THE CHETWODE-HILLESDEN CHARTER OF 949

ARNOLD H.J. BAINES

A royal grant to AEthelmaer, 'praeses', is edited from two sixteenth century transcripts, and identified as relating to Chetwode, Barton Hartshorn, Preston Bissett (excluding Cowley) and Hillesden. Associated texts are considered, and suggestions made as to the purpose of the charter and the identity of its draftsman. A note on preceding owners is recovered by a slight rearrangement of the text. The charter bounds and the meeting place of Rowley Hundred are identified, and the charter is related to the origin of that hundred, the Liberty of Chetwode and the Rhyne Toll. Inferences are drawn concerning English settlement and British survival north of Bernwood between the 6th and 10th centuries.

The hundred of Rowley or Rowlow[1], excluding its detached parts, lies between the Great Ouse, the river Twin, and the Bune, Birne or Lovat, the western arm of the Twin, also known as the Claydon Brook. It includes those townships of the borough of Buckingham which lie south of the Ouse. There appears to be only one extant text[2] of pre-Conquest origin relating to this forest area as distinct from the borough; it survives only in two sixteenth-century transcripts of a damaged and interpolated copy, but the text and the interpolations are of the first importance in retrieving the early history and topography of a part of North Buckinghamshire hitherto singularly obscure. It enables us to recover the site of the moot-hill of Rowley hundred; it helps to explain the origin of that hundred and its relationship to the liberty of Chetwode, and it may suggest some reasons for the intermixture of dispersed, nucleated and hybrid patterns of settlement.

The Relationship of the Charter to the Settlement Pattern

The whole area between the Ouse and the Yeat (the southern arm of the upper Ray) is largely blank on distribution maps for any period of prehistory. It was densely forested, except in the valley bottoms, and the heavy clay soil was unattractive to potential settlers before the Anglo-Saxons. Although it is a well-known area of British survival, the most recent distribution map of Romano-British sites in North Buckinghamshire[3] indicates that it was very sparsely settled in Roman times, except in the Ouse valley. In the sixth century, however, it became a natural refuge for Britons, especially those displaced by the campaigns of 571-584, which carried the West Saxon advance around and past this area.

Between the Yeat and the Ouse stretched the forest of Bernwood, surrounding the heights of Brill and Panshill, covering the low plateau of Chetwode and extending westward to Bicester. It is no accident that all these names include Celtic elements (Ouse may be pre-Celtic). The names must have passed into English while a Celtic-speaking population survived, though none of them implies bilingualism on the part of the settlers, some features of whose dialect can be recovered from this charter.

The somewhat negative features of the northern part of this "curiously forlorn, unkempt and spinsterish belt of country" a generation ago have been described by H.J. Massingham[4]:

A few patches of tousled woodland alone diversify the flat scene mostly of big weedy pastures gone down from arable. Many fields are pimpled with scrub and clumps of nettle and thistle . . . while the hedges are a sprawl of tree-like bushes and bush-like trees. The soil is three-horse land without any horses, steely in summer, miry in winter and sour all the time. It is badly drained, half derelict and a parody of wildness . . . it looks as though man had given it up as a bad job.

In the past forty years this difficult and hungry land has been much improved agriculturally; it grows good cereal crops, and its brick and timber villages are no longer falling to pieces. But so much of the soil is of below-average quality that its settlement was bound to be late and to need external pressure or encouragement.

The southern half of this great woodland seems to have passed into the hands of the Mercian Crown as a whole; it constituted a multiple estate which survived into the Middle Ages as the royal forest of Brill or Bernwood[5]. In contrast, the evidence as here interpreted suggests that the area north of the Bune (as for convenience it will be called) was settled piecemeal, with enslavement of the Britons; that the greater part of it was temporarily in the hands of the West Saxon Crown during the first half of the tenth century; and that it was mostly assarted well before the Norman Conquest, though much woodland survived.

In 949 King Eadred granted to Æthelmær, his *praeses* (probably his reeve at Buckingham; in Matthew xxviii.14 *gerefa* translates *praeses* 'governor') a great estate surrounding Chetwode and Hillesden, reserving no royal rights except the invariable three, burh-bote, bridge-bote and fyrd-fare. The charter has fairly detailed bounds in English, with some dialectal forms. These bounds have hitherto been found difficult, and the elucidations in the Victoria County History[6] (*VCH*), *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire*[7] (*PN Bucks*) and *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley*[8] (*ECTV*) are in part mistaken. As here interpreted, the estate comprises the parishes of Chetwode, Barton Hartshorn, Preston Bissett (excluding Cowley) and Hillesden. The perambulation begins and ends at a holy oak on the county boundary between Barton Hartshorn and Newton Purcell, on the site where the Chetwode Rhyne Toll was still being proclaimed by sound of horn many centuries later[9].

The charter is closely connected both with the formation of the liberty of Chetwode and with the delimitation of the hundred of Rowley. During the tenth century the *burh* of Buckingham, established by Edward the Elder in November 914[10] to protect the upper Ouse valley from the Danes of Northampton and Bedford, developed into the county town of the incipient shire to which it has given its name. The Witan met there on 12 September 934[11]. Even if there were no other evidence, its emergence by 956[12] as a market town with a mint would itself imply that the settlement of what became the Three Hundreds of Buckingham was well advanced. Even such a modest borough as Buckingham could not have grown up in a wilderness. In fact, Eadred's charter provides significant evidence of the state of the area while its disafforestation was in progress, at a time when the Crown and the Church were both concerned to promote its orderly settlement. The object of the Church was that every man should belong to a parish; that of the Crown, that he should be under effective local jurisdiction. Æthelmær was expected to ensure both.

The Manuscripts of the Charter

The text of the Chetwode-Hillesden grant depends on two manuscripts:

C: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms. 111 at pp. 143-4.

V: British Library, Cotton Vitellius D vii, at fo. 24.

A text based on C has been published by Kemble[13], Birch[14], Earle[15] and Pierquin[16]. The two first-named editions will be cited as K and B.

C and V are mid-16th century transcripts of a common original. Both were catalogued by Wanley[17] in 1705. The former is listed as one of twelve documents transcribed by Dr Henry Talbot:

Sequuntur in Chartis Apographa quarundam Cartarum cum Terminibus Saxonicé quae ex Autographis (ut videtur) descripsit D. Henricus Talbot Ecclesiae Norwicensis Praebendarius.

In this list of twelve charters, the Chetwode-Hillesden grant is the second. It is described thus:

P. 143. Donatio .xx. Manent. ad Cetwuda & æt Hildes [sic] Æthelmæro Præsidi per Eadredum Regem A.D. 949. Anno Regni 3.

2

These charters were rescued by Dr Owen after the dissolution of Abingdon Abbey:

Harum Cartularum Autographa D. Henr. Talboto describenda exhibuit D. Owenus, qui ea omnia (ut videtur) collegerat post Monasterii Abbandunensis Destructionem ad quod pertinebat.

Eleven of the twelve are obviously Abingdon documents, but the Chetwode-Hillesden charter relates to land in which neither the Abbey nor Dr Owen had any known interest. It may have been written there, a file copy being retained; alternatively, the original may have been deposited at Abingdon for safe keeping, perhaps during the Viking invasions. In either case, it appears that a brief memorandum on the history of the estate was added; part of this was interpolated into the text of the exemplar of the existing copies, while the rest survives as a footnote.

The second 16th century text (V) has been ignored by editors. It was in the Cottonian library ("Codd. Anglo-Saxonici Bibliothecae Cottonianae, apud Westmonast.") and Wanley lists it as follows:

Vitelius D.7. Codex Chartac[eus] in Quarto per Ioannem Iosselinum scriptum, in quo habentur Saxonice.

XIV. Extract. ex donationibus terrarum AEthelmæro Præsidi per Eadredum Reg. A.D. 949 an. regni 3, Term. descr. Sax.

Nota. De M.D. Owen. The Original hereof was torne and blinded in some places that I could not well read it.

Four other charters in Vitellius D vii, which was afterwards badly charred in the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731, are listed by Wanley as having been in the possession of Dr Owen, Mr Owen, or "Mr Doctor Owen Phisitian".

The Dr Owen in question was clearly George Owen, physician to King Henry VIII and President of the College of Physicians in 1553, whose interest in Anglo-Saxon antiquities has been noted[18]. Among his rather numerous royal grants were Godstow Abbey, where he often resided, and Cumnor Place, where his second son William lived and where Amy Robsart met her untimely death[19]. Dr Owen retrieved a number of charters, since lost, from the destruction of Abingdon Abbey and allowed Dr Talbot to transcribe them, or perhaps gave him transcripts already made. Owen and Talbot both died in 1558, shortly before John Joscelin became Latin secretary to Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Joscelin had access to some of Talbot's texts, and editors of the Chetwode-Hillesden charter may have ignored V because they regarded it as merely a copy of C, and thus at best a third-hand copy of the original diploma. It would appear clear that when Joscelin wrote V he had C before him and usually followed it, but slight differences in reading are numerous and should be on record. Unfortunately V was so badly scorched in 1731 that some letters or words are lost at the beginning and end of lines, and about seven lines are now missing at the foot of the page. The testimony of V to the date 949 and the regnal year 3 now depends on the evidence of Wanley, who read all the Cottonian Anglo-Saxon manuscripts before they were damaged or destroyed. The fact that Wanley did not harmonize his descriptions of charters common to C and V strengthens his testimony.

On collating C, V, B and K it seemed better to take C as the basis of the text, but variant readings in V and editorial suggestions have been appended. The resulting text is as follows:

The Text of the Charter

1   + æþelmæres booc æt cétwuda & hildes dune
2   twuentig hida on ece yrfe

3   + perpetuæ prosperitatis priuilegium quod constat cælesti paradiso sublimatum
4   sanctæ trinitatis dei monarchia gubernat magnopere. Que quoque deitatis
5   essentia terrenæ hereditatis patrimonium cunctis præstat pro ut
6   vult promerentibus. Hoc apparet procul dubio in Rege Anglorum
7   gloriosissimo beato dei opereprecio. Eadredo quem norðhymbra pa-

8 ganorum que seu ceterarum sceptro prouinciarum rex regum omnipotens
9 sublimauit. qui que prefatus imperator semper deo grates dignissimas larga
10 manu subministrat. Cuius regis largitatem AEþelmærus preses
11 iam promulgat de perenni vsurpatione terrarum: quem denique
12 honorifico locupletat. sibi suis que heredibus liberaliter largiendo.
13 preter urbis. atque pontis constructione. expeditionisque obsequio
14 Ast sequitur terminatio   viginti manentium ad cetwuda & æt
15 hildes dune hoc modo. þis seond þa londgemæru ðæs
16 londes æt cetwuda & æt hildes dúne. ærest on ða halgan æc.
17 swa ollonc þæs gemær heges tó þæm sló æt þæm more ufewardan
18 of ðæm móre on dunes pyt. ðonan ðurh wippan hoh. þæt swa
19 be ðæm gretan wyrtruman on ðone holan weg. on þone oðerne
20 weg to þæm rugan hlawe. þonan ongerihte on ðæt lytle riðig
21 þæt swa on offan pól vp ollonc streames on bylian pól þonan
22 up ofer ða mæd þæt swa be ðara acar[a] heafdan on ðæt sic. up
23 of ðæm sice to cufanlea. on ða díc to þæm readan sló. ðæt swa
24 on þane lytlan díc. þonon on ðone oðerne díc. þæt swa ollonc þæs
25 gemære heges. on butan hreodlege þæt swa on þone mærhege
26 þe sceot to þære halgan æc: þis lond ælfstan sald æþelflede.
27 wið þæm ·Z·. Huius certe codicis conscriptio peracta est Anno dominicæ
28 incarnationis dcccc mo xlviiijo. & tertio prefati regis anniculo.
29 tali optimatum stabilitate conscribentium. . + . EADRED rex et rector
30 + óda aercabiscop . + . wulfstan archiepiscopus : + þeodred pontifex . + . ælfheh
31 presul + . ælfric & wulfsige episcopi. Aelfréd antistes . + . æþelgar pontifex
32 + KOENwald monachus + . wulfhelm biscop . + Cynsige consul
33 + . Aldred episcopus . + æþelwald presul pontificale cum augusto
34 eulogium iubilando dogmatizaui [+ Eg]o Eadgeofu felix
35 + howæl regulus . + morcant [   ] & cadmon + . osúlf ad
36 bebbanbyrig hehgerefa . + æþelstan dux + Vrm eorl. atque coll.
37 Alhhelm comes + . Vhtred eorl. & grim . + .
38 + æþelmund alderman. + Eadric princeps . Scule eorl
39 + AElfgar comes AElfstan miles & eadmund þegn.
40 + AElfsige miles and wulfric þegn. berhferd miles regis
41 + wigstan abbud & aldredus. Dunstan abbud
42 + eadhelmus & æþelgeard: berhtsige miles. & æþelmær præses
43 AElfheah miles. & eadsige. hi porro præfati primates
44 regale prerogatiuum scribendo consignabant cum triumphali.
45 vexillo solidantes. Omnes sancti dei beatificent hoc benefi -
46 cium stabiliter conseruantes : Siqui uero fraudulenter
47 hanc regalem libertatem minuendo denihilent ad ni -
48 hilum redigantur, nisi digne coram deo satis et satis
49 faciant emendantes in melius quod necligenter
50 deliquerant Adtendat vnusquisque fidelium quod
51 imperat auctor christus. Date et dabitur uobis. Amen.
52 Contulit nempe hic más én. magno regi. .ii.o
53 cornua. auro argento que decorata. vt eo liberius hoc
54 prerogatiuum roboretur : finis

55 Lond æt ceadeles funtan & eft eadred cing hit ageaf.
56 æþelmære wið ðaem ilcan land. á on ece yrfe
57 þæm ðe him leofast seon.

