

## THE LONG MAN OF WILMINGTON, EAST SUSSEX: THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE REVIEWED

by *John H. Farrant*

with a note on some local place-names by *Richard Coates*

*The Long Man of Wilmington is a hill-figure of uncertain origin, on the scarp of the South Downs at N.G.R. TQ 542034. Hitherto, the earliest record has dated from 1781. This article publishes a drawing made in 1710; considers the dearth of documentary evidence from the 18th century and earlier; and offers corrections and clarifications to the secondary literature on the figure, particularly in respect of place-names. It does not speculate on the figure's origin.*

Until 1873, the Long Man of Wilmington was reported as a faint indentation in the Downland turf, visible in the oblique light of morning or evening or after a shower of snow. In 1873-4 the figure was marked out with bricks in its present form (Fig. 1). These were replaced by pre-cast concrete blocks in 1969, when the opportunity was taken to undertake archaeological investigations which Eric Holden published in 1971, in what is still the principal account of the Long Man.<sup>1</sup>

### THE LONG MAN IN 1710

So slight is the evidence on the Long Man's origins, that any new piece is worthy of note. Reproduced here is a drawing made in 1710 (Fig. 2). It appears on a map at Chatsworth House, 'A Survey of The Demeasn Lands of the Mannor Of Wilmington belonging to the Hon'ble Spencer Compton. Surveyed by Jno. Rowley, 1710', at the scale of 1 inch to 12 perches (1:2376).<sup>2</sup> Spencer Compton, later Earl of Wilmington, inherited the manor from his father, the Earl of Northampton, in 1681; on his own death without issue in 1743 the manor passed back to the main line and in 1782 by marriage to the Cavendish family and so to the Dukes of Devonshire. The map seems to have come to Chatsworth House, not from the Devonshire estate office at Compton Place, Eastbourne, but from the family's London solicitors, Currey & Co.<sup>3</sup>

John Rowley is not known as a Sussex surveyor, but was active in Kent and Surrey.<sup>4</sup> The main body of the map carries only numbers, keyed to a table of field-names and acreages. The Long Man is drawn in plot 2, 'Court Laine with the Great Sheep Down', on the sheep down, Court Laine being an arable field below, next to the road to

Litlington. It has no caption; nor does the bird's-eye view, in the margin, of Wilmington Court Farm from the south, showing the church, the farmhouse, the ruinous hall of the priory and several detached farm buildings. This was probably added to record the farm's composition, rather than out of antiquarian curiosity.

Rowley's task was to map his client's estate at Wilmington and the Long Man was incidental to that task. But as a professional draughtsman working at Wilmington for several days, he must have been able and inclined to attempt an accurate representation—which he sketched on the map in pencil, presumably following field notes, and then inked in. The figure's width is exaggerated, in that at the given scale the distance between the staffs is about 200 feet, compared with about 115 feet today. The ratio between this width and the height of the staffs (today 231 and 235 feet) is 1:1.6, compared with 1:2 as measured on the ground slope, 1:1.88 if reduced to a horizontal plane on a map and roughly 1:1 as seen from the farm buildings.<sup>5</sup>

Hitherto the earliest known representation of the Long Man has been the drawing in the collections made by Sir William Burrell (1732–97) (Fig. 3).<sup>6</sup> It carries the caption: 'The above is a Sketch of a rude figure cut out in the Chalk 80 feet high on the side of the Downs opposite Wilmington priory, the Spot being covered with grass may be plainly discovered in Summer by the colour of the Grass'; '80 feet' must be an error for '80 yards'. It is undated, but immediately before it on the same folio is the monumental inscription to the vicar who died in 1779, and the note on the church and the extracts from the parish register indicate that (as he then was) Dr William Burrell visited Wilmington in the summer of 1781.<sup>7</sup>



Fig. 1. The Long Man in 1918, an aerial photograph (Sussex Archaeological Society, Misc. 1/24)

The first published description appeared in Royer's local guidebook of 1787:<sup>8</sup>

On the side of a hill is the figure of a man, eighty yards in length, which, by the different shades of grass, each hand appears to grasp a staff in a parallel direction with the body.

The Rev. Stebbing Shaw stayed with his friend James Capper, vicar of Wilmington, in November 1790 and published a fuller account:<sup>9</sup>

On one side of [the south Downs] is a curious representation of the figure of a man in the different tincture of the grass. The length of the figure is 240 feet; and each hand grasped a scythe and rake in a parallel direction with the body; but these latter are not so visible; the whole shall be shewn in a picturesque view of this place in the future. This, no doubt, was the amusement of some idle Monk belonging to the neighbouring cell. It is formed by a pavement of bricks underneath the turf, which gives it this difference of colour. In time of snow it is still more visible.

