To browse and mast and meadow glades: new evidence of shieling practice from the Weald of South-East England

Andrew Margetts*

Abstract
The Weald of South-East England has been traditionally seen as a 'marginal' landscape, with a distinctive woodland economy and history of colonisation. The origins of medieval Wealden settlement and the perception of its marginality may in part be linked to the prevalence of trees, unrewarding soils, and a history of pastoralism rather than arable farming. For much of the early medieval period the area existed within a system of transhumance. In the summer and autumn, herders would use droveways to move swine and cattle from parent settlements, located in the more favourable arable areas, to detached seasonal settlements within the Wealden interior.

Despite the scarcity of direct documentary evidence, indicators contained within place names, environmental data, and the fabric of the landscape itself contribute to the recognition of a ‘detached’ stage of Wealden usage. This paper will explore evidence for new forms of shieling hut encountered during recent excavations. It will suggest that in much of England the word ‘shieling’ is a misnomer, being far more applicable to the seasonal sites of upland areas. In southern England the terms (ge)sell, scydd/icedd, and schittas may be more appropriate and construction in timber rather than stone may have been more characteristic.

Keywords: Weald, place names, shieling, (ge)sell, summering, swine pannage, seasonal settlement, transhumance.

Résumé
Ruminants et balanophages dans les clairières : de nouvelles preuves d’habitations saisonnières dans le Weald du sud-est de l’Angleterre

Le Weald du sud-est de l’Angleterre a été traditionnellement considéré comme une région «en marge», avec une économie forestière distinc et une histoire de colonisation. Les origines des unités d’habitation médiévales dans le Weald et la perception de sa marginalité peuvent être en partie liées à la prévalence des arbres, des sols infructueux et à une histoire de pastoralisme plutôt que de culture. Pendant une grande partie du début du Moyen Âge, le Weald a connu un système de transhumance. En été...
et en automne, les éleveurs utilisaient des sentiers pour déplacer les porcs et les bovins des unités d’habitation principales, situées dans les zones plus favorables aux cultures arables, vers des unités d’habitation saisonnières isolées à l’intérieur du Weald.


Mots-clés : Weald, toponymes, cabanes dites « shieling », (ge)sell, estivage, panage, habitation saisonnière, transhumance.

Zusammenfassung

Viehwirtschaft im Wald: saisonale frühmittelalterliche Siedlungen in der Weald Region Südostenglands

Der sogenannte Weald in Südenland wurde seit je her als Grenzregion angesehen. Als Landschaft zeichnet er sich durch eine ausgeprägte Waldwirtschaft aus und hat außerdem eine lange Besiedlungsgeschichte. Die Wurzeln der mittelalterlichen Weald-Siedlungen und die Vorstellung, dass der Weald eine „Grenzregion“ war, stammen teilweise auch daher, dass sich diese Landschaft durch ein stark bewaldetes Gebiet mit unfruchtbarem Boden auszeichnete; hier wurde deshalb seit langer Zeit eine intensive Viehwirtschaft der Agrarwirtschaft vorgezogen.

Im Frühmittelalter wurde die Region vornehmlich als Sommer- und Herbstweide für Vieh genutzt: Hirten trieben Schweine und Rinder von den Stammsiedlungen, die sich in Regionen mit besseren Böden befanden, in den Weald hinein auf die Sommerweiden. Hier befanden sich nur saisonal bewohnbare, offene Siedlungen.


Schlagwörter: Ortsnamen, shieling, (ge)sell, Sommerweiden, Eichelmast, saisonal-bedingte Siedlungen, Wanderweidewirtschaft.

Introduction

Within early medieval England, the origins of seasonal settlement are almost certainly linked to systems of detachments or outlying settlements. These are thought to have been a product of so-called ‘multiple estates’ (Jones 1979). The system relied on the exploitation of various ecological zones or resources by the implantation of specialised settlements. These had the ability to distribute the resultant products within the estate. Operation of these ‘outstations’ could help manage risk by diversifying resources across contrasting environmental zones.

