

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER'S DEER PARKS IN HAMPSHIRE, 1200-1400

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ABSTRACT

The medieval bishops of Winchester held the richest see in England which, by the thirteenth century, comprised over fifty manors and boroughs scattered across six southern counties (Swift 1930, ix, 126; Moorman 1945, 169; Titow 1972, 38). The abundant income from his possessions allowed the bishop to live on an aristocratic scale, enjoying luxuries appropriate to the highest nobility. Notable among these luxuries were the bishop's deer parks, providing venison for great episcopal feasts and sport for royal and noble huntsmen. More deer parks belonged to Winchester than to any other see in the country. Indeed, only the Duchy of Lancaster and the Crown held more (Cantor et al 1979, 78).

The development and management of these parks were recorded in the bishopric pipe rolls of which 150 survive from the period between 1208-9 and 1399-1400 (Beveridge 1929). The material in this paper has been principally derived from examination of 100 of these rolls.

THE BISHOP'S PARKS, CHASES AND FREE WARRENS

By the mid-thirteenth century the bishop of Winchester held twenty-three deer parks scattered across several southern counties: notably at Witney in Oxfordshire, Taunton in Somerset, Farnham in Surrey, Downton in Wiltshire and West Wycombe in Buckinghamshire (Cantor *et al* 1979, 78; Hall 1903, 18; Holt 1964, 171; HRO Eccl 159277; 159291A), but his estates were concentrated in Hampshire and nine of his ten residences there had associated deer parks (Fig 1 and Appendix A). Thus in the possession of parks as in so much else the bishop dominated the county for, in Hampshire, the king and the prior of St Swithun's each held six parks, while no one else held more than two (Bilikowski 1983, 3).

Nor was the bishop's hunting restricted to his parks, for he held several chases in which

he had the right to hunt deer. Whereas parks were relatively small and enclosed by a park pale, chases were large, unfenced hunting grounds which were typically the preserve of lay magnates or great ecclesiastics. In Hampshire the bishop held chases at Hambledon, Bishop's Waltham, Highclere and Crondall (Cantor 1982, 56; Shore 1908-11, 261-7; Deedes 1924, 717; Thompson 1975, 26). He also enjoyed the right of free warren, which usually entitled a lord or his servants to hunt small game over an entire manor, but it is clear that the bishop's men were accustomed to hunt deer in his free warrens. For example, between 1246 and 1248 they hunted red deer in the warrens of Marwell and Bishop's Sutton (HRO 159289, 159457; Appendix B for the distinction between free warrens and the more familiar rabbit warrens). Thus his deer parks were but one of several sources of the bishop's venison, although a source which seems to have become increasingly important during the middle ages.

MAKING THE PARKS

When were the bishop's parks made? The first documented bishop's park in Hampshire was at Bishop's Waltham where, according to the Domesday Survey, there was a 'park for wild beasts' in 1086. This is an exceptionally early date since Domesday recorded only thirty-five parks in the whole of England, although some presumably went unrecorded (*VCH Hants* i, 461; Hewlett *et al* 1971, 32; Cantor 1982, 78). By the death of Bishop Henry de Blois in 1171 there were already several parks on the bishopric estates (Pipe Roll 18 Henry II, 86). Bishop's Waltham apart, it is not certain

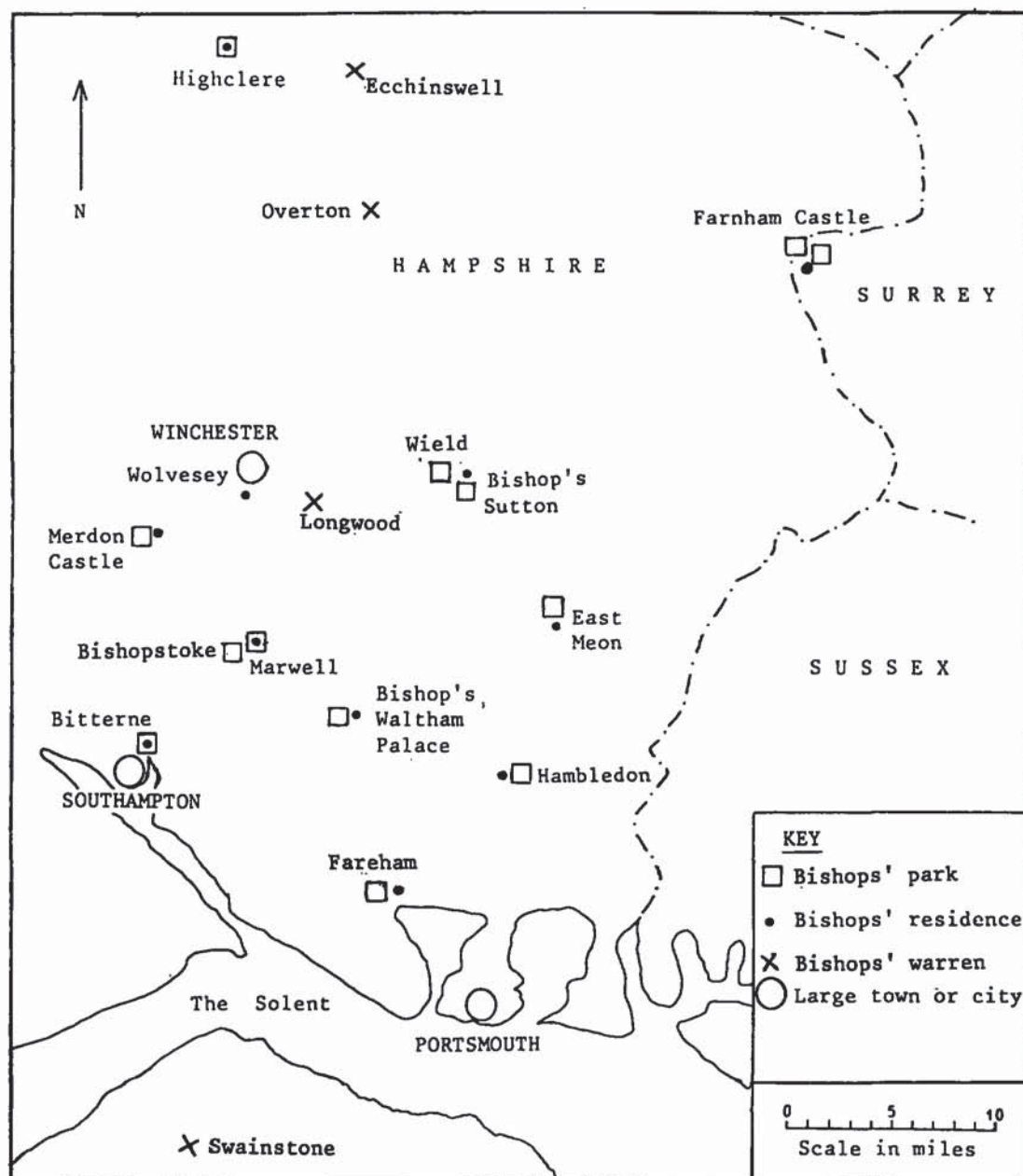


Fig 1. THE BISHOP'S DEER PARKS AND RABBIT WARRENS IN HAMPSHIRE c. 1400. Wolvesey Palace apart, all the bishop's residences in Hampshire had their associated deer parks and were thus, in part, hunting lodges. Some, like Merton Castle (Fig 5) had 2 adjacent parks; others, like Marwell (Fig 4) and Bishop's Sutton, had 2 parks in separate manors. Many parks contained rabbit warrens, but only detached warrens have been marked on the map.

where they were, although it has been plausibly claimed that de Blois created parks beside his castles at Merton and Farnham (Crawford 1951, 109; Manning 1984, 1).

Only the king and his mightiest subjects had the power and wealth to create a system of deer parks in the twelfth century (Cantor *et al* 1979, 73). This, perhaps, makes it less remarkable that many of the princely bishop of Winchester's parks were well established by the early thirteenth century when they were recorded in the bishopric pipe rolls: at Bishop's Waltham and Highclere in 1208-9, Bishopstoke in 1211-12, Merton and Marwell in 1213-14, and Farnham in 1220-21. It is probable that the parks at Bitterne and Wield were also established by the early thirteenth century, though they were not recorded in the bishopric pipe rolls until 1248-49 and 1256-57 respectively (Appendix A for references and further discussion).