From Royer the Long Man entered the tourist literature, featuring for example in the 1868 edition of *Murray's Handbook*, on the excursion from Berwick Station. Indeed, the reasons for marking out the figure with bricks in 1873–74 were later stated to be both strict preservation of the outline, and rendering it visible at all times of day, as many visitors to the district in the middle of the day did not like to go home without having seen anything.<sup>10</sup>

It was through Shaw that the Long Man entered the antiquarian literature. Gough copied him for the 1806 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, omitting that the scythe and rake were 'not so visible'. M. A. Lower copied Gough. The next first-hand descriptions, by Horsfield (1835) and Cooper (1851), both mention only staffs and that the figure was marked by a slight indentation in the turf and most clearly seen from a distance, particularly with snow on the ground or, said Cooper, in a strong

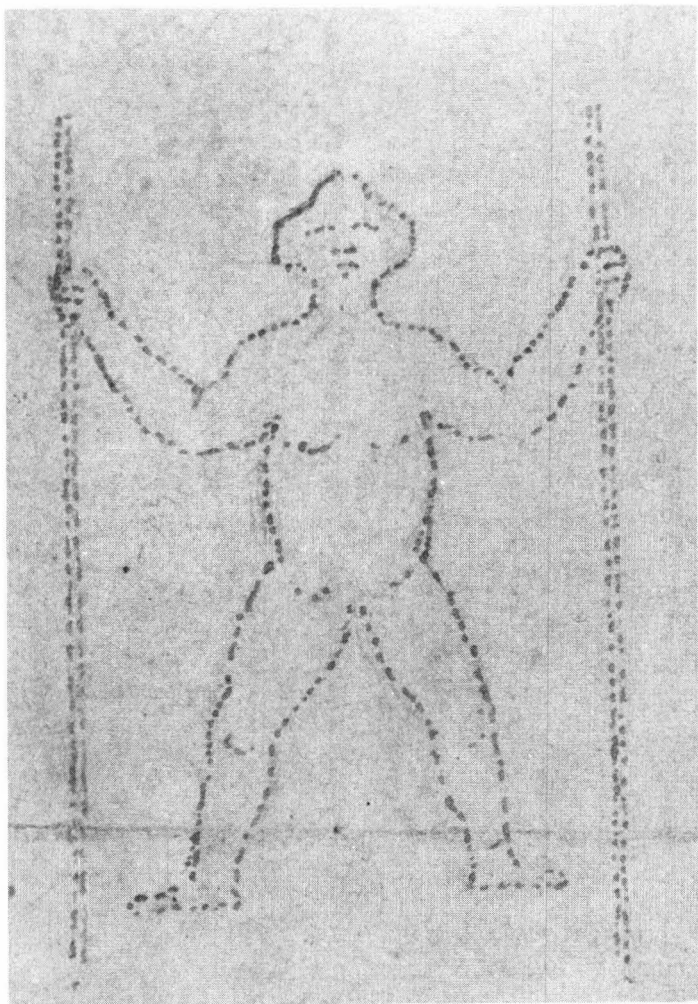


Fig. 2. The Long Man in 1710, by John Rowley (Devonshire Collections at Chatsworth House, Map 4108)



Fig. 3. The Long Man in 1781, by William Burrell (British Library, Add. MS. 5697, f. 342v.)

side light, in morning or evening; Horsfield rightly doubted whether it was paved. That it was the work of idle monks was the only explanation offered until 1873.<sup>11</sup>

Six points arise from Rowley's drawing. First, the pecked lines suggest that he saw the shadows cast by indentations in the grass or a different colour of grass produced by a lesser depth of humus, rather than a clear outline in chalk or subsoil which he would more probably have shown by solid lines.

Second, the bodily features. Surveying the figure in 1918, Flinders Petrie found that 'the eyes are marked by plain hollows; the nose is a boss, possibly with recesses for the nostrils; the lips are a long boss of turf'. These features can be seen on an aerial photograph of the same year (Fig. 1); George Marples plotted them in 1936. But they could easily have been added by pranksters; and subsequent writers have been sceptical.<sup>12</sup> Rowley showed eyebrows rather than eye sockets. The lower edge of breasts, the line of the groin and the kneecaps emphasise the figure's nudity. However, Rowley was not working from a clear image for the main outline and the terracettes formed by soil creep could easily have misled him into seeing more minor features than were present. A photograph of 1874 suggests that, as would be expected, terracettes covered the whole hillside; but by 1918 (Fig. 1) visitors had trodden them out over much of the turf both within and around the brick outline. The movement of the surface of the steeper north-facing Downs is probably fast enough for the features observed by one generation to disappear within a couple of generations.<sup>13</sup>

Third, the impression is of a masculine rather than feminine figure, particularly on account of the narrow hips, much narrower than in the 1873 outline. However, the Long Man invites comparison with the Cerne Abbas Giant whose erect penis and testicles leave no doubt as to gender. These were clearly shown in the first published illustration in 1764, but were omitted in all those appearing between 1774 and 1918, even to the extent of retouching an aerial photograph.<sup>14</sup> In Burrell's drawing the Long Man is clothed, and in deference to contemporary standards of public decency any genitals detectable in 1873 would have been omitted from the brick outline. But Rowley in 1710 is much less likely to have been inhibited from portraying genitals and we can infer that none were visible.

