally *Christmark*):** other commentators have placed this at Muttons Farm, but it seems obvious it was at the point where the boundary swung northwards, away from the Roman road, through 270° (specially since the 963 charter makes a point of recording significant landmarks and alignment changes). Most of this stretch has been ploughed out, but possibly the ancient boundary ran a field's width further east of its present line, through Birch Copse where there are traces of a bank (indicated on the map, Fig. 1). This would position the Old Cross where the Roman road is intersected by the line of the ancient terraced trackway descending from Chanctonbury.

**18. *Shining (or Black) Pool:*** Kitson points out that the OE word *pol* must mean a riverine pool, then places it where no riverine pool exists. Other commentators more plausibly indicate the former Ashington mill-pond, where there is what seems a short stretch of characteristic boundary-bank (not merely a dam).

**19. *Apple Tree:*** now, of course, unidentifiable, though doubtless somewhere in modern Ashington, then a heath. *VCH* says that 'the boundary between Washington and Ashington was apparently undefined before the enclosure of 1816': that may well be true, but the line is still marked by the ends of the gardens of modern houses and the eastern edge of the large recreation ground with its thick hedge. Anything more one could say on this puzzling area — with its late-medieval church just to the west of the boundary line — is bound to be hypothetical because of modern development. But Ashington could not have been 'the main centre of habitation in the tenth century' as Kitson suggests: in 1086 it was still an insignificant hamlet. At the north end of Ashington the 1875 survey (for the 6-inch OS map) indicates the boundary as 'undefined'.

**20. *Dunna's Head:*** probably Spear Hill at the northern tip of the parish, where an unmistakable section of the bank runs alongside the garden wall of the house and parallel with a public footpath leading south-east.

**21. Huna's Knoll/Cub's Knoll (Kitson):** doubtless the hilltop at the south end of Baldwin's Wood. From (20) to (21) the pre-1960 parish boundary runs unmarked to the west of East Wolves Farm; it was recorded as 'undefined' in the 'Boundary Remark Book' of 1873 (OS 2610598). Bevan plausibly points out that an old bank along the edge of Baldwin's Wood continues north through a shaw to the A24 east of East Wolves: this has been indicated on our map (Fig. 1). It seems likely that the parish boundary was diverted at some later stage to run on the other side of the farm. How it originally linked up with (20), presumably along the route of the significant drove-road from Washington to its pastures at Horsham, is lost beneath the dual-carriageway of the A24.

**22. Yoke Stream:** the 'Yokebourne', the one significant Washington river, so called (commentators agree) because it powered the watermill at Ashington. Maybe there is a metonymic connexion with *geoc*, 'help', though other place-name evidence does not support this.

## DISCUSSION

Washington, like other prosperous and self-contained ancient estates, had a wide variety of terrain — arable, meadow, wood and waste — with both religious and secular features, with its own (shared) hillfort, with barrows often marking its limits. Its boundary makes use of Roman features and may well derive from the Roman period (though no villa-site has yet been found). Its substantial boundary-bank implies its economic resources. Assuming it would take a fit man half a day to shovel a ton (= 1 cubic metre) of earth and stones<sup>14</sup> to construct a bank four metres in width and one metre high, with sides angled at 45°, a 10-km stretch would take 25,000 man-days to complete (i.e. three years' continuous work for a team of 25!). The Washington boundary runs for c. 20 km, though we cannot say if all of it was embanked (e.g. over Chanctonbury). So the project scarcely had defensive intentions, though its flat top could conveniently be patrolled. The purposes of such earthworks seem rather mysterious; and, compared with prehistoric sites, how widespread they are, when they arose or when they ceased to be made is hardly known. Obviously, too,

a boundary does not exist in isolation: if the territorial units adjoining Washington turn out not to have such prominent boundary-banks as Washington, which seems likely, it would be good to know why.<sup>15</sup>

There are still places at which an obviously ancient bank separates Sussex from Hampshire.<sup>16</sup> Was such a demarcation of early counties, as well as parishes, standard practice? Only attentive field-work and collation of results will tell. Proper archaeological investigation of the Washington (and similar) earthworks would reveal, no doubt, more about their construction and original dimensions: whether there were (as the author believes) normally ditches on each side; whether certain materials were selectively used; whether the whole bank is of a single date, etc. Much of the boundary has been destroyed in the last couple of generations particularly as a result of arable cultivation. The most regrettable instance is to be found on top of the Downs where the western boundary of Washington crosses Barns Farm Hill (OS grid reference TQ 108119). Three roughly parallel cross-dykes are indicated on older OS maps, with the boundary following the middle one for 350 yards (as shown on the SMR).<sup>17</sup> Now no trace of it remains; it is impossible to judge whether the Anglo-Saxon estate and subsequent parish boundary followed an existing ancient earthwork, or whether the Ordnance Survey mistook the posited Anglo-Saxon bank for such an earthwork.

