

# THE HUNDREDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE AND OXFORDSHIRE

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THE following abbreviations are used in this essay:

*D.B.*, Domesday Book, 1086.

*D.B. & B.*, F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 1897.

*det.*, detached part.

*H.*, hundred.

*N.I.*, Nonarum Inquisitiones, 1340.

*P.N.B.*, Place-Name Society, Bucks., 1925.

*P.N.O.*, H. Alexander, *Place-Names, Oxon.*, 1912.

*P.R.*, Pipe-Rolls, 1165-1201 (Pipe-Roll Society, 1884- ).

*Q.W.*, Inquisitiones de Quo Warranto.\*

*R.H.*, Rotuli Hundredorum (Hundred Rolls), 1255-78.

*V.C.H.*, Victoria County Histories.

Forty-five years ago I contributed to these *Records* a study of the Ancient Hundreds of Buckinghamshire.<sup>1</sup> The long period since then has seen the appearance of the Victoria County Histories, the Place-Name Society's works, and many additions to the Record Office's publications, as well as a multitude of other historical researches. It is of some satisfaction to me that, after this long interval, I have very little to alter in, though much to add to, the views then expressed. The chief modifications are given in the Appendix.

In addition to the new printed sources of information mentioned above, I have been able to study the thirteenth-century Assize Rolls for Bucks., of which only the earliest has been printed, thanks to the kindness of Mr. M. W. Hughes, who has placed his extensive transcripts at my disposal. I have also had the advantage of discussing many points with him. To Mr. Vere Woodman I am indebted for information about unpublished opinions of the late Mr. F. G. Gurney. Mr. G. Eland has also very kindly helped me, and I owe thanks to the map-room staff of the Royal Geographical Society.

For the sake of those readers who may be unfamiliar with the use of the terms *hundred*, *hide*, etc., the following brief statement is offered, with the caution that the details given, while correct for Buckinghamshire and its neighbour counties, may not always hold for more distant areas.

Anglo-Saxon rulers regarded their peoples as essentially composed of self-supporting agricultural families, each cultivating one *hide*—120 acres of arable, with variable areas of meadow, pasture, and woodland. These families were normally grouped in villages (*vills* or townships) of five hides or some multiple thereof. The heads of a hundred families met once a month in a hundred-moot (or court), to settle local affairs, at some convenient meeting-place—either one of the villages or some open-air site. This meeting-place gave its name to the *hundred*, which in Domesday Book and later appears as the subdivision of a *shire*. Those shires which

take their name from a county town (e.g. Buckinghamshire), unlike those derived from kingdoms, sub-kingdoms, or tribes (e.g. Essex, Norfolk, Dorset) were certainly established during the Danish wars, early in the tenth century. Whether they were built up out of pre-existing hundreds (as I argued in my 1905 essay) is a matter of doubt among historians, the earliest documentary reference to hundreds being about thirty years later (laws of Edmund). As local government units they persisted for at least nine centuries, becoming obsolete only in the nineteenth century, and indeed still persisting in many places as the petty-sessional divisions.

In pre-Conquest times, taxation was assessed on a principle exactly opposite to that of to-day. A certain number of hides, primarily doubtless 100 (or perhaps 120), were allotted to each hundred, and the hundred-courts distributed these assessments among their constituent vills. With the passage of time this distribution became widely divergent from reality, and attempts were made occasionally to bring it more into conformity with the actual facts, but with little success (as may be judged by the *D.B.* of Middlesex, where some of the real facts, as well as the assessments, are recorded). Thus the *hides* of *D.B.* are simply assessments, sometimes harsh, sometimes 'easy, always rough.'

I pointed out in 1905 internal evidence that the grouping of the Bucks. hundreds (map 1) in threes already existed at the time of Domesday Book. The process of integration was very slow, however. The Pipe-Rolls of the second half of the twelfth century (1159-1201) record the moneys paid into the Royal Exchequer, taking their name by analogy to water-pipes feeding a cistern. One of the sources of revenue was the amercement of a hundred in which murder had been committed, and, mainly on this account, the Bucks. hundreds all appear on the rolls from time to time. Each one of the eighteen was held separately responsible.

If we could accept the records as giving correct criminal statistics, we should conclude that some hundreds were far worse than others, and that in some there were sudden waves of crime lasting five or six years and then completely subsiding. For instance, Stodfold and Rowley were amerced in every year from 1174 to 1179, but in none of the ten preceding years nor in the twenty following. This suggests five years of rule by a vigorous personality. But relative accessibility offers a more general explanation. The Chiltern Hundreds of Burnham and Desborough, on the royal roads to Aylesbury and Oxford, are the most constant offenders, while Stoke appears very free from crime. Moulsoe has also a bad record, but it is on the Watling Street route of the Justices in Eyre. Waddesdon, the next runner-up, is on Akeman Street.

There are many variations in the spelling of the hundredal names, for which reference may be made to *P.N.B.*

After the battle of Evesham (4th August, 1265), a royal writ was issued to the hundreds for the forfeiture of the lands of rebels.<sup>3</sup> Twelve of our hundreds were affected, and in the returns made we find the three hundreds of Ashendon treated collectively, not under that name, but as 'Hickeshulle, Essestone et Wottestone.' There are some interesting indications of conflict between hundredal and baronial authority: 'The hundred of Wottestone did not appear before the jury, because it is of the honour of Wallingford.' In the hundred of Desborough, 'the jury knew nothing of the honours of Wallingford and Leicester'; and 'the bishop of Lincoln holds the manors of Tingehurst [Fingest] and Woburn. He is an opponent of the King.



MAP 1. THE ANCIENT HUNDREDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Reproduced from *Records of Bucks.*, IX, 115 (1905). Originally published in *Home Counties Magazine*, VI, 134 (1904), and also reproduced in *V.C.H. Bucks.*, I, 227 (1905). Scale: approximately 7.5 miles to an inch.

He would not cause the manors to be extended [valued] and the jury dare not extend them for fear of his bailiff.'

Incidentally, Thornton appears under 'Muta' [Lamua] instead of Rovelai, and Hoggeston under Mursley instead of Waddesdon. The latter change was already shown in the Assize Rolls of 1247 (31-32 Hen. III).