Fourth, the position of the legs and feet. Those who drew sketches in 1850 and 1873, the latter immediately prior to the figure's delineation with bricks, were unable to detect traces of feet and showed none. As restored, both feet pointed to the figure's right, or east, side. In the 1874 photograph, taken immediately after the bricks had been laid, a left leg and foot pointing north-west are visible.<sup>15</sup> Three witnesses who, writing at least 25 years later, considered the restoration mistaken, claimed that the figure was previously 'standing on his toes', that it was coming straight forward and that the feet pointed downwards in line with the form—as if, perhaps, the feet pointed north-west and north-east.<sup>16</sup> Rowley offers strong support, along with Burrell, for the left foot pointing west. Both Rowley and Burrell show the legs as slightly flexed, consistent with a figure standing still with feet pointing outwards; it is difficult to be sure whether either intended the figure's right side to be slightly further forward.

Fifth, the rake and scythe. Rowley offers no support for these. From Shaw's description of 1790 it can be inferred that scythe and rake were part of local legend—to which Burrell succumbed. He may have drawn each staff as a double line for emphasis, rather than because it appeared as two lines in the grass. The eye of faith can see a scythe pointing towards the shoulder, in a pair of converging terracettes in the 1874 and 1918 photographs (Fig. 1). James Levett in 1873 claimed that he had plainly seen the outline of a cock cut in the hillside to the right of the figure.<sup>17</sup>

Sixth, the shape of the head is sufficiently distinctive, but without obvious meaning, for it to record what Rowley saw rather than to be artistic licence. It may afford comfort to proponents of an Anglo-Saxon origin for the Long Man, as a helmeted war-god (but see Richard Coates' note below on the place-name evidence). They can also point to recent research which has highlighted the concentration of early Saxon settlement on the Downs between the Ouse and Cuckmere Rivers.<sup>18</sup>

The similarities between Rowley's and Burrell's drawings are striking. Though implausible as the representation of a hill-figure, Burrell's drawing emerges with reinforced credibility, and doubts about what the 1873 outline recorded are increased. Rowley's drawing is claimed as the earliest known attempt to record an English hill-figure as it looked.<sup>19</sup>

## THE SILENCE OF THE DOCUMENTS

Now that we know that the Long Man was extant in 1710, it is salutary to reflect on the silence of other 18th-century records. Although the vicar, James Capper, may have pointed it out to both Burrell in 1781 and Shaw in 1790, his sister, who stayed for nearly a year in 1781–2, failed to mention it in her brief journal of local walks and visits.<sup>20</sup> Nor did the Long Man take the attention of Burrell's fellow Sussex antiquarians, the Rev. William Hayley (1714/15–89) and John Elliot (1725–82).<sup>21</sup> Eastbourne and Lewes lay on a frequented tourist trail, but travellers had a choice of three routes. The most northerly, along the scarp-foot through Folkington, gave a clear view of the Great Sheep Down from the road south of Wilmington, towards Longbridge. The hilltop route, the principal one for business travellers and today's South Downs Way, passed above and south of the site before descending to Longbridge and did not give a good view. The coastal route attracted tourists to Beachy Head, and so to Exceat and Seaford; by that travelled John Macky (August 1713) probably and John Whaley (August 1735) certainly. George Vertue in the Earl of Oxford's party (September 1738) more likely took the hilltop route.<sup>22</sup> Although Jeremiah Milles (September 1743) noted both the Roman remains at Eastbourne and barrows on the Downs, and Richard Pococke (September 1754) wondered whether Belle Tout hillfort was William the Conqueror's camp (and the next month viewed the Cerne Abbas Giant), neither was evidently seduced to turn from the Exceat route by reports of the Long Man.<sup>23</sup> However, like most tourists they were strongly influenced in what they visited by what they had read in books. As John Aubrey had not fulfilled in the 1670s his intention to follow up his *Perambulation of Surrey* with one of Sussex, James Douglas, in the second decade of the 19th century, was the first to give systematic attention of the county's archaeology.<sup>24</sup>

If literary records are silent, what of administrative ones? The Long Man does not appear on Richard Budgen's map of the manor in 1725. His bird's-eye view of the priory, also dated 1725, is antiquarian rather than a record of farm buildings and maybe a companion sketch of the Long Man has been lost. Nor does it appear on Peter Potter's survey of 1801, on which the 1839 tithe map was based.<sup>25</sup> The Great Sheep Down was part