The few episcopal residences in Hampshire which lacked deer parks in 1200 were soon provided. Bishop des Roches (1204-36) may have created the park at Fareham, and he made a 'new park' at East Meon in 1224-25. Bishop-elect Aymer de Valence (1250-58) made a park at Hambledon in 1251-52 and another at Bishop's Sutton in the following year (Appendix A). Thus, with the exception of Wolvesey Palace which was essentially urban, all the bishop's residences in Hampshire had associated deer parks by the mid-thirteenth century - a fact which emphasizes the bishop's leadership in a county where imparkment outside bishopric lands did not reach its most prolific phase until the late thirteenth century (Stamper 1983, 49).

After the work at Bishop's Sutton in 1252-53, imparkment on bishopric estates was necessarily a matter of adding to existing parks, although for the next eighty years the bishops saw no pressing need to do so. At last, Marwell Park was enlarged in 1332-33 (HRO Eccl 159345; Roberts 1988) and the episcopacy of Bishop William of Wykeham (1367-1404) witnessed an Indian Summer of imparkment. In 1370-71, new land was taken into Highclere Park, necessitating the construction of a bank

and fence two miles long, and at Farnham the Old Park was considerably extended *c* 1369 and the New Park created *c* 1376 (HRO Eccl 159380; Brooks 1984b, 33-5). In attempting to explain this sudden burst of activity one might point to late fourteenth century depopulation, which released tracts of land suitable for parks, and this may well account for a general resurgence of imparkment throughout Hampshire at that time (Stamper 1983, 49). On the other hand, the concomitant rise in labour costs must have proved a disincentive to new work (Cantor *et al* 1979, 73-4). In any case, it may be unwise to press an economic explanation too far. The great wealth of the see allowed a bishop such as William of Wykeham to indulge his predilection for building and construction at a time when lesser men were suffering financial hardship.

Under Wykeham, the bishopric parks reached their greatest extent. A survey of the parks of medieval England has shown that on average parks covered between 100 and 200 acres (Cantor 1982, 73) but, in keeping with his great wealth, the bishop's parks generally covered 300-1000 acres. Only at Bitterne and Wield are the areas of his parks unknown, but assuming that each was of average size by bishopric standards, we can reasonably estimate that Wykeham's parkland in Hampshire extended to about 8500 acres (Appendix A).

In broad terms, then, we know when the bishopric parks were made, but how were they made? Almost in wonderment, Crawford described the twelfth century bank-enclosures at Merton Park as 'colossal' and 'tremendous', the work of a bishop with autocratic power (Crawford 1953, 194; Fig 2). Unfortunately, the great age of imparking on bishopric estates predated the earliest surviving pipe roll of 1208-9, and we can only guess at the scale of work involved at Merton. However, a description of imparkment at Bishop's Sutton in the year 1252-53 survives, though it may have been only an addition to an existing park.

Compared with the park bank at Merton, the bank at Bishop's Sutton is at present, and was probably even when first made, very small. Yet digging twelve furlongs (2412 m) of bank



Fig 2. MERDON PARK BANK, HURSLEY. A nineteenth-century illustration of the great bank (Shirley 1867, 87) which so impressed O G S Crawford.

without and ten furlongs (2010 m) within the park there cost over £31 in 1252–53, representing nearly 6000 days' work (assuming a rate of 1½d per day for unskilled labour on bishopric estates at that time). In addition, twenty carts were engaged for sixteen days, each cart with two men, fetching wood to build the park fence, while a further ten carts were hired to bring timber. Five carpenters worked for twelve weeks making two park gates and two deer leaps, for which task two sawyers were employed for three weeks preparing the timber. Lastly, men with carts were sent to Bishop's Waltham, Merton and Farnham to collect deer to stock the new park (HRO Eccl 159291A).

THE BISHOP'S HUNT

Did the bishops themselves enjoy the pleasures of the hunt? Hunting was a favoured pastime of the medieval nobility and not a few of the bishops were of noble blood. Yet the pipe rolls are silent on the subject, except for the occasion in 1355–56 when Bishop Edington was at Merton 'when the lord was hunting in the park' (HRO Eccl 159366). Does this almost total silence show that the bishops rarely hunted? Medieval piety frowned on the clergy's enjoyment of hunting, but scruples were unlikely to have troubled worldly prelates like bishops Peter des Roches and Aymer de Valence (Thiebaux 1967, 264; Robo 1935, ch

vi). Geoffrey, the illegitimate son of Henry II, was archbishop of York (1181-1212) in spite of being 'more interested in dogs and hawks than in books and priests'; Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury (1279-93) indignantly rebuked zealous justices who stopped him hunting in a royal forest, and as late as 1621 George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, inadvertently shot a gamekeeper while aiming a crossbow at a buck in Bramshill Park, Hampshire (Moorman 1945, 165; Dowie 1952, 157; *DNB* 1917, i 15).

It may be that the bishop's own hunting expenses were generally entered in his household accounts, a suggestion supported by the pipe roll of 1331-32 which records the wages of the bishop's huntsmen only while their lord was away from Bishop's Waltham Palace. When he was in residence, their wages were to be noted in the household account (HRO Eccl 159344). Unfortunately it appears that only one Winchester household account survives from the middle ages: that of the summer of 1393. It makes no reference to hunting, possibly because the season fell mainly within the winter months (WCM No 1; Shirley 1867, 241). While it is probable that the bishops of Winchester hunted more frequently than the records disclose, the pipe rolls show that most of the hunting in their parks went on when they were away.

The earliest rolls record King John or his huntsmen at Bishop's Waltham and Marwell in 1208-9, at Farnham in 1210-11, and at Bishop's Sutton in 1211-12 (Hall 1903, 3 & 54; Holt 1964, 42; HRO Eccl 159271). After John's death, references to kings hunting in the bishopric parks are very rare, but the parks were sometimes made available to the bishop's powerful and influential associates. In 1231-32, Peter des Rivaux, 'nephew' of Bishop Peter des Roches and the king's treasurer, hunted with his men and hounds in Farnham Park (Clanchy 1983, 184; HRO Eccl 159282), and in 1333-34, James of Wodestocke, the king's justiciar, and William Sharesill, later Chief Justice, hunted in Highclere Park (McKisack 1959, 219; HRO Eccl 159346).

It was however only on rare occasions that the bishop's parks provided sport for such

great men. In their absence, the hunt was conducted by men from two quite different ranks of society. Firstly, there were the professional hunt servants who, in spite of their humble rank, were probably the real experts. They were always present. Secondly, there were knights, mainly drawn from the bishop's own household, who attended hunts irregularly. The full company of the bishop's hunt was an impressive affair, comparable in organization with the royal hunt at the end of Henry I's reign (Johnson 1950, 135). For two days of hunting at Marwell Park in 1246-47, there were three knight huntsmen (*milites venatores*), seven squires, John Steil the bishop's huntsman, twenty groomers (*garçones*), twenty-three greyhounds and eighteen brachets or hunting dogs (HRO Eccl 159289).

Knight huntsmen had been the highest officers of the royal hunt in 1135 (Johnson 1950, 135) and they occupied the same position in the bishop's hunt in the early thirteenth century. The term has not been noted in fourteenth-century pipe rolls, but perhaps a comparable official was Sir John de la Beche, knight, who in 1319 was called 'keeper of the parks, chases, warrens and woods of the bishopric'. Similarly, in 1431, Thomas Uvedale esquire was 'master of the hunt and keeper of all the parks, chases and woods of the bishopric' (Baigent 1897, lxii; Greatrex 1978, 99). Not all knights and gentlemen of the hunt held such high office. For some, hunting was a training for knightly warfare; for others, it was merely a relaxation (Barlow 1983, 15; Orme 1984, 191).