The Hundred Rolls (Rotuli Hundredorum) of Henry III and Edward I (1255-1278) give us information of times both before and after the battle of Evesham. The opening statement (1255) tells us that in the county of Buckingham there are eighteen and a half hundreds—surely a slip of the pen, as no half-hundred is recorded anywhere. It goes on to mention the three hundreds of 'Heylesbur', the three hundreds of *Wottesdon*, *Essedon*, *Hykeshull*, the hundreds of *Mursel*, *Cotesl*, and *Oclea* [a slip for *Erle*], and states that 'in *Ciltre*' there are three hundreds, without naming them at this point. Each of these groups has a bailiff (or steward), the revenue in each of the first and second being 4 marks, and in the last 7 marks.

In 1275 we learn that formerly the hundreds of *Bonestowe Molisho* and *Seggelawe* were farmed for 100s., but after the battle of Evesham the sheriff (*vice-comes*) raised the amount to 8 pounds.<sup>4</sup> This statement is repeated a little later in paraphrase: Godfrey le Rus [Sheriff of Beds. and Bucks.] raised the farm of the three hundreds of Newport, after the battle of Evesham, from 100s. to 12 marks.<sup>4</sup>

There had been, sometime between 1086 and 1255, transfers (which were permanent) of Eton from Burnham to Stoke, and of Farnham Royal from Stoke to Burnham. Both are on the margin between these hundreds. Also, before 1227, the Missendens were transferred from Stone to Aylesbury.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, in Feudal Aids for 1316, we find a full tabulation of the old and new hundreds, thus:

Tria hundreda de Bukingham	{	Roulowe [Rowley]
	{	Stotfolde [Stodfold]
	{	La Mewe [Lamua]
" " " Newport	{	Seglowe [Seckloe]
	{	Bonestowe [Bunsty]
	{	Molesho [Moulsoe]
" " " Coteslowe	{	Coteslowe [Cottesloe]
	{	Erle [Yardley]
	{	Mursle
" " " Aylesbury	{	Aylesbury
	{	Rysebergh [Risborough]
	{	Stone
" " " Asshendone	{	Asshendone
	{	Wottesdone [Waddesdon]
	{	Ickeshulle [Ixhill]
" " " Cyltre	{	Burnham
	{	Stoke
	{	Dustlebergh [Desborough]

In the list of villis following this tabulation there are certain apparent transfers from one hundred to another, in addition to the cases already noted (Thornton, the Missendens, and Hoggeston), viz:

Buckingham, Bourton, and Gawcott from Roulowe to Stotfolde; Tickford from Molesho to Seglowe; and Hogshaw from Wottesdone to Asshendone.

All but one of these are changes within the triple hundred, and so of little importance. The case of Hoggston is different: there seems no question that it was in the northern detached half of Waddesdon hundred in 1086,<sup>4</sup> and it had been moved from one triple hundred to another. As already noted, this transfer had taken place before 1265, and it was permanent.

One can only speculate as to the occurrence of similar transfers in pre-Conquest times. For instance, Saunderton belongs so obviously to the row of 'Chiltern Eaves' settlements (*infra*, pp. 244-45 and map 5) that its inclusion in Desborough hundred suggests a transfer, possibly connected with the foreign origin of the name, as inferred in *P.N.B.* (p. xix).

#### CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS

At whatever date the Bishop of Lincoln (or perhaps Dorchester) established his archdeaconries and rural deaneries, he based them on the tenth-century shires and the hundreds (at least in this south-western part of his diocese). This is shown by the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas IV, c. 1291.

The archdeaconry of Buckingham was identical with the shire, and its rural deaneries with the triple hundreds, save for Desborough remaining distinct while Burnham and Stoke were merged, and for some interference by the Archbishop and the Abbot of St. Albans.

<i>Rural Deaneries</i>	<i>Hundreds</i>
Buckyngham . . . . .	Three hundreds of Buckingham.
Wendovere . . . . .	Three hundreds of Aylesbury, less the Archbishop's demesnes.
Wycumbe . . . . .	Hundred of Desborough.
Burnham . . . . .	Hundreds of Burnham and Stoke.
Muresele . . . . .	Three hundreds of Cottesloe, less Winslow, Little Horwood, and Aston Abbots (St. Alban's).
Newport Paynel . . . . .	Three hundreds of Newport.
Wottesdon . . . . .	Three hundreds of Ashendon, less Granborough (St. Albans).
Ryseberg . . . . .	Monks' Risborough and Halton (demesnes of the Archbishop of Canterbury). To these was added, at some time before 1340, the only Oxfordshire manor of the Archbishop, Newington in Ewelme half-hundred ( <i>N.I.</i> ).

The Archbishop was content to have his manors constituted a separate deanery, within the diocese of Lincoln; but the Abbot took his manors out of the diocese altogether, thanks to the privileges granted by the Pope in 1162,<sup>7</sup> with the result that at the Reformation they were added, with the rest of the Abbot's dominions, to the diocese of London. Yet, as I pointed out in 1905, he was not able to transfer them to his manorialized Albanstow hundred in Herts., although within that county he had certainly enlarged that hundred.

## BUCKINGHAMSHIRE AND OXFORDSHIRE COMPARED

At first sight the hundredal records of these two counties seem in complete contrast. The restoration of the pre-Conquest hundreds is as difficult in the latter as it was easy in the former. We learn from Domesday Book that there were at least twenty-two hundreds in Oxfordshire, but only six are named, viz. Pyrton, Lewknor, Bensington half-hundred, Dorchester, and First and Second Gadre hundreds. The first four of these are at once identifiable with later names (Bensington being re-named Ewelme). First Gadre contains Norbroc [Northbrook] and must therefore be part of the later Ploughley, while Second Gadre, although the first entry under it is Stoke [Talmage], later in Pyrton hundred, also appears to include Walton and Wolvercote, which identify it with the 'hundred of Lord Hugh de Plessis outside the north gate of Oxford' (*R.H.*), which must be one of the three hundreds of Wootton.

The Oxfordshire hundreds had already become completely manorialized by the eleventh century, and grouped, not in regular threes, but in aggregates varying from two to four and a half.<sup>9</sup>

<i>Terra Regis</i> ( <i>D.B.</i> 1086)		<i>Later hundreds, map 2</i> <i>12th to 19th cent.</i>
The soke of 2½ hundreds 2 hundreds 3 hundreds 3 hundreds 2 hundreds 2 hundreds	belongs to the royal manor of Cherielintone (Kirtlington) Hedintone (Headington) Optone (Wootton) Siptone (Shipton-under-Wychwood) Bentone (Bampton) Blochesham et Edburgberie (Bloxham and Adderbury)	Pochedelawe (Ploughley). Bulesden (Bullingdon) Wootton. Chadlington. Bampton.  Bloxham.
4½ hundreds	Besintone (Bensington) (Chiltern hundreds)	} Bensington (Ewelme) ½ hd. Lewknor. Pyrton. Langtree. Binfield.
<i>Bishop of Lincoln</i> 3 manors (each with its hundred)	Banesberie et Cropelie (Cropredy) Dorchester Tame et Middeltone (Milton)	

Comparison may be made with the Worcestershire hundreds.<sup>9</sup>

Lewknor and Pyrton hundreds are again named in a charter of Queen Matilda (*c.* 1112, in the absence of Henry I overseas) to the Abbot of Abingdon, declaring that his manor of Lewknor owes no duty to Pyrton hundred, but only to that of Lewknor.<sup>10</sup> This indicates financial independence among the Oxfordshire Chiltern hundreds.