of the demesne of the manor of Wilmington, but, as the manor's only sheep down, the freeholders and copyholders of the manor evidently had stints on it; and the lord seems not to have started buying up tenements until the 1710s.<sup>26</sup> Such common rights were probably regulated through the court baron, but the only recorded instance was in 1617, when the tenants agreed that the stint should be set at 10 sheep for each wist of land. No obligation is evident, such as fell on customary tenants of neighbouring arable fields to maintain the White Horse at Uffington.<sup>27</sup> Surviving from the 18th century are many letters and accounts from the estate stewards who were responsible for day-to-day dealings with the tenant farmer of the demesne and with the manorial freeholders and copyholders; these were sorted, filed and carefully read by Walter Budgen around 1920. It is hard to imagine that they contained references to the Long Man which Budgen did not publish nor even record in his extensive notes.<sup>28</sup> There are no surviving churchwardens' accounts in which we might have found expenditure from parish rates on maintaining the Long Man. The surviving views of frankpledge are silent; but the Long Man was not a point on any road which might have been out of repair. The perambulation of the bounds of the borough of Wilmington in the hundred of Longbridge passed 'Man's Basher' and 'Walking Poles', but alas these were near the river west of the village.<sup>29</sup>

If surviving records from a period at which the Long Man was visible are silent, it must be unsound to draw any inference about its date from the silence of earlier (and less plentiful) records. William Camden who passed close by c. 1580 was attracted to sites associated with the history of the nation. John Norden, c. 1595, noticed no field monuments. Lieutenant Hammond, riding the summit of the Downs in 1635, commented only on the view of the Weald.<sup>30</sup> Records of proprietors and occupiers are minimal for the period up to the dissolution of Wilmington Priory in 1413, and I have not been able to add to those identified by Budgen;<sup>31</sup> scarcely any early records of the estates of the Dean and Chapter of Chichester survive; and after the manor passed into lay hands (the Sackvilles of Buckhurst and Knole from 1565 to 1661, then the Comptons of Castle Ashby until 1782), only from the 18th century is there any quantity of records.

The poverty of documentary evidence is paralleled at Cerne Abbas whose Giant entered the antiquarian literature rather earlier, in 1742. At that time this Giant was evidently visible as a chalk outline, rather than a mere shadow in the grass, so either was a recent creation or was being cleaned. Yet, despite a more promising array of records, the only earlier, administrative, reference is in the churchwardens' accounts, on 4 November 1694, 'for repaireing of ye Giant 3s. 0d.' Perhaps the churchwardens' and overseers' accounts are jumbled together and the parish poor were being employed on public works.<sup>32</sup>

### THE DEBATE OF 1923

Hill-figures have attracted popular interest and, alas, some poor scholarship, often because the earlier literature has not been followed back fully.<sup>33</sup> On the Long Man more recent writers have relied on Sidgwick's 1939 summary of 'the known facts' and 'the numerous theories of origin', without going back to his main (and inadequately referenced) source, namely a debate initiated by Arthur Beckett in the columns of *The Herald Magazine*, which was issued as a supplement to the *Sussex County Herald*.<sup>34</sup> Items appeared each week from 21 July to 10 November 1923 and on 19 January 1924, from some 20 contributors, some of whom in turn referred imprecisely to other material.

First, there are notes and newspaper cuttings and offprints collected by the Rev. W. D. Parish, vicar of Selmeaton, at the time of the 1873–74 restoration.<sup>35</sup> The cuttings fill out Holden's account of the inception of the restoration and show that local action was stimulated by J. S. Phené's talk to the Royal Institute of British Architects in May 1873, and that the appeal for funds was launched in late August. Phené turned the first sod in mid-September.<sup>36</sup> Second, other records of local folklore about the Long Man were collected by J. P. Emslie in 1875, 1890, 1891 and 1905.<sup>37</sup>

Third, two contributors to the debate in *The Herald Magazine* referred to a report of a Special Committee of the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1889–90. In 1889 the vicar of Wilmington, W. A. St John Dearsley, drew attention to the Long Man's condition: it was suffering from the depredations of

time, with weeds invading the dry bricks and rabbits dislodging them, and of 'excursionists', who rolled bricks down the hill. The Duke of Devonshire was prepared to support whatever scheme of repair the Society's Committee put forward. The first proposal was to remove the bricks and to dig trenches down to a sound bed of chalk, to restore what was deemed to be its original form; the trenches would then be periodically scoured. Experimental trenches, however, revealed that the soil beneath the turf was too deep for the outline of the figure to be trenched to the chalk. The Committee was divided between those who would replace the bricks and those favouring in their place a shallow trench, two foot wide at the top and narrowed at the bottom, filled with 9 inches of rammed chalk; it decided in November 1889 that the figure had never been trenched to the chalk, and that as a temporary and experimental measure where the bricks were missing a trench be dug to the width of the bricks and filled with rammed chalk. Dearsley was put in charge, and he asserted in print the following year that the results were successful. But the Committee made fruitless attempts to get any report from him, and in June 1891 it concluded that, although not executed as instructed, the experiment had been a failure. It settled for reinstating bricks which should be periodically cleaned and whitewashed. Mr J. S. Ade, a local farmer who had known the Long Man for nearly 70 years, recommended white glazed bricks, possibly cemented in. He was commissioned to put only repairs in hand.<sup>38</sup>