Some knight huntsmen were local landholders, like Sir John de Winton who held land at Soberton and Otterbourne and led the bishop's hunt between 1354 and 1361 (*VCH Hants* iii, 260 & 441). To such a man it would have been no disgrace to serve in a bishop's household (Myers 1971, 65). Others were the bishop's relations. Sir Walter de Ralegh was a knight huntsman at the time of Bishop Ralegh (1244-50) and Sir John de Edington, nephew of Bishop Edington (1346-66), led the hunt after 1361 (*VCH Hants* ii, 195). This tradition survived until the late seventeenth century

when Bishop Morley appointed his two nephews rangers and keepers of the Little Park at Farnham (Manning 1984, 10).

Foremost among the bishop's hunt servants were his professional huntsmen, whose work may be illustrated by the life of Stephen the hunter. We first hear of him at Farnham in 1231–32, where he was clearly valued as a skilled workman, for he had his own horse and three men to help him. In the same year, he was at Merton Park, hunted foxes at Bishop's Sutton and Bishopstoke, and was entrusted with taking the bishop's dogs to the king's palace at Woodstock. But his base was at Bishop's Waltham where he stayed for 249 nights during that year (HRO Eccl 159282).

For over twenty-five years, Stephen travelled around the bishop's parks in Hampshire and Surrey. Sometimes he hunted to provide gifts for men of influence. At Merton Park in 1235–36, he caught deer for a justiciar, and took a fallow buck for Elias of Dereham who was in charge of the king's works at Clarendon and Winchester (HRO Eccl 159384; Pevsner *et al* 1975, 392). At other times, Stephen took live deer in order to stock another park. In 1251–52 he caught deer at Bishop's Waltham and in the king's Forest of Bere to stock the bishop's new park at Hambledon (HRO Eccl 159447). Most commonly, however, he hunted to provide for his lord's feasts and when Henry III took possession of the bishop's manors in 1258, Stephen hunted in the parks of Marwell and Bishopstoke to supply the royal banquet at Westminster on St Edward's day (Robo 1935, 90; HRO Eccl 159293).

Working alongside the bishop's huntsman were the fewterers, who had charge of the greyhounds, and the berners, who had charge of the brachet hounds. The greyhounds hunted by sight and were probably somewhat like the present-day Irish wolfhound, while the brachets – also called running dogs – hunted by scent (Johnson 1950, 135; Barlow 1983, 16). These two breeds formed the pack; sometimes as many as forty hounds, as at Marwell in 1246–47, but quite often fewer. When Sir Walter de Raleigh hunted in Merton Park at the time of St Giles's Fair in 1257, the pack

consisted of only eight greyhounds and twelve brachets (HRO Eccl 159289; 159292). In the early thirteenth century, both hounds and hunt servants generally stayed at Bishop's Waltham for nine or ten months in every year. It was thus the headquarters of the bishop's hunt in Hampshire and housed the principal kennel, although each residence could accommodate the hunt.

Other members of the bishop's hunting establishment included Jordan the otter hunter who, with his men and dogs, caught two otters at Bishop's Waltham in 1248–49. Then there were Osbert the falconer, Ralph the clerk and Henry of Alresford with their lads, dogs and falcons, who caught pheasants and partridges for the bishop at Farnham in 1245–46 (HRO Eccl 159290; 159288). Theirs was the practical task of supplying the bishop's feasts. But did the bishop himself go hawking? Unfortunately the pipe rolls offer no direct evidence, but it is possible that the mews built for goshawks at East Meon in 1248–49 and the expenses there of Richard the goshawk trainer in 1251–52, may indicate the bishop's desire to enjoy the sport (HRO Eccl 159290; 159447). Certainly some bishops took an interest in such matters and Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham (1283–1311), played with his hawks while being interviewed by the Pope (Moorman 1945, 187).

The task of destroying vermin seems to have been left to the hunt servants, and the pipe rolls have little to say about their hunting methods. It is probable that the marten killed at Bishop's Sutton in 1244–45 and numerous foxes, were unceremoniously slaughtered. They may have been killed to protect game, but more likely for their pelts, since we know that seventy-one fox skins were sold from Bishop's Waltham to a Winchester trader in 1208–9. We are not told how the solitary wild boar noted in the rolls met its end at Bishopstoke in 1355–56 (HRO Eccl 159287; 159366; Hall 1903, 71; Barlow 1983, 15; Appendix B).

When knights or noblemen attended, the medieval hunt generally took on one of two forms: the chase or the stable. The stable –

shooting at driven deer from butts – was favoured by the royal hunt in the Middle Ages, and when Henry VII came to the New Forest in 1488 'against the king's coming down were driven seventeen deer to the new park with a stable' (Barlow 1983, 16; Stagg, 1983, 24). This method seems to have been employed by the bishop's hunt, for in the late thirteenth century the bishop's tenants at Droxford had to find men for the *durdrove*, or deer-drive, when the bishop wished to hunt, and beaters were paid when the bishop hunted in Merdon Park in 1355-56 (HRO Eccl 159366; Deedes 1924, 761). In contrast, the chase on horseback was particularly suited to open country such as a free warren (Appendix B) and – on the evidence of the pipe rolls – always involved red or roe deer: John Steil chased stags and hinds in the warren of Marwell in 1247, and Sir Walter de Ralegh with his attendant grooms chased stags in the warren of Bishop's Waltham in 1249 (HRO Eccl 159289; 159290).

The pipe rolls are silent on matters of hunting etiquette so for enlightenment we must turn to writers such as William Twiti, Edward II's huntsman though he may have portrayed the ceremonial ideal rather than the common practice (Danielsson 1977). Nor has reference been found to the building of stands within episcopal parks, from which deer coursing could be watched. Such stands are known to have existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Musty 1986, 131; Shirley 1867, 79) but had they been constructed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the bishops' parks, the pipe rolls would almost certainly have recorded the fact.

Hunting went on throughout most of the year, although rarely in May or July, and never at midsummer during the 'fence month' when the deer fawn and must be left untroubled (Thompson 1975, 30). Most frequently the hunt supplied the bishop's Christmas feasts, and deer were often caught for St Giles's Fair in September, presumably for the bishop's household, for none of the Fair Accounts contains reference to the sale of venison (*pers comm* Dr J Z Titow; Appendix B). After the hunt, the venison was generally carried to the bishop's

household: in paniers from Farnham to London in 1224-25, and in a cart with swans and peacocks from Bishop's Sutton to London in 1257-58. During the year 1363-64, two men with six horses carried venison taken in Bishop's Waltham Park to the episcopal residences at Farnham in Surrey, Wargrave in Berkshire, Witney in Oxfordshire and Highclere in Hampshire (HRO Eccl 159279; 159293; 159374). As in other great households, venison was reserved for special occasions and was served, for example, when William of Wykeham entertained Richard II at Wolvesey Palace in 1393 (WCM No 1). Although it was sometimes salted, the bishop's venison was much more commonly eaten fresh, as was the general practice in medieval Hampshire (Stamper 1983, 48).

Thus the bishop's parks were both playground and larder, providing sport and venison. They were in consequence situated conveniently close to the bishop's houses (Figs 1 & 3) and the houses, in turn, served not only as hunting lodges but also as centres of manorial administration and temporary accommodation for the peripatetic episcopal household. They were multi-purpose buildings and the writers of the pipe rolls never seem to have called them 'lodges', a word reserved for the park keeper's humble house (Appendix B).

MANAGEMENT AND LANDSCAPE

The thirteenth and fourteenth century landscape of the bishops' parks was a product of the techniques of management practised by their park keepers. These medieval techniques closely anticipated those described in the early seventeenth century by Gervase Markham, who advocated a wide variety of land uses within a park: coppice and thick undergrowth for the beasts of prey to make their lairs, woods of tall timber-trees in which the melodious baying of hounds and the sound of the hunting horn would echo, pasture or 'laund' where deer could graze and greyhounds course, and meadows for hay to feed the deer in winter (Markham 1616, 668-673).