In the twelfth-century Pipe-Rolls, all the later names of Oxfordshire hundreds occur in much the same sporadic fashion as in the case of Bucks., and three others as well, referred to below. It must also be noted that in the years 1174-83 the terms 'three hundreds of Wutton,' 'two hundreds of Benton,' and 'two hundreds of

Bulesden' replace the more usual 'Wotton hundred,' etc. Conversely, the *Book of Fees* (Testa de Nevill) in 1220 and 1242-43 recognizes a hundredum de Ciltre or Chiltre covering the 4½ Chiltern hundreds.<sup>11</sup>

Of the three additional hundreds, one is mentioned in 1190, 1192, and 1199 only, as *Soterlawe*, *Schotelawa*, and *Toteslaw*, in each case linked with Bulesden. In the *Book of Fees*, 1219, there is also a reference to 'hundredum de Bulenden et de Sotelew.'



MAP 2. \*SKETCH-MAP OF THE HUNDREDS OF OXFORDSHIRE

The stippled area is the overlap of Wootton Hundred and Deddington Rural Deanery.

Putting aside the third of these variants as a clerical blunder, it would seem that the first element of the name may be identical with that of the various early forms of Shotover listed by Alexander in *P.N.O.* (and possibly with Scotsgrove in Haddenham and Sortelai in Quainton, Bucks.), while the terminal element is *hlaw* (tumulus). This may therefore be that one of the two hundreds of Bullingdon which included Shotover, although there is no tumulus on Shotover Hill now.

The second lost hundred occurs in 1161-63 as *Kenesward* or *Kenewardes*; and after a long interval in 1192-99 as *Kenewardesberga*, *Kaneswardesberga*, and *Kineswardesburch* (with other variants). It is on each roll the last-mentioned of the

hundreds, but, as there is no consistent order in the others, this gives no clue to its geographical position. A faint suggestion may be taken from the fact that it never occurs on the same roll as Bloxham, and evidence of its existence might be sought in that neighbourhood.

The third name is *Hunifeld*, appearing only in 1179-80 and 1180-81, in each case following Benflet (Binfield). As there is no room for another Chiltern hundred, this name is a puzzle.

Mr. Alexander has not noted any of these three names in his book, but he claims to have found two other lost hundreds. One of these is *Pochedelawe* or *Powedelawe* (with many variants in spelling), which he regards as distinct from the modern Ploughley; but a scrutiny of some of the thirteenth-century Assize (or Eyre) Rolls shows that the two are co-extensive, from Bletchington and Noke in the south to Fimmere and the detached Lillingstone Lovell in the north. I therefore consider the modern name as a corruption of the older. The intrusive 'l' first makes its appearance in *R.H.* (II, p. 822, 7 Edw. I), where the heading 'Pothou alias Ploudhlegh Hundred' definitely connects the two, all earlier entries lacking the 'l'.

The other supposed hundred is 'Murdakeshyde,' for which Mr. Alexander gives three references. The first tells us that Murdakeshyde was one hide in Minster Lovell paying tithe to Eynsham Abbey (*Eynsham Cartulary*, I, 2, 420). The other two only tell us that Rotherfield Greys kept its earlier name of Rotherfield Murdak after it had passed by marriage to the Greys family (*Q.W.* 1272-1377, *R.H.*, II, 33), as it did as late as 1340 (*N.I.*). In none of these can I see any evidence of a hundred of Murdakeshyde.

Another 'ghost' hundred of Adderbury has no existence outside the Index to the *Catalogue of Patent Rolls*, 1429-36; although it is possible that one of the two hundreds of Bloxham might have borne that name.

The relation of rural deaneries to hundreds is much the same in Oxfordshire as in Buckinghamshire. I am aware that in stating this I am in conflict with the authority of the Rev. H. E. Salter, who has written:

'It appears certain that from the first the county and archdeaconry of Oxford have been co-terminous. The Taxatio [1291] divides the county into nine rural deaneries, which had the same titles, and almost the same boundaries, as in 1840. . . . The boundaries of rural deaneries in Oxfordshire, as throughout southern Mercia, correspond in no way with the boundaries of the hundreds, and even the original parishes occasionally extended into two hundreds. Thus Pyrton parish originally included the manor of Easington in the hundred of Ewelme, besides the forty hides in the hundred of Pyrton.'<sup>12</sup>

That civil and ecclesiastical organizations 'in no way correspond' appears to be true of Beds. and Herts., but not at all of Bucks., as already shown, and only very doubtfully of Oxon. I should prefer to say that the archdeaconries of Buckingham and Oxford were identical with the shires, subject to marginal adjustments for ecclesiastical convenience. Thus Tythrop (Duchitorp of *D.B.*) as a manor or township was always in the hundred of Lewknor in Oxfordshire, but was part of the ecclesiastical parish of Kingsey in the rural deanery of Waddesdon in the archdeaconry of Buckingham. I believe that what was true of shire and archdeaconry was also true of hundred and rural deanery, though in their case marginal adjust-



ments were necessarily more numerous, as a marginal township in one hundred might often be a chapelry to a parish over the border.

The crucial test for the original identity of rural deaneries and hundreds lies in the detached parts of both (map 3). Caversfield was an outlier in Oxfordshire of the hundred of Rovelai (Bucks.), and it was included in the rural deanery of Buckingham. Lillingstone Lovell was a detached part of Oxfordshire wedged between North Bucks. and Northamptonshire; it was in Ploughley hundred and Bicester rural



MAP 3. ENCLAVES OF NORTH OXON AND NORTH BUCKS

- 1, 1, 1. Caversfield, with detached parts.
2. Boycott.
3. Lillingstone Lovell.
4. Detached part of Bucks ?

deanery. Such identities in outliers of hundred and rural deanery cannot have been mere coincidences. On the other hand, Boycott, an enclave of Oxfordshire in Buckinghamshire, seems to have had neither church nor chapel, and though always belonging to the Ploughley hundred of Oxfordshire up to 1844 (6 and 7 Vict., c. 61), does not appear in either the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291 or the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535. It was probably too small to have a chapel. Being only assessed at one hide, it was the smallest of the many manors which the Confessor's chief clerk Regenbald (Reinbald of *D.B.*) acquired, and with which Henry I endowed Cirencester Abbey in 1117. Later it was transferred to Biddlesden Abbey, though not only did Cirencester retain an interest in it, but Oseney also drew income from it (thirteenth to sixteenth centuries).<sup>13</sup> The interest in each case seems to have been financial, not spiritual.