Public interest engendered by *The Herald Magazine* may well have encouraged the Duke of Devonshire to convey the site of the Long Man to the Sussex Archaeological Trust in 1925. The Trust's architect W. H. Godfrey found the figure's condition on the whole sound, and he may have instigated the practice of cementing loose bricks back in place. During the Second World War, they were concealed by green paint or other colouring matter. The concrete blocks laid in 1969 were intended to reinstate the outline marked by the bricks, but a survey in September 1990 found three yellow bricks apparently remaining from the 1873–4 outline and suggesting that the 1969 blocks were not all placed where the bricks had been.<sup>39</sup>

## THE LONG MAN AND SOME LOCAL PLACE-NAMES

by Richard Coates

The Long Man of Wilmington has no current name except *The Long Man of Wilmington* which de St Croix reported in 1875 as the name used locally. *The Wilmington Giant* was the name used in archaeological circles, perhaps by analogy from the Cerne Abbas Giant, but has fallen into disuse in the present century. A note by the Rev. William D. Parish in his notebook (written principally in 1873, but this particular note is an interpolation) says, on the testimony of John Guy, then aged 82, that around 1800 the monument was known as *The Green Man*; but this is uncorroborated.<sup>40</sup> No other alternative has ever been recorded. Nothing would therefore need saying on this topic if it had not been for an article by Jacqueline Simpson.<sup>41</sup> She claims (a) that the name *Wandelmeſtrei*, denoting in Domesday Book (D.B.) one half of the later hundred of Longbridge, of which Wilmington formed a part in medieval times and after, contains an allusion to the Long Man, and (b) that it can be relevantly linked with the name of *Wandlebury*, a hillfort in Stapleford (Cambridgeshire). This is associated, like Wilmington, with chalk-cut hill-figures. The existence of the *Wandlebury* figures is documented in the 16th and 17th centuries (e.g. by Lamer in 1640), but their precise nature is very controversial, especially in view of the extraordinary appearance of the shapes which the excavator, T. C. Lethbridge, claimed to have discovered.<sup>42</sup>

The relation between the place-name *Wandlebury* and the existence of hill-figures I discussed in an article published in 1978; I claimed that the name of *Wandlebury* was more likely to have contained a personal name than that of a mythic personage *\*Wandel*, a probabilistic conclusion by which I stand.<sup>43</sup> That article is used as a platform by Simpson in her article; she chooses to emphasize my comment that the use of a name which was that of a mythic-divine being 'cannot be ruled out'. (It is worth remembering that, in various cultures, many human beings have borne such names as *Dana*, *Thor*, *Jesus*, *Shiva*, and so on). It is true that the partial similarity of the names *Wandelmeſtrei* and *Wandlebury* (*Wendlesbiri* in a 17th-century MS. of the 10th-century Chronicle of

Ramsey),<sup>44</sup> and indeed the similarity of these to others attaching to places of high folkloric significance, is very provoking and tantalizing, but any claim of a connection needs to have thorough linguistic and historical grounding. I shall show that the necessary grounding is lacking for Simpson's claim in both these departments. (N.B. the asterisk\* indicates an unattested form whose possible former existence can be inferred from other considerations.)

Even presuming the D.B. form really to derive from *\*Wandelhelmestrēow* 'Wandelhelm's tree' (on which see further below), Simpson's interpretation is philologically unsound. She claims that *\*Wandelhelm* is to be interpreted as 'helmeted Wændel', and adduces the 1850 engraving to support her view.<sup>45</sup> But *-helm* is a well-known Old English (OE) personal-name second-element (even in Sussex, as in *Brihthelm*, recorded in *Bright(helmst)on*, and *Sigehelm*, recorded in *Selmeston*), and the presumption must be that that is what it is in this name too. In any case, the element cannot be a specifier (i.e. a word specifying which or what sort of *Wændel* is involved), because such things precede the word for the thing which is specified in Germanic languages. Though the relevant evidence is restricted to Scandinavian, it would not be foolish to expect *Helm-Wændel* if 'helmeted Wændel' were the meaning. Some Scandinavian names are convincingly explained in this way, with the specifier coming before the personal name proper, as in *Billockby* (Norfolk), apparently 'randy Áki's farm' (Scan. *Biðil-Áka býr*).<sup>46</sup> But this is entirely in accordance with the grammar of name structure in Scandinavian. At best, an OE *\*Wandel helm* might include a metonymic by-name. We would then have to do with a certain 'Wændel the Helmet'. But such by-names (for instance Hereward *waca* 'vigilant', Eadric *strēona* 'acquirer') are pretty rare in OE; and even the ones just cited are not grammatically exact parallels for *\*Wandel helm*; one is not a noun, and the one that is is not used metonymically but as a straightforward descriptive term. Moreover it is striking how many of such by-names in Anglo-Saxon times are of Irish or Danish persons: the majority. Even if such a by-name were likely in English, I would find it impossible to imagine that one could be built into the supposed ancestor-form of the place-name under discussion because the

shape of \**Wændelhelmestrēow* would (a) require one in apposition to a personal name, and (b) require it, but not the name which to it is in apposition, to be in the genitive case. No instance of a name plus a by-name in a place-name formulated in English is known to me, and therefore, of course, no instance of the mismatch of case between the names.