Variant readings

1 æthelmæres V
   comma after cétwuda V
2 twuentig C, V: twentig B, K
4 magnopere. Quæ quoque V
5 terrena hære[d]itatis patrimonium cunctis
   præstat pro V
6 promer[en]tibus V
   proculdubio in rege V
7 Dei opereprecio V (no stop): Dei opere
   precio B
   Norðhymbra V
8 provinciarum V (no stop)
   omnipotens V: oṁps̄ C
9 præfatus imperator V
   deo V: Deo B
10 Cuius V
   æthelmærus præses V
11 iam V
   provulgat K
   quem V
12 suisque hæredibus V
13 preter vrbis V
   constructione, V: final e extended in C:
   constructione B:
   constructionem K
14 sequitur V
   .20. manentium V: cf .XX. Manent. ad
   Cetwuda & æt Hildes (Wanley)
15 ðis V
16 landes V
   ærest V (no stop after æc): æræst C
17 ollong written before ollonc in V but im-
   mediately deleted
   to ðæm slo V (dash after more to fill up the
   line)
18 No stop after pyt in V
   ðæt V
19 done C: [ð]one V
   þone C: ðone V
20 ðæm V
   ðonan V
   ridig V: riðig C
21 streamas V
   ðonan V
22 ðæt swa V
   acar underlined C, V with note above; non
   quiui legere. K notes "the word acar
   obscure" and emends to andheafdan
   ðæt sic V: ðæt sic C
23 cufan [lea] (two words) V: cufanlea C

   ðæm V
24 ðane [lytla]n dic. ðonon V (Emend ðane to
   ðone?)
   ðæt V
25 ðæt V
26 ðe V
   ðære V
   har deleted before halgan in C
27 ðæm ƶ V; þæm ·ƶ·C. The sign may stand
   for an omitted or illegible word or words,
   or may indicate that the sentence is con-
   tinued elsewhere (in line 55?)
   Hu[ius] V: Hujus B
   anno V
31 Aelfred B: burnt in V
34 Ego B: space left before o in C: burnt in V
   fælix V
35 No cross before howæl in V
   x. Morcant V: space left after morcant in
   C (for illegible word?)
   oswulf V (no cross): oswulf B
36 bebb̄ hehgr C, V
   x æðelstan dux x vrm V
   There is room for an ampersand at the
   charred end of the line in V after eorl. K
   reads &coll (for the name Andcol) but
   Coll witnesses other charters
37 x alhhelm comes x uhtred eorl .&. grim (no
   cross) V
   eorlan written before eorl in C but immedi-
   ately deleted
38 x æð[el]mund V
   .x Eadric V
   A letter started after eorl in C but immedi-
   ately cancelled
39 ælfgar (no cross) V
   ælfstan V
   ðegn V
40 ælfsige (no cross) V
41 þi written before wigstan in C but immedi-
   ately cancelled
   abbad V: abbud C
   aldredus V
   Dunstanus abb(as?) (no mark of abbrevi-
   ation) V
42 æðelgeard V
   æðelmær V
43 Hi V
44 prerogatiuum V
   consignabant V
45 Omnes V

46 conseruan*tes*; Si qui vero V
48 rediga*n*tur V
49 facia*n*t V
   meliu[s] V
   negligenter V
51 autor chr*istus* V: auctor $\overline{\chi\rho s}$ C
   v[obis] V: uobis C (could be read nobis,
   but the quotation is from Luke vi. 38).
52 mas´ en´ V: más én C: emended to vir ecce
   B
   II⁰ V (2 interlined): ii deleted before .ii.⁰
   C
53 [libe]ri*us* V
54 roboretur . finis V
   Sidenote: de m^tro doct owen C: de m^ro
   [ ] owen V
55 Two letters (on?) written after Lond in V
   but cancelled
56 æthelmære V
   Footnote: the original herof was torn and
   blinded in sōme places y^t ẏ cold not well
   read ytt C (V reads blynded: I: it)

Notes on the Text

The pictorial invocation is a small cross; this
is almost invariable in original diplomas of the
940s. By 956 it had given way to a decorated
chrismon.

Lines 29-33 of C are missing in V, as the
lower edge of the page has crumbled away since
the fire. In lines 26-28 the only words legible in
V are "ꝺe sceot to ꝺære halgan æc . . . æþel-
flede wiꝺ ꝺæm ⁊ Hu[ius] . . . anno d*omi*nicae".
In line 34 the words before "Eadgeofu fælix"
are lost in V. In the list of variant readings,
letters lost in V but supplied by the writer (usu-
ally from C) are shown in square brackets.

All abbreviations have been extended; some
words contracted in C are written in full in V,
and conversely. Each transcriber followed his
own practice in retaining or extending contract-
ed forms, or introducing his own contractions.
In line 14, V has .20. for C's viginti; the original
may have had .xx. as in Wanley's catalogue,
which clearly refers to lines 14 and 15, as the
hybrid form 'ad cetwuda & æt hildes dune'
does not occur elsewhere (Wanley omitted
'dune' and in cataloguing V he did not name
the estate).

In line 41, Dunstan's name appears in its
English form in C but as Dunstan*us* in V. It is
preceded in the witness list by 'aldredus' and
followed by 'eadhelmus'; no other names are
Latinized.

C generally has þ initially, and also medially
in the element æþel- ; V uses ꝺ throughout, ex-
cept for æþelflede in line 26 and æthel- in lines
1, 10 and 56. Both transcribers could forget to
cross a ꝺ (C in line 19, V in lines 20 and 22). V
retains (or introduces?) the old forms of f, r, s
and t in the English part of the text and in
proper names, and has two different forms of
g. Both transcribers use the old form of w; in
line 41 this was originally misread in C as þ but
was corrected before the scribe had finished the
word.

In V, Joscelin tended to normalize; in line 17
he wrote *ollong* and corrected it to *ollonc*, and
in line 49 he wrote *negligenter* for C's *nec-
ligenter*. In line 35 he seems to have emended
osúlf to *oswulf*, as did Birch. In line 51, on the
other hand, *auctor* may be normalization in C;
Joscelin read *autor*. In line 16, *landes* for
Anglian *londes* may be due to Joscelin, though
C and V agree in reading *Lond* in line 55 and
land in the next line.

Eventually C came into the hands of
Matthew Parker, who bequeathed it to Corpus
Christi College, Cambridge. In 1561 he had ob-
tained an order of the Privy Council
authorizing him to borrow, directly or through
his agents, all the ancient records which were in
the hands of private persons. Much of what he
borrowed he kept, no doubt with the laudable
object of publication. By 1566 he was pro-
jecting a Saxon lexicon, and had commissioned
John Day to cut the first Saxon types in brass;
Joscelin's use of old forms of letters may be
relevant here.

The original documents which Dr Owen had
rescued from the wreck of Abingdon seem to
have been lost after his death on 18th October
1558. If Archbishop Parker had secured them,
he would probably have left them to his old
college.

The Latin text is alliterative, rhythmical and somewhat bombastic; the English text has an admixture of late or dialectal forms. The following translation is offered.

+ *AEthelmær's book. Twenty hides at Chetwode and Hillesden, in eternal inheritance.* (In Latin) + The kingdom of God the Holy Trinity wonderfully directs the privilege of perpetual prosperity which endures, lifted up on high, in the heavenly paradise. Likewise the essence of the Deity bestows the patrimony of an earthly inheritance on all the deserving, as He wills. This appears beyond doubt in the most glorious King of the English, Eadred, blessed with the reward of the work of God, whom the almighty King of Kings has raised to the sceptre of the Northumbrians, the pagans and the rest of the provinces, wherefore the aforesaid Emperor with open hand constantly renders most worthy thankofferings to God. AEthelmær the *praes* (king's reeve) now makes known that king's bounty concerning the permanent taking of lands into use; whom he (the king) therefore enriches by (a gift) doing him honour, to him and his heirs, bestowing it freely, except for the construction of fortresses and bridges and liability for army service. Moreover there follows the boundary of twenty hides at Chetwode and at Hillesden in this way.

(In English) These are the boundaries of the estate at Chetwode and at Hillesden. First, to the holy oak; so along the boundary hedge, to the slough at the upper part of the moor; from the moor to Dun's pit; thence through Wippa's hoo (hill-spur, watershed), and so by the great wood-edge to (and then on) the hollow way; on the other way (or the second way) to the rough hill (or mound); from there straight on to the little riddy, and so to Offa's pool; up alongstream, on to the billowy (?) pool; from there up over the meadow, and so by the acre-headland(s) on to the syke; up from the syke to Cufa's glade (or wood); into the ditch to the red slough, and so on to the little dyke; from there on to the other dyke, and so along the boundary

hedge around (outside) the reed clearing, and so on to the boundary hedge which shoots to the holy oak.

This land AElfstan sold to AEthelflæd for the
. . .

(In Latin) This book was indeed drawn up and executed in the 949th year of the Lord's incarnation and the third little year of the aforesaid king, being confirmed by the notables underwritten.

+ Eadred, king and ruler
+ Oda, archbishop
+ Wulfstan, archbishop
+ Theodred, bishop
+ AElfheah, bishop
+ AElfic and Wulfsige, bishops
+ AEthelgar, bishop
+ Koenwald, monk (bishop)
+ Cynsige, bishop
+ Aldred, bishop
+ I, AEthelwold, bishop, have propounded (this charter), rejoicing with praise to Augustus.
[+] I, Eadgeofu, happy.
+ Howael, sub-king
+ Morcant [ ] and Cadmon
+ Oswulf, high-reeve at Bamborough
+ AEthelstan, ealdorman
+ Urm, earl, and Coll
   Alhhelm, ealdorman
+ Uhtred, earl, and Grim +
+ AEthelmund, ealdorman
+ Eadric, ealdorman
   Scule, earl
+ AElfgar, ealdorman
   AElfstan, thegn, and Eadmund, thegn
+ AElfsige, thegn, and Wulfric, thegn
   Berhferth, king's thegn
+ Wigstan, abbot, and Aldred
   Dunstan, abbot
+ Eadhelm and AEthelgeard
   Berhtsige, thegn, and AEthelmær, 'praeses'
   AElfheah, thegn, and Eadsige

Moreover the aforesaid chief men vouched for the royal grant, strengthening (it) in writing with the triumphal ensign (the cross).

May all the saints of God bless this benefaction, preserving it permanently. If indeed any persons fraudulently annul this royal liberty by lessening (it), may they be reduced to nothing, unless they make worthy recompense before God and render satisfaction, making good what they have negligently done wrong. Let each one of the faithful attend to the command of Christ Himself "Give and it shall be given to you". Amen.

For behold indeed this man bestowed on the great king two horns decorated with gold and silver that this grant might be confirmed more freely to him. Finis.

(In English) . . . Land at 'Ceadel's spring', and afterwards King Eadred restored it to AEthelmær, who was most dear to him, for ever in everlasting inheritance, in return for the same land.

Notes on the Translation

The grant is described as a royal 'prerogativum' (line 44) or 'libertas' (line 47). Either term implies a grant which transferred royal rights to a subject, so that the legislative sanction of the Witan was required.

The key words are 'de perenni usurpatione terrarum' (line 11). At first sight *usurpatio* is a surprising word to find in this context. It may mean no more than 'taking into use, appropriation' since in classical Latin *usurpare* means 'to make use of, to take possession of', but in the Digest[20] it carries the idea of seizure to one's own use so as to interrupt someone else's prescription or usucaption, and in the Code[21] the idea of unauthorised appropriation certainly attaches to it. In late Latin *usurpator*, *usurpativus* always bear this sense. Here the reference may well be to settlements in the forest, of which the king takes note and which he grants or confirms to AEthelmær. In view of the 20-hide assessment there must have been something like that number of separate agricultural holdings already assarted. By the charter the king subjects them to his *praeses*, to whom he releases his rights, retaining only the three burdens from which land was hardly ever exonerated.

In line 6, the reading *terrenae* may be considered theologically preferable. If we read *terrena* with V, the sense would be 'Likewise the essence of the Deity on earth bestows the patrimony of (an) inheritance . . .' It seems unlikely that a contrast was intended between the heavenly rule of the Holy Trinity and the earthly rule of Christ the King.

Preter (line 13) ought to govern the accusative, and Kemble therefore preferred to read *constructionem*; but both C and V give *obsequio*.

Augusto (line 33) is taken as 'to the Emperor' in view of the title *imperator* given to Eadred in line 9.

In line 52, *mas* is a male of any kind; poetically, it bears the sense 'manly, vigorous, bold' . AElfric and others translate it *wæp(en)mann* . *En* 'lo! behold!' is quite Virgilian[22]. Birch's suggestion *vir ecce* gives precisely the right sense.

The English text is not in the standard West Saxon which was usual in boundary clauses by the mid-10th century, whatever the location of the estate. The spelling *acar* (line 22), if genuine, is clearly Anglian[22a], but it needs emendation either to *acra* or *acara* to make it a genitive plural after *ðara*.

Ollonc 'along' occurs three times, and must be taken as the original form. The assimilation of Anglian *ondlong* to *ollong* could result from updating in transmission, but the *-c* ending was not regular at any stage. A scribe would hardly have introduced it; indeed a king's writer taking down a boundary clause from rustic informants would have written *-long* even if they said *-lonc*. The clause was surely written locally by someone whose tongue was not educated West Saxon. There are several late features which might have arisen in transmission, but are more probably due to the vernacular having already diverged from the literary language. Thus *gretan* (line 19) should be *greatan*; the dialectal form in the locality is still 'gret' with a short vowel. *Ufewardan* (line 17) represents *ufeweardum*.

8

The view taken here is that the words 'þis lond AElfstan sald æþelflede wið þæm' in lines 26-27, discussed below, are interpolated, and should be taken with lines 55-57. This insertion was also made locally; *sald* represents West Saxon *sealde*, and the dropping of the *-e* is a late feature. *Agifan* is usually 'to return' (*reddere, restituere*) or 'to give up' (*relinquere*) not simply 'to give' (*dare*) and in this context 'ageaf . . . wið' in lines 55, 56 is to be rendered 'restored . . . in return for.'

An Appended Note on Other Owners of the Estate

Coming where it does after the boundary clause, the mysterious sentence 'þis lond AElfstan sald æþelflede wið þæm' must have been a note which was added to the original document or to an Abingdon copy, and then incorporated in the copy of which C and V are transcripts. *Sellan* is 'to give', but *sellan wið* (+ dative) is 'to sell for' (money or money's worth) and the sentence could be construed as 'This land AElfstan sold to AEthelflæd for that' or '. . . in exchange for that'; but this is so uninformative that it seems better to take *þæm* not as a demonstrative pronoun but as the definite article before a missing word or phrase. If this were no more than a single word, it might be suggested that the note ran on to a fold in the original parchment. *ECTV*[24] suggests the translation 'AElfstan sold this estate to AEthelflæd with these [bounds]' taking *þæm* as plural; but *wið* was not often used in Old English for simple association, and then usually with the accusative. Until *wið* had to do the work of *mid*, its general sense was contrast, opposition or reciprocal relation. The dative, after a verb of transference, requires the sense 'in return for'.

If either of these interpretations were correct, the note would relate to a subsequent transaction, AElfstan being AEthelmær's heir and AEthelflæd a purchaser from him; but there is another explanation which seems preferable. In both extant copies, *þæm* (*ðæm* V) is followed by a curious siglum which may indicate that the sentence is continued elsewhere. It appears to be continued at the foot of the text after the word 'finis' (why else should that

word be needed?) and we then have the intelligible sentence:

> þis lond AElfstan sald æþelflede wið þæm lond æt ceadeles funtan & eft eadred cing hit ageaf æþelmære wið dæm ilcan land, á on ece yrfe, þæm ðe him leofast seon.