Here is a comparison of Oxfordshire rural deaneries and hundreds.

<i>Rural Deaneries</i>	<i>Hundreds</i>
Dadington [Deddington]	{ Banbury. Bloxham. N. part of Wootton.
[Chipping] Norton	
Witney	{ Chadlington, less three vills, two of which are enclaves in Bampton and one adjacent to it. Bampton, plus the above mentioned three vills ('Mora', <sup>14</sup> Minster Lovell and Taynton). See map 2.
Woodstock	
Bicester	{ Main part of Wootton, including First Gadre. Ploughley.
Cuddesdon	
Aston [Rowant]	{ Bullington, including Second Gadre or Northgate. Dorchester. Thame.
Henley	
	{ Lewknor. Pyrton. Ewelme half-hundred.
	{ Langtree. Binfield.

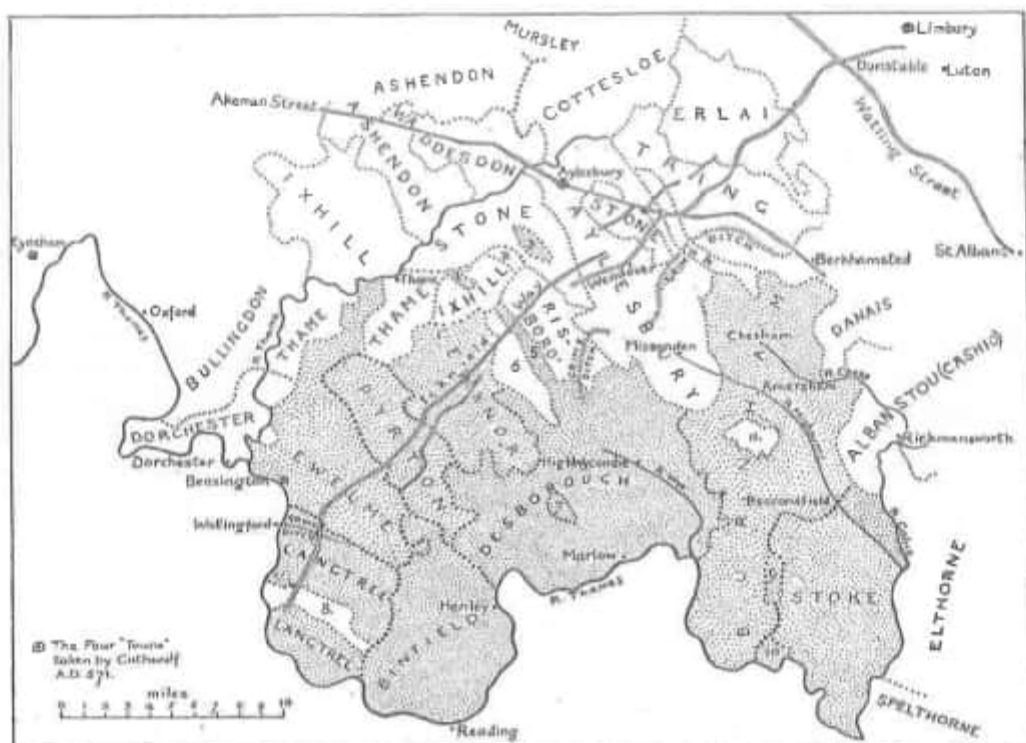
It would appear that at first the four and a half Chiltern hundreds formed a single rural deanery, since in 1192 the name of 'Thomas de Bensintona decanus de Ciltra' appears in a judgment relating to tithes.<sup>16</sup> The division of this deanery into two, each still consisting of a definite group of hundreds, must have taken place between 1192 and 1291.

The most interesting discordance between rural deaneries and hundreds is the overlap of Deddington deanery with Wootton hundred. This is a compact area, consisting of the Barfords, Deddington (with Hempton and Ilbury), Great Tew and South Newington (map 2). The Domesday hidage of these vills totals either 88 $\frac{3}{4}$  or 89 $\frac{3}{4}$ , an amount near enough to 100 to suggest that here may be one of the nameless original hundreds of Oxfordshire, absorbed southwards manorially and northwards ecclesiastically.

It would seem that the shire organization could resist important transfers from one archdeaconry to another, but allowed trivial transfers, whereas the hundreds could not prevent important transfers between rural deaneries.

According to Stenton,<sup>16</sup> 'there is no satisfactory evidence of the existence of rural deans in pre-Conquest England,' and, while there are occasional mentions of archdeacons in the ninth and eleventh centuries, 'the custom which gave to every bishop at least one archdeacon . . . is certainly of Norman introduction.' On the other hand, Brownbill has noted, with special reference to Cheshire, that 'the rural deaneries seem occasionally to have preserved traces of ancient social and administrative divisions, just as archdeaconries did.'<sup>17</sup>

The close relationship of shire and archdeaconry in Bucks. and Oxon. certainly limits the date of establishment of the latter to the tenth century at earliest, while it seems that the rural deaneries date from a time when the integration of the hundreds into groups was in progress but not complete even in Oxfordshire. This suggests a pre-Conquest date, which gets some support from the very different state of things in Herts. and Beds., which might possibly be explained by Danish interference.



MAP 4. THE CHILTERN AND NEIGHBOURING HUNDREDS

The Chiltern hundreds of Oxon. and Bucks. are stippled.

1. Tythrop (Duchitorp), Lewknor H. det.
2. Waldridge (part of Dinton parish, but in Ixhill H., not Stone H.).
3. Liberty of Moreton (Desborough H. det.).
4. Drayton Beauchamp (Yardley H. det.).
5. Saunderton.
6. Bledlow (Risborough H. det.).
7. Ackhamstead (Lewknor H. det.).
8. South Stoke (Dorchester H. det.).
9. Farnham Royal (transferred, Stoke H. to Burnham H.).
10. Eton (transferred, Burnham H. to Stoke H.).
11. Coleshill (Herts. det.).