Regardless of the importance of seasonal settlement to elements of the economy such as industry, hunting, and fishing, in the multiple estate model, the vast majority of seasonal settlements were involved in some form of pastoral agriculture. A class of these sites are known as ‘shielings’. These constituted the summertime habitations of graziers whilst they pastured their livestock on the commons. The shelters themselves comprised huts, or loose groups of huts, usually found within upland contexts and often associated with animal pens. They are most frequently interpreted as the temporary dwellings of a single person, being generally small with room for just a bed, a hearth, and a few belongings. Though the term is most often applied to the seasonal settlements of northern Britain (e.g. Ramm et al. 1970), they have their equivalent in the hafodlunawos of Wales and Cornwall (Miller 1967; Herring 1996) and the booley huts of Ireland (Gardiner 2008). The terminology for these seasonal dwellings may differ across the British Isles, but it is generally agreed that their occupants were engaged in the making of dairy products as well as the gathering and nurturing of livestock.

Despite an increasing awareness and interest in this class of seasonal settlement, their study has generally suffered from a lack of systematic excavation. This neglect is compounded by persistent problems with dating their use. Indeed, the dearth of material culture associated with shieling sites is one of the recurrent problems with...
identifying seasonal phases of activity and increases the difficulties of recognizing the already ephemeral remains left by short periods of occupation. These problems have led to a lack of absolute dating for both the buildings and the associated practice. What is known is that the system of transhumance, to which shielings relate, had originated within England by the early medieval period.

Where excavation has provided evidence of scientifically dated examples, the early medieval phase of shieling practice appears to be confirmed. At Stencoose in Cornwall, a small subrectangular hut, probably associated with transhumance and summertime grazing, produced radiocarbon dates of the early 5th to mid-8th centuries AD (Jones 2000–2001). A potentially later transhumance structure (hearth dated AD 660–780) was excavated at Horton in Upper Ribblesdale (Yorkshire), confirming the hypothesis that it was an early medieval shieling hut (Johnson 2012). In addition to these rectangular stone-built examples from northern and western England, it has also been suggested that isolated 'sunken-feature buildings' of 'Anglo-Saxon' type played a role as temporary dwellings for seasonal herders (Fox 2012, 141–144). At Wharram Percy in the Yorkshire Wolds (Wraithmell 2012, 95) and at North Marden on the Sussex Downs (Drewett et al. 1986) early-middle Anglo-Saxon sunken-feature buildings were interpreted as temporary shepherds' shelters (Gardiner 2018, 111).

English shieling practice appears to have extended from these early roots until the early modern era, when eyewitness accounts began to document seasonal settlement still in operation within 'marginal' upland environments (e.g. Carlisle AD 1599: Camden 1722, 1079). Since the time of Camden there have been many studies of transhumance and the type of seasonal settlement that accompanied it. The system essentially provided a means of utilising marginal pastures while alleviating pressure on grazing land close to the home settlements. Though much scholarly attention has been applied to the visible upland phenomenon of summer settlements, it is clear that equivalent sites existed within the lowland zone. Indeed, from the 6th to the 9th century, transhumance in England appears to have been a widespread, 'perhaps even ubiquitous' practice (Gardiner 2018, 115).

The small corpus of excavated English sites has overwhelmingly been associated with extant and upstanding stone-built remains. Shieling sites in the lowlands and in woodland landscapes in particular are far less recognisable, being constructed in perishable timber and often being subject to destructive taphonomic processes (e.g. ploughing). A similar situation may be present in Scotland, where the upland bias in the distribution of shieling huts could be the result of agricultural improvement (Dixon 2018, 71). Our perception of what we view as an English 'shieling' may be clouded by the greater visibility and survival of stone-built upland sites. The more widespread and perhaps even earlier form of herder's hut was possibly built in timber. This article will explore recently excavated examples of herder's huts from the Weald of South-East England. It will suggest that in much of England the word 'shieling' is a misnomer, being far more applicable to the seasonal sites of areas in the north of England covered by the Danelaw (areas settled by Viking immigrants where the laws of the Danes held sway).

The Weald and seasonality
South-East England comprises the modern counties of Kent, Surrey, and East and West Sussex. It is an area of banded geologies and varied topography that has led to the definition of a number of character areas or pays. These zones transcend arbitrary administrative boundaries and have provided a framework for the study of the South-East's historic landscape. The area known as the Weald, which comes from the Old English word for forest, occupies a central inner core within the South-East. It is surrounded by more-favourable arable areas with links to the continent and the English Channel coast. The Weald encompasses over 60% of the region's entire land mass. It is divided between the elevated, largely sandstone High Weald and the predominantly clay Low Weald. These are situated in a great bowl framed by the chalk escarpments of the North and South Downs (Fig. 1).