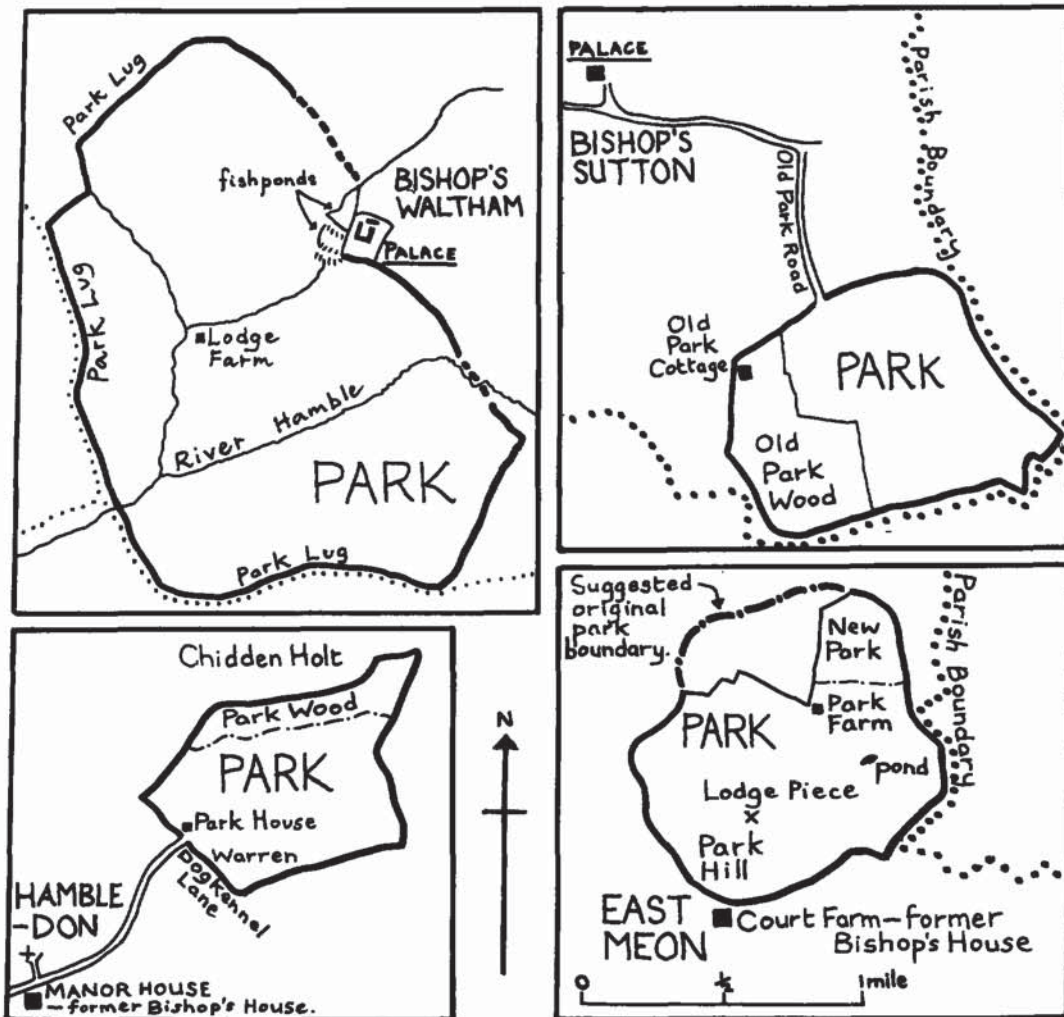


Fig 3. THE BISHOP'S RESIDENCES AND DEER PARKS (Derived mainly from the relevant tithe maps in the HRO. See Appendix A for references and discussion).

Residences were seldom in a park (Fig 4), but they commonly and conveniently lay at the park edge, as at Bishop's Waltham and East Meon. It was not uncommon for them to be at some distance from the park – as at Hambledon – and tucked inside the manor or parish boundary, as at Bishop's Sutton. Of these 4 parks, only that at Bishop's Waltham was crossed by brooks; the other 3 had to be provided with man-made ponds or wells.

Foreshadowing Markham's advice, the bishops' parks contained richly varied landscapes – a variety which reflected their numerous uses. There was pasture land for beasts: horses in Bitterne Park in 1256–57, cows and their calves at Bishop's Sutton Park in the same year, and there were sheep houses within the

parks at East Meon in 1319 and Hambledon in 1370–71 (HRO Eccl 159292; 159380; Baigent 1897, 240). Pigs were fed in park woodland during the autumn and, in 1352–3, pigs were driven from East Meon to feed on the beech mast in Bishop's Waltham Park. Hay was often grown in parks and a meadow was enclosed at

Marwell Park in 1254-55. The field of oats at Bishopstoke Park in 1246-47 and the vineyard there in 1477-78 were more unusual forms of parkland management (HRO Eccl 159289; 159296; 159363; 155840).

Park woodland was fully exploited, generally for the bishop's own use. In 1257-58, twenty-eight quarters of charcoal and 5000 faggots of firewood were made in Bitterne Park against the bishop's arrival at his residence there, and in 1344-45 timber was felled in the same park to supply the rebuilding of the bishop's Wood Mill, near Southampton. The timber felled in Bishop's Waltham Park in 1355-56 was carried to Wolvesey Palace for

the 'new building' - perhaps the wool house which was rebuilt in 1356-57 (HRO Eccl 159293; 159361; 159366; Biddle 1986, 16). Other objects of economic exploitation included the fishponds in Marwell Park (Fig 4), gravel extracted from Bishop's Waltham Park in 1400-1, potter's clay from Farnham Park, and the herons which for many years were taken from their nests in Highclere Park to provide a dish for a bishop's feast (Brooks 1984b, 32; HRO Eccl 159405; 159360).

It has been claimed that parks were generally located on the kind of wooded or uncultivated land commonly to be found at the parish or manor boundary (Bilikowski 1985, 5;