A scholar has written of parish boundaries 'The dotted lines on the Ordnance Survey maps are in some, perhaps many, cases among the most durable legacies from Anglo-Saxon England'.<sup>18</sup> They may, as we have seen, have a much more physical presence than mere dotted lines. But whereas the least interference with the surviving fabric of an Anglo-Saxon church would rightly cause an outcry and provoke legal action, a monument as remarkable as the Washington boundary bank remains unknown and appears to enjoy no protection whatever.

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draft of this paper on behalf of SAC, and made many detailed and productive comments, particularly regarding translations of the two surveys.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> On the history and extent of Washington at various times, see the *Victoria County History of Sussex*, vol. 6 part 1 (O.U.P. 1980), 247 *et seq.* (author of this section: T. Hudson).
- <sup>2</sup> Both charters (now numbered S525 (i) and S714 (i)) were included in BL Cotton Claudius Ms B vi: published with translations by E. E. Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon charters', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) 88 (1949); also in S. E. Kelly (ed.) *Charters of Abingdon Abbey* vol. 1 (Oxford: O.U.P. 2000) and vol. 2 (Oxford 2001), with notes and a particularly helpful OE glossary. The charters are nos 40 and 98 in Kelly's numeration. Kelly confirms the charters' authenticity and their reference to 'essentially the same estate' (vol. 1, 166; 2, 396).
- <sup>3</sup> E.E. Barker, *Sussex Anglo-Saxon charters. Commentary on names and boundary* is given in A. Mawer and F. Stenton *Place-Names of Sussex* (C.U.P. 1929–30), vol. 1, 240–41 and there is further discussion in M. Bevan 'A Saxon landscape: the charters of Washington', parts 1 and 2 (*West Sussex History: West Sussex Archives Society Newsletter* 12 and 13: 5 (1979)); P. Kitson, *Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries* (forthcoming; already widely circulated and quoted by Kelly).
- <sup>4</sup> See *VCH Sussex* 6: 1, 250.
- <sup>5</sup> For more information on holly as a boundary-marker, see R. Mabey, *Flora Britannica*, (London: Sinclair-Stevenson 1996), 249–50; thanks to Dr E. J. Milner-Gulland, ecologist, for the observation regarding self-sown holly.
- <sup>6</sup> Numbered 5206-WS 3913 in online SMR; sourced from 'Archaeological Watching Brief of Highden Beeches', Kelt Exploration Ltd. No datable material was recovered.
- <sup>7</sup> W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), 66–70. Neither the 700 pages of Hadrian Allcroft *Earthwork (sic) of England* (1908), nor other classic field archaeologists such as O. G. S. Crawford, specifically discuss Anglo-Saxon boundary-banks. There are some relevant studies from other parts of the country. M. D. Costen, 'Rimpton in Somerset – a Late Saxon Estate' (*Southern History* vol. 7, 1985, 15–24) mentions 'a very large hedgebank, some four metres wide and one metre sixty high' along part of the estate boundary (p. 16) and considers the bank and other boundary features of Rimpton were 'well-established' when its first charter was drawn up, in 938 (p. 23). Julie Wileman, 'The purpose of the dykes: understanding the linear earthworks of early medieval Britain' (*Landscapes* 2003, 2) has some useful observations, though not dealing specifically with estate/parish boundaries.
- <sup>8</sup> These can be consulted at the National Archives (former Public Record Office); seven — OS 2610478, 10486, 10487, 10593, 10595, 10598, 10599 — refer to Washington.
- <sup>9</sup> See aerial photograph of Aug. 1947, WSRO, APH1/82.
- <sup>10</sup> Thanks to Dr Oliver Rackham for this suggestion.
- <sup>11</sup> WSRO, APH1/82.
- <sup>12</sup> Barker has 'Warriors' Battle', Kitson 'Warriors' Camp', Bevan 'Viking Battlefield' or 'Camp' for this; Coates and Lewis – personal discussion - see *Wiga* as probably a personal name; note however that OE *wicga* means 'beetle'.
- <sup>13</sup> J. Beck, 'Remarkable discovery of Saxon coins at Washington', SAC 19 (1867), 189.
- <sup>14</sup> This estimate has been confirmed by a modern grave-digger (thanks to David Rudling for this information).
- <sup>15</sup> Wileman (see note 7) postulates, among possible reasons for unexplained early-medieval earthworks, scenarios whereby 'a powerful community makes a statement in the landscape', or two communities raise a bank 'for mutual benefit, to preserve peaceful relations': the latter case apparently the likely impulse where there is a ditch on either side of the bank.
- <sup>16</sup> Kim Leslie 8 May 2003 *West Sussex Gazette*.
- <sup>17</sup> Numbered 3414-WS 1168 in SMR; no sources other than O.S.
- <sup>18</sup> Angus Winchester, *Discovering Parish Boundaries* (Shire Publications, 2nd edn 2000), 5.