A careful analysis of the relations between ecclesiastical and civil areas throughout the diocese of Lincoln (Dorchester) might give useful historical evidence.

In spite of the many differences between Bucks. and Oxon., a certain parallelism can be recognized. In both it is the Chiltern hundreds which keep their separate identities when the other hundreds undergo amalgamation. The Chiltern hundreds, with the one exception of Desborough, take their names from one of their constituent villas, as do also the three hundreds of Aylesbury, and the Oxon. hundreds of Thame and Dorchester, whereas the others only do so after amalgamation: before that they nearly all bore the names of open-air meeting-places, certainly in Bucks,<sup>16</sup> and, so far as known, also in Oxon.—witness Powedelawe and Soterlawe,

both tumuli. May these parallel differences be related to original differences in tribal settlement ?”

I have been led into research on the hundreds of Oxfordshire by a wish to compare that county with Buckinghamshire, but there is more to be discovered about them. Map 2 is only a rough sketch, capable of improvement by further study, which might be undertaken by students with more local knowledge of North Oxfordshire than mine.

#### CHILTERN HUNDREDS AND CILTERNÆTAN

The name of the Cilternætan (in the genitive case, sætna) occurs only in one ancient document, for which Maitland's name, 'the Tribal Hidage' is generally accepted. The original is lost, and it is only known from a copy made in a late tenth-century script and two Latin translations of later date.<sup>20</sup> It shows internal evidence of Mercian origin, and the original must date from one of the periods of Mercian supremacy, either Penda-Wulfhere (second and third quarters of seventh century) or Æthelbald-Offa (last three quarters of eighth century). It is a list of tribes paying tribute or supplying troops to the Mercian overlord, assessed in Anglo-Saxon fashion in hides (family lands). Many of these tribal names seem to have been as much a mystery to the tenth-century copyist as they have proved to modern historians, for he made one marginal note that shows him to have read Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and his recognition thereby of one solitary tribal name is equivalent to a confession of more general ignorance.

The Cilternætan were assessed at 4,000 hides: what area did that cover? To me it seems axiomatic that it was the area afterwards known as Chiltern, latinized as Ciltria, and particularly the Chiltern hundreds of Bucks. and Oxon. But that area is far too small for 4,000 hides.

J. W. Corbett, in 1900,<sup>21</sup> identified the 4,000 hides with the 22 hundreds of Oxfordshire and 18 of Buckinghamshire, thereby making the improbable assumptions that the county areas existed as such long before the Danish wars, and that 'Chiltern' extended to the Ouse valley (See the postscript to my 1905 paper).

J. Brownbill in 1912<sup>22</sup> added to the Chiltern hundreds not only the three hundreds of Aylesbury and those of Dorchester and Thame in Oxfordshire, but also considerable parts of Berkshire and Hampshire, in order to reach the total of 4,000 hides. Sir Francis Stenton writes of the Cilternætan as occupying 'the plain beneath the Chilterns',<sup>23</sup> and Mr. J. F. Head accepts this view.<sup>24</sup> It will be well, therefore, to examine all historical references to Chiltern, to see what extension beyond the Chiltern hundreds they indicate.

In Eddi's *Life of Wilfrid*,<sup>25</sup> describing events roughly contemporary with the earliest possible date of the Tribal Hidage, it is said that after Wilfrid had converted the South Saxons, 'venit quidam exul nobili genere de desertis Ciltine et Ondred, nomine Cedwalla.' This was the Cædwalla who later became the short-lived king of Wessex, dying after baptism in Rome in 689. 'Ondred' is obviously the Andredesweald, and, as all other references in this chapter are to Sussex, it is not surprising that Canon Rayne, first editor of the *Life*, should have identified 'Ciltine' as Chilton. Later writers have accepted it as Chiltern. This reference affords no evidence as to the extent of that region.

A Canterbury charter of doubtful authenticity, dated 1006<sup>24</sup> (Ethelred the Unready), gives among the monastery's villis 'Hrisebyrgan be Cilternes efese to Cristes cyrceantun rihte togelicgende—Hrisebeorgam margine luci Cilterni uillula aecclesiae Christe rite pertinens', and in a later undated charter of the Confessor, the phrase is repeated: 'Innon Buccinghamscire be Cilternes efese, Hrysebyrgan.' The reference is to Monks Risborough, and the descriptive term 'Chiltern eaves' (or 'edge') obviously applies to the chalk escarpment (compare Wenlock Edge and other 'edges' in Shropshire, and Edge Hill in Warwickshire). It seems to imply that Chiltern ended abruptly here.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1009–10) tells us that after wintering on the Thames below London, the Danes, failing in attacks on London, 'took an upward course, out through Chiltern and so to Oxford.'

The Chronicles of St. Albans tell us that Leofstan, 12th Abbot (1048?–1066), 'to provide safer roads, cut back the dark woods which extend from the margin of Chiltern (*a limbo Ciltriae*) almost to London, from the northern part, especially where is the royal road called Watlyngestrata, filled up the ruts, made bridges and levelled the steep parts. For at that time there abounded through the whole of Chiltern (*Ciltria*) extensive, thick and abundant woods, in which lived divers beasts, wolves, boars, wild cattle, and deer in abundance; and, what were more harmful, robbers, brigands, body-stealers, exiles and fugitives.' He granted the manor of Flamstead to Turnot and his companions Waldef and Thurman, on condition of their protecting the western parts of the manor from robbers and hurtful beasts. They performed their duties faithfully until the Conquest, when, as they disdained the Norman yoke, Normans attacked and killed many of them and burned their houses. Finally, the manor passed to Roger de Thoni, a distinguished Norman soldier, who carried out the duties of protecting the Abbey.<sup>25</sup>

Such is Walsingham's account, but it finds little confirmation in Domesday Book, which, while recording Ralf de Todeu as then holding Flamstead, gives the Saxon owner as Achi, a thane of King Edward. In the case of other of St. Alban's manors transferred by the Conqueror to St. Paul's (Kensworth and Caddington) or to Edward de Sarisberie (Great Gaddesden), the transfer is recorded in Domesday Book, so the discrepancy about Flamstead is strange. Domesday Book, however, confirms the account of the woodlands by allotting at least 1,000 swine each to Flamstead, Bushey, Cashio, Rickmansworth, St. Alban's, and Hemel Hempstead. No other hundred in Herts. or Bucks. shows such density of swine.