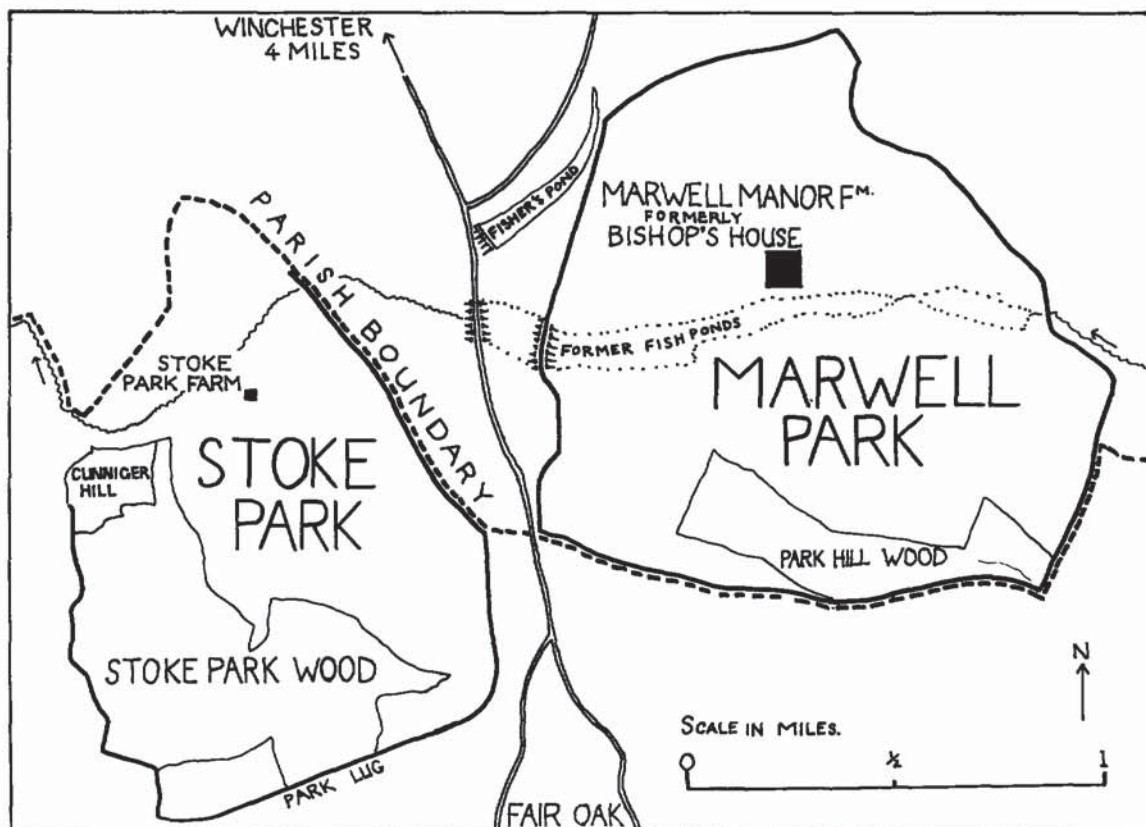


Fig 4. MARWELL AND BISHOPSTOKE PARKS. These two parks served the bishop's residence at Marwell, though it is not known whether they had separate functions. Apart from venison, both parks produced a variety of food. This included fish from the ponds at Marwell and rabbits from the 'coney garth' at Cunniger Hill in Bishopstoke. (See Appendix A for references and further discussion.)

Rowley 1983, 153). While the bishopric pipe rolls partly support this view, they paint a more complex picture. Many episcopal parks were situated in the centre of a manor and on productive soil well suited to a wide range of farming activities which continued alongside deer farming (Fig 5).

Markham recommended that meadow, pasture and coppice within the park should be separated by strong fences, thus forming what

has been called a 'compartmented park'. He also advised the separate enclosure of 'high wood' or tall timber trees, now generally called 'wood-pasture' (Markham 1616, 668; Rackham 1976, 147). In wood-pasture, beasts could freely graze without damaging the mature trees, whereas the crops and young coppice-wood within a compartmented park clearly needed protection.

This may partly explain why it was common

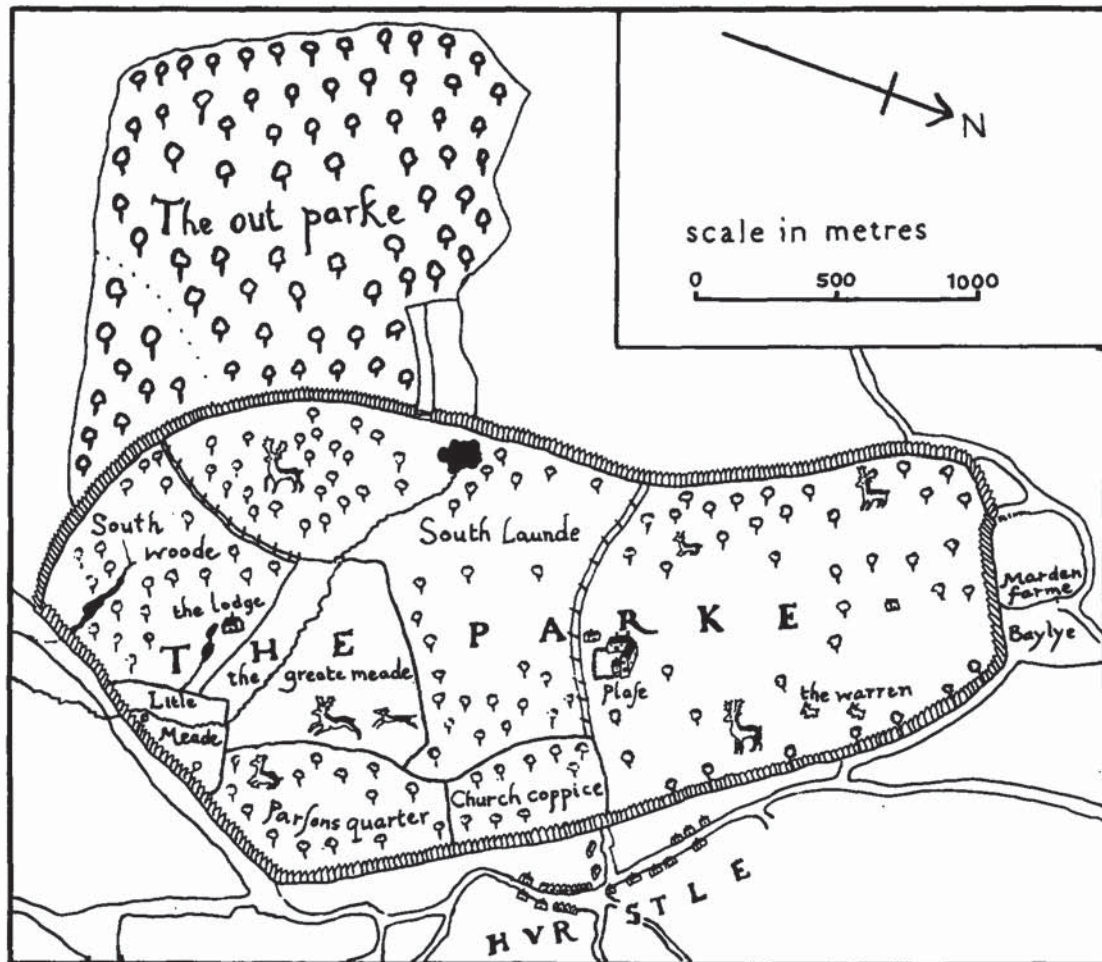


Fig 5. MERDON PARKS IN 1588 (After HRO photocopy 390). Apart from the large house built in the Inner Park c 1554, this map is probably a fairly accurate representation of medieval Merdon Parks. The Out Park seems to have been reserved as wood-pasture, while the Inner Park was compartmented into coppice, meadow, 'laund' and rabbit warren. Characteristically, Merdon Castle, which had dwindled to 'Marden Farme' by 1588, was situated beside the Inner Park and not within it. (See Appendix A for references and further discussion.)

for two parks to be associated with one episcopal residence. For example, Merdon Castle had both an outer and inner park from at least the early thirteenth century. They appear on a sixteenth century map in which the Out Park seems to be wholly or mainly uncompartmented and apparently with mature trees throughout. The inner park had woodlands, a coppice, a laund and a meadow which were fenced to protect saplings and hay (HRO photo-copy 390; Fig 5; Appendix A).

Sometimes two parks were created to keep incompatible species of deer apart. Thus in 1244, Henry III ordered the making of a smaller park at Freemantle in King's Somborne to keep the roe deer separate from the fallow deer, and according to Markham, 'the red deere is a masterfull beast . . . and will kill the fallow deere if they but crosse him in his walke, and therefore each must be kept severally in severall parks' (*Cal Lib R* 1240-1245, 95; Markham 1616, 670). This may explain the need for the two parks at Bishop's Waltham and at Farnham (Appendix A).

An essential part of the landscape of the bishop's parks was the keeper's - or parker's - lodge. The parker was a minor manorial official whose lodge was a humble dwelling. In 1376-77, the lodge in East Meon Park had only a hall and chamber with a stable, and in 1355-56 there were only two rooms in the lodge at Bishop's Sutton, which was set within a small hedged enclosure (HRO Eccl 159384; 159366). Markham recommended that the lodge should be set in the centre of the park, or on a commanding height, as at East Meon and Bishop's Sutton (Markham 1616, 669; Fig 3; Appendix A). In this way, the parker could best keep watch against poachers who probably presented a constant threat to the bishop's deer. However, poaching was more often recorded during vacancies in the bishopric, and during a vacancy in 1279 the parks at Bitterne, Fareham, Hambledon, East Meon, Bishop's Sutton, Merdon, Wield, Highclere and Marwell were broken into and deer were carried away (*Cal Pat R* 1272-81, 349). An account of dilapidations on bishopric manors after Bishop John de Sandale's death in 1319

presents a sorry picture. Rabbits had been poached from bishopric warrens, and timber and deer had been taken by episcopal officials from the bishopric parks, apparently without proper authority. At Merdon even the parker had taken eight fallow does and destroyed rabbits in the park (Baigent 1897, lxiii, 234-250). However, it was perhaps expected that parkers would be slack or dishonest for, in 1361-62, the bishop's auditors took the unusual step of allowing 13s 4d to John Gurdon, parker of Bishop's Sutton, for his faithfulness and diligence in selling wood blown down by a gale in the park (HRO Eccl 159372).