The Weald retains its wooded nature to this day. It is largely occupied by soils of poor arable quality and together with the dense tree coverage this has hindered archaeological site recognition. The area has played a somewhat peripheral role in British archaeology, due to problems of site recognition and a historical misconception that it was devoid of significant activity throughout prehistory and into the medieval period. The region has, however, played a prominent role in forming British understanding of the development of wooded landscapes, historic ironworking, seasonal settlement, and the transhumant's role in shaping the countryside.

Examination by historians and historical geographers has shown that the 6th-century Weald was most likely acting as an intercommanable area for the South-East's communities as a whole. By the 7th and 8th centuries, however, settlements in more 'favourable' pays were beginning to create independent detached woodland pastures within the Wealden interior. These were used for the seasonal pannage of swine and the grazing of cattle. After the 8th century, a distinction occurred, with the resultant areas forming 'sub-commons' belonging to individual estates. These were further divided until the 11th century to create ‘manorial denmi’ (Witney 1976; Everitt 1986), often simplistically interpreted as seasonal swine pastures in the forest.

The pattern of seasonal Wealden exploitation led to the development of a road network, elements of which often
survive as deep holloways or as wide lanes with significant areas of roadside waste. In much of the Low Weald an aligned pattern of routeways predominates, a product of the territorial links between early parent settlements and their detached Wealden outliers. Within central Sussex in particular, these territorial links are readily apparent in the patterns formed through land tenure and the relationships of early place names and droveways (Fig. 2).

The regularity of these droveways is a reoccurring feature of English transhumance landscapes. The pattern may have been designed to allow neighbouring communities to travel concurrently to their respective summer pastures. Fox (2012, 195-196) for example has suggested that similar road patterns on Dartmoor helped prevent congestion while ensuring roadside pastures were not grazed out by the herds of neighbouring communities. The area of parallel Wealden droveways has been previously investigated by Chatwin and Gardiner (2005). They have shown the parallel tracks and long-distance field boundaries that characterise the area to have been in place by at least the 10th century as manorial, parochial, and hundredal boundaries respect this earlier land division. The droveways that form the major axial elements within this system have often been presumed to be of early medieval date as they, and the method of resource exploitation they represent, are reflected in contemporary Anglo-Saxon charters and place-name evidence.

The tenurial arrangements, nomenclature, and landscape features described above allow some degree of identification of seasonal sites. Parochial detachments (outlying parts of parishes) can provide indications of medieval patterns of landholding and manorial links between parent settlements and their detached seasonal sites. Examination of the pattern of historic parishes in the Weald shows an archipelago of parochial detachments fringing ancient wood-pasture commons. These are often interpreted as being linked to medieval phases of transhumance. One such parochial detachment has been investigated by the author during excavations for Archaeology South-East (UCL Institute of Archaeology) at Broadbridge Heath, West Sussex (Margetts 2018). Broadbridge was the parochial outlier of Sullington, an ancient parish on the South Downs facing the Weald. During the 19th century Sullington covered almost a thousand hectares and of that, c. 50 ha lay in its detached portions at Broadbridge. It is probable that the woodland that rendered 30 swine from pannage attached
to Sullington at Domesday (AD 1086; Morris 1976, 13, 12) was located at this Wealden outlier. Tenurial links between Sullington and Broadbridge remained until the early 15th century and the area would continue to be a parochial detachment of Sullington until 1878.

A droveway named Wickhurst Lane linking Sullington with Broadbridge was investigated archaeologically (Fig. 3). It comprised a holloway as well as droveside ditches following its course. The lane skirted the base of a prominent hill known as High Wood and artefactual evidence suggests it was in use from at least the 11th century. The name 'Wickhurst' includes the Old English elements *wic* (‘a dwelling, a building or collection of buildings for special purposes, a farm, a dairy farm’: Smith 1956b, 257) and *hyrst* (‘a hillock, a copse’: Smith 1956a, 276) and it seems likely that connotations of a 'wooded eminence' would indicate the immediate vicinity of High Wood as the most likely topographic origin of 'the Wickhurst'. This Wickhurst, alias High Wood, was ringed by an oval ditched enclosure (Fig. 4). These features which Roberts and Wrathmell (2002, 152-155) have termed 'loop form' or 'ring-fenced enclosures' are a reasonably common phenomenon of Britain's historic landscape. They are characterised by distinctive curving or oval boundaries and appear to have been established in unenclosed landscapes as early intake from the waste. The
fact that these and similar oval-shaped enclosures appear to predate development of the surrounding landscape indicates their early origins and they have been noted as elements of wooded (Chatwin – Gardiner 2005), upland (Fleming – Ralph 1982), and wetland (Rippon 2000) areas across the British Isles. Wickhurst Lane, which was clearly in use by the 11th century and probably, considering its connection with a parent settlement at Sullington, in existence by the middle Anglo-Saxon period, respected this oval enclosure (Margetts 2018).