If such a by-name is not involved, the situation is difficult for the supposed personal name which must, by default, be implicated. The name *Wantelmus*, latinized in form, appears in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham, and clearly suggests that the name \**Wandhelm* was known in England. The structural possibility of \**Wændelhelm* is suggested by the existence of the names *Wendelburh* in the *Liber Vitae* of Hyde and *Uendilbercht* in that of Durham, but there is no actual attestation.<sup>47</sup> On this basis, it is difficult to share Mawer and Stenton's opinion that \**Wændelhelm* is likelier in *Wandelkestrei* than \**Wandhelm* is.<sup>48</sup>

Whatever the truth about the original outline of the Long Man, therefore—whether he wore a helmet or not—the form of the name of the D.B. hundred will not settle the question in Simpson's favour. And even if he were called by the name of possible mythic import \**Wandel*, his name does not recur in the hundred-name, which probably contains \**Wandhelm*.

We also need to take into account the name of Wilmington itself. The OE masculine personal name *Wilm(a)* from which it derives seems to be a short form of *Wighelm*. If this is so, the geographical association of two *-helm* names is entirely consistent with Anglo-Saxon dynastic naming practices, where a name-element could be passed down through the generations. There is, therefore, no reason why *-helm* should bear a meaning here that it does not bear elsewhere in OE personal (and therefore place-) names.

It should not be overlooked, however, that *Wilm(a)* could be for *Wilmund* (attested in Sussex, inferrable from a minor name recorded in 1318, location uncertain)<sup>49</sup> or *Wilmær*, and therefore totally irrelevant to *-helm*.

Simpson's historical association of *Wandelkestrei* and the Long Man is itself open to

question. D. B. records Wilmington as *Wilminte*, *Wineltone*. The first mention is of land of the abbot of Battle, and it is not assigned to a hundred. The second mention is of the abbot of Grestain's land.<sup>50</sup> This is indeed in the later Longbridge hundred, but in that constituent half of it which D.B. calls *Avronehelle*. That is, there is no known early legal or tenurial link at all between *Wandelkestrei* hundred and Wilmington. The appearance of such a link arises only because the old hundred and the parish containing the Long Man both eventually finished up within the later Longbridge hundred. No support for Simpson's view of the relation between the hundred name and the Long Man emerges, therefore, from a consideration of the historical relation between the places involved.

Lastly, *trēow* names with a personal-name first element are common. There are far too many of them for these names all to refer to mythic individuals, and since the structure (personal name + *trēow*) is the norm, it is open to serious doubt whether any of them has mythic reference. If it were not for the Sussex D.B. hundred name *Ghidenetroi* (OE *gydena trēow* 'goddesses' tree'<sup>51</sup>—which does not, of course, contain a proper name), I would be totally confident that a man with the rare but regularly formed name *Wandhelm*—a man of normal human stature—had once been associated with a tree in the Wilmington area, but not in Wilmington itself or its hundred.