In times of war and unrest the parker had to be a man of courage and resolve. In 1291-92, the parker at Farnham Park needed the assistance of forty-four bowmen, hired on the advice of Sir Adam Gurdon, and in 1355-56 a force of local men protected the parks at Hambledon and Fareham from the Duke of Lancaster's soldiers, who were travelling to the coast to embark for the French wars (HRO Eccl 159286; 159366). These events foreshadow the invasion of Farnham Park by 100 rioters in 1642 and the depredations of the Waltham Blacks in the eighteenth century, when periods of general unrest left the bishop's parks vulnerable once more (Manning 1984, 9; Thompson 1975, 228).

RABBIT WARRENS

Rabbit warrens, or coney garths, were often situated within parks. It seems that rabbits were uncommon on bishopric lands in Hampshire in the early thirteenth century, and they are not noted in the pipe rolls until some were caught at Swainstone in the Isle of Wight in 1219-20 (HRO Eccl 159276; Fig 1). In 1236-37 an attempt was made to stock Bishopstoke Park from the warren at Bitterne but this may have proved unsuccessful, for in 1243 Henry III could only order rabbits from three bishopric warrens in Hampshire: forty from Merdon, forty from Bitterne and a hundred from the Isle of Wight (HRO Eccl 159278; 159285; *Cal Lib R* 1240-45, 196).

During the fourteenth century, rabbits seem to have become a more significant part of the bishop's diet, and warrens were developed outside parks, notably at Longwood and Overton (Fig 1; Appendix A). Rabbits began to be caught in large numbers: in 1361–62 a man and his horse made eighteen journeys from Overton to the bishop's household at Farnham carrying 632 coney, and in 1400–1, 322 rabbits from Longwood Warren were sent to the bishop's household at Wolvesey at the time of St Giles's Fair (HRO Eccl 159372; 159405; Appendix B). The techniques of rabbit-catching were those described several centuries later by Markham: rabbits driven from their burrows by ferrets were caught in nets. At Bishop's Sutton in 1405–6, one large net called a *haye* and twelve purse nets were bought for this purpose (HRO Eccl 159409; Markham 1616, 839).

DEER MANAGEMENT

Although the bishop's parks were managed with an eye to general economic advantage, a primary function remained the provision of safe haven for deer and other game. Three species of deer – the red, the roe and the fallow – were as carefully distinguished in the bishopric pipe rolls as in other contemporary records (Appendix B).

Red deer and roe deer were native species, but the fallow deer was introduced by the Normans and rapidly became the most important beast of the chase in England (Rowley 1983, 153; Rackham 1976, 142–3). Red deer were commonly hunted on bishopric estates in Hampshire in the early thirteenth century and roe deer occasionally so. The pipe rolls suggest that by the late thirteenth century the predominance of the fallow deer had been established and by the fourteenth century references are exclusively to fallow deer. The documentary evidence is broadly supported by the evidence of faunal remains from archaeological sites in Wessex which shows that, although red and roe deer continued to occur throughout the middle ages, they were pro-

gressively outnumbered by fallow deer (Coy *et al* 1984, 38). In mainly thirteenth-century levels at Southampton Castle, bones of the fallow deer were even at that date commoner than those of red deer, while roe deer remains were completely absent. At Portchester Castle, red and fallow deer bones have been found in equal numbers in pre-1320 levels, whereas fallow deer bones have been found four times as frequently as red deer bones in 1320–1400 levels (Bourdillon 1986, 75; Grant 1985, 246).

A partial explanation for the growing predominance of the fallow deer may lie in differing policies of management. Although separate parks were sometimes provided for red and roe deer (Shirley 1867, 230 & 236), they do not seem to have been commonly kept in the bishop's parks but, as indigenous, wild animals, they roamed across the bishop's chases and areas of free warren. For example, red deer were hunted in the warren at Marwell in 1246–47 and in the warren at Bishop's Waltham in 1248–49, and in 1243 Henry III ordered his huntsmen to take ten roe deer in the warrens of the bishopric (HRO Eccl 159289; 159290; *Cal Lib R* 1240–45, 198). Fallow deer, on the other hand, seem always to have been kept within the protection of the park pale and thus relatively safe from poachers. This distinction was nicely made during vacancies in the bishopric in 1240 and 1260, when the king's huntsmen were ordered to take fallow deer from the parks of the bishopric but red deer from its chases and roe deer in its warrens (*Cal Lib R* 1240–45, 2 & 198; 1260–67, 513; Appendix B).

It is noteworthy that the cull of venison from the royal forest of Pamber in Hampshire declined after 1270 (Stamper 1983, 48), and this may indicate a reduction of wild deer numbers outside bishopric estates. The parallel decline of red and roe deer numbers on bishopric estates may be related to their wild and unprotected state, and this in turn may imply a need to turn away from native wild deer as a primary source of venison to more intensively managed fallow deer, protected within the park and carefully tended during the winter.

Fallow deer were imported from Mediterranean countries and suffered in hard English winters, when it was necessary to provide them with food as well as shelter (Markham 1616, 670; Shirley 1867, 6). The pipe rolls contain a few references to winter-feeding of fallow deer on bishopric estates in the thirteenth century, but during the fourteenth century oats were frequently fed to deer, as at East Meon in the winter of 1357-58 (HRO Eccl 159368).

It was also important for deer to have constant access to water (Markham 1616, 668; Figs 3 & 4), and where there was no natural stream, parks were provided with a man-made water supply from at least the mid-thirteenth century. There were ponds for deer at Merdon and East Meon in 1262-63, a well for deer at Bishop's Sutton in 1268-69, and a water trough for the beasts of the chase at Hambledon Park in 1271-72 (HRO Eccl 159294; 159450A; 159300).

Deer-houses, to provide shelter in severe weather, do not seem to have been constructed until the time of Bishop Edington. In 1364-65 a deer-house was built in Hambledon Park and another in Fareham Park, and in the same year two deer-houses were erected at Merdon – possibly one in each park (Appendix B; HRO Eccl 159375). A fifteenth-century deer-house in Essex resembled a large open sided barn (Ryan 1985, 1 & 19) and the deer-house in Fareham Park was not small, since it cost 38s 3d to construct and those at Merdon were properly carpentered, timber-framed buildings with thatched roofs. In 1375-7, the deer in Bishop's Sutton Park were fed from four cribs sixty-eight feet in length and these may well have been installed in a deer-house (HRO Eccl 159456). In comparison, the medieval bishop of Durham's shelters for deer in Stanhope Park were mere 'hovells' (Drury 1976, 143).

Thus, the winter-feeding, watering and shelter of deer in bishopric parks had reached fairly sophisticated levels by the mid-fourteenth century, by which time interchange of live deer between episcopal parks was fairly common, suggesting that the need to cross-breed deer to improve stock was well under-

stood. Nets were used to catch the deer and in 1354-55, a net had to be repaired before twenty-one fallow deer could be caught in Hambledon Park and transported to Bishop's Sutton Park. Live deer were carried in specially constructed carts, and when East Meon Park was restocked in 1332-33, two carts were made with two wickerwork cages – '*cum ij pottis de virgis pro dictis bestiis carandis*' (HRO Eccl 159345; 159365; Shirley 1865, 242).

The pipe rolls do not record the number of deer kept in the bishop's parks, but they suggest that they were not stocked to the limit – that is, one deer per acre of good land. A partial explanation for this apparent under-exploitation may rest in the fact that sheep, which compete with deer for fine grasses, were kept in several bishopric parks (Shirley 1867, 240). Later evidence suggests that parks were stocked at a ratio of one deer per two or three acres. In the sixteenth century, the 500 acre park at East Meon had sufficient herbage to sustain 160 deer, and in the nineteenth century the 440 acres of Hursley, or Merdon Inner Park, held 220 deer (VCH Hants iii, 67; Shirley 1867, 105). If this ratio held good in the fourteenth century when the bishop held about 8500 acres of parkland in Hampshire, a total deer population of between 3000 and 4000 deer is implied.