The seasonal Wealden economy
During the seasonal settlement phase, the Weald is thought to have comprised a vast wood-pasture resource, with a mosaic environment encompassing woodland, more open pasture, and heath. Swine pannage is assumed to have been a major element in the woodland economy and the transhumance of pig herds has been inferred from Anglo-Saxon charters and place-name evidence. As intimated above, it is the place name denn that is most often ascribed to detached pastures for swine,
and the pre-Conquest references to the *den-bæra* of the Weald (e.g., Sawyer, S 447) are usually understood in this regard. Many pre-Conquest charters refer to pasture for swine (*pascua porcorum*: e.g., Sawyer, S 562) or the right to mast, evidence that is augmented by the suggestions of Domesday. Within the Survey, the association of pigs with Wealden pasture is reinforced, because the size of woodlands in the South-East is measured in terms of the numbers of swine grazed or rendered as a right of pannage. Indeed, the Kentish Domesday makes only one mention
of wood pasture without reference to pigs, at Nackington on the edge of the forest of Hardres (Morris 1983, 5,126).

Despite the historic association with the autumnal pannage of swine, it is clear that animals other than pigs were taken from parent settlements into the Weald at certain times of the year. The Kentish place name Somerden (‘the summer denn’; Everett 1986, 37-38) indicates the months preceding the pannage season were associated with detached pasturage within the Wealden interior. Cattle as well as sheep and goats also feature within the Old English place names of the region (e.g. Cowden, Kent; Shipley; Sussex and Gatwick, Surrey) and it is possible that a summering phase preceded use of the wood pastures for swine (Margetts 2020). The importance of cattle to the Weald may have been underplayed in the past and whilst sheep were not suited to the region’s wet heavy clays, small flocks were recorded in the area at permanent farms during the 14th century (Pelham 1934). The infringement of ancient common rights that was documented in the later medieval period, when the seasonal usage of earlier times was breaking down, may tentatively suggest the mixed nature of herds that were grazed in the Wealden pastures. Thomas Tilby and Philip atte Nalrette are named in a 14th-century court case for having broken the close of the Bishop of Chichester at Wisborough (Peckham 1942, 258-259). They, ‘et armis’, with ‘swords, bows and arrows, broke his close . . . and with horses, oxen, cows, pigs and sheep feed and trampled down his grass’. Though found guilty of this trespass, the defendants complained that they and their ancestors had common of pasture for all beasts on this land except for the time between Michaelmas and Martinmas (Peckham 1942, 258-259).

The Old English (ge)sell

During the 6th to 10th centuries, when Wealden transhumance and seasonal settlement is thought to have been at its height, the attendant herders would have required temporary accommodation whilst pasturing their livestock on the commons. Place names of South-East England include elements of Old English that have equivalent or similar meanings to the northern words denoting summer pastures or temporary settlement of uplands. The place-name elements (ge)sell (‘a shed, a shelter for animals, a herdsman’s hut’: Smith 1956b, 117) and scydd/scedd (‘a hovel, a shed, a pig-sty’: Smith 1956b, 115) are reasonably common in both Kent and Sussex. The names indicate similar seasonal exploitation to the Viking words sæt, skal, and shæle-, which are cognates of the Old English scelot/scelting from which we get shieling. Rare glimpses of these seasonal huts are found within Anglo-Saxon charter evidence with references such as those to ‘the swineherds’ sheds of the Palingas or people of Poling (AD 953; Sawyer, S 562). Thus gesells, scydds, or shettas may mark the Old English equivalents of shielings or hafods of the Northumbrian, Scandinavian, or Welsh areas.