Henry I granted a charter (not dated) confirming the ancient rights of the citizens of London. Among them 'quod cives Londoniarum habeant fugationes [hunting rights] suas ad fugandum [hunting], sicut melius et plenius habuerunt antecessores eorum: scilicet in Chiltre, Middelsexia et Surreia.'<sup>26</sup> This indicates that Chiltern came immediately beyond the margins of Middlesex and Surrey, but gives no indication how far it extended.

The St. Albans evidence shows that it extended well into Hertfordshire, at least to Watling Street. A doubtful confirmation is the older name of King's Langley, Chilternlangley (1346–1556), but still earlier forms have *d* instead of *t* (Childe Langleya, etc.)<sup>27</sup> and the produce of the manor is said to have been devoted to the milk supply of the 'children' or youthful members of the monastery.<sup>28</sup>

Extension into Bedfordshire might be suggested by the name of the hamlet Chiltern Green, but for this name there seems no earlier record than 1623.<sup>21</sup>

Better evidence comes from the annals of Dunstable Priory.<sup>22</sup> Thus in 1296 they record an unprecedented abundance of beech-mast 'in Ciltria,' and reference is made specially to Sortegrave (Shortgrove), Dodeuinishay (Dedmansey in Whipnade), and Kensworth (map 5). In 1283, while wet weather caused heavy loss by sheep-rot (doubtless due to liver-fluke) in the lowlands, 'yet our sheep in Ciltria and the Peak were healthy and vigorous.'

In 1191, William son of Robert 'de Cilterna' gave to the Dunstable monks ten acres of land 'in Chilterne,' and his son Richard gave them the tithes of sixteen acres of land. (This Richard appears in the reign of John as a Somerset landowner.)<sup>23</sup> I can find no evidence that Dunstable held land in the more distant parts of Chiltern, apart from a share in the church of Chesham.

In 1266, about Ascension Day, eighty knights, disinherited after the battle of Evesham, headed by Sir Adam Gurdon of Selborne, Hants., raided the neighbourhood of Shortgrove, and retreating next day with their plunder towards Chiltern and Kimble (*versus Ciltram et Kumbelle*) were overtaken and killed or captured by Lord Edward (later King Edward I) and Robert Chadd, 'in the wood which is called Altum.'<sup>24</sup> This last place is interpreted in the Bedfordshire *V.C.H.* as Alton in Hampshire, but, unless there is corroborative evidence of such a fifty-mile chase, I prefer to identify it as Halton, Bucks., and Mr. Vere Woodman informs me that this was also the opinion of the late Mr. F. G. Gurney, who had made a special study of Adam Gurdon. The retreat was along the Icknield Way.

To sum up—Chiltern or Ciltria would appear, so far as documentary evidence goes, to have extended north-eastwards at least to Watling Street, to have been bounded on the north-west by the chalk scarp, from Dunstable Downs to Bledlow (with possible interruptions at the Tring and Wendover gaps), but in Oxfordshire it seems to have extended into the low ground at the foot of the scarp. The half-hundred of Ewelme even extends to the river Thame, but we may well doubt if it did so originally, when it really was a half-hundred: by the thirteenth century it was as large as the average of the other Chiltern hundreds.<sup>25</sup> If we regard the Thame as the natural boundary of Chiltern, we must include the hundred of Thame in Oxon. and the three hundreds of Aylesbury, but we are then faced with the detached part of Ixhill hundred, the main part of which lies beyond the Thame (see map 4).

Southwards, Chiltern was bounded by the Thames, from Bensington to Staines, for the place-name Chilton in Berkshire cannot be taken, any more than the same name in North Bucks., as evidence of extension of the area. Its eastern boundary was the Colne, with an uncertain cross-country continuation to Watling Street or beyond. Although the incorporation of all the Herts. manors of St. Alban's Abbey into the hundred of Albanstow obscures the original eastern limits of Chiltern, it cannot have overlapped the Hicca of North Herts. or the Gifla of Central Beds.

#### THE SETTLEMENTS BY CHILTERN EAVES

Map 5 shows that from Watlington to Caddington the great majority of the ancient parishes are long and narrow—the length, N.W. to S.E. at right angles to the geological outcrops, varying from 2 to 6 miles, and the breadth, S.W. to N.E., not exceeding 2 miles, and in some cases only a quarter-mile or less. The ancient

churches, marking the original village-sites, are all near the 400-foot contour-line, which corresponds roughly with the outcrop of the water-bearing Totternhoe Stone ('clunch') with the line of springs at its base.

This is the typical form of village settlement and cultivation, not only for the line of chalk-scarp, but for similar geological belts throughout the land. It was noted three-quarters of a century ago by William Topley in the case of the Weald,<sup>28</sup> and later by Mackinder in the Vale of Pewsey,<sup>27</sup> and by myself in Bucks.<sup>29</sup>; doubtless by others elsewhere, as it is so obvious. More recently it has been insisted on by the Orwins,<sup>30</sup> who have shown that in one case at the foot of the Berkshire Downs—Hardwell in Compton Beauchamp—the area delimited in a charter of Edward the Elder remains unchanged as an agricultural unit to-day. Such continuity is not found in the Chilterns, where early mediaeval settlements in the Chiltern backlands (Cholesbury and Hawridge) have acquired independence by the curtailment of such long and narrow parishes as Aston Clinton, Buckland, and Drayton Beauchamp.

The regularity of these long and narrow parishes is interrupted at two points—the Tring and Wendover gaps, where through roads between London and the Midlands must have provided a disturbing factor, though the Risborough gap shows no such disturbance. To the S.W., beyond Watlington, the geology changes by the introduction of wide sheets of gravel, offering greater choice of well-sites. Finally, as we come to the hundreds of Langtree and Binfield within the great horse-shoe of the Thames, the parishes are disposed roughly at right angles to the river.

It would be of great interest to know the original agricultural lay-out of these long and narrow parishes, particularly of the very narrow ones, such as Horsenden, Buckland, and Drayton Beauchamp. These last have no room for the typical open fields, covering a square mile or more, such as still existed, unenclosed, in Langtree hundred a century and a half ago.<sup>49</sup>

At intervals along the low ground at the foot of the scarp, the original 6-inch Ordnance map shows belts of small intermixed detached parts. These must be the remains of a belt of 'no-man's-land,' on which the several villages from time to time staked out new claims (map 5). There seems to have been a patch of similar 'no-man's-land' in the high grounds near the Hampdens, which incidentally included that detached part of Stoke Mandeville which was the subject of the claim for ship-money against John Hampden.

Let us now consider the Domesday Book assessment of the various hundreds to which the term 'Chiltern' may possibly be extended, taking the river Thame as boundary, but arbitrarily including Dorchester and excluding Ixhill. Round numbers will serve better than attempts at minute accuracy.