Unfortunately, information on deer culls is too patchy to allow the sure calculation of a sustainable annual yield from the bishop's parks. In 1242, during a vacancy in the bishopric, the king's huntsmen were sent to take five bucks in Highclere Park and ten bucks each from the parks of Merdon, Bishop's Waltham, Bishopstoke and Farnham. This was probably not excessive exploitation, for in 1260, during another vacancy, the king's men were specifically asked to hunt in the bishopric parks and chases where they might do least damage (*Cal Lib R* 1240-45, 142; 1251-60, 513). Slightly larger culls were recorded in the bishopric pipe rolls for the fourteenth century. In 1357-58, twenty fallow deer were taken at East Meon, and in 1358-59, thirteen fallow deer were taken at Hambledon, seventeen at

Highclere and nineteen at Marwell (HRO Eccl 159368; 159369). The limited nature of the records allows no more than a tentative suggestion that increased culls may have been related to improved management.

THE FINANCIAL COST

It has been observed that the considerable expense of park maintenance made venison a luxury that only the very wealthy could afford – although the unscrupulous could purloin it (Platt 1978, 47). The bishopric pipe rolls offer a detailed picture of the cost of the hunt and of park upkeep relative to the bishop's total income. They suggest that routine expenditure remained fairly stable throughout the high middle ages, although some bishops were inclined to spend more on new works. However, this inclination does not seem to have depended greatly on birth or background, for both Aymer de Valence and William of Wykeham spent freely on park extensions, yet one was of royal blood and the other of relatively humble origin.

The roll for the year 1332–33 is rich in relevant detail and shows that at least £100 was spent on the bishop's parks in Hampshire in that year (HRO Eccl 159345). Of this sum, £26 6s 8d was spent in keeping one huntsman, three grooms, eight greyhounds and twenty-four running dogs at Bishop's Waltham for 316 days. Clearly, this omits seven weeks of the year, nor is it likely to account for the full hunt. In particular, it omits the expenses of knight or gentlemen huntsmen, three of whom stayed at Highclere in 1359 at a cost to the bishop of 12s 5d a day (HRO Eccl 159369). Although wages were sporadically recorded, the cost of employing parkers at 60s 8d a year and warreners at 45s 6d a year could scarcely have been less than £20 for the whole of Hampshire in 1332–33.

Thus, against the sum of at least £46 for the food and wages of the hunt and park keepers in Hampshire, the cost of repairing park fences in 1332–33 was only about £20. This comparison is of interest, if only because

it has been claimed that the upkeep of park fences dominated park economics (Rackham 1976, 144). On the other hand, there were concealed costs. Eighteen shillings was spent in this year on sawing and cutting 4500 pales for the park fence at Marwell. But the pales were made from the bishop's wood which could otherwise have been sold for cash. Likewise, the pipe rolls generally ignore that part of the maintenance of the park pales at Bishop's Waltham and Farnham which was undertaken by the bishop's tenants as part of their customary services (BL Eg 2418). In the year 1332–33, these concealed costs may be balanced against extraordinary expenditure of £1 15s 8d on restocking East Meon Park and approximately £37 on extending the park pale at Marwell.

Between 1321 and 1331, the total annual income from bishopric estates was £4800–5500 (Titow 1962, 67–8). Thus expenditure in 1332–33 could be made in the reasonable expectation of an annual income of about £5000. From this income, the bishop was prepared to spend over £100 (or about one fiftieth) on his parks in Hampshire and no doubt further sums on other parks in his manors in six other counties. While the evidence for other years is less complete, it seems fairly clear that expenditure in 1332–33 was not grossly unrepresentative and the figures for this year indicate the value which medieval bishops placed upon a ready supply of venison.

Finally, the bishop's expenses in 1332–33 can be compared with royal expenditure later in the fourteenth century. In Edward III's later years, the royal wardrobe was spending £80 a year on the king's dogs and huntsmen (Given-Wilson 1986, 61). Although this sum did not account for park upkeep, it did apparently cover royal estates throughout the land. The comparison is not exact but it may support the suggestion that, though the bishop's expenditure was not of royal proportions, he was nonetheless spending princely sums on the episcopal hunt and deer parks during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

CONCLUSION

In many ways, the pattern of hunting and management in the bishop's parks remained relatively unchanged during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, we have noted the completion of the great age of park creation in the early thirteenth century, and after a break of over a hundred years, an Indian summer of imparkment under William of Wykeham. While the thirteenth century seems to have witnessed a decline in the chasing of wild roe and red deer across open country, the next century saw the growing dominance of the parkland fallow deer, fed during the winter in the deer-houses which were first documented – in the bishopric records at least – in the second half of the fourteenth century. There is some evidence that this improved method of stock-keeping allowed more deer to be culled, and rabbits were certainly more fully exploited as a source of food for the bishop's table in the fourteenth century.

The bishops of Winchester continued to maintain their parks in Hampshire during the fifteenth century, at a time when the purely agricultural element of large ecclesiastical estates in the south of England was gradually being let to tenant farmers (Hare 1985). In 1477–78, repairs were made to the fences around the parks at Bishop's Sutton, Bishop's Waltham, East Meon, Hambledon, Merdon, Marwell, Fareham and Farnham and there was extensive work on the park lodge at Bishopstoke. In 1499–1500, the picture was substantially the same and, in addition, hay was bought to feed the deer at East Meon during the winter (HRO Eccl 155840; 155850). However, there were already signs of a decline, for by 1500 the rabbit warrens at Highclere and Bishop's Sutton had been destroyed. It was during the political upheavals of the sixteenth century that the bishop's estates and parks at Marwell and Merdon were alienated from the bishopric and other parks began seriously to fall into decay. But this is the subject for another study.

APPENDIX A

A GAZETTEER OF THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER'S PARKS AND WARRENS IN HAMPSHIRE

(Unless otherwise stated, approximate areas are derived from the relevant 25 inch OS maps).

Bishop's Sutton (Fig 3)

About 320 acres in the southeast corner of the parish. Hunting was recorded here from 1211–12, but there is no specific reference to a park until 1252–53, when a 'new' park was made. The word 'new' may denote an extension to an existing park, since in 1552 Sutton Park adjoined the wood called 'New Park' (HRO Eccl 159271; 159291A; 136/1:52). A survey of the same date records that the lodge stood 'faier upon a hill towards the northe end of the parke'. The park was still in existence in 1649 when it contained a warren for coneyes (*VCH Hants* iii, 41–42).

Bishopstoke (Fig 4)

About 600 acres in the north corner of the parish and 1 mile west of the palace at Marwell. On its eastern boundary, the bank is still c 3 feet high and 10 feet across. Probably made in the twelfth century, since the earliest bishopric pipe rolls refer to it as a going concern. Substantial remains of the park lug were marked on the tithe map of 1840 (HRO, Bishopstoke Tithe Award and Map).

Bishop's Waltham (Fig 3)

About 1000 acres lay immediately west of the palace. Hewlett and Hassall traced the park boundary, but mistakenly placed the palace within the park through identifying Bank St, Bishop's Waltham with the park bank. In fact, Bank St derives its name from a financial institution (Hewlett *et al* 1971, 33; Hiscock 1986, 32).

In 1241, during a vacancy in the bishopric, Henry III ordered his huntsmen to take 15 fallow does and 15 red deer hinds in the park of Waltham. (*Cal Lib R* 1240–45, 95). This may indicate that Bishop's Waltham Park was already divided into 2 enclosures, since red and fallow deer are incompatible species. The disparking of the two parks at Bishop's Waltham took place in 1663 (Hewlett *et al* 1971, 33–36; Shirley 1867, 236).