"This land AElfstan sold to AEthelflæd for the land at 'Ceadel's spring', and afterwards King Eadred restored it to AEthelmær, who was most dear to him, for ever in everlasting inheritance, in return for the same land."

This note could very naturally have been added in order to record the previous history of the estate, and perhaps to indicate that the king's bounty was less gratuitous than the charter would suggest.

If this reconstruction of the original endorsement is accepted, it implies that the Chetwode-Hillesden estate was in private hands a generation earlier than 949. Its owner AElfstan had then exchanged it with AEthelflæd, presumably King Alfred's daughter, the Lady of the Mercians, for an estate at *Ceadeles funta*. This was long identified with Chalfont, but in 1970 Margaret Gelling pointed out that Chadshunt in Warwickshire suited the form better[25]. In either case one forest estate was being exchanged for another. She commented "The relationship of the note to this charter is not clear, and it may have been endorsed on the wrong document." In fact if it is taken as continuing the unfinished sentence in lines 26-27 the story is clear enough. AEthelmær was not AElfstan's predecessor at Chetwode but his successor as owner of *Ceadeles funta* which had been exchanged for it; the King reverses the exchange as a mark of his high regard for AEthelmær's service as *praeses*, turns the North Bucks estate into bookland with the usual privileges, and accepts from him a gift of two horns decorated in gold and silver, perhaps one for Chetwode, one for Hillesden. The sentence recording this gift, coming after *Amen*, looks like an afterthought; a somewhat similar postscript " + duas libras purissimi auri dedit" occurs in Sawyer no. 535 in the previous year.

AEthelflæd and her brother Edward the Elder were waging war against the Danes from 910 onwards, and may well have decided to acquire Chetwode and Hillesden from AElfstan for reasons of state. They were the hinterland of Buckingham, and for some years after 914 Buckingham was a vital link in the chain of fortifications which they were establishing. The land would have come to the West Saxon crown when AEthelflæd died in 918, or at latest on the death or dispossession of her only daughter AElfwynn. With the development of Buckingham from a fortress into a borough the relative value of neighbouring land would have increased, and AEthelmær naturally wished to recover for himself an estate to which he had some claim and which he was probably already administering as the king's reeve. He had risen to favour and office under Edward's sons, and now obtained the grant he desired, probably through the good offices of the Queen Mother and the Bishop of Dorchester; this, however, is best discussed in connection with the witness list. The grant was *sibi suisque heredibus*, and does not expressly concede freedom of alienation, but perhaps this was implied; at all events, this great estate had been split up before the Norman Conquest. In the Confessor's time Chetwode was held with Tingewick, Preston with Barton and Hillesden with half of Beachampton[26].

The Authenticity of the Charter and Related Documents

The Chetwode-Hillesden grant is one of a well-known group of documents dated 940-56, written in alliterative and rhythmical Latin in a style unlike the majority of tenth-century land charters. Birch comments "This charter appears to be alliterative and poetical in many places, but I have not ventured to divide the lines". None of these grants survives in a contemporary text; many of them relate to land in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, and at one time they could have been dismissed as 'Burton forgeries'. Stevenson[27] more than once and Drögereit[28] as late as 1952 regarded charters of this type as spurious or doubtful; they were, however, accepted by Plummer[29] and Finberg[30], and more especially Professor Dorothy Whitelock[31], whose defence has been generally accepted. She developed her points in *The Will of AEthelgifu*[32], and the group has more recently been discussed by Nicholas Brooks[33] and Cyril Hart[34], who attributes them to Glastonbury. If they came from a single writing-office, Professor Dorothy Whitelock's suggestion of Worcester seems most likely. Normally charters were drawn up at the witenagemot which approved the grant, either by a royal scribe or by one of the ecclesiastics present[35]. Cenwald of Worcester was certainly a regular attender, and adopted the style himself in a lease of 957[36], just when it was going out of use[37]; but once the style was established, anyone could imitate it, and clerics moving between minsters might carry such a fashion with them.

The style is first evidenced in six charters of 940-42, three of which relate to Staffordshire, one to Derbyshire and two to Wiltshire[38]. Then there is a gap until 946, when the peculiarities reappear in a grant of land at Warkton in Northamptonshire, made at or soon after Eadred's coronation[39]. A charter relating to Gaddesden in Hertfordshire, not listed but in part recoverable from the will of AEthelgifu[40], is of the same type and can be assigned to the same year. Another gap follows until 949, when the Chetwode-Hillesden grant is the first of a new group of six dated 949-51[41], and there are five more examples in 955-57[42]. Very few charters of any kind survive from 952 and 953, and none from 954.

The Warkton, Gaddesden and Chetwode-Hillesden charters form a group of three in the South Midlands within a span of three years or so. We are indebted to three different religious houses for their preservation, and even so the originals have long been lost. The first of these three related texts survives only in printed editions[43]; the second has reached us only in part, and that through a misunderstanding by the compilers of the St Albans cartulary; the third survives in two post-Reformation transcripts. The resemblances between them are quite marked, and even the differences between them reflect transient political conditions so closely that concerted forgery at a later date is out of the question.

10

Until the Roxburghe Club published Professor Whitelock's edition of the will of AEthelgifu in 1968, that will was known only from a Latin abstract in the St Albans cartulary. The much fuller English text was discovered in an outhouse at Alderley and was brought to the notice of Dr N. Ker in 1942. It could be securely dated as not earlier than c. 985, and it proved not to contain the witness list given in the cartulary; this list could only belong to 943-47, apart from the first name AEduuardus rex, which has to be emended. The list is introduced by a highly rhythmical and somewhat alliterative paragraph which may be arranged as follows:

Hi omnes subscribentes
donum regis roborabant
Quinquaginta nomismata
auri cocti, æþelricus
dedit valde letus large
   regi cyrtlinctune
   elata mente
   ut gætesdena
permanerat sancto Albano
magnis rebus ac modicis fruentibus
monachis confirmata.
   Qùi hoc contradixent: anathema sit.

Further, the heading is significant: 'Hic carta loquitur de gatesdene et de reliquis'. What we have here is no part of the will, but a fragment of a charter granting Great Gaddesden to the testatrix's husband, with ultimate remainder to St Albans[44], which finally took effect after half a century.

To establish the date of the Gaddesden charter thus strangely retrieved, and to examine the changing political circumstances under which these grants were made, we must compare the witness lists. Archbishop Wulfstan of York together with four northern earls, Orm or Urm, Morcar, Grim and Coll, and Oswulf, high-reeve of Bamborough, who ruled the English north of the Tees with powers hardly less than regal, witnessed the Warkton grant in August 946, and all these except Morcar witnessed the Chetwode-Hillesden grant in 949, but not the Gaddesden charter, which was, however, subscribed by three other northern lords,

Uhtred, Scule and Halfdene, whose allegiance to the English monarchy went back at least to 934[45]. The other group of Scandinavian earls did not become Edmund's subjects until 944, when he recovered Northumbria; Orm indeed had contributed to the success of Olaf Guthfrithson in 940, when Archbishop Wulfstan had persuaded Edmund to withdraw to Watling Street. Two years later Edmund earned his title Magnificent by redeeming the Five Boroughs of the Christian Danelaw from the rule of the heathen Norsemen of York, and in 944 he carried his rule to the Scottish and Cumbrian borders. During the winter of 945-6 Edmund left the north after ravaging Cumbria, and the Norse earls seem to have revolted before his assassination on 26 May 946[46]. His brother Eadred took decisive action against them ('he sona gerad eall Norðhymbra land him to gewealde')[47] and by 16 August they were all at Kingston for his coronation, and ready to witness the Warkton charter. Professor Whitelock considered that the king whose name has been falsified in the Gaddesden list was Edmund rather than Eadred; if so, it should be dated in the spring of 946, when the northern earls were in revolt and Archbishop Wulfstan of York and Oswulf of Bamborough could not reach Edmund's court. The Warkton grant, made after Northumbria had submitted to Eadred, emphasizes his claim to rule the Anglo-Saxons and Northumbrians, the pagans and the Britons as his brother had done. This was the "quadripartite rule".

Next year Eadred took oaths from Wulfstan and the northern magnates at Tanshelf, but oaths and pledges proved ineffective. Before the end of 947 the Norsemen of York had welcomed Eric Bloodaxe as their king. Wulfstan remained with his people and submitted to Eric with them. Egil Skalla-Grimsson, who redeemed his life by his splendid Head-Ransom in praise of Eric, later said that "the king, the protector of his people, sat and ruled under the helmet of terror"[48], but Eric's violence was not directed against Christians as such; he welcomed St Catroe[49] and the Northumbrian annalist recalls his final betrayal by Oswulf with divided feelings[50]. In 948 Eadred invaded Northumbria and secured the temporary sub-

mission of the earls, who abandoned Eric and paid compensation to avert ravaging.

In the early months of 949 Eadred could once again claim to rule the Northumbrians and the pagans as well as the other (Anglo-Saxon and British) provinces. The Chetwode-Hillesden charter of this date also shows that he had resumed the imperial title which Athelstan had assumed; *imperator* has the same meaning as *Bretwalda*. Eadred's *imperium* was soon challenged; within a few months York had revolted again, and he did not recover it until 954, though in 952 he succeeded in arresting Wulfstan who had too often been on the wrong side.

Thus the witness lists of the Gaddesden, Warkton and Chetwode-Hillesden charters all relate to very temporary situations, lasting for months rather than years, and reflect the political position quite accurately.

The episcopal witnesses of the Gaddesden grant are practically the same as those for Warkton in August 946, as would be expected, since they can hardly be separated by more than a few months. Apart from Wulfstan's absence, the only difference is that the Gaddesden list includes Kynsius, presumably the 'Cynsige, consul' of the Chetwode-Hillesden list; 'consul' must be taken as a variant of 'presul', as Cynsige signs among the bishops. The Chetwode-Hillesden charter has the same list except that Wulfstan is back at court while Wulfgar of Lichfield drops out. The order of sees is variable after the first five (Canterbury, York, London, Winchester, Lichfield) but in all three lists AEthelwold comes last; his see was probably Dorchester, where there is room for him between Wynsige, apparently not mentioned after 934, and Oscytel, who was consecrated in 950. This suggestion was made by Professor Whitelock[51] and developed by M.A. O'Donovan[52] and Cyril Hart[53].

The Draftsman of the Charters

That AEthelwold remained at the end of the list of bishops is surely no accident; it was a mark of voluntary humility on the part of the draftsman. His elaborate subscription to the Chetwode-Hillesden charter " + æþelwold presul pontificale cum augusto eulogium iubilando dogmatizaui" is most naturally taken as an assertion that he drew it up and had great pleasure in the outcome. 'Dogmatizo' in the sense 'propound' was used once by St Augustine of Hippo[54] and thus has a toehold in classical Latin. St Dunstan subscribes one charter [55] in 956 as 'Dunstan dogmatista', a word glossed by *lareow*[56] which also translates *doctor, eruditor, magister*, and *rabbi*. This is evidence that the word was applicable to the draftsman of a solemn diploma. Dunstan is said to have engrossed Eadred's grant of Reculver to Canterbury 'propriis digitorum articulis'[57]; this circumstance has been regarded as discrediting that charter, but there are two mss. very close to the purported date 949[58]. It would be quite appropriate for an interested ecclesiastic to settle the text of a charter, and the bishop of the diocese concerned would have a special interest in a major grant of land. Dr S. D. Keynes[59] has noted that tenth- and eleventh-century bishops of Dorchester often subscribe charters with styles which suggest a role in drafting the text. Perhaps they were more often permitted to draft charters on the king's behalf than were other bishops. Normally charters would be drawn up by a secretariat attached to the king's household, but the dialectal forms in the English text of the Chetwode-Hillesden bounds are hardly such as a royal scribe would have accepted[60]. As with the other alliterative charters, the text is in the third person throughout, but the draftsman has the grantee rather than the king in mind. In lines 10 and 11 it is AEthelmær who makes known (*promulgat*, 'publishes') the king's bounty.

In the Gaddesden and Warkton charters there is nothing in the form of AEthelwold's subscription to mark him out, but in view of the similarity of style and the place of his name at the foot of the episcopal list he may well have been the draftsman. 'Rex et rector' appears in the Warkton and Chetwode-Hillesden grants, and the two have a similar variation in the words used for ealdorman (dux, alderman, comes, princeps). In the Chetwode-Hillesden list the writer finds eight descriptions for the eleven bishops: pontifex (twice), presul, episcopus (thrice), antistes, biscop, consul,

monachus and (for himself) presul pontificale (cf. pontificale auctoritate in the Warkton text). In the Gaddesden list the first two bishops are presul and pontifex, the rest being episcopi; this would support the view that this grant preceded the others.

The four alliterative charters of 949 are all interrelated, and the Chetwode-Hillesden and Sutton grants (Sawyer nos. 544, 549) were apparently drawn up on the same occasion, when the Witan held its Easter meeting at Somerton in Somerset[61].

The Gaddesden proem has not survived, but those of the Warkton and Chetwode-Hillesden charters have in common a markedly optimistic tone and a similar line of thought. There is no contrast, as in so many later royal diplomas, between the joys of heaven and this vale of tears, nor any insistence that this world is hastening to its end; rather the thought is that the king on earth recognises the abundant generosity of the heavenly King by imitating Him, especially by rewarding the deserving. By such gifts he renders thanks to God for His blessings; they honour and gladden the recipients, who praise the king for his bounty as the king praises God for His grace. This particular emphasis, which gives a Christian interpretation to the Germanic virtue of liberality, especially liberality after victory, seems characteristic of the period; it did not last long.

Some Witnesses of the Charters

Eadgeofu 'felix', who signs in 949, was the Queen Mother who persuaded her son Eadred to give St AEthelwold, one of the king's following, the decayed monastery of Abingdon which became the second centre of the great monastic revival. The saintly abbot had the same name as the bishop who had a special connection with the Chetwode-Hillesden charter, but it would be too hazardous to suggest a relationship between them, or of either to the grantee AEthelmær, who may have entrusted his muniments to the restored abbey. Abingdon, like Burton and the Old Minster at Winchester, was prepared to admit, even into its cartulary, charters which had no connection with its own endowments, and this has ensured their

survival. It is curious that this charter alone among those transcribed by (or for) Dr Talbot does not appear in the Abingdon cartulary Claudius B vi, which is generally not selective; but the note on Corpus Christi MS.111 that all the charters belonged to Abingdon must be considered decisive.

Why was Eadgeofu happy? Probably because the grant to AEthelmær secured some benefit to the Church. A region which was attracting settlement would require church buildings and the service of priests; and such provision depended on the estate owner.