The only defensible conclusion, therefore, is that Simpson is wrong in her belief that the name of *Wandelkestrei* hundred has mythic reference, that it alludes in any way to the Long Man, and that there is any direct connection at all between the location of the giant and that of the hundred.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> E. W. Holden, 'Some Notes on the Long Man of Wilmington', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *S.A.C.*) **109** (1971), 37–54. His working notes are Sussex Archaeological Society (hereafter *S.A.S.*) Library, Holden papers, 4D/9, 10 and 11; see also *S.A.S.* office file on the 1969 repairs. The most important earlier account is M. Marples, *White Horses & other Hill Figures* (1949), 180–203; the most recent contribution to the debate on the Long Man's origin is R. Castleden, *The Wilmington Giant* (Wellingborough, 1983).
- <sup>2</sup> Devonshire Collections at Chatsworth House, Map 4108.
- <sup>3</sup> The map is not listed in W. Budgen, 'Deeds and Documents belonging to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire at Compton Place, Eastbourne' (TS, c. 1920). C. Hussey, *English Country Houses, Early Georgian 1715–1760*, rev. ed. (1965), 87–96, for Spencer Compton's rebuilding of Compton Place.
- <sup>4</sup> P. Eden, *Dictionary of Land Surveyors* (1979), 219.
- <sup>5</sup> I have taken today's measurements from Sir Flinders Petrie, *The Hill Figures of England*, Royal Anthropological Institute, Occasional Papers No. 7 (1926), 7–8 and plate I; M. S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie, A Life in Archaeology* (1985), 339; Castleden, 24–25.
- <sup>6</sup> British Library (hereafter B.L.), Add. MS. 5697, f. 342 v., as refoiled. The only photographic reproduction hitherto has been by E. Heron Allen, 'The "Long Man" of Wilmington and its Roman Origin', *Sussex County Magazine* **13** (1939), 655, 657, with the wrong reference, probably by reason of copying E. C. Curwen in *S.A.C.* **69** (1928), 99. For Burrell, J. H. Cooper, 'Cuckfield families, III', *S.A.C.* **43** (1900), 38–40.
- <sup>7</sup> B. L., Add. MS. 5697, ff. 344, note on the church dated August 1781, and 345, note that the most recent event in the register was dated 13 May 1781; the original register, East Sussex Record Office (hereafter E.S.R.O.), PAR 510/1/1/2, has the next in time as on 4 July, but was evidently not kept up-to-date.
- <sup>8</sup> [J. Royer], *East-Bourne, being a Descriptive Account of that Village . . . and its Environs* (1787), 115.
- <sup>9</sup> [S. Shaw], 'Excursion from Lewes to Eastbourne in Sussex', *The Topographer* **3** (1791), 376. On Shaw, 1762–1802, see *D.N.B.* Shaw's picture of Wilmington Priory from the south-east appeared in *Topographical Miscellanies* **1** (1792).
- <sup>10</sup> *Handbook for Travellers in Kent and Sussex* (1868), 320. *S.A.S.*, Committee minute book 1888–95, A.G.M. 1890, 1892. Almost the same words as Royer's appear in, e.g., *Homely Herbert's Eastbourne Guide* (Eastbourne, 1862), 50.
- <sup>11</sup> William Camden, *Britannia*, ed. R. Gough **1** (1806), 294. M. A. Lower, *Sussex . . .* (Lewes, 1831), 245. T. W. Horsfield, *History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex* **1** (1835), 326. G. M. Cooper, 'Illustrations of Wilmington Priory and Church', *S.A.C.* **4** (1851), 63–64; this paper, illustrated with numerous drawings, was read at Eastbourne in May 1850 (p. viii).
- <sup>12</sup> Petrie, 7. Marples, 11, 181. J. B. Sidgwick, 'The Mystery of the "Long Man"', *Sussex County Magazine* **13** (1939), 408. Castleden, 90–91. Holden, pl. II, for the 1874 photograph (contemporary print in W. D. Parish, 'Wilmington—the Giant 1873', MS. notebook in *S.A.S.* Library; print from modern negative in Holden papers, 4D/11).
- <sup>13</sup> I do not know of any systematic measurements over time, but see J. E. Bellam, 'Preservation of the Long Man of Wilmington', unpub. report, *S.A.S.*, 1990, for movement of the 1969 blocks and T. Watson, 'Terracettes', unpub. B.Sc. dissertation, Univ. of Sussex, 1985, for local fieldwork.
- <sup>14</sup> L. Grinsell, 'The Cerne Abbas Giant: 1764–1980', *Antiquity* **54** (1980), 29–33.
- <sup>15</sup> Holden, 44–47; pl. II.
- <sup>16</sup> Bunston (1912) and Woodman (1900) as cited in Holden, 47–48; and Mrs Ann Downs (born 1840/41) who can be identified as 'Octogenarian' writing in *The Herald Magazine* (supplement to *Sussex County Herald*), 10 Nov. 1923, 4, and recalling 1844–64.
- <sup>17</sup> Parish, MS. notebook in *S.A.S.* Library.
- <sup>18</sup> C. Hawkes, 'The Long Man of Wilmington: A Clue', *Antiquity* **39** (1965), 27–30; for another possible figural parallel, from Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs., see K. R. Fennell, 'The Loveden Man', *Frühmittelalterlichen Studien* **3** (1969), 211–15. M. G. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, BAR British Series **112** (1983), 217–20, 255–9.
- <sup>19</sup> D. Woolner, 'The White Horse, Uffington', *Trans. Newbury District Field Club* **11** (1965), 32–33, for earlier but crude representations.
- <sup>20</sup> [K. Backhouse (ed.)], *A Memoir of Mary Capper, late of Birmingham, a Minister of the Society of Friends* (1847), 54–63.
- <sup>21</sup> B.L., Add. MSS. 6343–61. *S.A.S.* Library, Elliot papers; Eastbourne Public Library.
- <sup>22</sup> Richard Budgen, *An Actual Survey of the County of Sussex* (1724), which is dedicated to Spencer Compton. J. Macky, *A Journey through England, in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman here, to his Friend Abroad* (London: T. Caldecott, 1714), letter VI. B.L., Add. MS. 5957, ff. 11–12; Loan 29/232, ff. 384–6, 400.
- <sup>23</sup> B.L., Add. MS. 15776, ff. 213–16. J. J. Cartwright (ed.), *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke . . .* **2** (1889), 102, 143–4.
- <sup>24</sup> M. Hunter, *John Aubrey and the Realm of Learning* (1975), 72n. R. Jessup, *Man of Many Talents . . . James Douglas* (1975), ch. 9 and 10.
- <sup>25</sup> E.S.R.O., AMS 5879/4, photocopy of 1725 map (I have not been able to locate the original at Chatsworth House); PAR 510/7/1 (1781 copy of sketch of the Priory). Devonshire Collections at Chatsworth House, Map 4103. E.S.R.O., TD/E117.
- <sup>26</sup> E.S.R.O., ADA 45 (summary rental, 1618–19); SAS/CP 218, 221, 225, 226 (detailed rentals, 1673, 1703, 1733, 1738); A2327/2/7/1, p.164 (court baron).
- <sup>27</sup> E.S.R.O., AMS 5441 (court book, 1606–17); also ADA 42 (1637–48); A2327/2/7/1–3 (1687–1805). Some records of the manor were destroyed in the Fire of London: B.L., Add. MS. 39504, f. 316. Woolner, 30.
- <sup>28</sup> Devonshire Collections at Chatsworth House, Compton Place Papers, boxes L and P; I have consulted these, but not as thoroughly as Budgen. *S.A.S.* Library, Budgen papers, notebooks 86–88, 117, 119, 125; E.S.R.O., SAS/acn. 1402.
- <sup>29</sup> E.S.R.O., A 3597, for 1575–81, 1587–91, 1640–56 and 1731–46; ASH 1171A (bounds of the Duchy of Lancaster hundreds and their constituent boroughs in 1579, 18th c. copy). A 1563 survey (Public Record Office, DL 42/112) does not include borough boundaries.