Bitterne

Area and exact location unknown at present. Probably dates from the twelfth century since the bishopric pipe rolls of the early thirteenth century refer to hunting there, e.g. in 1211–12, a huntsman with 25 dogs stayed for 6 days. However, the park is not specifically mentioned in the pipe rolls until 1248–49 (HRO Eccl 159271; 159290).

East Meon (Fig 3)

About 500 acres in 1647 (*VCH Hants* iii, 67). May date from the twelfth century, since the bishopric pipe roll of 1217–18 records hunting here. However, no specific reference to a park until 1224–26 when a 'new park' was made. Probably only an addition to an existing park since, in 1858, New Park was a field within the park. At that date, Lodge Piece, probably marking the site of the parker's lodge, was situated on a hill-top in the centre of the park (HRO Eccl 159274; 159279; 159280; 155513/22).

Ecchinswell Warren

The warren of coneys called Ashley and Tidgrove with a little house called The Lodge was held by the bishop of Winchester in the early seventeenth century (*VCH Hants* iv, 254).

Fareham

About 300 acres in the west corner of the parish. The present Roche Court is said to mark the site of an episcopal residence supposedly built there by Bishop Peter des Roches (1204–36). No reference has been found to hunting at Fareham until 1252–53, and this lends some weight to the view that the park was des Roches's creation (Privett 1949, 18; HRO Eccl 159291A). In 1538 there was no great plenty of male deer in the park, although deer, a park pale and a lodge were marked on an early seventeenth century map (Privett 1949, 19; Minns 1906, 203).

Farnham

Old or Great Park contained over 800 acres and lay west of Farnham Castle, Surrey. Hunting here in 1210–11, although the park is not specifically mentioned in the pipe rolls until 1220–21 when it was clearly well established. In about 1369, it was extended by some 300 acres across the Surrey boundary into Hampshire (*VCH Surrey* iii, 584; Manning 1984, 1, 5; Holt 1964, 42; HRO Eccl 159277; Brooks 1984b, 33).

Farnham Little Park, covering c 300 acres, was made about 1376. It lies east of the castle and survives as an ornamental park. E P Thompson describes the parks as in decline in the eighteenth century (*VCH Surrey* iii, 584; Brooks 1984b, 33; Thompson 1975, 133, 231).

Hambledon (Fig 3)

No reference has been found to hunting here before 1251–53 when a 'new park' called '*parcus de holt*' was made. In 1647, a parliamentary survey recorded a park of some 300 acres (Roberts 1943, 298). Mr A Negus and Col K A B Roberts have traced the park bounds from Dog Kennel Lane and Park House in the west to Park Wood in the north and Broadhalfpenny Down in the east; the southern boundary is more doubtful (HRO Eccl 159447; 159291A).

Highclere

About 3000 acres in 1859 (White 1859, 483). Already established in 1208–9, it was extended in 1370–71. The pipe roll of 1220–21 shows that the park was situated next to the bishop's residence (Hall 1908, 6; HRO Eccl 159380; 159277).

Hursley Park (formerly Merdon inner park)*Longwood Warren* (Fig 1)

In 1810, this was a 1000 acre tract of downland lying about 2 miles east of Winchester and extending into Morestead and Tichborne (bishopric parishes) and Easton, Avington and Ovington (formerly held by the priory of St Swithun's). Longwood was on the northern bounds of an ancient warren in the late thirteenth century when Bishop John de Pontoise and the Prior of St Swithun's settled their respective rights there (OS map 6 inch to 1 mile 1810; Deedes 1924 ii, 717). In 1612, the warrener undertook to leave at least 1121 burrows, and in the nineteenth century, rabbits from Longwood were noted for their delicate flavour. Postan misleadingly located it north of Winchester and called it 'Longbarrow Warren' (*VCH Hants* iii, 334; Sheail 1971, 48, 82; Postan 1975, 25).

Marwell (Fig 4)

Probably c 800 acres at its fullest extent. The bounds of the park have been traced by Mr Hartas-Jackson (HRO Top Owslebury 1). Probably a creation of the twelfth century, since it was already

well established in 1208-9. The park was enlarged in 1332-33 (Hall 1908, 54; HRO Eccl 159345; Roberts 1988).

Merdon (Fig 5)

Two parks covered a total of c 800 acres. Both the Out Park and Inner Park are probably twelfth century in origin, and they have been assigned by Crawford - apparently without evidence - to the episcopate of Henry de Blois (1129-1171). The bishop's huntsman and his dogs were at Merdon in 1208-9 and the Out Park (*forinsecus parvus*) was well established by 1211-12 (Crawford 1951, 109; Hall 1908, 35; HRO Eccl 159271). A detailed map of 1588 suggests that the park was still stocked with deer, but by that time Merdon Castle had fallen into disuse and in c 1554, Sir Philip Hoby had built a large house in the centre of the Inner Park (HRO photocopy 390; VCH Hants iii, 418; Peach 1974, 19; Shirley 1867, 87 & 105). The Inner Park (*intrinsecus parvus*) is called Hursley Park today, whereas in the Middle Ages, both outer and inner parks were named after the bishop's castle at Merdon.

Overton

The bishop held a warren here in the early fourteenth century which was frequently a source of rabbits for episcopal feasts at Farnham Castle. By 1648, the lodge had been demolished and in 1751 the warren itself was no more (Baigent 1897, 249; VCH Hants iv, 213).

Swainstone, Isle of Wight

The bishops of Winchester held land here in the thirteenth century. Between 1219 and 1221, rabbits and venison were transported from Swainstone to bishopric residences on the mainland. In 1243, during a vacancy in the see, the keepers of the bishopric were ordered to take 100 rabbits from the Isle of Wight and to send them to Westminster for the king (HRO Eccl 159276, 159277; Cal Lib R 1240-1245, 196).

Wield

Area unknown, but probably no more than c 400 acres; it mainly served Bishop's Sutton Palace nearby. In 1210-11, the bishop's huntsmen visited Wield on several occasions. However, the park is not specifically mentioned in the rolls until 1256-57 when it is called '*parvus de bokenore*' (Holt 1964, 151; HRO Eccl 159292). Bugnor Hill lies at the western tip of the parish where it marches with Old

Alresford. A sixteenth century perambulation of Old Alresford shows that the park at Wield lay next to Bugnor (VCH Hants iii, 304).

APPENDIX B

NOTES ON HUNTING TERMS USED IN THE PIPE ROLLS

The terms for the various species of deer are well known from other sources (Colebourn 1983, 20; Steane 1985, 163). The red deer stag (*cervus*) and hind (*bissa*), the fallow buck (*damus*) and doe (*dama*) and the roe deer (*capreolus*) are so named in the rolls. The word 'buck' in the published calendars of *Liberate* Rolls is a translation of the Latin word '*damus*'.

Although '*fera*' is a generic term for beasts of the chase (Latham 1965, 188), in the bishopric pipe rolls it seems always to denote deer. Hence '*domus pro feris*' has been translated deer-house. The sole reference that has been found to wild boar in the rolls describes them as '*porci silvestri et indomestici*'.

Hunting methods are rarely indicated but '*curro ad*' (run at) implies the chase, whereas '*berso*' or '*bercio*' implies driving and shooting and hence the stable (Latham 1965, 49; Baillie-Graham 1909, 122).

In the bishopric pipe rolls the bishop's residences are always clearly distinguished from the parker's lodge, which is called '*logia*'. Crown records generally make the same distinction (*pers com* H M Colvin, Esq) but it has been suggested that some royal houses were primarily hunting lodges and Edward III's house within Lyndhurst Park, Hampshire was actually called 'a lodge' - '*logia de Hatheberg*' (Barley 1986, 81; Brown *et al* 1963 ii, 984).

Venison was often sent to the bishop's household at Winchester for St Giles's Fair, a time commonly referred to as '*in feria beati egidii*' but also '*in tempore papillionis*' (Titow 1969, 194n).

An area of free warren or '*warenna*' was distinguished in thirteenth century rolls from the smaller area where one species of warrenable game - the rabbit - was kept. What we call a 'rabbit warren' today was generally called a 'coney garth' (*cunegaria*) in the thirteenth century rolls.

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