Edgar, described as ætheling, appears as a witness to the Gaddesden charter; in 946 he can only have been an infant, but there is a precedent in that Eadwig appears as a witness[62] in Edmund's first year, 941, when he was a baby. Perhaps in each case the opportunity was being taken to introduce the royal infant to the Witan.

Hywel Dda, the Welsh legislator, attested all three charters, and both in 946 and 949 he was accompanied by Morcant (Morgan) and Cadmo or Cadmon. Professor Whitelock has suggested[63] that the latter was Caducan (Cadwgan), brother of Hywel and Morgan; it may be considered that the repeated misspelling is further evidence for a single draftsman. The name Cadmon (Cædmon) would be familiar to an educated Englishman as that of the Celtic father of English Christian poetry. The Welsh signatories follow the bishops but precede the ealdormen and earls. A meeting at Somerton would have suited them.

The southern ealdormen who witnessed all three charters were AEthelmund, Ealhhelm, Athelstan and Eadric. The Gaddesden list adds Wulgarus comes and Ethe(l)wold, and enters Athelstan twice; the Chetwode-Hillesden list adds AElfgar, king Edmund's father-in-law, described in his obit in 962 as the king's kinsman in Devon. Three abbots, Eadred, Wigstan and Dunstan, attested the Warkton and Chetwode-Hillesden grants, and Eadhelm, whose name stands next in the latter text, may well be the abbot of Thetford for whose murder

in 952 the king took such signal vengeance on that borough. The Gaddesden list, as it has come down to us, includes no one below comital rank. The Chetwode-Hillesden list is the only one to include king's thegns; near the foot stands the name of the grantee Æthelmær *praeses*, which may be taken as king's reeve. In an eleventh-century glossary[64], *praeses* is the lemma for *scirgerefa* 'sheriff'; there was no shire-reeve in 949 and the name *Buc(c)ingahamscir* first occurs in 1010[65], but by 995 the king's reeves in Buckingham and Oxford were acting as sheriffs in all but name in dealing with breaches of the peace[66]. Æthelwig, king's thegn, then reeve in Buckingham, is described as dear and precious to the king, who took his side in a dispute with ealdorman Leofsige about the right of offenders to Christian burial. His predecessor in 949 may well have had similar responsibilities and commanded similar royal favour.

Eadred rewarded the faithfulness of his reeve by giving him the lordship and royal revenues of a tract of forest which was already being cleared and settled, and of which his antecessor had been dispossessed by Eadred's formidable aunt, probably some 35 years earlier. The holdings would be liable to the same services and dues as before, since it was a general rule of early medieval law that the transfer of lordship, even from the king to a subject, should not affect the position of the tenants; as regards them, it is *res inter alios acta*[67]. The charter does not expressly give Æthelmær jurisdiction, or the profits of jurisdiction, but probably Æthelmær had held on the king's behalf, and continued to hold on his own, a court for the area, no doubt a highly undifferentiated body, administering the bishop's laws as well as the customary and statute law, so that the Bishop of Dorchester would have a direct interest in the matter.

It is important to ascertain whether the site of the hundred moot was inside or outside the boundary of the 949 grant. Hitherto it has been held, from Browne Willis[68] to Mawer and Stenton[69], that it met outside, in the Lenborough lordship which was within the borough of Buckingham; it can now be shown that the moot-stow was just inside the charter bounds.

The Extent of the Grant

The view hitherto taken by the writer and adopted in *ECTV* was that the grant to Æthelmær included the modern parishes of Chetwode, Hillesden and Preston Bissett excluding Cowley. The present parishes of Chetwode and Hillesden have no common boundary; they are separated by Preston Bissett, but the charter bounds clearly enclose a single area. The boundary between Chetwode and Preston has every appearance of antiquity; it follows a stream through the marshy valley of Casemore (Casa's *mōr*) reaching the Bune water at Damsel's Meadow[70]. In contrast, the boundary between Preston and Hillesden may be secondary, though it is fairly straight and was probably marked out across the waste. It includes a Crooked Oak and a Gospel Bush. The boundary between Chetwode and Barton Hartshorn has the same character, and Barton, like Preston, is not evidenced until Domesday Book[71]. A *beretūn* is an outlying grange. Almost certainly Barton was an outlier of Chetwode, with which it intercommoned until the Enclosure; it has a much shorter common boundary with Tingewick, adjoining a wide belt of uncleared forest, and its Oxfordshire neighbour Newton Purcell is of late origin. It appears clear that originally, and at the time of the grant, Barton was part of Chetwode; its western boundary, which was adopted as the county boundary, was probably the limit of the forest.

Cowley, which is well inside the modern parish of Preston Bissett, appears as one of the charter *londgemæru*, and the bounds exclude this dispersed hamlet.

The four parishes are strongly contrasted in their settlement patterns. Chetwode has no real village centre, the farms and cottages being widely scattered; some of them probably represent the original clearances. The secondary settlement of Barton Hartshorn (Barton by Chetewode in 1392) is a nucleated village, though a very small one, centred on its church; Hartshorn may originally have been
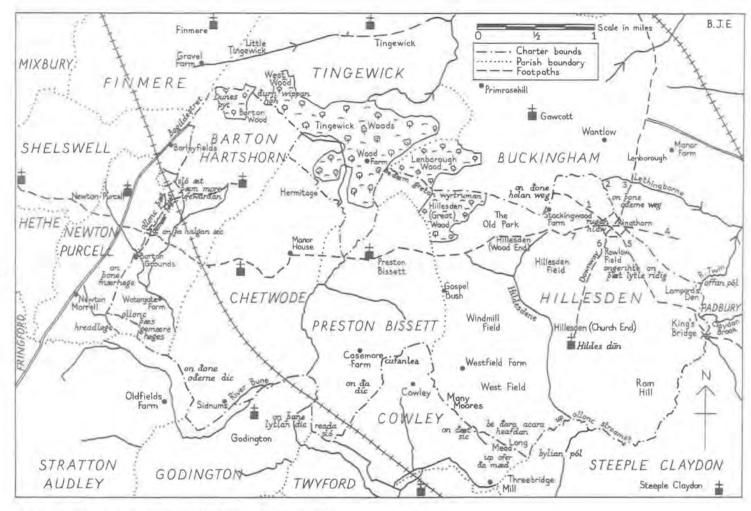
Fig. 1. The bounds of the Chetwode-Hillesden charter of 949.

distinct. Hillesden consists of two quite separate clusters, the Church-end and the 'Hamlet', together with a few dispersed farms. Preston Bissett, now the largest of the four, is a normal nucleated village, nestling round its church, inn and small green, though Casemore Farm is isolated.

These contrasts are explicable if they arose during successive periods of English settlement. Chetwode represents the earliest phase of pioneering during the seventh century. It naturally took the name of the forest itself, and the scattered farms would hardly have needed a common organ of local government until they were grouped into a 10-hide unit and subjected to common burdens. The conjunction of Welsh and English phonology needed to produce an ultimate Chet rather than a Chid or (Anglian) Cheet suits a sixth-century date, and the name would have been borrowed, by Saxons rather than Angles, about the time of the battle of *Fethanleag* (Stoke Lyne) in 584. It is hardly a place-name at all; the victors picked up Primitive Welsh *cēd* 'wood', with the final consonant only slightly voiced (as in modern Welsh *coed*) so that it might be heard as -*t*. As second element in a compound, e.g. Datchet, a short *e* is normal, but as first element the vowel should be some form of long *ē*-sound; this is supported by the charter spelling *cétwuda* in line 1, on which both manuscripts agree, though V elsewhere omits the accents on long vowels. The Domesday spelling *Ceteode* is consistent with the vowel still being long, but by 1167 the form *Chettewuda*[72] implies a short *e*. This was raised to short *i* in the 15th century, and the spelling Chitwood which is common thereafter indicates the local pronunciation which is still current, though Chetwode has remained the 'educated' form.

Hillesden represents a somewhat later type of settlement than Chetwode; Hild gave his name to a hill and a small valley, each with its hamlet, and, as will be seen, each with its distinct name, *Hildesdūn* and *Hildesdenu*. To call the Church-end a *dūn* suggests that the settlers came up the river valley, and that they were therefore Middle Angles. The name *Hild* is usually feminine, but here it is declined masculine. It

should not be taken as the noun *hild* 'battle', which belongs to the poetic vocabulary and does not seem to occur as a place-name element.

In 949 Hillesden constituted another 10-hide unit; this would have included Preston. It is suggested that Æthelmær adopted Preston as a natural centre for his composite estate and provided its priests, its church and hence its name. This was surely part of the permanent settlement (*perennis usurpatio terrarum*) which he wished to make known (*Æþelmærus preses iam promulgat*) and it provides sufficient reason for Bishop Æthelwold's praise and jubilation and for Queen Eadgeofu's happiness. The village was well situated; unlike the older settlements it was compact, for good agricultural reasons and perhaps also for defence. Unlike Chetwode and Hillesden, it had only a short river-frontage and no mill, but this lack was made good by the acquisition of Cowley, a smaller settlement of the dispersed type, named after the Cufa who had presumably assarted it in the eighth century if not before. Cowley had become permanently united to Preston manorially and parochially by the Confessor's time, though it remained a separate chapelry[73]. Barton had by then been severed from Chetwode and was also held with Preston; the Domesday record suggests that it was specialising in stock-rearing.

The Double Origin of Hillesden

One of the strangest features of the present parish of Hillesden is that it has two centres a mile apart, each of which claims the name. One might have expected Over and Nether, Great and Little or North and South, but no such usage developed, probably because the names were originally distinct. The Church-end is a small nucleated village with an extensive demesne and an open-field system covering the south of the parish, and this is the primary settlement, *Hildes dūn*. To the west the land slopes down to the Hillesden brook, crossed by two bridges and three footbridges into the West and Windmill Fields. The brook is in *Hildesdene* in the 1230 Close Rolls, and it was to this valley that Hild gave his name. At Waddesdon the eponymous owner of a hilltop settlement gave his name to *Wottes broc* just below, and

the Picel of Pitstone (*Pichelesthorn*) appears also in *Pichelesburne*. *Bican broc* at Beachendon is less clear, because **bica* could be a topographical element.

Down to the thirteenth century, though not later, Hildesdon and Hildesden(e) were two distinct place-names. The parish, the church and the capital messuage took their names from the hill, while the valley gave its name to the hamlet at its head, or rather between its two arms, one of which runs up to Stocking Wood at 685 595, the other to the parish boundary (also the charter boundary) at 676 306. The hamlet is on rising ground, as are the dispersed dwellings around it, in an area where closes were hewn or burnt out of the forest. At no time have people wished to live in the 'Moors' or 'Den meadows' of the valley bottom.

In *PN Bucks* two *-den(e)* forms from the 13th century are claimed as forms of the parish name, but both appear to be inconclusive. There is, however, other evidence that the confusion had arisen by 1207, although a careful scribe could avoid it for another two or three generations. In the Feet of Fines of that year[74], *Hildesden* is the capital messuage held by the Templars, but in the carucage of 1217 the vill is *Ildesdune*[75]. In 1227 Henry Batur of *Couele* (Cowley) and others were accused of the murder of Gilbert Barun of *Ildesdon*, but had fled. In the very next case on the roll Martin Fliha, accused of theft, fled not from but to the place, taking sanctuary in the church of *Ideston'*, a particularly bad form, but no other place in the hundred of *Rugelawe* (Rowley) can be suggested. In a preceding case from this hundred, two men were killed entering the wood of Tingewick because they were found straying from the king's highway; the jury found that their slaying was not against the king's peace[76]. Clearly the belt of uncleared forest across the centre of Rowley hundred was still a very dangerous place for strangers. Part of this forest belt, which was sufficient for upwards of 1300 swine in 1086, was called the *nemus de Hillesden* in the Charter Rolls (1230); the wood was associated not with the church-hill but with the valley.

During the thirteenth century the vowel in the second element of both place-names, being only lightly stressed, must have become increasingly neutral, so that the two fell together in pronunciation, the *-don* form becoming usual in spelling. Some forms from Luffield Priory Charters[77] may be worth quoting:

no. 391 (1241?)	Robertus de Hildesdun'
378 (c.1250-63)	Roberto de Hildesdon
392 (1267-c.1280)	Roberto de Hildesdon'
380 (c.1270-80)	Robertus de Hildesdon'
764 (1288-9)	Robertus de Hyldesden'
765 (1288-9)	Robertus de Hildesdun'
381 (1294)	Roberto de Hyldesdun'

All these forms retain the aspirate and the first *-d-*, but the Domesday forms *Ulesdone* and *Ilesdone* show that Norman scribes dropped them both as early as 1086; this, however, is as likely to reflect their own speech habits as those of the inhabitants of the locality, and they probably thought that the first element was *hyll*.

The names Hildesdon, Hildesden were of course trisyllabic in Middle English. The first *-d-* in the trisyllable is what requires most effort of articulation and would thus be the first thing to disappear. *Hilles-* would then readily become *Hills-*, but the first clear evidence of the shortening seems to be in the names of Thomas Hillsdon, bailiff of Buckingham in 1650, John Hillsdon, bailiff in 1660 and another Thomas Hillsdon, first mayor of Buckingham under the 1684 charter, in which he is so spelt, although he is Hillesdon in the list printed by Browne Willis[78]; this form leaves it doubtful whether the genitival inflexion remained syllabic. It is curious that Browne Willis should have adopted the *-den* form for the parish, since he thought that "Hillesden signifies the Woody or Downey Hill, fit for Pasture, its name being taken or derived from Hills and Downs"[79]. He usually spelt the name Hillesden, once Hilsden and once (significantly) Hillersden, in the list of 'all the said parishes as they are now called'.

The same form occurs in a Civil War pamphlet[80]. Browne Willis's list, compiled in 1735 though not printed until 1755, is apparently the last trace of the trisyllabic pronunciation of the

place-name, but Hillersden remained in use as a surname and a "Hillersdon House" has recently been built in Chesham. Probably by accident the *VCH* used the form *Hillesdon* in its captions to photographs of the church; the text has the usual Hillesden[81]. It was left to *PN Bucks* to point out that the hill and the valley had once had distinct names. Meanwhile, the Ordnance Survey, faced with two claims to be Hillesden, accepted both; the name thus appears twice, though in different types (and, in the 2½-inch map, on different sheets). In the eighteenth century, the incipient names were *Church End* and *Wood End*, and in the nineteenth century *Lower End* and *Chapel End* were sometimes used for the latter, but in recent years the Post Office has induced the residents to adopt "The Hamlet, Hillesden" as their postal address.