New evidence gleaned from the author’s excavations has begun to shed light on the possible form of Wealden transhumance shelters and seasonal herders’ huts. Within Sullington’s detachment mentioned earlier, close to the oval enclosure and bordering a stream, were two small buildings and a sub-rectangular enclosure. The enclosure was defined by shallow ditches that produced a single sherd of Anglo-Saxon pottery (dating from the mid-8th to early 11th century). It was interpreted as a livestock pen that could be closed by removable wattle hurdles (Fig. 5). The buildings would have been constructed in timber measuring roughly 3 by 4 m. In plan they resembled the stone-built shielings, hafods, and booley huts of northern and western Britain, but only produced tiny worn sherds of Roman and later medieval pottery. These fragments were thought to be unreliable dating evidence, being considered residual and intrusive, respectively. It is unlikely that the structures belonged to the later medieval period, as by this time the site was being permanently occupied with settlement characterised by large timber-built halls (Margetts 2018). It is far more likely they represent the earlier habitations of graziers, those herders who were using the animal pen whilst pasturing at the Wickhurst.

Strengthening the case for this phase of early medieval seasonal activity was evidence of a further possible building located to the northwest. This example had a depressed floor and was associated with a possible hearth made from a broken piece of Roman tegula. It also produced a single sherd of pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxon pottery and a nearby pit was filled with burnt bone and charcoal producing radiocarbon dates of the 7th to 10th centuries (Margetts 2018). The limited quantity of pottery sherds retrieved from these features may be a reflection of the complete impracticality of ceramic vessels for those engaged in transhumance. Horn, leather, and wooden containers are lighter and less prone to breakage, and so are far more likely to have been preferred by herders on the move.

Discussion

The buildings evidence described above helps illuminate the equivalent of shieling huts in areas where timber, instead of stone, was the dominant construction material. These gesells and/or scydds reflect the contemporary vernacular as well as the nomenclature of the part of England south of the Danelaw. It is likely that the evidence indicates thatched, post-built structures, with panels constructed of wattle and daub. The example with the depressed floor is reminiscent of sunken-feature buildings, isolated examples of which have been interpreted elsewhere as seasonal herders’ huts.
Though it is important not to place too much emphasis on these few excavated examples, the evidence from Wickhurst Green does pose a number of questions in relation to our understanding of seasonal settlement and shieling practice. Transhumance and associated seasonal settlement appears to have begun early within the Weald, the references to the Limenwearawalde and Weowerawealde (Sawyer, S 1180) being generally accepted as extensive seasonal pastures belonging to middle Anglo-Saxon folk groups. Not only did it emerge early, but it also appears to have ended early as well, Wealden transhumance being regarded as all but over by the late 15th century. In the small temporary buildings we see reflected the herders’ huts mentioned in Anglo-Saxon charters, perhaps shedding light on transhumance in marginal areas of the lowland zone, areas where seasonal settlement and transhumance may have been far more widespread than was once assumed (see Gardiner 2018). It could be argued that the construction of shieling huts was more likely in an upland context, due to the distances involved in journeying from permanent settlements. However, within the lowland context of South-East England journeys from parent settlements to subordinate seasonal sites could occur over significant distances of around 15-20 km.

Earlier in this paper it has been suggested that the medieval choice to build in timber may have affected the visibility of transhumance huts beyond the stone-using uplands, something which has also been postulated elsewhere (Dixon 2018). In Scotland, turf and timber shieling huts are common. Field evidence recorded by

---

Fig. 5. B14, B15, and ENC25 at Wickhurst Green (© F. Griffin and A. Margetts, Archaeology South-East).
the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland in the 1990s indicates that 51% of huts recorded over a period of 6 years had turf walls, with the remainder of the superstructure built in timber (Dixon 2018, 63). Early medieval timber-built shielings are found in Scandinavia (Magnus 1986; Emanuelson et al. 2003), although they often include masonry elements within their construction fabric (e.g. silt walls or dry stone ‘cladding’).

Evidence from the South-East appears to demonstrate that two distinct types of medieval shieling existed within this part of England. Type A comprised examples with depressed floors or buildings akin to what are usually termed Anglo-Saxon sunken-featured buildings. Isolated examples have been found in areas of ‘secondary settlement’ such as the South Downs (e.g. Drewett et al. 1986) and Romney Marsh, where a rectangular depression was interpreted as the remains of a 12th- to early 13th-century shepherd’s hut (Barber – Priestley – Bell 2008, 65-66). Type B may be represented by small rectangular buildings constructed of wattle and daub panels and timber uprights. On the wetland of the Pevensey Levels a small building measuring 5 m by 4 m was revealed at Westham School (James 2015). Though truncated, the structure was similar to those encountered at Wickhurst Green, in that it appeared to be constructed solely in timber, comprising a mix of postholes and wall trenches (James 2015, 77).