- <sup>30</sup> Camden, **1** (1806), 271. Northamptonshire Record Office, Finch-Hatton MS. 113. L. G. Wickham Legg (ed.), 'A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties', 29, in *Camden miscellany* **16** (1936).
- <sup>31</sup> W. Budgen, 'Wilmington Priory: Historical Notes', *S.A.C.* **69** (1928), 29–52.
- <sup>32</sup> J. H. Bettey, 'The Cerne Abbas Giant: the Documentary Evidence', *Antiquity* **55** (1981), 118–21. The 1694 payment has been noted more recently (V. Vale, *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 Sept. 1992, 15), in Dorset Record Office, PE/CEA/CW2, and I am grateful to Dr Bettey for checking it for me.
- <sup>33</sup> e.g., P. Newman, *Gods and Graven Images. The Chalk Hill-Figures of Britain* (1987).
- <sup>34</sup> Sidgwick (1939), 408–20. E.S.R.O. has the relevant issues of the newspaper. E. C. Curwen, 'The Antiquities of Windover Hill', *S.A.C.* **69** (1928), 98–101, drew on it as well.
- <sup>35</sup> W. D. Parish, 'Wilmington—the Giant 1873', MS. notebook in S.A.S. Library, presented to the Society in 1915.
- <sup>36</sup> Holden, 43–47. *Eastbourne Gazette* (27 Aug., 26 Nov., 31 Dec. 1873) and *Eastbourne Herald* (23, 30 Aug., 20 Sept., 22 Nov. 1873) in the British Newspaper Library, Colindale, allow the cuttings to be dated.
- <sup>37</sup> [F. Henley, ed.], 'Scraps of Folklore Collected by John Philipps Emslie', *Folklore* **26** (1915), 162–3.
- <sup>38</sup> S.A.S., Committee minute book, 1888–95, entries between 21 Mar. 1889 and 24 Mar. 1893. W. A. St John Dearsley, 'The Wilmington Giant', *The Antiquary* **21** (1891), 108–110.
- <sup>39</sup> S.A.S., Trust minute book, 13 Oct. 1926. Marples, 183. Bellam, 3.
- <sup>40</sup> W. de St Croix, 'The Wilmington Giant', *S.A.C.* **26** (1875), 104. Parish, MS. notebook in S.A.S. Library.
- <sup>41</sup> J. Simpson, "'Wændel" and the Long Man of Wilmington', *Folklore* **90** (1979), 25–28.
- <sup>42</sup> T. C. Lethbridge, 'The Wandlebury Giants', *Folklore* **67** (1956), 193–203; *Gogmagog: the buried gods* (1957).
- <sup>43</sup> R. Coates, 'The Linguistic Status of the Wandlebury Giants', *Folklore* **89** (1978), 75–8.
- <sup>44</sup> P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, English Place-Name Society **19** (Cambridge, 1942) 88–9.
- <sup>45</sup> G. M. Cooper, 63.
- <sup>46</sup> E. Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1960), *s.n.* A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1991), *s.n.*, offers the same interpretation with more caution.
- <sup>47</sup> W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897).
- <sup>48</sup> A. H. Mawer & F. M. Stenton, with J. E. B. Gover, *The Place-Names of Sussex* **2**, English Place-Name Society **7** (Cambridge, 1930), 480.
- <sup>49</sup> Mawer & Stenton, 564.
- <sup>50</sup> J. Morris (ed.) *Domesday Book: Sussex* (Chichester, 1976), 8, 6; 10, 39.
- <sup>51</sup> O. S. Anderson (Arngart), *The English Hundred Names*, 3 vols. (Lund, 1934–6), *s.n.*