In Oxfordshire it is not easy to sum up the village hides, but the four complete Chiltern hundreds total up to something over 400, while the 'half-hundred' of Bensington or Ewelme is well over 100. Thame and Dorchester seem to be 'long' hundreds (120). In Bucks., Erlai<sup>41</sup> is a long hundred, Burnham and Risborough are short, Stoke between long and short, while Desborough, Aylesbury, and Stone approach the 'hundred and a half' scale. In Herts., Tring is exactly 100 hides, while Danais and Albanstow together exceed 200, though this may include lands outside Chiltern. The Bedfordshire contribution—Totternhoe, Eaton Bray, Studham and parts of Edlesborough and Caddington—amounts to 57 hides.

The grand total may thus be somewhere about 2,000 hides, just half the number claimed by the Cilternsætan.

We may compare this with the case of Sussex. Both in Bede's early eighth-century *History*<sup>42</sup> and in the Tribal Hidage, the South Saxons are described as a folk of 7,000 families or hides. In the tenth century 'Burghal Hidage,'<sup>43</sup> the assessment of Sussex totals only 4,350 hides, while the county total in Domesday Book is 3,474, arrived at, as pointed out by Mr. L. F. Salzman, by reducing the assessment of every 100 hides to 80.<sup>44</sup> Thus the hidage of Sussex was halved in the course of three or four centuries. The case of Chiltern is not strictly parallel, as it was not a kingdom or tribal unit, but a geographical unit, invaded from three directions<sup>45</sup>—from the Thames valley (by Taplow), from Middlesex, and from the northern vale.<sup>46</sup> None the less, the same general explanation may serve. In Maitland's words: 'the ancient exaggerated estimates of population and wealth are being brought into correspondence with the humbler facts.'<sup>47</sup>

I do not pretend to have solved the problem of the Cilternsætan, but only to have brought together considerations which may be of help towards its solution.

#### APPENDIX

The following modifications should be made in my 1905 paper, *Records of Bucks.*, IX, 104-19.

P. 105, note. The twelve omissions in *D.B.* are confirmed either in *V.C.H.* or *P.N.B.*, or both, except that the twelfth should read *Tichesele* in place of *Dustenbergh* (before 'Estone').

Two additional omissions are probable:

*D.B.*, I, 150(b)2—'Coteslai Hund.' before 'Broch', l. 30.

*D.B.*, I, 152(b)1—'Essedene Hund.' after 'Terra Hascoit Musard,' l. 11.

The 'one mistake' was not accepted by the late Dr. J. H. Round (in *V.C.H.*), who wrote 'The Hundredal heading must be deemed decisive,' in spite of the evidence of feudal descent which pointed to a mistake, and to the unquestionable location of the next two entries (Dodford and Radclive) in Stodfald.

The map illustrating the paper, reproduced here as map 1, was based on the original six-inch Ordnance Survey, which showed the areas of the ancient counties, as they were 150 years ago. It therefore differs in outline and some internal details from the maps in *P.N.B.*, showing the county as it is to-day. On it are a number of small areas, of the historical status of which I was doubtful, lettered A-P. Here are notes on some of these, clearing up some of the doubts:

A. *North Crawley and Astwood*. The former is only indirectly mentioned in *D.B.*, but is probably the 4-hide holding of William Fitz-Ansculf. I know of no reference to Astwood before 1151 (*P.N.B.*).

B. *Lillingstone Lovell* is in Oxfordshire in *D.B.*, and remained so until 1844; but Lewis's *Atlas of the Counties* (1842) marks the northernmost part of this parish as in Bucks (see map 3).

F. *Tittershall Wood*, a detached part of Long Crendon parish, but not of Tichesele if Brill and Boarstall (G) are included in that hundred, as they should be.

H. The outline of Ixhill det. was drawn to exclude Tythrop, which, though part of Kingsley parish, is in the Lewknor hundred of Oxon.

J. *Liberty of Moreton* was identified by Langley<sup>48</sup> with the Count of Mortain's half-hide in [West] Wycombe, *D.B.* This was rejected by Lipscomb, and is ignored in *P.N.B.* I am inclined to accept it, but this half-hide cannot be separated from the other half-hide held





MAP 5. THE SETTLEMENTS BY CHILTERN  
EAVES

Stippled area, over 700 feet above sea-level.  
Dotted line, 400 feet contour.

Lines of short strokes indicate remnants of  
Grim's Ditch.

The cross-hatched areas indicate roughly the  
broken belt of 'no-man's-land' referred to on  
p. 245: the one at the bottom of the map extends  
for about 4 miles to the S.W.

The numbers in parentheses on parishes are  
the number of hides at which each was assessed  
in *D.B.*

1. Edlesborough det.
2. Little Kimble det.
3. Little Hampden ( $\frac{1}{2}$  ?).
4. Tythrop (5).
5. Horsenden (9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ).
6. Saunderton det.

by Odo and described in identical terms. The insistence in both cases that this land could not be alienated from Stigand's manor of Wycombe suggests a distant enclave, and it lies on the broken belt of 'no-man's-land' mentioned on p. 245 (map 5).

L. *The Lee* is not Lede (which is Lude in Wooburn, *P.N.B.*). It was a detached part of Weston Turville, and so in either Stone or Aylesbury hundred.<sup>40</sup>

N. *Penn* was probably included in Taplow, Burnham hundred. In 1196 it was made a separate vill.<sup>41</sup>

O. *Coleshill* or *La Stocke Manor*. The earliest reference I have found to this being in Herts. is in the Assize Roll for 1240-41. In the Pleas of the Crown, William son of Herbert de la Stocke is accused of the death of a woman called Lucia and her two sons at Wycombe, and the sheriff of Herts. had to bring him into the hundred of Desborough. He was convicted and hanged.

*Beaconsfield* (not shown on the map) was a hamlet of Burnham in the thirteenth century:<sup>42</sup> there is therefore no question of Burnham hundred being divided. John de Bekenesfeld figures repeatedly in Pleas of the Forest in the late twelfth century.<sup>43</sup>

Two other corrections must be noted: I was wrong in rejecting Lipscomb's interpretation of Lamua, and not justified in my inference from the 'eight hundreds in the circuit of Aylesbury.' I now suspect that the 'v' in 'viii' was a clerical mistake, and that the three hundreds of Aylesbury were meant. (Cf. the case of Pershore, *V.C.H. Worcs.*, I, 251.)

<sup>40</sup> *Records of Bucks.*, Vol. IX (1905), pp. 104-19.

<sup>41</sup> See F. Seebohm, *The English Village Community* (1884); J. H. Round, *Feudal England* (1895); F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897).

<sup>42</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, I, pp. 191-4.

<sup>43</sup> *R.H.*, I, pp. 37, 38.

<sup>44</sup> J. G. Jenkins, *Calendar of the Roll of the Justices on Eyre*, Records Branch, Bucks. Arch. Soc. (1945).

<sup>45</sup> F. H. Baring, *Domesday Tables* (1909), pp. 130-1.

<sup>46</sup> Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series), I, pp. 22-3.

<sup>47</sup> See Sir Frank Stenton's essay in *V.C.H. Oxon.*, vol. I, especially pp. 374-5, and the footnote on the papal bull of 1139.

<sup>48</sup> J. H. Round, *V.C.H. Worcs.*, I, pp. 237-8.

<sup>49</sup> *Hist. Monast. Abbendon* (Rolls Series), II, pp. 115-16.

<sup>50</sup> *Book of Fees*, I, p. 315; II, p. 828.

<sup>51</sup> *V.C.H. Oxon.*, II, p. 58-9 (Appendix to Ecclesiastical History).

<sup>52</sup> *Cartulary of Osney Abbey*, ed. Rev. H. E. Salter, V, pp. 243, 248, 261-4; VI, pp. 107, 228, 243.

<sup>53</sup> Assumed to be Northmoor, which was in Chadlington in the original 6-inch Ordnance Survey. At Easter Assizes, 1241, the Prior of Deerhurst brought an unsuccessful suit against Thomas and Matilda de Appelton for meadow-land in La Mora (Ass. Roll 695, M. W. Hughes transcript). Appleton is in Berkshire, just across the Thames. The original Mora was probably on the site of the hamlet of Moor-ton—a low gravel rise in the midst of a typical wide alluvial 'moor,' a mile S.S.E. of the village of Northmoor which now gives name to the parish. There is a hamlet of Southmoor in Kingston Bagpuze, Berks., 2½ miles S.S.E. of Moor-ton.

<sup>54</sup> *Osney Cartulary*, IV, p. 432.

<sup>55</sup> *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 434.

<sup>56</sup> *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XL, p. 497 (1925).

<sup>57</sup> For the identification of these, see *P.N.B.*, under the several hundreds. In addition, Mr. Vere Woodman tells me that the late Mr. F. G. Gurney regarded Parliament Field in South Cottesloe, Wing, as the meeting-place of Cottesloe Hundred.

<sup>58</sup> See *P.N.B.*, Introduction, pp. xv, xvi.

<sup>59</sup> Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 297 (vol. I, p. 414). Facsimiles of the Anglo-Saxon copy are printed in Brownbill's article, *Engl. Histor. Review*, XL (1925), p. 497, and in R. F. Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, II, plate 55.

<sup>60</sup> *Journ. R. Histor. Soc.* (n.s.), XIV, pp. 187-230.

<sup>61</sup> *English Histor. Rev.*, XXVII, p. 625 (1912). See also his later paper in the same review, XL, p. 497 (1925).

<sup>62</sup> *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 43.

<sup>63</sup> *Records of Bucks.*, XIV, p. 302.

<sup>64</sup> Ed. Canon Raine, *Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls Series, 1879), I, cap. XLII, p. 59; and Ed. B. Colgrave (Camb. Univ. Press, 1927).

- <sup>26</sup> Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, nos. 714, 715, 896 (vol. III, pp. 346-51; IV, p. 232).
- <sup>27</sup> Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Albani* (Rolls Series), I, pp. 39-41.
- <sup>28</sup> *Munimenta Gildhallae Londinensis: Liber Albus* (Rolls Series), I, p. 129.
- <sup>29</sup> Place-Name Society, Herts.
- <sup>30</sup> Walsingham, *Gesta Abb. Mon. S. Albani* (Rolls Series), I, p. 54.
- <sup>31</sup> *V.C.H. Beds.*, II, p. 374.
- <sup>32</sup> *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), III, pp. 306, 408, 447.
- <sup>33</sup> *Curia Regis Rolls*, VI (11-14 John), pp. 61, 166, 191.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ann. Monast.* (Rolls Series), III, p. 241.
- <sup>35</sup> It may be noted that Haseley (Aseley), the farthest portion of the half-hundred, is described as 'in Ciltre' in the Assize Rolls of 1220 and 1241.
- <sup>36</sup> *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, III, 32 (1873), and 'Geology of the Weald' (*Geol. Survey Mem.*), ch. xxv, pp. 396-7 (1875).
- <sup>37</sup> *Britain and the British Seas*, pp. 246-7 (1902).
- <sup>38</sup> *Cambridge County Geographies: Bucks.*, pp. 158-9 (1911).
- <sup>39</sup> C. S. and C. S. Orwin, *The Open Fields* (Oxford, 1938).
- <sup>40</sup> Shown on Sheet 13 of the original one-inch Ordnance map. The Oxfordshire and eastern Berkshire portion of this is reproduced in *D.B. & B.*, between pp. 16-17. It should be noted that the four Oxfordshire open fields there shown—Crowmarsh, North and South Stoke, and Goring—were the only ones left in South Oxfordshire, whereas the belt of open fields extended for the whole length of the Berkshire Downs.
- <sup>41</sup> Although Erlai is one of the three hundreds of Cottesloe, it is the only one 'on Chiltern eaves.'
- <sup>42</sup> *Eccl. Hist. English Nation*, bk. IV, chap. xiii.
- <sup>43</sup> T. Gale, *Hist. Brit. Scriptores* (1691), III, p. 748; *D.B. & B.*, p. 502.
- <sup>44</sup> *V.C.H. Sussex*, I, p. 360.
- <sup>45</sup> *P.N. Bucks.*, Introduction, pp. xiv, xv. I am indebted to Mr. M. W. Hughes for impressing the significance of this on me.
- <sup>46</sup> Possibly by Cuthwulf's followers: M. W. Hughes, *Antiquity*, V (1931).
- <sup>47</sup> *D.B. & B.*, pp. 506-10.
- <sup>48</sup> Langley, *History of Desborough* (1797), p. 435.
- <sup>49</sup> *Missenden Cartulary*, p. 187.
- <sup>50</sup> Fowler and Hughes, *Pipe-Rolls Rich. I*, Beds. and Bucks. (1923), pp. 116, 204-7.
- <sup>51</sup> *Feudal Aids*, 1284-86.
- <sup>52</sup> *P.R. 1187-8 et seqq.*