The differences between these two types of identified structures encourage analysis of English medieval terminology for seasonal herders’ huts within areas not influenced by Scandinavian settlement and nomenclature. Though elements such as cukypte and wic are relevant to areas both within and beyond the Weald, this discussion is restricted to those place names most directly related to seasonal habitations within woodland. The word (ge)sell (‘a shed, a shelter for animals, a herdsman’s hut’) is only found in charter place names (Smith 1956b, 117-118). The meaning ‘collection of sheds’ is implied by the prefix ge, which is used for forming nouns with a collective sense (Smith 1956a, 197). In Kent there are instances where the element is combined with names indicating swine (e.g. Boarzell, bār, ‘boar’), in Sussex with mast-bearing trees (Buxshall, bōc, ‘a beech-tree’) and in Surrey with dirt (Horsell, Surrey, boru, ‘filth, dirt’). It is unlikely the huts would have stood in isolation. As well as the prefix ge, names such as Wormshill (Kent, wurn, ‘multitude’) indicate they occurred in groups, some of which may have been large. Sussex names such as Benzmells (biām, ‘beam of timber squared for use’) and Breadsell (bred, ‘a board, a plank’) suggest they were built in timber.

Old English names in scydldiceddichittas (‘a hovel, a shed’) are again solely recorded in charter evidence (Smith 1956b, 115). Here, they are occasionally combined with the ingas element, suggesting territorial links associated with early folk groups (e.g. Hudelinga scydd and Palinga schittas; Sawyer, S 425, S 562). The words are often combined with place-name elements with topographic or enclosure meanings (see examples within Smith 1956b, 115) and appear to be associated with wooded places held in common (e.g. Sawyer, S 104; Sawyer, S 562). They are associated with woodland pasture (denbēræ; Sawyer, S 425), especially for swine (pascua porcorum; Sawyer, S 562).

Analysis of shieling practice has encouraged discussion of social factors within the seasonal settlement grounds. Within the Weald later medieval references to bernanni and drofmanni indicate that men were required to drive animals to pasture (e.g. Beniott de Bukeelyng and other drofmen: Redwood – Wilson 1958, 35), however, widows and women are also mentioned among the bernanni (Gulley 1960, 360), perhaps hinting that females too walked animals to the Wealden woods. ‘Maiden’ names have been shown by Fox (2012, 155-156) to be linked to dairying and the practice of transhumance in uplands. Despite the possible example of Maidstone (Kent; Smith 1956b, 32) on the nearby Greensand, mægd names appear to be absent from the wider Wealden region, cattle dairying in places being discouraged by the danger to cows and calves posed by poisonous acorns (Margetts 2020).

It is probable that during the earliest phases of medieval seasonal settlement, those lowest down the social scale were engaged within the yearly movement to the commons. Slaves comprised a significant body of agricultural labour during this time and the 11th-/12th-century Rectitudines indicates that a swineherd may either be an unfree xhtewana or a free, tribute-paying gafolswane (Liebermann 1903). Within the Sussex Weald the association of slaves with woodland pastures may be preserved in the place name Wallhurst (wealhþyrst) ‘wood of the Briton’s or serfs’ (Mawer – Stenton 1929, 211), although the compound of dryhten ‘a lord’ and geselle in Drigsell (Sussex) implies that those higher up the social scale were also engaged in shieling practice (Drigsell; ‘lord’s hut, buildings or the like’; Mawer – Stenton 1930, 458). Indeed, the value placed on Wealden seasonal pastures by those within the upper echelons of early medieval society may be reflected in names such as Kingsfold (Sussex), indicating the appropriation of detached Wealden pastures by the local elite (Margetts 2020).

Conclusion

Place names related to both shieling huts and the associated practice vary across Europe and can aid recognition of the locations of seasonal settlement. Though ‘shieling’ has been adopted as a European umbrella term for this aspect of transhumance and agricultural history, it has been demonstrated here that the word can cloud our understanding of regional seasonal settlement. In English lowland areas, such as the Weald, distinctive early transhumant settlements
existed with a nomenclature unlike that found upon the northern uplands. Within this case study, analysis of place names has shed light on the nature of shieling huts explored through excavation. Historical evidence has encouraged discussion of social factors and settlement history. Seasonal settlement linked to transhumance is apparent within the articulation and physical fabric of the Wealden landscape, an area where woodland played a key role in early medieval seasonal patterns of exploitation. Perhaps similar analysis and extensive excavations such as those presented here will in the future demonstrate the ubiquity of transhumance and associated seasonal settlement, even within landscapes not traditionally seen as wholly 'marginal'.