The Identification of the Bounds

The bounds are as follows:

(1) *ærest on þa halgan æc*
    (First, to the holy oak)

In general, when *on* takes the accusative, motion is implied, external to the thing which *on* governs. The usage is not quite invariable, and here it may simply mark position, but probably the speaker or writer had an action in mind; the party from Chetwode Manor walk or ride to the holy oak on the north-western boundary of the privileged estate, which is also the county boundary. The site is determined by a small rectangular protrusion of Buckinghamshire into Oxfordshire at 627 302, where the boundary ditch and hedge take four right-angled bends (left, right, right, left) in less than a hundred yards, obviously in order to go round something which formerly stood there. This stretch of the hedgebank is well timbered, with several oaks which may well be descended from the holy oak. At this point a footpath from Chetwode to the Roman road (*Bogildestret*, *Buggerode*[82]) crosses the boundary; the 1833 one-inch map shows that it ran straight on to the lost village of Shelswell, but west of the street a section has since been lost, or rather diverted to Newton Purcell. When visited, this path had been obstructed on the county boundary; the farmer on the Oxfordshire side remarked with some complacency "Didn't you see which side the ditch was?" (implying that the boundary and the obstruction both belonged to Buckinghamshire). Another footpath, running from Barton Hartshorn to Barton Grounds just inside the boundary, may represent a former perimeter track along the verge of the primal Chetwood.

The holy oak was on slightly rising ground, between two streamlets which meet near Watergate Farm. This is a footpath crossway, and in an otherwise inexplicable projection into Oxfordshire, which is clearly shown on cadastral maps, but appears on the one-inch Ordnance maps only as a tiny kink in the county boundary. In Jeffreys' map, surveyed in the 1760's, it is shown with some exaggeration, and Lipscomb's map[83], which though published in 1847 is independent of the Ordnance Survey, exaggerates the feature much more, obviously because the cartographer's attention had been specially drawn to it.

The sanctity of the holy oak could be of pagan origin, if this part of the boundary antedates the Conversion (hereabouts *c*.650). This does not seem too unlikely, as it is within five miles of the site of the battle of *Fethanleag* (Stoke Lyne)[84] in 584, which marks the limit of the West Saxon advance; Cutha (the Cuthwine of 577?) was killed there, and although Ceawlin took many *tunas* and much booty he returned in anger to his own country[85]. One result seems to have been the alliance between Angles and Britons, mentioned by William of Malmesbury[86] as being responsible for Ceawlin's defeat and expulsion in 591-2; such an arrangement would surely have involved an agreed boundary between the Britons and the Hwicce.

Whatever the origin of the holy oak, it would have become a gospel tree where Christian ceremonies were held to consecrate the bounds anew. Part of the case for associating Christian perambulations with charter boundaries is that land charters nearly always had a religious sanction. In England, they do not deign to mention any secular penalty; instead they threaten the wrath of God, which bishops could denounce against those who infringed their terms.

A gospel oak was not necessarily at a corner or other special point on the boundary; the site of the Gospel Bush on the Preston-Hillesden boundary is not distinctive. Another example is the site on the edge of Badby Wood in Northamptonshire "where Bishop AElfric (the grantee) ordered reading to take place" in 944[87]. (The Gospel for Gang Monday was Matthew vii. 7-14 (". . . narrow is the way . . . few there be that find it")).

(2) *swa ollonc þæs gemær heges*
(so along the boundary hedge)

The use of *wyrtruma* 'woodland verge' later in the survey indicates, by contrast, that by 949 the *hege* 'hedge, fence' was free-standing, not on the edge of a wood. The county boundary has eight right-angled bends between 627 303 and 632 309, as well as the major turning at 630 308, which was until 1932 the triple boundary where the parishes of Newton Purcell, Shelswell and Barton Hartshorn met. Clearance originating from Chetwode and from the west would meet hereabouts, and presumably the hedge or fence was set out around existing selions. If a line had been drawn across the waste it would surely have been straighter.

As noted above, *ollonc* is a dialectal Anglian form of *andlang*. It takes the genitive, and could well be translated "along of".

(3) *tó þæm sló æt þæm more ufewardan*
(to the slough at the upper part of the moor)

The slough can be located around 632 309, where the boundary crosses a stream. The whole of this shallow valley is still very wet in winter. In this flat district, a *mōr* is generally a waterlogged tract; in the Chilterns, it is more often an upland area of rough grazing. 'Moor' can still have either meaning. The site is not at the top of the valley, but it is in the upper part so far as the estate and the county are concerned. The name, or rather the description, is more or less preserved in Upper Moory Close. The slough was and is the miriest place, where all are miry. Significant field names are Soughland (*suga* 'swamp') to the north, Puffland (*pyff(i)an* 'to puff, blow') to the east and Dumpling Ground and Dumpling Meadow to the south.

The gender of *sló* may be masculine or neuter; the article does not decide which.

(4) *of dæm móre on dunes pyt*
(from the moor to Dun's pit)

Exceptionally, the previous bound is repeated; we should have expected *of dæm sló*, but the sense is the same. The boundary is no longer said to run *ollonc (ge)mær heges*; there is still a boundary hedge, but it has changed sides at the triple boundary where Newton Purcell is left behind, and is now in Shelswell and in Oxfordshire[87a]. This is perhaps what one would expect, taking Shelswell as an early and Newton as a secondary settlement (on the moorland of Mixbury and Fringford), later than Barton (settled from Chetwode). An estate reeve or *geneat* would be much more likely to make express mention of a hedge if he were responsible for its maintenance.

From 633 313 northwards the line of the boundary is within the former Finmere airfield; the next field was called Banky Ground, but since the Second World War all local detail has been lost. The boundary reaches the Roman road north of Barleyfields at 634 316 and leaves it at 637 322; the road itself is in Oxfordshire and is not mentioned. *Dunes pyt* must have been close to this *Bogildestret*; provisionally it can be placed at 637 322 where the boundary turns away from the street to follow the height of land to which the next bound refers. This stretch of the Roman road is at a height of between 393 and 398 feet as it crosses the watershed between the streams flowing southwards to the Bune and the headwaters of the Tingewick stream, which rises at 634 325 in The Marsh near Gravel Farm and flows to the Great Ouse at Radclive.

Formally *dunes pyt* could be 'the pit on the hill' (literally 'of the hill' with genitival composition), but although it is on the highest ground the summit is much too flat to be called a *dūn*, which should be prominent and open rather than wooded. In fact the next field on the Oxfordshire side is Wood Ground[88]; it is not known when it was assarted. The Bretch, lying to the west, must also have been wooded. Hence it seems likely that Dun is the well-attest-

ed personal name (cf. Brown in modern English). There are many cases where a pit was named after its possessor, and examples of un-compounded names in the genitive preceding *pytt* are *badan pytt*[89] and *Snelles pitte*[90].

In this area pits were dug for clay, gravel, sand and stone; the drift geology is most complex. There are Staddle Pits on the Buckingham-Banbury road at 630 328 in Finmere, and the six-inch sheet[91] also includes two quarries, a limekiln, a gravel pit, a sandpit and woods called The Pits, Diggings Wood and Stonepit Spinney. The Chetwode award mentions Great and Little Digging Meadows.

(5) *donan ðurh wippan hoh*
(thence through Wippa's hoo)

Ðonan[91a] 'from there', for *ðanon* or *ðanan*, marks the point from which motion takes place, and implies that Dun's pit was on the hoo to which Wippa's name had been given. *Hōh* is usually translated 'hill-spur' and it glosses *promontorium*; here it means the watershed between the Ouse and Bune valleys, running into the Tingewick woods. It is too flat and ill-defined for the boundary to go 'along' it; this may account for the use of *ðurh*, the primary sense of which involves motion into, across and out at the other side. On this plateau slight differences in height entail very noticeable differences in drainage, and the drier land would be apparent enough, even before the woods were cleared.

Barton Wood was to the south of the boundary, with the Tingewick fields to the north; it was grubbed some years before 1887, when a Saxon bell was found[92], but a fragment survived as Barton Covert in the 1920's, and much of the cleared area was still very rough; adjoining field-names included Furzey Close and Elder Stump. The first edition of the one-inch map shows a linear feature of some kind extending along the boundary from 642 321 to 645 319, between Barton Wood and the Tingewick Woods, which then extended further north than at present, but not further west. It cannot have been a stream; it was something more than a normal hedge, since these are not shown; most probably it was a bank, on the Tingewick side of the boundary, to keep animals from Barton out of Wippa's fields.

(6) *þæt swa be ðæm gretan wyrtruman*
(and so by the great wood-edge)

This is the crux of the whole charter. On the interpretation now adopted, it has to account for the next four miles of the boundary. *Great* means 'great, large, thick' but does not usually refer to length, at least in literary usage.

The form *þæt swa* is unknown to the dictionaries. By itself *þæt* in charters often means 'until'; 'go on until you reach (the next bound)'. In a revised version of the bounds of Pyrton[93], *þæt* is systematically replaced by *and swa*. It appears that *þæt swa* was a local form, or even a personal idiosyncrasy of the surveyor. The form occurs twelve times in the very detailed bounds of Blewbury, Aston Upthorpe and Tirrold, and North and South Moreton in Berkshire, another grant to Bishop Ælfric, probably in 942[94]. The sense required is 'go on (by the great *wyrtruma*) until you reach (the hollow way)'. This throws the whole weight on to *wyrtruma*; it has to take us all the way to the road running southwards from Gawcott to Hillesden.

At 645 319 the boundary reaches the edge of West Wood, the first of a chain of woodlands which until the nineteenth century extended to within half a mile of the hollow way. West Wood is still bounded on the south by a composite verge, clearly shown on the 1833 map. Adjoining the field is a ditch; then a hedge-bank; then a green ride of variable width inside the bank; then the ancient woodland. The whole feature belongs to the wood; hence the use of a forester's term. We go by the great wood-edge, not on or along it, since it belongs to our northern neighbours. It soon leaves the height of land, so that we are no longer following their hoo.

Wyrt(t)ruma (usually masculine, as here) is a compound from *wyrt*, originally 'root' but more widely 'plant', and *truma* 'strength, force', used for a force of soldiers (it glosses *exercitus*), with a secondary sense 'array, order (of troops)' which may also be relevant. The

term appears to refer to the outer bank, incorporating as many trees as possible, their gnarled roots being a prominent feature as seen from the outside. The word is used more or less synonymously with *wyrtwala*, which is much the commoner form in charter bounds. *Wala* 'ridge, wale' is used in *Beowulf*[95] for the raised ridge or comb running over the top of a helmet from front to back[96]. If there were a distinction, it would be that *wyrtruma* refers primarily to the timbered hedgebank, *wyrtwala* to the (raised?) perimeter track just inside it. There seems to be no etymological reason why these terms should not have been applied to an estate or park boundary consisting of a thick double hedgebank, but the local examples support the meaning 'woodland verge'.

No *wyrtwala* seems to be on record in charter bounds until Athelstan's time; *wyrtruma* in a similar sense is slightly later. The terms, and the systematic forester's practice which they describe, seem to have come into general use in southern England in the first half of the tenth century. The words did not gain general currency, and do not occur as place-name elements at all, but they are found in charters because a woodland verge was often an estate boundary, and foresters would frequently be the informants.

Until the early nineteenth century, West Wood, Tingewick Wood, Round Wood, Lenborough Wood and Hillesden Wood were contiguous, though separated by rides or green lanes. The Tingewick woods included Wood Farm (then the Woodhouse) and were separated from Round Wood only by a slade along the stream. The Tithe Award shows that the woods still ran across the neck of the tongue of Tingewick projecting into Preston Bissett. The higher ground between the two rivers would naturally be the last of the ancient forest to be cleared, in so far as it ever has been cleared.

The boundary turns southward, away from the present wood, at 648 315 and reaches the triple boundary of Chetwode, Barton Hartshorn and Tingewick at 646 312. This was formerly identified by the writer, and is still accepted by *ECTV*, as the starting-point of the charter bounds. If Barton were not included, this would be the north-west corner of the estate, its highest point (about 380 ft) and its northernmost point, but the arguments for including Barton appear conclusive.

The boundary between Chetwode and Tingewick then follows the road as far as a lodge gate; the land to the south was common until the Chetwode-Barton enclosure of 1813, and the road, which is in Tingewick, represents the perimeter track of the former woodland. The boundary then runs by the site of a medieval hermitage to Plough Farm (this part of the hedge has been grubbed, without record) and then turns southwards, following the old course of a little stream into a broad and shallow valley between Chetwode and Preston Bissett. The boundary follows the west bank of the stream as far as the watersmeet at 654 299 (the watercourse thus acting as the ditch of the *wyrtruma*) returning up the eastern stream. *ECTV*, following the writer's earlier opinion, places the 'slough at the upper part of the moor' at 654 299, where the two streams meet and where churchways to Preston converge to cross the water. It is at first sight surprising that a survey which makes so much use of watercourses fails to define this deep indentation in the boundary by the brooks which meet here; but if they helped to constitute the *wyrtruma* no such specification would be needed. Surviving ridge-and-furrow shows that the open fields of Preston abutted on the stream; if cultivation had already reached the boundary by 949, the site would not have been called *mōr*.

The internal boundary between Preston and Hillesden leaves the stream at 659 305, a short distance below its source, at a point where it is reinforced by another spring. Probably when Preston was separated from Hillesden the land was clear as far as this. Beyond this point the 1763 Hillesden estate map[97] shows two very small closes, Bradford's Close and Bightle (sic); then we have Bradford's Wood as far as 'The Bounds of Lanborough'. There is no indication of what lay in 'Tingwick Parish' on the other side of the Gawcott-Preston road, but

smaller-scale maps indicate a wide green verge along the road, continuing the *wyrtruma*.

The boundary turns away from the road at 660 311, the triple boundary of Hillesden, Tingewick and the hamlet of Lenborough in Buckingham; the estate map does not show woodland on the Lenborough side, but Lenborough Wood, otherwise Gawcott Wood, would have been there all the time, at least as coppice.

An almost illegible note on the map appears to read "Wood chiefly Timber Tithes B/" (Timber has a specific legal meaning; in Bucks it includes beech[98]). Along the boundary and within the estate was a green lane of variable width (now represented by a bridleway) and this, or more strictly its outer bank, constituted the *wyrtruma*. Bradford Wood Close, on the Hillesden side of the boundary, is described by an early annotator of the map as 'Poor Pas[ture]'. The Tithe Award indicates that at 667 308 the woodland changed sides; the Great Wood, now wholly cleared, represents the largest parcel of Hillesden Wood to survive into the nineteenth century. There must have been an earlier stage when Hillesden Wood extended further north and east,but by 949 the words *þæt swa be ðæm gretan wyrtruman on ðone holan weg* would have been a concise way of describing the linear feature which defined the northern boundary of the privileged estate, the woodland being partly on one side, partly on the other, but only for a fairly short distance on both. The eastern part of the great woods of Hillesden became the Old Park.

(7) *on ðone holan weg*
(to (and then on) the hollow way)

The boundary crosses and ignores the main road from Buckingham to Brill, which may not have existed when the bounds were defined. It reaches the hollow way at 681 304 near Stockingwood Farm and turns northwards along the Hillesden-Gawcott road, which has here been straightened and widened. The term 'hollow way' need not denote a lane already deeply sunken in 949 (raised hedgebanks might make it sufficiently hollow) but it implies that the road to Hillesden Church-end, and therefore that settlement itself, was already of respectable age.

(8) *on þone oderne weg to þæm rugan hlawe*
(on the other way (or the second way) to the rough hill (or mound))

The boundary follows the Hillesden-Gawcott road, passing one right-hand turning which gives a direct approach to Rowley Hill by a straight green lane, and then turns right at 683 309, following a thick hedgerow which reaches the same destination. It may be that *on þone oderne weg* simply means by another way after the hollow way just mentioned, and that the surveyor did not trouble to find another epithet. This usage is common in charters, and occurs in (19) below; but if he wished to say 'taking the second turning' it is difficult to see how else he could have said it, since until the 13th century the only word for the ordinal 'second' was *oder*; since this was ambiguous, the French word then gained acceptance.

The most direct way to Rowley Hill is by the wide greenway, leaving the road at 683 307 between Wheat Close and Ash Close and formerly proceeding between two coppices, one of which survives as Stocking Wood. This would have been used by suitors to the Rowley hundred moot coming from Barton Hartshorn, but the surveyor, and the Rogationtide processions in later years, had to take the second turning, between Ash Close in Hillesden and Astons Close in "Lanboro' ". Their path runs through Ash Close, Broad Moore Hole (two closes in 1763) and Burley Field to Rowley Hill.

Rowley Hill can be located with certainty at 691 303. Though only 370 feet high, it is at the end of the hill-spur and commands an extensive view of the surrounding countryside. It is now ploughed, but sixty years ago was still a 'rough hill' as the six-inch map clearly indicates. It is named in the Hillesden Tithe Award, and appears on Fairchild's map of 1763 as Rowlow Hill. This development of *ruh* 'rough' is usual in Buckinghamshire; Roughwood in Chalfont St Giles was pronounced Row-wood by the writer's grandfather, though a spelling pronunciation now prevails.

The importance of Rowley Hill as the meeting-place of the hundred to which it gave its name is discussed below. *PN Bucks* gives some early forms; others which could be added relate to the hundred rather than the hill, but the name has survived in local usage, though not on printed maps. It is mentioned in H.Harman's *Sketches of the Bucks Countryside*[99], which provides good specimens of continuous prose in the local dialect:

Eese, they got en out a Gawcutt 'ood agen. They nivver goo theear but what they find. Th' 'ood's full a foxen. When th' 'ounds went through it they started three ur fuur but the huntsman gat em all an one. He come out a th' 'ood neeur Potash [Pond], run streeat an to Rowley Hill and then neeurly an to Padburry . . .

Rowley Hill is approached by seven footpaths. The exact point on the boundary which constituted the landmark was probably where the boundary track meets the track coming from Buckingham to the site of the hundred moot, which is just inside the privileged estate.

(9) *þonan ongerihte on þæt lytle ridig*
(from there straight on to the little riddy)

The boundary runs straight past the flat summit of Rowley Hill, leaving the moot-stow on the right. *Ongerihte* 'straight on' does not seem to be in the dictionaries as a single word, but the sense is given by a line in *Judith* 'foron to gefeohte forð on gerihte' (marched straight on to battle)[100].

The boundary hedge is not mentioned, probably because it belongs to Lenborough. The hedge and the ditch run straight down to the River Twin at 703 295, the triple boundary of Hillesden, Lenborough and Padbury. The river itself can hardly be the 'little riddy' as *ECTV* suggests. 'Riddy' as a term for a streamlet is still in use, and when qualified by 'little' it would denote no more than a trickle. The text implies that from some point the ditch carried running water; but the point where the flow began might vary with the rainfall. Several springs, not shown on the Ordnance map, rise on the slopes of Rowley Hill; even during the great drought of 1976 one at 693 304 continued to flow.

PN Bucks says inexactly ". . . the present boundary of Hillesden parish runs down a little stream which runs from ½ to ¾ of a mile S.W. of Lenborough and flows into a larger stream which still forms the boundary of the parish''[101]. Taking Lenborough as Lenborough Manor Farm (it is a dispersed hamlet) the little stream intended is apparently that shown as rising at 690 309 almost on the 'other' way. This is presumably the *Lethingborne* of the 1371 Close Rolls; it is wholly within Lenborough and does not constitute the parish boundary, now or previously. It was perhaps this identification which led the editors to place the 'rough hill' to the north of Stocking Wood.

The fields traversed by this straight section of the boundary are marked but mostly not named on the 1763 estate map. The first two were under grass, but had been part of Rowlow Field, one of the four open fields of Hillesden, the others being Hillesden Field, West Field and Windmill Field. The third field along the boundary, not named, and the fourth, called Lampard's Den, were old meadow. In 1763 there was a track inside the boundary as far as Lampard's Den, where it swung south to King's Bridge, which carried traffic from East Claydon to Hillesden, and also to Rowley Hill by this track. The bridge was not maintained and reverted to a ford (there is now a footbridge) and the track was lost.

(10) *þæt swa on offan pól*
(and so to Offa's pool)

'Offa's pool' may be placed at 703 295, where the boundary reaches the River Twin; this is the triple junction of Hillesden, Lenborough and Padbury. *ECTV* places the pool at the point where the east and west Claydon Brooks join to constitute the river; this is the next triple boundary (Hillesden, Padbury and Steeple Claydon) but as the text stands it would require *lytle ridig* to describe the main stream from 703 295 up to 703 290, which would be inappropriate in a survey so clear and precise in its descriptions. The suggestion that 'Offa's pool' is at the confluence is attractive, but it entails a rearrangement of the text as *up ollonc streames on offan pól, þæt swa on bylian pól,*

or alternatively *þæt swa on offan pól up ollonc streames; [þæt swa] on bylian pól.* As the text gives tolerable sense as it stands, we have no right to emend it conjecturally; but some later mention of 'Offa's pool' may resolve the point.

It may be suspected that King Offa of Mercia was associated with the pool in folklore in some way, or that he performed some symbolic action there. The name, taken with King's Bridge, suggests that Offa's great estate, centred on Winslow, included Padbury as well as Granborough and Horwood, which were included in his grant of 792 to St Albans[102].

(11) *up ollonc streames*
(up alongstream)

The present boundary of Hillesden runs upstream and midstream; this is probably what the text was meant to convey, especially as there is no article. The same sense is expressed by *up on stream* in 946-51, *up be streame* in 956, *up andlang Temese* in 999, *up andlang ridiges* in 904[103]. 'Downstream' is *niðer andlang streames* [104]; and *andlang streames* without defining the direction of flow is frequent.

The stream is the Twin and then its western arm, the Bune. The fields along its northwestern bank include the Warren Park (old pasture), Park Meadow, Ram Hill Meadow under the isolated Ram Hill, the New Digging, Lower Rushey Pasture, Jelks Watery Mead, Watery Meadow and the Long Mead. On the south-east side, in contrast, the common fields of Steeple Claydon came down to the river, suggesting a greater pressure of population.

(12) *on bylian pól*
(on to the billowy (or 'boily') pool)

Etymologically this is the one troublesome feature of the bounds. Pools in charters are often named after persons, or after their flora or fauna, but this seems to be characterised by its unstill water. The first element could represent the genitive of *bylge 'billow'; the word is not found in English before the 16th century, but it exists in other Germanic languages and seems to be evidenced by *byligan fen* in 972[105]. Alternatively *bylian* for *byligan* might have *-ig* as an adjectival ending, the root word being

bȳle 'boil, carbuncle', with reference here to a bulge or ox-bow which developed in the river (a former Bucks county alderman used to describe an unhelpfully projecting kerb-line as 'the carbuncle').

The probable site of *bylian pól* is at 680 272, the triple boundary of Hillesden, Steeple Claydon and Cowley township in Preston Bissett parish. The triple boundary of Cowley, Steeple Claydon and Twyford at Threebridge Mill (675 268) is too far upstream and does not fit the following bound. The flow may well have diminished since 949, and the present stream has been straightened in the Long Mead since 1763.

(13) *þonan up ofer ða mæd*
(from there up over the meadow)

Leaving the river at 680 272, the Hillesden-Cowley boundary runs across the Long Mead and begins to rise; *ofer* with the accusative indicates motion across the mead to the other side.

(14) *þæt swa be ðara acar(a) heafdan*
(and so by the acre-headland(s) (the headland(s) of the acres))

From 678 273 north-westwards there is a fine old hedgerow separating the arable of Hillesden parish from the Cowley grassfields; but the boundary hedge belongs to the neighbouring estate and is not mentioned, if indeed it existed in 949. What impressed the people of Hillesden was that they were traversing their own acre-headlands. The form *acar* for *æcer* seems distinctly local, but the reading is doubtful (*non quivi legere*). Kemble's emendation *andheafdan* would give the same sense, but would leave the sentence ungrammatical, as *be* takes the dative, not the genitive. Probably the true reading is *acra* or *acara*, genitive plural for *æc(e)ra*, agreeing with the genitive plural *ðara*. The translation would then be 'by the headland(s) of the acres' with genitival construction. The Linslade charter of 966[106], not distant in place or time, has *be þæra æcera heafdan* (*þæra* for *þara* is a late West Saxon feature).

The 1763 estate map calls the fields on the Hillesden side Lower Hill Leys; the lower field

was poor pasture, the other arable, but both had formed part of the West Field of Hillesden (Westfield Farm preserves the name). *ECTV* takes *heafdan* as a plural used as a singular (this is well precedented) and translates 'and so by the acre headland' (better, 'and so by the headland of the acres'). There is no implication, as *ECTV* suggests, that the boundary ran between furlongs of open arable land. The people of Hillesden were not concerned with the Cowley field on the other side of the boundary, which in any case was not theirs. They were following the headland(s) of their own acre-strips. Charter bounds must always be viewed from inside.

(15) *on dæt sic*
(on to the syke)

At 673 275 the Hillesden boundary reaches the syke, a small watercourse now partly culverted and often dry, just west of the road from Buckingham to Edgcott and Brill. This road is ignored by the boundary as it leaves the estate, just as it was when it entered it (cf. (7) above).

(16) *up of dæm sice to cufanlea*
(up from the syke to Cufa's glade (or clearing))

The boundary follows an old hedge, southwest of the road just mentioned, uphill to 666 283, the probable site of Cufa's original clearing in the Chetwood. Names such as Hild, Cufa, Wippa, Casa were perhaps those of the first English settlers. The hedge belongs to Hillesden as far as a small pond at 668 280, thereafter to Cowley. The fields on the Hillesden side are called Many Moores[107] and Bernard (or Bernard's) Hill.

(17) *on da dic to þæm readan sló*
(into the ditch to the red slough)

Here *dic* is feminine; thereafter in this charter it is masculine. This could be a mere variation at the time, or scribal corruption thereafter, but equally it could indicate that the surveyor saw a distinction between this feature and the following two — the same distinction which is found in a very good text in the bounds of Olney[108]. *Dic* can mean either the raised bank which we call a dyke or the runnel which we call a ditch. In charter bounds the former feature appears to be more common, and it would naturally have

the masculine gender.

The interpretation of this and the next two bounds depends on the location of the 'red slough', which is still uncertain. It must have been a place naturally waterlogged, or subject to waterlogging, where the mud was more reddish than is usual in the neighbourhood (a rich brown would suffice). There is a presumption that the boundary is that of the township of Cowley as shown on the Tithe Award; this has been part of the parish of Preston since the eleventh century, but has retained its identity[109]. If its bounds have remained unchanged, the ditch must take us down to a minor stream on the Twyford boundary at 653 274. The county boundary is reached at 650 275, the triple boundary of Twyford, Godington and Preston, and somewhere in this marshy neighbourhood seems the most likely site for the 'red slough'.

(18) *dæt swa on þane lytlan dic*
(and so on to the little dyke)

The river Bune has several courses in this shallow valley, and after a major flood these would be liable to change if not contained by banks. There is a presumption, though not an irrebuttable one, that parish boundaries will continue to follow the line of the channel when they were determined, ignoring subsequent changes. It may be significant that at 653 274, the triple junction of Cowley, Twyford and the original Preston, the present Preston-Twyford boundary changes sides. Downstream the watercourse belongs to Cowley; upstream, to Twyford. The boundary dyke is thus on the left bank as far as the charter is concerned. It meets Oxfordshire at 650 275 and runs northwards, still on the Preston side, until it meets the main stream at 650 278. It would seem likely that the 'little dyke' was that of this secondary channel.

(19) *þonon on done oderne dic*
(from there on to the other dyke)

The 'other dyke' was that of the northern course of the Bune, which the boundary follows from 650 278 to 626 288; most of the stream is left to Oxfordshire, though the construction of Chetwode mill may have altered the arrangements. The boundary dyke would be the responsibility of the Chetwode estate.

The southern arm of the river turned Stratton Audley mill, and the name Oldfields may suggest that Stratton had established riparian rights before the northern side was cleared. At Chetwode, however, the boundary runs along a channel south of the mill-site (648 284) and there may have been a diversion. At Duckstool, near Godington (642 280) the stream has been straightened, and the 1923 six-inch map shows the local government boundary, though not the Parliamentary boundary, as following the new course. There may have been other slight changes during the past thousand years.

The boundary runs upsteam by Sidnum(s) Farm (from the dat. sg. form *sidan hamme*), the adjoining fields being Great Duckstool Meadow, Great Meadow, Great Mead and Puddle Mead, where a stream separating Chetwode from Barton comes in from the north. This site (631 285) was taken by *ECTV* and formerly by the writer as the site of the reed-clearing mentioned in the next bound.

(20) *þæt swa ollonc þæs gemære heges, on butan hreodlege*
(and so along the boundary hedge around (outside) the reed clearing)

The boundary hedge starts from the river at 626 288, turns westwards at 627 290 and reaches the south-west corner of the Chetwode-Hillesden estate at 623 291. It is mentioned because it belongs to the estate, which would have to maintain it. The 'reed lea' outside which it runs is almost a rectangle, and looks as if it had been cut out of Barton Hartshorn. *Leah* usually denotes an area of some size.

(21) *þæt swa on þone mærhege þe sceot to þære halgan æc*
(and so on to the boundary hedge which shoots to the holy oak)

At 623 291 the boundary hedge turns through rather more than a right angle, continuing on the Barton side, over the slight rise of Round Hill and Oxhill, straight on past the orchard and buildings of Barton Grounds, where it follows a streamlet for about forty yards and continues north-eastwards to the site of the holy oak. *Sceotan* is properly 'to cast a missile' though the missile can be the subject. Here the

subject is the trajectory; this section of the boundary has a smooth curve, like the flight of an arrow[110]. The boundary hedge continues beyond the holy oak (see (2) above) but is then much less straight and would hardly be said to shoot.

The Meeting Place of the Hundred of Rowley

PN Bucks "would place the 'rough hill' somewhere just north of Stocking Wood. Half a mile north, just out of Hillesden parish, is a well-marked but unnamed hill higher than anything in the neighbourhood (401 ft.) and it is difficult not to believe that this is the actual meeting-place of the Hundred"[111]. In fact the hill in question is not unnamed; Harman[112] mentions "the Wantlow — the rising ground on the outskirts of the village [of Gawcott]". Neither is it particularly well-marked, the true Rowley Hill being much more prominent; nor is it higher than anything else in the neighbourhood, Primrose Hill north-west of Gawcott being of equal height. Further, the site is much less central for the hundred as a whole than the site now identified. The editors were influenced by Browne Willis's statement that the meeting-place lay in certain grounds called Rowley Hills in Lenborough lordship[113]. The northern slopes of Rowley Hill are in Lenborough (**Hlidinga-beorg* 'hill of the slope-dwellers'), and the best approach is still by the track which turns off the Gawcott road at 695 317; but the summit is just inside Hillesden parish and thus within the liberty created by the charter.

The one-inch Ordnance map shows six paths meeting on the top of the hill at 691 303; one of the six divides at 692 304 so that there are seven ways to or from the moot-hill. The feature is so striking on the map that it led the writer to the site before he knew that the name survived. Larger-scale maps indicate that the paths do not meet at a point but enclose a small triangle; this was presumably the exact site, and probably there was once a mound here. *Hlæw* in charters usually has this meaning; it could mean a mound-shaped hill, which hardly fits. A "rough" mound would be one with bushes or long grass; there are others in charter boundaries. It was common practice for a hundred to meet at a mound, and to take its name. The

name Lamua for the neighbouring hundred, centred on Steeple Claydon, means the mow (*muga* 'heap'); the site is known, and surrounding earthworks survived into the nineteenth century[114]. Another example is Moulsoe (*Molesoues lau* in Domesday[115]). It was also natural enough for a moot-stow to be on high ground. Examples elsewhere in Buckinghamshire include Cottesloe, Seckloe (adopted as the city centre of Milton Keynes), Ashendon and Desborough.

The seven paths come from seven distinct directions, and between them serve all the townships in Rowley hundred, as the following table shows:

Direction of path as seen from Rowley Hill		*Townships served*
(1)	N.W.	Barton Hartshorn, along the *wyrtruma*
(2)	N.N.W.	Gawcott, Tingewick and Hasley
(3)	N.	Buckingham (Lenborough, Prebend End and Bourton)
(4)	E.	Thornton and Beachampton, crossing the River Twin at Padbury
(5)	S.E.	Edgcott via King's Bridge
(6)	S.S.W.	Hillesden (Church-end) along the Downway
(7)	W.	Chetwode, Preston Bissett via Hillesden (Wood-end); Caversfield

Paths nos. (6) and (3) together form a direct route from Hillesden Church-end to Buckingham, the Downway, as opposed to the Portway for wheeled traffic through Gawcott. Coming from Hillesden Church, the path runs between Hillesden Field and Rowlow Field. Its name is preserved in two adjoining closes taken out of the latter, Little Downway and Great Downway. Two smaller closes, Great Ringthorn and Little Ringthorn, refer to the thorn-hedge round Rowley Hill. There is a cross-path within the Ringthorn linking nos. (1) and (6).

Paths nos. (1) and (5) together provide part of a long-distance route from north-west to south-east, coming from Water Stratford where the Roman road crosses the Ouse, continuing via Tingewick, Rowley Hill and King's Bridge to East Claydon and joining the Roman road to Fleet Marston at Dead Man's Corner, another significant meeting-place where many paths converge on the boundary of a privileged estate. This route, effectively a ridgeway, links the Roman roads bounding the forest on the west and the east, and provides a further reason for the choice of Rowley Hill as a meeting-point. The route to Edgcott along no. (5) may seem odd, but the King's Bridge might serve where the Claydon Plank would not, and also the route avoids Hillesden. If one could reach the hundred moot by one's own path without going through a village, so much the better; and this was the way it had always been done. Standing on Rowley Hill today, it needs no great effort to imagine the reeve and best men converging on the moot-hill, each making for their own stile in the surrounding thorn-hedge.

Nos. (7) and (4) together provide a footpath from west to east, entering the county, the forest and the liberty at the holy oak.

The Three Hundreds of Buckingham

The grouping of Rowley, Stodfold and Lamua as the Three Hundreds of Buckingham almost certainly antedates Domesday and probably goes back to the time of Ethelred, when a ship was demanded from each 300 hides; but the grouped hundreds retained their identity, and the *murdrum* fine was levied on each separate hundred. Browne Willis[116] places the uniting of the triple hundred of Buckingham about the 9th of Edward II, 1316. In 1625 the royal hundreds of Buckingham, described as Roulawe, Stotford and Meanes, were leased to Sir Thomas Denton of Hillesden for three lives at a rent of £28.3s.9d. a year; in 1651 the certainty money was valued at £23.1s.1d. and the general perquisites at £10, and in 1735 the Crown was receiving £23.17s.1d. a year[117]. The ordinary court was held every three weeks at any convenient place in the hundreds, at the will of the lord or his steward. This was distinct from the Three Weeks Court of the borough of Buckingham, which was not formally abolished until the reorganization of local government on All Fools' Day 1974.

*The Relation between the Privileged Estate
and the Hundred of Rowley*

When the King exonerated the estate granted to Æthelmær from all public burdens except the *trinoda necessitas*, by implication he freed the land from suit to the ordinary courts and gave to Æthelmær personally the fines or *wites* which his tenants would otherwise have paid there to the king's reeve. To exempt land from national or public justice is, at least potentially, to create private or seignorial justice, and the natural consequence of the 949 landbook would be the establishment of a court distinct from the court held by the king's representative. This private jurisdiction would in the first instance be over the *landrica*'s own tenants, but cases would arise when another party was involved; for example, when a man of Chetwode stole something from someone outside the charter bounds and was liable to pay compensation (*angild*) as well as fine (*wite*). When the lord of a privileged estate had to pay, or chose to pay, *angild* for one of his men, he was not obliged to go outside his own boundary. The payment was made *ad terminum*; "si inter compares vicinos utrinque sint querelae, conveniant ad divisas"[118].

This helps to explain what must have happened on Rowley Hill. When the hundreds around Buckingham were defined (and this must have been at latest soon after the Hundred Ordinance, I Edgar, c. 957-61) the liberty of Chetwode and Hillesden as defined in 949 was bound to form a major portion of one hundred. The solution was to centre the hundred on a site just within the charter bounds, where meetings were probably already being held. Since Buckingham was now the market centre for the whole area, the most natural site was in any case where the way to or from Buckingham crossed the estate boundary. However, with the growth of Gawcott as an outlier of Buckingham, paying *gafol* (rent to the church, or tax to the king's reeve?) the usual route from Buckingham to Hillesden and the south was diverted to pass through it, so that the Downway over Rowley Hill survived only as a fieldpath.

One of the main objects of the Hundred Ordinance was to prevent theft, especially cattle-theft. No one was to keep strange cattle unless he had the witness of the man in charge of the hundred or the man over the tithing, who was to be very trustworthy (c.4); without such witness the purchaser of cattle could not vouch to warranty (c.4.1). The hundred court was to meet every four weeks for men to do justice to each other (c.1) according to the common law (c.7). The value of stolen cattle was to be paid to the true owner, and the rest of the thief's property was to be divided into two, half for the hundred and half for the lord, except for the thief's men, who went to the lord (c.2.1). Anyone who resisted the decision of the hundred was to pay 30 pence, and on a second occasion 60 pence, half to the hundred, half to the lord. Indeed, this division between the hundred (the lord of the hundred, or the members of the hundred court?) on the one hand and the lord of the estate, apparently a privileged estate, on the other, became almost common form. III Edgar (959-63), the secular code issued at Andover, applied it to a person who was frequently accused and unworthy of the people's trust, if he failed to attend these meetings or to provide a surety (c.7.1). By IV Edgar (962-3) anyone who rode out to buy livestock was to tell his neighbours first (c.7); if he made an unexpected purchase he was to bring the cattle on to the common pasture with the witness of the village (c.8) failing which the villagers were to inform the hundred-man, and again the hundred was to take half and the lord of the estate half (c.8.1.). If the purchaser's declaration that he bought the strange cattle with witness was found false, he lost his head and all his property, and the lord of the estate kept the stolen cattle or their value, until the true owner proved his right (c.11). Ealdorman Ælfhere of Mercia was among those who were to receive many copies of these provisions and send them in all directions (c.15.1).

This enactment, which created or reinforced the franchise of estray which underlies the Rhyne Toll, envisaged that the *landrica*, rather than the king's reeve, would have custody of the cattle presumed to have been stolen. F.W. Maitland's comments[119] are highly pertinent to the situation in the hundred of Rowley in Edgar's time:

It may be that within the hundred there is an immunity, a privileged township or manor, and that a thief is caught there. Who is to have the profits which arise from the crime and the condemnation? The answer is: half shall go to the hundred, half to the *landrica*, that is to say half goes to the doomsmen, or perhaps to the lord, of the hundred court, half to the immunist. The lord under the general words of his charter might perchance claim the whole; but, in order that all the hundredors may have an interest in the pursuit of the thieves, it is otherwise decreed. But where is justice to be done, in the hundred court or the court of the immunist? That is a question of secondary importance to which our laws do not address themselves. Very probably justice will be done in the hundred courts, or again it is not impossible that a mixed tribunal consisting partly of the men of 'the franchise', partly of the men of 'the geldable' will meet upon the boundary of the immunist's land.

The term *mearcgemot* probably refers to a court of this kind, meeting on a boundary, though it is taken in the dictionaries to mean a court to settle disputes about boundaries.

Before the Conquest, the right to take the profits of justice was hardly distinguished from the right to hold a court. The lord who enjoyed soke could presumably set up a court if he wished, or alternatively he could allow the hundred court to act and attend it to claim his share of the fines incurred by his men, and to settle the associated claims for damages. This is almost certainly what happened on Rowley Hill. There might be cases when the hundredors from outside his franchise would wish to meet by themselves outside the benches of the court, or even outside the Ringthorn; this might explain the tradition that the hundred court met in the lordship of Lenborough (in Burley Field?).

This, then, was the legal basis of the hundred of Rowley, some 15 or 20 years after the charter of 949 had established the original liberty of Chetwode and Hillesden. The lord of the hundred was the king, who exercised in respect of folkland the privileges conceded to the *land-rica* in respect of bookland.

At some later time the rights exercised over strange cattle within the charter bounds were extended to Tingewick, to the Buckingham townships north of the forest belt, probably to Hasley, and also to Cowley, which was annexed to Preston before the Conquest. This would have been convenient once the clearance of woodland had proceeded far enough to permit intercommoning between the privileged estate and some of its neighbours. The franchise thereafter extended to the whole hundred, excluding its detached parts. This extension of the liberty of Chetwode established the bounds of the Rhyne Toll precisely in the form which they retained at the end of the nineteenth century. The boundaries were quite natural: the Great Ouse to the north, the river Twin to the east, the Bune to the south, the old forest edge (partly following the Roman road) to the west. In this case a lost royal grant, to which the tradition bears witness, is not simply a convenient legal fiction but a most reasonable presumption of fact.

The State of Clearance and Settlement in 949

The general view of agrarian historians, based on botanical evidence, now appears to be that much more clearance had occurred in the Lowland zone of England during and even before the Roman period than was formerly believed; that the English settlers can no longer be regarded as primarily responsible for the disappearance of the great Midland forests, and that by the eleventh century clearance was fairly complete over large areas, though the cleared area was by no means intensively used. The area covered by the Chetwode-Hillesden charter was not, however, settled by a Romano-British population until they were driven into it in the late sixth century; and thereafter they were exposed to displacement or enslavement by Middle Anglian settlers. The Mercian Crown protected them from such incursions in Bernwood proper, but not in its northern extension, the Chetwood. Some inferences on this point can be drawn from the Domesday statistics for the three sections of Rowley hundred, which can be summarized as follows:

	Chetwode-Hillesden estate, south of the woods	Between the Ouse and the woods	Detached parts	Total
Hides	54	23	28	105
Ploughlands	33	20	36	89
Plough-teams	30½	15½	34	80
Villeins	35	6	46	87
Bordars	24	15	38	77
Slaves (servi)	23	15	8	46
Servi per plough-team	0.75	0.97	0.24	0.58

Thirteen of the 15 slaves in the manors north of the forest belt were in the two vills, Tingewick and Lenborough, which had substantial woodland. All four parishes of the Chetwode-Hillesden estate had much woodland and a high proportion of *servi*. Except in Lenborough, the wood was assessed not by its value but by its capacity for maintaining swine. It is suggested that swineherds were a servile class, largely of British descent. In tenth-century Wessex *Wealh* 'Celt, non-Germanic stranger' came to mean 'slave'; *wealas* glosses *servi* and *mancipia* (purchased slaves). Sometimes *wealh* is simply a term of abuse[120].

Buckingham itself is taken back to the first half of the seventh century by a pair of very large late cast saucer brooches[121], by the *-inga-* names nearby, and by its legend of St Romwald, but this early phase of settlement in the upper Ouse valley did not extend into the forested area. Here, as in the inner Chilterns, there is a singular absence of the place-name elements *hām*, *-ingas*, *word* and even *tūn* except for obviously late or secondary names. Rutherford Davis comments 'The dearth of *tuns* in north-west Buckinghamshire can be explained by the prevalence of thick woodland that deterred early pioneers seeking easy terrain'[122]. The same consideration, together with the presence of the Britons, would apply to other habitative elements which were in common use in the seventh century. Instead, we have names denoting hills, valleys, streams, woods and moors; as in the Chilterns, the settlements were named after adjacent features, following the normal Celtic practice, though the English must have replaced (or perhaps translated) most of the British names.

Tingewick, on the northern edge of the Chetwood, is a special case. Mawer and Stenton[123] interpret it as the *wīc* (dairy-farm) of the people of Tīda, Dodgson[124] as the *wīc* at Toting, Tota's place, with an old locative *-inge* which had become obsolete by c. 650. This is consistent with Smart's suggestion[125], made in 1887, that "during this troublous time the valley [of the Tingewick stream] may have been peopled from the old Roman settlement at Stollidge" in the same parish. If so, the settlement moved back from the river Ouse to a secondary site, close to the forest, which was already used for pasture. The contrast between the chain of villages along the north bank of the Ouse above Buckingham and their absence on the Chetwood or Rowley side is remarkable; it looks as if the Ouse was an agreed frontier (a *mearc rædes burna*) in the seventh century, with the north side dominant.

The monothematic names Hild and Cufa in adjacent land units suggest some Middle Anglian settlement in the forest by 700 or so, and Offa's grant of Winslow and adjoining areas implies considerable development just across the river by 792. By the ninth century farmed or at least cleared land would have been the norm in this area. The only express reference to forest in the Chetwode-Hillesden charter is the great *wyrtruma*. This implies that woodland had become the exception; it was beginning to be regarded as a large but not unlimited resource, calling for positive management.

Much of the cleared area would be used for rough grazing. There is only one mention of open-field cultivation having reached the

charter bounds, but much of the boundary ran along streams or through marshes. Nevertheless we may conclude that by 949 this great estate (soon broken up) had reached the stage when it comprised farmland with extensive woods rather than forest with extensive clearings.

I am indebted to Peter Kitson for his comments, and in particular for convincing me that the bounds of the charter under review must include Barton Hartshorn. This led me directly to the site of the holy oak, and to the realization that the great *wyrtruma* must extend along the northern boundary. Everything then fell into place.

REFERENCES

1. Rovelai Hundret in Domesday Book i. fo. 144, etc.
2. Mss., editions and comments listed in P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (R. Hist. Soc., 1968) no. 544, at p. 199.
3. R.P. Hagerty, 'The distribution of Romano-British traces in Bucks north of the Chilterns', *Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Newsletter*, Spring 1982, 14-19.
4. H.J. Massingham, *An Englishman's Year* (1948) 212.
5. H.E. Salter ed., *The Boarstall Cartulary*, Oxf. Hist. Soc. lxxxviii (1930) 194-212; M. Reed, *The Buckinghamshire Landscape* (1979) 74-6.
6. *Vict. C. Hist.Bucks* (1927) iv. 164. Cufanlea cannot be Chieveley, which is Cifanlea (Sawyer no. 558).
7. A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* (Cambridge, 1925) 58.
8. M. Reed, 'Buckinghamshire Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries' in Margaret Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Leicester, 1979) 168-173.
9. *V.C.H. Bucks* (1927) iv. 164.
10. A.S. Chron. s.a. 917 (A), 915 (C,D); for the true date, see D. Whitelock ed., *Eng. Hist. Docs.* I (1955) 194-5.
11. Sawyer no. 426.
12. *Ex inf.* R.H.M. Dolley.
13. J.M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* (1839-48) no. 424, with bounds at vi. 233-4.
14. W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (1885-99), no. 883.
15. J. Earle, *A Hand-book to the Land-Charters and other Saxonic Documents* (Oxford, 1888) 370-2.
16. H. Pierquin, *Recueil général des chartes anglo-saxonnes. Les Saxons en Angleterre 604-1061* (Paris, 1912) pt. 2, no. 94.
17. H. Wanley, *Librorum Vett. Septentrionalium qui in Angliae Bibliothecis extant . . . Catalogus Historico-Criticus* (Oxford, 1705) 150.
18. E.N. Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566 to 1800* (Yale, 1917) 15-16; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
19. Sir W. Scott, *Kenilworth*; Introd. (1831 edn.) discusses Scott's sources.
20. Paulus, *Dig.* 41, 3.2.
21. *Cod. Justin.* 1.4.6, 1.6.1.
22. Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 65; *Aeneid* v. 672 *et freq.*
22a. The Rushworth MS has *acras* for *aeceras* in Matthew xii.1, and the *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmiensis* (Surtees Soc. (1839) 145) has the form *acer*.
23. Cf. A.H.J. Baines, 'The Olney Charter of 979', *Records of Bucks* (1979) 154-184, at p. 171.
24. Gelling, *op. cit.*, 74.
25. Gelling, *op. cit.*, 75, citing M. Gelling *et al.*, *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain* (1970).
26. D.B. i. fos. 144b, 145, 147b.
27. W.H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred* Oxford, 1904) 150 n. 2; 'Trinoda Necessitas', *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxix (1914) 698 n. 44.
28. R. Drögereit, 'Kaiseridee und Kaisertitel bei den Angelsachsen', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germanistische Abteilung, lxxix (1952) 58, 62-6 (63 n. 23, 64 n. 29).
29. C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (1899) ii. 154.
30. H.P.R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester, 1964) nos. 249, 250; *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961) nos. 99, 280.
31. D. Whitelock ed., *Engl. Hist. Docs.* I (1955) 340, 508-9.
32. D. Whitelock, *The Will of AEthelgifu* (1968) 42-3.
33. N. Brooks in *Anglo-Saxon England* iii (1974) 218.
34. C. Hart, 'Danelaw Charters and the Glastonbury Scriptorium', *Downside Review* xc (1972) 125-32.
35. S.D. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King AEthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016* (Cambridge, 1980) 82 n. 165.
36. Sawyer no. 1290; accepted as authentic by Finberg, *op. cit.* (1961) no. 281.
37. Except for a late imitation in Sawyer no. 931, a Northamptonshire charter dated 1013, drafted by the diocesan bishop, Eadnoth of Dorchester (hanc scedulam dictitans. Rege suisque praecipientibus perscribere iussi).
38. Sawyer nos. 392, 472, 473, 479, 484, 1606.
39. Sawyer no. 520; translated in *Engl. Hist. Docs.* I, no. 105. Birch wrongly assigned this to Workington, Cumberland.
40. Sawyer no. 1497; see note 32.
41. Sawyer nos. 544, 548, 549, 550, 557.
42. Sawyer nos. 566, 569, 572, 574, 633.
43. Wanley, *op. cit.*, 302; J. Smith ed., Bede *Hist. Eccl.* (Cambridge, 1722) 772.
44. Such a provision, subject to life interests, was especially appropriate at a time when St Albans Abbey was actively promoting the market and establishing the three town churches; the City of St Albans regards 948 as its foundation date.
45. They witnessed Sawyer no. 407, a pompous charter granting the whole of Amounderness to York Minster; trans. *Engl. Hist. Docs.* I, no. 104.

46. F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1947) 353-6, considered that York remained an English town until Edmund's death, but this is hardly consistent with the Chronicle texts or with Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum* s.a. 948 (for 946). Roger of Wendover says that Eadred reduced Northumbria into his power as Edmund had done before.

47. A.S. Chron. (E) s.a. 948 (for 946).

48. Egil, *Arinbjarnakvida*, stanza 4.

49. A.O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* I 441 f.

50. Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*; Opera, ii. 197; Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.O. Coxe (1841) s.a. 950 (for 954).

51. D. Whitelock, *The Will of AEthelgifu* (1968) 44.

52. M.A. O'Donovan in *Anglo-Saxon England* i (1972) 38.

53. C. Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England* (1975) 292-3.

54. Aurelius Augustinus, *Ep.* 57, 8 *fin.*

55. Sawyer no. 633.

56. C. Plummer, *op. cit.* ii, 147, citing Wülcker, *Glossaries* cc. 163, 390.

57. Sawyer no. 546.

58. Canterbury, Red Book no. 14; B.L. Cotton Aug. ii. 57

59. Keynes, *op. cit.*, 125 n. 134.

60. Presumably AEthelmær was responsible for making or verifying the boundary survey and then reporting it. If it was not ready for inclusion in the diploma, he may have been allowed to make his own arrangements with a convenient scriptorium; cf. Keynes, *op. cit.*, 82 and n. 164.

61. Keynes, *op. cit.*, 82 n. 165, 272.

62. Sawyer no. 475.

63. D. Whitelock ed., *Engl. Hist. Docs.* I, 509 n. 11.

64. Wright and Wülcker, *Vocabularies* i. col. 110.

65. A.S. Chron. (C,D,E) s.a. 1010, 1011.

66. Sawyer no. 883; trans. F.M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955) 77-8.

67. Sir F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law* (Cambridge, 2nd edn., 1898) i. 397.

68. Browne Willis, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Town, Hundred and Deanry of Buckingham* (1755) 2 ("certain Grounds called *Rowley* Hills, in *Lenborough* Lordship, in the Parish of *Buckingham*").

69. Mawer and Stenton, *op. cit.*, 58, slightly misquoting Browne Willis ("Rowley Hill"). In the index (p. 268), though not in the list of elements (p. 248) the hundred name is italicised as "lost". It is lost on the map but survives locally.

70. Damsells Meade in Com. Pl. D. Enr. Mich. 6 Edw. VI m. 8d.

71. D.B. i. fos. 144b, 145.

72. Chettewuda Roberti in the 1167 Pipe Roll.

73. *V.C.H. Bucks* (1927) iv. 215, 217-9.

74. M.W. Hughes, *Calendar of the Feet of Fines for the County of Buckingham* (1940) 31 (8 John, case 14/8).

75. A.C. Chibnall, *Early Taxation Returns* (1966) 112 (Lay Subsidy E/179/242/109). By 1217 the Three Hundreds of Buckingham constituted one bailiwick.

76. J.G. Jenkins, *Calendar of the Roll of the Justices on Eyre* (1945) 62, nos. 691-4.

77. G.R. Elvey, *Luffield Priory Charters II* (1975) 77-9, 85, 87, 405, 420. These charters relate to land at Lillingstone Dayrell.

78. Browne Willis, *op. cit.*, 97, 108.

79. Browne Willis, *op. cit.*, 191 (cf. 2, 197).

80. *God's Ark over topping the World's Waves* (1646).

81. *V.C.H. Bucks* (1927) iv. 180.

82. M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire* (1953) i. 241-2. The road ran from Dorchester-on-Thames through Alchester (Alauna) to Towcester (Lactodorum).

83. G. Lipscomb, *Hist. Antiq. Co. Buckingham* (1847) ii. 503.

84. *Bosco de Fethelé* in 1198: *Feet of Fines for Oxfordshire 1195-1291*, ed. H.E. Salter (Oxf. Rec. Soc., 1930). *Feda* 'foot soldier, troop' can mean 'fight' and the Chronicle perhaps implies that the name arose from the engagement (on þam stede þe mon nemneþ Feþan leag).

85. A.S. Chron. (A) s.a. 584. The element *tūn* is common in North Oxfordshire but does not occur in the adjoining forest area except for the obviously late Preston and the secondary Barton. In the E-text the reference to Ceawlin's returning to Wessex in anger is omitted; Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon accordingly regarded the battle as a West Saxon victory.

86. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs (Rolls Ser.) i. 21: 'conspirantibus tam Anglis quam Britonibus'. This may have come from an uncensored Chronicle text. The entry for 591 is very odd as it stands: 'Her Ceol ricsode .v. gear' (original reading of A) 'In this year Ceol[ric] reigned 5 years'. Something has been removed. The A-text omits mention of the Britons in 592, which the E-text retains. A Hwiccian-British alliance against Ceawlin was accepted by Thorpe (note to Florence of Worcester, i. 9) and J.R. Green (*Making of England* (1882) 207-8); but since Plummer (*op. cit.*, ii. 17-18) no one seems to have taken it seriously. Yet such arrangements were central to Mercian policy in the following half century, reluctant as the Chronicle is to admit it. The A-text even manages to avoid mentioning the alliance between Penda and Cadwallon in 633.

87. Sawyer no. 495 (contemporary).

87a. In D.B. Shelswell is listed under Northants; this would make the triple boundary a three-counties point.

88. *Ex inf.* F.J. Baines of Gravel Farm, Finmere (d. 1928).

89. Sawyer no. 786, dated 972.

90. Sawyer no. 648, dated 957.

91. O.S. Bucks XII S.E. (1923 edition).

91a. *Đonan* is the form in the Rushworth MS, in Matthew iv. 21 and xi. 1.

92. W. Smart, 'Notes on Tingewick and its vicinity', in *Papers read at the Exhibition . . . held at Tingewick* (Buckingham, 1888) pp. 4, 42.

93. Sawyer no. 1568; cf. no. 104.

94. Sawyer no. 496.

95. *Beowulf*, lines 303-4.

96. R.H. Hodgkin, *Hist. Anglo-Saxons* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1952) ii. 707 and pl. 85.

97. "A Plan of the Parish and Manor of Hillesden . . . in

the Year of our Lord M.DCC.LXIII. By A. Fairchild Surveyor".

98. *Dashwood v. Magniac* [1891] 3 Ch. 306. Timber is part of the inheritance, not part of the annual produce; it is waste to cut it except for the estovers, called hillwork in the Chilterns.

99. H. Harman, *Sketches of the Bucks Countryside* (1934) 115.

100. *Judith* 11. The word occurs as an adjective in Luke iii. 5, þweoru beoþ on gerihte ("the crooked shall be straight").

101. Mawer and Stenton, *op. cit.*, 58.

102. Sawyer no. 138.

103. Sawyer nos. 516, 601, 896, 361.

104. Sawyer no. 1003.

105. Sawyer no. 786.

106. Sawyer no. 737.

107. The first element could be *mǣne* 'common, held communally'. Many places with names containing this element are to be found on the outskirts of parishes: A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* (1956) ii. 33.

108. Sawyer no. 834.

109. The Fairchild map of 1763 (note 97) calls it the manor or seignory of Cowley; it had its own open field.

110. In Genesis xxiv. 62 'per viam quae ducit ad puteam' is translated 'on dam wege de scytt to dam pytte', the reference being to a way across the Negev desert to a well.

111. Mawer and Stenton, *op. cit.*, 58.

112. Harman, *op. cit.*, 114.

113. See note 68.

114. J.J. Sheahan, *Hist. Topog. Buckinghamshire* (1862) 272 may indicate that the ditches were then no longer traceable.

115. D.B. i. fo. 145b; shorter forms are more usual.

116. Browne Willis, *op. cit.*, 2.

117. *V.C.H. Bucks* (1927) iv. 135-6; Browne Willis, *op. cit.*, 3.

118. *Leges Henrici* 57.1.

119. F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Fontana, 1960) 325.

120. Cf. K. Cameron, 'The meaning and significance of Old English *wealh* in English place-names', *Journal E.P.N.S.* xii (1979).

121. K. Rutherford Davis, *Britons and Saxons: The Chiltern Region 400-700* (1982) 141.

122. Rutherford Davis, *op. cit.*, 84.

123. Mawer and Stenton, *op. cit.*, 65-6.

124. Rutherford Davis, *op. cit.*, 75, and references at n.15.

125. Smart, *op. cit., p. 5.*