Acknowledgements
Thanks are due to Archaeology South-East (UCL Institute of Archaeology) for providing time to prepare this paper and for funding my time at the Ruralia conference. The summary was translated into French by Karine Le Hégarat and into German by Dot Bruns.

References
Barber, L. – Priestley-Bell, G. 2008:

Brandon, P. 2003:
The Kent and Sussex Weald. Phillimore and Co Ltd. Chichester.

Camden, W. 1722:
Britannia: or a chorographical description of Great Britain and Ireland, together with the adjacent islands, vol. II. 2nd ed. Awnsham Churchill. London.

Chatwin, D. – Gardiner, M. 2005:
Rethinking the early medieval settlement of woodlands: evidence from the western Sussex Weald. Landscape History 27, 31-49.

Dixon, P. 2018:

Drewett, P. – Holgate, B. – Foster, S. – Ellerby, H. 1986:
The excavation of a Saxon building at North Marden, West Sussex, 1982, Sussex Archaeological Collections 124, 109-118.


Everitt, A. 1986:

Fleming, A – Ralph, N. 1982:
Medieval settlement and land use on Holne Moor, Dartmoor: the landscape evidence, Medieval Archaeology 26, 101-137.

Fox, H.S.A. 2012:

Gardiner, M. 2008:
A preliminary list of booley huts in the Mourne Mountains, County Down, Ulster Journal of Archaeology 67, 142-152.

Gardiner, M. 2018:

Gulley, J.L.M. 1960:
The Wealden landscape in the early fourteenth century. Phd thesis presented to University of London.

Herring, P. 1996:

James, R. 2015:
Archaeological investigations at Pevensey and Westham CE School, High Street, Westham, East Sussex, Sussex Archaeological Collections 153, 73-81.

Johnson, D. 2012:

Jones, A.M. 2000-2001:
The excavation of a multi-period site at Stencoose, Cornwall, Cornish Archaeology 39-40, 45-94.

Jones, G.R.J. 1979:

Liebermann, F. 1903:

Magnus, B.J. 1986:
Iron age exploitation of high mountain resources in Sogn, Norwegian Archaeological Review 19:1, 44-50.
Margetts, A. 2018:
Wealdbǣra: excavations at ‘Wickhurst Green’, Broadbridge Heath and the landscape of the West Central Weald. Archaeology South-East (UCL)/Surrey County Archaeological Unit Spoilheap Monograph series 18.

Margetts, A. 2020:
The wandering herd: the medieval cattle economy of the South-East, c. 450-1450. unpublished PhD, University of Exeter.

Mawer, A. – Stenton, F.M. (eds.) 1929:

Mawer, A. – Stenton, F.M. (eds.) 1930:

Miller, R. 1967:
Shiels in the Brecon Beacons, Folk Life 5:1, 107-110.

Morris, J. (ed.) 1976:

Morris, J. (ed.) 1983:
Domesday Book: Kent. Phillimore and Co. Ltd. Chichester.

Peckham, W.D. (ed.) 1942:
The chartulary of the high church of Chichester. Sussex Record Society, 46.

Pelham, R.A. 1934:
The distribution of sheep in Sussex in the early fourteenth century, Sussex Archaeological Collections 75, 130-136.

Shielings and bastles. HMSO, RCHME. London.

Redwood, B.C. – Wilson, A.E. 1958:

Rippon, S. 2000:

Roberts, B.K. – Wrathmell, S. 2002:

Sawyer:
The Electronic Sawyer: Online catalogue of Anglo-Saxon charters. Published online at https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/about/index.html (accessed 12.02.2020)

Smith, A.H. 1956a:
English place-name elements: part 1, the elements A-IW, maps. English Place-Name Society 25. Cambridge.

Smith, A.H. 1956b:
English place-name elements: part 2, the elements JAFN-YTRI index and maps. English Place-Name Society 26. Cambridge.

Witney, K.P. 1976:

Wrathmell, S. 2012: