

Conclusion

This study has not tried to place Surrey in any distinct cultural region. Some of its institutions appear more clearly (or in a more developed form) in Kent and Sussex, some in the Midlands, and some in East Anglia. Viewed from Surrey, these regions can all be linked to one main course of development during the earlier Middle Ages. Great contrasts there certainly were, but they result more from economic and geographical differences than from different social origins. The idiosyncrasies of Surrey can be seen against a background common to most of lowland England.¹

The original organisation of Anglo-Saxon Surrey was multi-cellular. Large provincial territories were divisible into local districts or vills, themselves corresponding to regular groups of distinct, individual hides. In later sources the middle-tier units give a strong impression of cohesiveness, often surviving in the form of manors, parishes and townships. When and how did this cohesiveness evolve? The charters show that by the late 7th century many hide-groups were entities to the extent of having their own names, and their long stability suggests internal bonds. Often a hide-group may have had tribal identity as 'a cluster of farms held by agnatic kinsmen', and a form of joint agriculture may have been practised on some of its arable.² Possibly, then, the more fertile area within each group was already undergoing a limited subdivision which foreshadowed the common fields of the future. But in Surrey the collections of distinct farms or hamlets never wholly lost their basic primitive character. Their identity is best conceived in terms of their obligations: one group would specialise in different products, and owe the king different renders, from the next. Thus in the early stages they were characterised less by internal organisation than by their relationship with each other and with their commons in the tightly-ordered provincial structure.

The framework of minster parishes makes perfect sense in this context. The obvious way to evangelize a large territory of many constituent parts, all tightly bound to a *villa regia* but lacking internal foci, was by means of priests based on one major church at the centre and itinerating through the dependent vills. Hence the conspicuously 'public' character of the minsters, and the close correspondence of their *parochiae* to hundreds, the direct successors of the early territories. The efficiency, both pastoral and fiscal, of the minster communities must have owed much to their links with centres of royal power.

Manors both complex and simple were also based on the early exploitative system. So long as groups of vills remained linked together in 'extensive' economic systems, it was natural for big manors to perpetuate the old federative structure. But as the pastoral zones developed a significant grain-producing capacity of their own, old links decayed. This was itself a stimulus to further growth, since vills were now driven to develop a self-sufficient agrarian balance within their own bounds.³ The final stages were working themselves through in the 11th and 12th centuries, when Wealden dennis became established farms, and the last dependent wood-pasture tracts were relinquished to develop into new communities; here Surrey was more advanced than parts of Kent, where the denn system still functioned in the 13th century.

Manorial origins have no single course: 'unicellular' manors came into existence from the 7th century onwards by direct royal grant, by the breakup of 'multiple estates', and by the late severance of residual groups attached to royal vills. The archipelagos of dennis are different again, since for them no early framework existed; the contrast between hidated tenement groups and pasture zones left its permanent mark in the formless, incoherent manor and parish structure of much of the Surrey Weald.⁴ Nonetheless, it seems a fair generalisation that the classic 11th-century manor emerged by a process which went step-by-step with the appearance of a

broad, locally-based class of minor aristocracy: the proliferation between 900 and 1066 of the English country gentry. Just as economic and demographic change created conditions more favourable to their existence, so their growing demands for a land-base prompted the fission of existing 'multiple estates', and the ever more rapid alienation of vills which still remained attached to royal centres.

Expansion also stimulated the growth of local foci: by the 11th century settlement was becoming concentrated on nucleated sites. It is symptomatic that two ancient minsters were abandoned because of their distance from the developed pattern, whereas the estate churches of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries are usually in the general vicinity of their villages, where such exist. Groups of farms which crossed geological strata tended to coalesce, and split into longitudinal townships, as lines of villages developed with pasture links to the north and south and incipient common fields. But settlement nucleation and common fields were largely confined to the fertile zones; the surrounding farms kept their essential primitive character, though sometimes splitting into halves and quarters. Thus the steps towards a coherent village economy were genuine but limited.

The advent of organised, symmetrical arrangements heightened this contrast, for it mainly affected the subdivided core. Regular villages were established, common-field holdings apportioned in equal shares, and obligations defined systematically; but these small versions of the classic Midland townships were islands in a more primitive tenurial sea. Sometimes, indeed, there are incipient signs of a wider integration: references to land held 'in duabus partibus', 'in sud et in nort', in subdivided and compact halves, suggest attempts to create an orderly township structure by forging links between one zone of the manor and another. Identifying the motive force behind such developments is curiously difficult. At least in terms of obligation, it was the demands of lordship which imposed uniformity: on most manors *all* holdings, both compact and subdivided, were assessed in virgates. Beyond this, the contention that systematic organisation was seigneurial and not communal must still rest on inference rather than on clear evidence. It can only be suggested that we see in Surrey the first unfulfilled steps along a road which led elsewhere to integrated townships and fully-fledged two- and three-field systems.

Also with the growth of lordship, between the 10th and 12th centuries came other institutions which have given local communities their identity ever since: the manor-house, the demesne, and the manorial church. Whether staffed by a local priest or by a priest from the minster, whether founded for the lord's household or for his tenants, the last was a manifestation of local identity and rooted in the fabric of manorial life. In the Weald and other pockets of late settlement, churches and manor-houses were probably the earliest foci, providing at least notional centres for communities which otherwise had little to unite them.

The inter-relationship of parishes with manors and townships raises the hardest problems of all, and here there can be no single explanation. Residual minster *parochiae* would have tended to retain everything, however disparate tenurially, which newer churches had not swallowed up; hence the big, sprawling parishes of Woking, Kingston and Croydon. But sometimes the eventual parish of a private church proves to include manors which were independent in 1066 and thereafter. Two explanations are possible: either the sphere of one lord's church was extended beyond his lordship through private agreement or external control, or the parish represents some earlier entity. The first is not inherently unlikely, and may often be correct. The parochial network was imposed from above and embodied broad principles of ecclesiastical government: local anomalies were liable to be submerged. During the 12th century, independent holdings which only acknowledged a tenuous minster authority may have been drawn into subjection to the nearest church. Perhaps some had had their own small churches, which now vanished or sank to the status of chapels. Beneath the 'parochial grid', the dimly perceived sub-stratum of private chapels perpetuates the old, manor-based character of local religion.

But what of the parishes which are made up of separate Domesday manors and which also seem to be economically coherent units? Here the parish is the larger entity, transcending the manor to which the church belonged. Probably in some such cases the whole area had been one manor when the church was founded: unless diverted to a new church, existing patterns of tithe-payment and religious devotion must often have withstood division of lordship. But when the church was of relatively late foundation, its parish boundaries must have been drawn around an area which was now disparate tenurially, but in some other sense unified.

Here we return to arguments for the precedence of village over manor, of township communities maintaining their integrity in villis of divided lordship.⁵ But this integrity need not be immemorial: it merely pre-dates the manorial division, and could have evolved only shortly before within a united manor. The splitting of Esher occurred after 1005, while some strip-parishes on the dip-slope which were divided by 1066 seem to have been single manors a century or so earlier (above, pp33–4). In other cases the apparent economic unity of the parish is skin-deep. At Leatherhead, for instance, the lands of the separate manors prove on close inspection to lie in separate blocks, and the series of regular subdivided holdings in the common field was entirely contained within one manor.⁶ The lordship-based restriction of common rights (above, pp70–1) heightens the impression that in this parish the manors were self-contained, their organisation not transcending their bounds. Surrey provides nothing to refute the ‘view of the farming community as an institution that was manufactured during the medieval period, rather than one that formed an innate part of the organic constitution of society’.⁷

Four general points have recurred in this study. One is the startlingly thorough local organisation of the early to mid Anglo-Saxon period, which left a framework so comprehensive that all future developments, except in regions of very late settlement, were moulded by it. The second is the dramatic effect of growth between the late 9th and mid 12th centuries, when the whole basis of exploitation changed and fragments of the old, ‘extensive’ structure resolved themselves into the self-contained, internally-focussed entities which we think of as classic manors and classic parishes. The third is the ever-present influence of seigneurial demands from the king’s downwards, defining local communities, moulding the expanding economy, and giving an ordered stability to the new patterns of rural life. The fourth point, and the one which explains Surrey’s local peculiarities, is the distinctness between the ‘champion’ and the ‘wood-pasture’ regions of England. It can be stated as a general principle that the shorter the supply of common waste during the 9th to 11th centuries, the more integrated local communities were likely to become, and the more susceptible to the hand of lordship. Surrey retained less waste than Kent, more than the Midlands. Thus in Surrey the underlying early pattern is less obvious than in Kent, less deeply buried than in the classic open-field country. As time passed the contrasts grew, for absence of rigid township control left individual enterprise with a free hand. Hence the 13th-century smallholders of Kent and Surrey could diversify and adapt in ways which were only made available to their Midland counterparts by the solvent forces of the later Middle Ages.

List Of Abbreviations

BCS	<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , ed W de G Birch, 1–3 (London, 1883–92)
Bod Lib	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Department of Western MSS
Brit Lib	London, British Library, Department of MSS
<i>Cal Charter R 3</i>	<i>Calendar of charter rolls</i> , 3 (London, 1908)
<i>Cal Cur Reg R</i>	<i>Calendar of curia regis rolls</i> , 1– (London, 1922–)
<i>Cal Docs France</i>	<i>Calendar of documents preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (London, 1899)
DB	Domesday Book (see Note on citations below)
ESRO	Lewes, East Sussex Record Office
GLRO	London, Greater London Record Office
MM	Oxford, Merton College muniments
<i>Plac Abbrev</i>	<i>Placitorum in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum abbreviatio</i> (Record Commissioners, 1811)
<i>PLDLHS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society</i>
<i>PNSy</i>	J E B Gover, A Mawer and F M Stenton (eds), <i>The place-names of Surrey</i> , English Place-Name Soc, 11 (1934)
PRO	London, Public Record Office
S	P H Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon charters: an annotated list and bibliography</i> (London, 1968). (See Note on citations of Anglo-Saxon charters below)
SRO	Kingston upon Thames, Surrey Record Office.
<i>SxAC</i>	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i>
<i>SyAC</i>	<i>Surrey Archaeological Collections</i>
<i>SyAS</i>	Surrey Archaeological Society
<i>SyRS</i>	Surrey Record Society
<i>TPN</i>	<i>Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P Nicholai IV, circa AD 1291</i> (Record Commissioners, 1802)
<i>Valor</i>	<i>Valor ecclesiasticus tempore Henrici VIII auctoritate regia institutus</i> , 1–2 (Record Commissioners, 1810–14)
<i>VCHSy</i>	H E Malden (ed), <i>The Victoria history of the county of Surrey</i> , 1–4 (London, 1902–12)
WAM	London, Westminster Abbey, Dean and Chapter Muniments

Note on citations of Anglo-Saxon charters

Each charter is cited by its number (eg S 1511) in Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon charters*, which gives references to texts and commentaries. Other sources are only cited if they have a direct bearing on a relevant issue, or have appeared since the publication of Sawyer.

Note on citations of Domesday Book

Each entry is cited from *Domesday Book*, ed A Farley (Record Commissioners, 1783), by reference to folio and column. Since the new Phillimore fascicules provide the only means of exact reference to individual entries, the notation used in *Domesday Book: 3: Surrey*, ed J Morris

(Chichester, 1975) is also cited. For example, the reference for Betchworth, *DB* 35d (XIX.47), means that the entry appears on folio 35 column d of the Farley edition, and is the 47th entry in the 19th section of the Morris edition.

Note on transcripts from original documents

In all transcripts, original spelling is preserved but punctuation and capitalisation are modernised. Roman numerals are converted to Arabic ones.

Bibliography

A MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Canterbury Cathedral Library

Register containing manorial surveys etc: MS E24
Documents concerning Archbishop Baldwin's college at Lambeth: Cartae Antiquae L 129–38
Newington deeds: Cartae Antiquae W 108–20

Kingston upon Thames, Surrey Record Office

Bramley court rolls: 212/15/1; Acc 580 Box 5
Deeds: 60/11/1; 65/1/1; 2609/11/2/7; 2609/11/5/1; 2609/11/5/22; 2609/11/5/35
Depositions concerning Shalford and Bramley churches: LM 454

London, British Library, Department of Printed Books

Extra-illustrated set of Manning, O & Bray, W, *History and antiquities of the county of Surrey* (4 vols, 1804);
shelfmark Crack.1.Tab.1.b.1

London, British Library, Department of Manuscripts

Abingdon Abbey cartulary: MS Cotton Claudius B.vi
Boxgrove Priory cartulary: MS Cotton Claudius A.vi
Chertsey Abbey cartulary: MS Cotton Vitellius A.xiii
Merton Priory cartulary: MS Cotton Cleopatra C.vii
Southwark Priory cartulary fragments: MS Add 6040
Southwark Priory register: MS Cotton Faustina A.viii
Memorandum concerning Hyde Abbey and Sanderstead: MS Cotton Vespasian D.ix, f32
Transcripts of Warene deeds: MS Cotton Julius C.vii, ff189, 217
Transcript of Alfold deed: MS Add 6167, f370
Drawing of window in Tooting church: MS Add 36389, f57,
Deeds: Add Chs 5528; 5531–2; 5547; 5556; 5564; 5569; 5572; 5934; 7598; 7599; 8139; 8811; 17278;
22712–22739; 22747–22772; 22783; 22795; 22801; 22808–9; 22818; 22821; 22833; 22847; 22851;
22859; 22866; 22873; 22923; 22926–7; 22937; 22938; 22941–3; 22950; 22954; 22958; 22967; 22976;
22978; 22990; 22992; 22996; 22998; 23002; 23005; 23023; 23038; 23040; 23046; 23049; 23050; 23051;
23060; 23080; 23409; 23516; 23662; 23671; 23677–8; 23684–8; 23693; 24165; 24607; 26728
Campbell Ch vii.1
Cotton Chs v.11; viii.10; xvi.41
MS Cotton Nero C.iii, ff 188, 197, 200 (original deeds pasted in)
Egerton Ch 6132
Harleian Chs 46.H.40; 55.A.30; 111.D.44

London, College of Arms

Extracts from lost Southwark Priory cartulary: MS Vincent 46, pp 113–130

London, Greater London Record Office

Glebe terriers: DW/S/79a (Albury/Share); DW/S/2 (Alfold); DW/S/6 (Beddington); DW/S/10 (Great

166 EARLY MEDIEVAL SURREY

Bookham); DW/S/37 (Chobham); DW/S/32 (West Clandon); DW/S/28 (Compton); DW/S/33 (Cranleigh); DW/S/46 (Epsom); DW/S/49 (Fetcham); DW/S/56 (Hambledon); DW/S/58b (Headley); DW/S/81 (Sutton)

Plan of Woodmansterne church: DWOP/W/227

London, Guildhall Library

Documents concerning Wimbledon and Barnes churches: MSS 25122/641, 1426, 1428

London, London Borough of Lambeth, Minet Library and Lambeth Borough Archives

Deeds: Surrey Deeds 3605; 3608; 3610; 3615–16

Watercolours etc of Surrey churches: SP49/713 and S4822 Pls 5301–6 (Addington); SP190/713 (Betchworth); K31660/17 (Bramley); K31660/57 (Gatton); LO9541/66 (Hascombe); LP25/713 and SP25/713 (Tooting); LO9541/137 (Woodmansterne)

London, Lambeth Palace Library

Archbishop's cartulary: MS 1212

Account-roll for Surrey manors, 1236/7: ER 1193

Wimbledon customal: LR 2068

London, Public Record Office

Charter rolls: C53/107; C53/131

Patent rolls: C66/149; C66/328

Cartae antiquae roll GG: C52/31

Forest eyre rolls: E32/194; E32/195

Fetcham inquisition: C143/271/20

Fines: CP25(i)/225/2(15); 225/2(9); 225/3(67); 225/3(93); 225/4(3); 225/5(47); 225/6(83); 225/9(198); 226/10(229); 226/12(281); 226/12(314); 226/13(123); 226/16(113); 228/31(78)

Deeds: C146/10365; DL25/105; 106; DL27/46;

E40/4055; 7275; 14136; 14192;

E41/330; E210/7208;

E315/31(65); 41(64); 41(106); 42(125); 44(107);

E326/1912; 4350; 4352; 4873; 4876; 4879; 4880; 4893; 6219; 6665; 6693; 7802; 7907; 7976; 8082; 8090; 8094; 8239; 8242; 8243; 9784; 9854–6; 9878–80; 9908; 9909; 9913; 9915

Survey of Crown Lands, c 1552: LR2/190

London, Victoria & Albert Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

Plan of Carshalton church: E1104–1930

London, Westminster Abbey, Dean and Chapter Muniments

Cartulary: the 'Westminster Domesday'

Pyrford accounts: WAM 27392–27428

Pyrford court rolls: WAM 27468–27481

Deeds: WAM 1836; 1891

Maidstone, Kent Archives Office

Leatherhead glebe terriers: CCRC T 213

Oxford, Bodleian Library

John Leland's Collectanea, vol 1: MS Top Gen c. 1

Deeds: MS Ch. Surrey a.2(32); MS Ch. Surrey a.2(61); MS Eng Hist A II no 38

Plan of Addington church: MS Top Gen c. 80, f3
 Paintings of Hascombe church: MS Top Gen f18, ff35v–36
 Painting of Mellow church: MS Top Gen f13, f70

Oxford, Corpus Christi College

Catalogue of monastic foundations: MS D 256, ff196v–198

Oxford, Merton College Muniments

Farleigh rentals and court rolls: MM 4890; 4894; 4901; 4904
 Malden court roll and rental: MM 4706, 4782
 Thorncroft survey book, 1629: MM 5.28
 Thorncroft rentals and court rolls: MM 5734; 5777c; 5778; 5779; 5779d; 5781; 5786; 5788; 5791
 Thorncroft accounts: MM 5724; 5758
 Deed: MM 918

Windsor, Dean and Chapter Archives

Cartulary: the 'Arundel White Book'

California, Henry Huntington Library

Battle Abbey Cartulary: B A vol 29 (consulted from microfilm)

B PRINTED SOURCES

- The Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, trans G N Garmonsway, 2nd edn (London, 1972)
Annales monastici, ed H R Luard, 2 & 3, Rolls Ser 36, 2 & 3 (1864–6)
The Beauchamp cartulary, ed E Mason, Pipe Roll Soc, n s 43 (1971–3)
 Bede: *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed C Plummer, 1–2 (Oxford, 1896)
Bracton's note book, ed F W Maitland, 1–3 (London, 1887)
Calendar of charter rolls, 3 (HMSO, 1908)
Calendar of curia regis rolls, 1– (1922–)
Calendar of documents preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland, ed J Horace Round (London, 1899)
The cartae antiquae rolls 11–20, ed J C Davies, Pipe Roll Soc, n s 33 (1957)
Cartularium monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria, ed S A Moore, 1 (Roxburghe Club, London, 1897)
Cartularium Saxonicum, ed W de G Birch, 1–3 (London, 1883–92)
The cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey, ed U Rees, 1–2 (Aberystwyth, 1975)
Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes, ed L F Salzman, 1–2, SxRS 38, 40 (1932–4)
Chertsey Abbey court rolls abstract, ed E Toms, SyRS 38 & 48 (1937, 1954)
Chertsey cartularies [eds anon], 1–2, SyRS 12 (1915–33)
Sir Christopher Hatton's book of seals, eds L C Loyd & D M Stenton (Oxford, 1950)
Corpus iuris canonici, ed E Friedberg (Leipzig, 1881)
Councils and ecclesiastical documents, ed A W Haddan & W Stubbs, 1–3 (Oxford, 1869–71)
Councils and synods, with other documents relating to the English church, 1, eds D Whitelock, M Brett & C N L Brooke (Oxford, 1981), and 2, eds F M Powicke & F R Cheney (Oxford, 1964)
Customals of Battle Abbey, ed S R Scargill-Bird, Camden Soc 2nd ser 41 (1887)
Documents illustrative of the social and economic history of the Danelaw, ed F M Stenton (London, 1920)
Domesday Book, ed A Farley (Rec Comm, 1783)
Domesday Book: 3: Surrey, ed J Morris (Phillimore, Chichester, 1975)
The Domesday of St Paul's, ed W H Hale, Camden Soc 69 (1858)
 Eadmer: *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed M Rule, Rolls Ser 81 (1884)
Early Yorkshire charters: 8: the honour of Warenne, ed C T Clay, Yorkshire Archaeol Soc extra ser 6 (1949)

- Fitznells cartulary*, ed C A F Meekings and P Shearman, *SyRS* 26 (1968)
Flores historiaram, ed H R Luard, 2, *Rolls Ser* 95 2 (1890)
The itinerary of John Leland, ed L Toulmin Smith, 7–8 (London, 1909)
Johannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis collectanea, ed T Hearne, 1 (Oxford, 1715)
The letters of Abelard and Heloise, trans B Radice (Penguin, 1974)
The letters of John of Salisbury, 1, eds W J Millor, S J & H E Butler & C N L Brooke (London, 1955)
Manorial records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, ed P D A Harvey (HMSO, 1976)
Ordnance Survey Maps: Surrey 25" 1st edn (1870), sheets **XI** 16; **XVII** 4, 8, 12
Papsturkunden in England, ed W Holtzmann, 1 (Berlin, 1930)
Placitorum in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum abbreviatio (Record Commissioners, 1811)
Regesta regum anglo-normannorum, eds H W C Davis *et al*, 1–3 (Oxford, 1913–68)
Register or memorial of Ewell, Surrey, ed C Deedes (London, 1913)
The register of St Osmund, ed W R Jones, 1, *Rolls Ser* 78 (1883)
Register Henrici de Woodlock, ed A W Goodman, 1–2, *Canterbury & York Soc* 43–4 (1940–1)
Registrum Johannis de Pontissara, ed C Deedes, 1–2, *Canterbury & York Soc* 19 (1915) and 30 (1924)
The rolls and register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, ed R M T Hill, 3 (*Lincolnshire Rec Soc* 48, 1954)
Rotuli litterarum clausarum, 1–2 (Record Commissioners, 1833–44)
Rotuli litterarum patentium, 1 (Record Commissioners, 1835)
Sarum charters and documents, ed W R Jones & W D Macray, *Rolls Ser* 97 (1891)
The 1235 Surrey eyre, ed C A F Meekings, 1, *SyRS* 31 (1979)
Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P Nicolai IV, circa A D 1291 (Record Commissioners, 1802)
Valor ecclesiasticus tempore Henrici VIII, 1–2 (Record Commissioners, 1810–14)

C SECONDARY WORKS

- [Anon], General notes and documents: Blechingley, *SyAC*, 36 (1925), 111–12
 [Anon], *SyAS*, Report of the Council for the year ended Dec 31, 1950: Excavations – Saxon hut at Ham near Kingston, *SyAC*, 52 (1952), 101–2
 [Anon], The search for the 'lost' village of Watendone, *Bourne Soc Local Hist Rec*, 6 (1967), 3–6
 ADAMS, N, The judicial conflict over tithes, *Engl Hist Rev*, 52 (1937), 1–22
 ADDLESHAW, G W O, *The development of the parochial system from Charlemagne to Urban II*, St Anthony's Hall Publ, 6, 2 edn (York, 1970)
 ALDSWORTH, F & HILL, D, The Burghal Hidage – Eashing, *SyAC*, 68 (1971), 198–201
 ARNOLD-FOSTER, F, *Studies in church dedications*, 1–3 (London, 1899)
 ASTON, T H, The origins of the manor, *Trans Roy Hist Soc*, 5 ser 8 (1958), 59–83
 AULT, W O, *Open-field farming in medieval England* (London, 1972)
 BAILEY, K A, Medieval Putney: a planned village?, *Wandsworth Historian*, 51 (1968), 1–8
 ———, The Middle Saxons, in S Bassett (ed), *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989), 108–22
 ———, & GALBRAITH, I G, Field systems in Surrey: an introductory survey, *SyAC*, 69 (1973), 73–87
 BAKER, A R H, Open fields and partible inheritance on a Kent manor, *Econ Hist Rev*, 2nd ser 17 (1964–5), 1–23
 ———, Some fields and farms in medieval Kent, *Archaeol Cantiana*, 80 (1965), 152–74
 ———, Field systems in the Vale of Holmesdale, *Agric Hist Rev*, 14 (1966), 1–24
 ———, & BUTLIN, R A (eds), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1973)
 BARFOOT, J F & WILLIAMS, D P, The Saxon barrow at Gally Hills, Banstead Down, Surrey, *SyAS Res Vol*, 3 (1976), 59–76
 BARLOW, F, *The English church 1000–1066* (London, 1963)
 BARROW, G W S, *The kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973)
 BASSETT, S, Beyond the edge of excavation, in H Mayr-Harting & R I Moore (eds), *Studies in medieval history presented to R H C Davis* (London, 1985), 21–39
 ———, (ed), *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989)
 BASTIAN, F, Rogers of the rectory, *PLDLHS*, 2. 4 (1960), 103–12
 BEDWIN, O, The excavation of the church of St Nicholas, Angmering, 1974, *SxAC*, 113 (1975), 16–34
 BERESFORD, M, *New towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967)

- BETHELL, D, The lives of St Osyth, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 88 (1970), 75–127
- BIDDLE, M, Nonsuch Palace 1959–60: an interim report, *SyAC*, 58 (1961), 4–7
- , & HILL, D, Late Saxon planned towns, *Antiq J*, 51 (1971), 70–85
- , HUDSON, D & HEIGHWAY, C, *The future of London's past* (Worcester, 1973)
- BIGMORE, P, Villages and towns, in L Cantor (ed), *The English medieval landscape* (London, 1982), 154–92
- BIRD, J & BIRD, D G (eds), *The archaeology of Surrey to 1540* (SyAS, 1987)
- BIRD, D G, CROCKER, A G, CROCKER, G & McCracken, S, Archaeology in Surrey 1976–8, *SyAC*, 72 (1980) 231–53
- , Archaeology in Surrey 1985–6, *SyAC* 78, (1987) 133–48
- BIRD, D G, The Romano-British period in Surrey, in J & D G Bird (eds), *The archaeology of Surrey to 1540* (SyAS, 1987), 165–96
- BISHOP, T A M, Assarting and the growth of open fields, *Econ Hist Rev*, 6 (1935–6), 13–29
- BLAIR, J M G, Excavations at Little Bookham church, 1952–3, *SyAC*, 60 (1963), 83–5
- BLAIR, W J, The early manorial records of Leatherhead, Part 1, *PLDLHS*, 3. 8 (1974), 218–43, and Part 3, *PLDLHS*, 3. 9 (1975), 290–7
- , The origins of Leatherhead parish church, *PLDLHS*, 3. 10 (1976), 323–9
- , A military holding in 12th-century Leatherhead: Bockett Farm and the origins of Pachenesham Parva, *PLDLHS*, 4. 1 (1977), 3–12
- , Churches, in A A Jackson (ed), *Ashtead: a village transformed* (Leatherhead, 1977), 117–31
- , A late 13th-century survey of buildings on estates of Southwark Priory, *Antiq J*, 58 (1978), 353–4
- , The destroyed medieval church at Headley, *PLDLHS*, 4. 2 (1978), 39–44
- , Medieval deeds of the Leatherhead district, Parts 1 to 5, *PLDLHS*, 4. 2 (1978) to 4. 10 (1986)
- , The Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory before 1200, *SyAC*, 72 (1980), 97–126
- , William fitz Ansculf and the Abinger motte, *Archaeol J*, 138 (1981), 146–8
- , The early history of Horne: an addendum, *SyAC*, 73 (1982), 179–80
- , Secular minster churches in Domesday Book, in P H Sawyer (ed), *Domesday Book: a reassessment* (London, 1985), 104–42
- , Local churches in Domesday Book and before, in J C Holt (ed), *Domesday studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), 265–78
- , (ed), *Minsters and parish churches: the local church in transition 950–1200* (Oxford Committee for Archaeology, 1988)
- , Minster churches in the landscape, in D Hooke (ed), *Anglo-Saxon settlements* (Oxford, 1988), 35–58
- , The early middle ages; the late middle ages, in E Vardey (ed), *History of Leatherhead* (Leatherhead, 1988)
- , Frithuwold's kingdom and the origins of Surrey, in S Bassett (ed), *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms* (1989), 97–107, 231–6
- , *Introduction to the Surrey Domesday* (Alecto Historical Ed, 1990)
- BLOXAM, R N, The dedication of Ripley Chapel, *SyAC*, 50 (1949), 166–7
- , A Surrey charter of King John, *SyAC*, 54 (1955), 58–65
- BONNEY, D J, Pagan Saxon burials and boundaries in Wiltshire, *Wiltshire Archaeol & Natur Hist Mag*, 61 (1966), 25–30
- , Early boundaries in Wessex, in P J Fowler (ed), *Archaeology and the landscape: essays for L V Grinsell* (London, 1972), 168–86
- , Early boundaries and estates in southern England, in P H Sawyer (ed), *Medieval settlement* (London, 1976), 72–82
- BONY, J, *The English Decorated style* (Oxford, 1979)
- BRANDON, P F, The common lands and wastes of Sussex, London Univ Ph D thesis (1963)
- , Medieval clearances in the East Sussex Weald, *Trans Inst Brit Geogr*, 48 (1969), 135–53
- , *A history of Surrey* (London, 1977)
- BRETT, M, *The English church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975)
- BROOKE, C N L, The missionary at home: the church in the towns 1000–1250, in G J Cuming (ed), *Studies in church history*, 6 (1970), 59–83
- BROOKS, N P, The pre-Conquest charters of Christ Church Canterbury, Oxford Univ D Phil thesis (1968)

- , *The early history of the church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984)
- , The creation and early structure of the kingdom of Kent, in S Bassett (ed), *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms* (1989), 55–83
- BROWN, A, London and north-west Kent in the later Middle Ages: the development of a land-market, *Archaeol Cantiana*, **92** (1977), 145–55
- BROWNE, A L, The early archdeacons of Derby, *Derbyshire Archaeol J*, n s **13** (1939),
- BURROW, I, *Hillfort and hill-top settlement in Somerset in the 1st to 8th centuries AD*, Brit Archaeol Rep British Ser, **91** (1981)
- CAM, H M, Manerium cum hundredo, *Engl Hist Rev*, **47** (1932), 353–76
- , Early groups of hundreds, in J G Edwards, V H Galbraith & E F Jacob (eds), *Historical essays in honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), 13–26
- , The ‘private’ hundred in England before the Norman Conquest, in her *Law-finders and law-makers* (London, 1962), 59–70
- CAMERON, K, Eccles in English place-names, in M W Barley & R P C Hanson (eds.), *Christianity in Britain 300–700* (Leicester, 1968), 87–92
- CAMPBELL, B M S, Population change and the genesis of commonfields in a Norfolk manor, *Econ Hist Rev*, 2nd ser **33** (1980), 174–91
- CAMPBELL, J (ed), *The Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1982)
- , *Essays in Anglo-Saxon history* (London, 1986)
- CHARLES-EDWARDS, T M, Kinship, status and the origins of the hide, *Past & Present*, **56** (1972), 3–33
- , Boundaries in Irish law, in P H Sawyer (ed), *Medieval settlement* (London, 1976), 83–7
- CHENEY, C R, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956)
- CHERRY, B, Ecclesiastical architecture, in D M Wilson (ed), *The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1976), 151–200
- CHIBNALL, M, Monks and pastoral work: a problem in Anglo-Norman history, *J Eccles Hist*, **18** (1967), 165–72
- CLARK, A, A cross-valley dyke on the Surrey/Kent border, *SxAC*, **57** (1960), 72–4
- CLARKE, D K, The Saxon hundreds of Sussex, *SxAC*, **74** (1933), 214–25
- CLEERE, H & CROSSLEY, D, *The iron industry of the Weald* (Leicester, 1985)
- COATES, R, Methodological reflections on Leatherhead, *J Engl Place-Name Soc*, **12** (1979–80), 70–4
- COLKER, M L, Latin texts concerning Gilbert, founder of Merton Priory, *Studia Monastica*, **12** (1970), 241–70
- COLVIN, H M (ed), *The history of the king's works*, **2** (London, 1963)
- CONSTABLE, G, *Monastic tithes* (Cambridge, 1964)
- , Monasteries, rural churches and the *cura animarum* in the early Middle Ages, in *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, **38.1** (Spoleto, 1982), 349–89
- COPLEY, G J, Stane Street in the Dark Ages, *SxAC*, **89** (1950), 98–204
- COX, J C, *The little guide to Surrey*, revised P M Johnston, 5th edn (London, 1926)
- CRACKLOW, C T, *Views of the churches and chapels-of-ease in the county of Surrey* (London, 1827)
- CUNLIFFE, B, Saxon and medieval settlement pattern in the region of Chalton, Hampshire, *Medieval Archaeol*, **16** (1972), 1–12
- DARBY, H C, Place-names and the geography of the past, in A Brown & P Foote (eds), *Early English and Norse studies presented to Hugh Smith* (London, 1963)
- , *Domesday England* (Cambridge, 1977)
- , & CAMPBELL, E M J (eds), *The Domesday geography of south-east England* (Cambridge, 1962)
- DAVIES, W & VIERCK, H, The contexts of the Tribal Hidage: social aggregates and settlement patterns, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, **8** (1974), 223–93
- DAVIS, R H C, The college of St Martin le Grand and the Anarchy, 1135–54, *London Topogr Rec*, **23** (1972), 9–26
- DEANESLY, M, The late Old English church: bishops and pastoral care, in her *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon church* (London, 1962), 104–36
- DENHOLM-YOUNG, N, The Winchester-Hyde chronicle, *Engl Hist Rev*, **49** (1934), 85–93
- DENNIS, G, Southwark, Hibernia Warf, *SyAS Bull*, **168** (1980), 5–6
- DICKINSON, J C, *The origins of the Austin canons and their introduction into England* (London, 1950)

- DICKINSON, T M, On the origin and chronology of the early Anglo-Saxon disc brooch, in S C Hawkes, D Brown & J Campbell (eds), *Anglo-Saxon studies in archaeology and history*, 1, Brit Archaeol Rep British Ser, 72 (1979), 39–80
- DODGSHON, R A, *The origin of British field systems: an interpretation* (London, 1980)
- DODGSON, J McN, The place-name Burstow, *SyAC*, 63 (1966), 65
- , Place-names from *-hām*, distinguished from *-hamm* names, in relation to the settlement of Kent, Surrey and Sussex, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2 (1973), 1–50
- DODWELL, B, Holdings and inheritance in medieval East Anglia, *Econ Hist Rev*, 2nd ser 20 (1967), 53–66
- DORNIER, A, The Anglo-Saxon monastery at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, in A Dornier (ed), *Mercian studies* (Leicester, 1977), 155–68
- DREWETT, P, RUDLING, D & GARDINER, M, *The South-East to AD 1000* (London 1988)
- DRUCE, G L, The symbolism of the goat on the Norman font at Thames Ditton, *SyAC*, 21 (1908), 109–12
- DRURY, P J, & RODWELL, W J, Investigations at Asheldham, Essex, *Antiq J*, 58 (1978), 134–7
- du BOULAY, F R H, Dens, droving and danger, *Archaeol Cantiana*, 76 (1961), 75–87
- , *The lordship of Canterbury* (London, 1966)
- DUFTY, A R, The parish church of St Andrew, Farnham, *SyAC*, 61 (1964), 86–98
- DUGDALE, W, *Monasticon anglicanum*, enlarged edn, 1–6 (London, 1817–30)
- DUGGAN, C, Richard of Ilchester, *Trans Roy Hist Soc*, 5 ser 16 (1966), 1–21
- DUMVILLE, D N, Essex, Middle Anglia and the expansion of Mercia in the South-East Midlands in S Basset (ed) *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms* (1989), 123–40
- DUNNING, R W, The minster at Crewkerne, *Somerset Archaeol & Natur Hist*, 120 (1976), 63–7
- DYSON, T, London and Southwark in the 7th century and later: a neglected reference, *Trans London & Middlesex Archaeol Soc*, 30 (1980), 83–95
- EDWARDS, H, *The charters of the early West Saxon kingdom*, Brit Archaeol Rep British Ser, 198 (1988)
- EKWALL, E, Old English *forraepe*, *Studia Neophilologica*, 16 (1943/4), 38–48
- EVERITT, A, River and wold, *J Hist Geogr*, 3.1 (1977), 1–19
- , *Continuity and colonisation: the evolution of Kentish settlement* (Leicester, 1986)
- FAITH, R J, Peasant families and inheritance customs in medieval England, *Agric Hist Rev*, 14 (1966), 77–95
- FARMER, D H, *The Oxford dictionary of saints* (Oxford, 1978)
- FERNIE, E, *The architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1983)
- FINNY, W E St L, The Saxon church at Kingston, *SyAC*, 37 (1927), 211–19
- FLEMING, A, Coaxial field systems: some questions of time and space, *Antiquity*, 61 (1987), 188–202
- FLEMING, R, Monastic lands and England's defence in the Viking age, *Engl Hist Rev*, 100 (1985), 257–61
- FORGE, J W L, The church of St Mary, Walton-on-Thames, *SyAc*, 66 (1969), 99–105
- FOURNIER, G, Rural churches and rural communities in early medieval Auvergne, in F L Cheyette (ed), *Lordship and community in medieval Europe* (New York, 1968), 314–40
- FOWLER, D J, Wotton: excavations at St John's Church, *SyAS Bull*, 127 (1976)
- FOWLER, P J, Agriculture and rural settlement, in D M Wilson (ed), *The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1976), 23–48
- FOX, H S A, The chronology of enclosure and economic development in medieval Devon, *Econ Hist Rev*, 2nd ser 28 (1975), 181–202
- , Approaches to the adoption of the Midland system, in T Rowley (ed), *The origins of open-field agriculture* (London, 1981), 64–111
- FREEMAN, E A, *The reign of William Rufus*, 2 (Oxford, 1882)
- GALBRAITH, V H, *The making of Domesday Book* (Oxford, 1961)
- GELLING, M, Place names and Anglo-Saxon paganism, *Univ Birmingham Hist J*, 8.1 (1961), 7–25
- , *The place-names of Berkshire*, 3, Engl Place-Name Soc, 51 (1976)
- , Latin loan-words in Old English Place-Names, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 1–13
- , *Signposts to the past* (London, 1978)
- , *The early charters of the Thames valley* (Leicester, 1979)
- GEM, R D H, The English parish church in the 11th and 12th centuries: a great rebuilding?, in W J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches* (1988), 21–30

- , The Romanesque architecture of old St Paul's Cathedral and its late 11th-century context, *Brit Archaeol Assoc Conf Trans*, 10: London (forthcoming)
- GIBSON, J H, Compton church: the oratory, *SyAC*, 51 (1950), 154–5
- GIFFORD, D H, The parish in Domesday Book, London Univ PhD thesis (1952)
- GLASSCOCK, R F, *The lay subsidy of 1334* (London, 1975)
- GOLLIN, G J, The medieval manor house of Ashtead, *PLDLHS*, 4.2 (1978), 46–51
- GOODIER, A, The formation of boundaries in Anglo-Saxon England, *Medieval Archaeol*, 28 (1984), 1–21
- GOVER, J E B, MAWER, A & STENTON, F M (eds), *The place-names of Surrey*, Engl Place-Name Soc, 11 (1934)
- GOWANS, H M, WILKS, M, & BRAY, J (eds), *Courts of the manors of Bandon and Beddington 1498–1552* (London Borough of Sutton, 1983)
- GRAHAM, R, *English ecclesiastical studies* (London, 1929)
- GRAY, H L, *The English field systems* (Cambridge, 1915)
- GREENWOOD, J, A suggested model for the settlement development of the Reigate hundred, with special reference to Horley (forthcoming)
- GREGSON, N, The multiple estate model: some critical questions, *J Hist Geogr*, 11.4 (1985), 339–51
- GRINSELL, L V, An analysis and list of Surrey barrows, *SyAC*, 42 (1934), 26–60
- , Surrey barrows 1934–1986: a reappraisal, *SyAC*, 78 (1987), 1–42
- GULLEY, J L M, The Wealden landscape in the early 17th century and its antecedents, London Univ. Ph D (1960)
- HALL, D, The origins of open-field agriculture – the archaeological fieldwork evidence, in T Rowley (ed), *The origins of open-field agriculture* (London, 1981), 22–38
- HALLAM, H E, *Rural England 1066–1348* (Glasgow, 1981)
- HANWORTH, R, The Iron Age in Surrey, in J & D G Bird (eds), *The archaeology of Surrey to 1540* (SyAS, 1987), 139–64
- , & TOMALIN, D J, *Brooklands, Weybridge: the excavation of an Iron Age and medieval site*, SyAS Res Vol, 4 (1977)
- HART, C R, *The early charters of eastern England* (Leicester, 1966)
- , The Tribal Hidage, *Trans Roy Hist Soc*, 5th ser. 21 (1971), 133–57
- , Shoelands, *J Engl Place-Name Soc*, 4 (1971–2), 6–11
- HART, E & BRAUN, H, West Humble chapel, *SyAC*, 47 (1941), 1–11
- HARVEY, B F, The population trend in England between 1300 and 1348, *Trans Roy Hist Soc*, 5th ser 16 (1966), 23–42
- , *Westminster Abbey and its estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977)
- HARVEY, J H, 'The Mounts', Pachenesham: an historical note, *PLDLHS*, 1.1 (1947), 9–11
- , The hundred of Copthorne and Eppingham, *SyAC*, 50 (1946–7), 157–61
- , Polesden: the name and the place, *SyAC*, 50 (1946–7), 161–4
- , A short history of Bookham, *PLDLHS*, 1.8 (1954), 10–14
- , A cartographical survey of the area: 6: the Middle Ages, *PLDLHS*, 2.4 (1960), 101–3
- HARVEY, P D A, *A medieval Oxfordshire village* (Oxford, 1965)
- HARVEY, S P J, Domesday Book and Anglo-Norman governance, *Trans Roy Hist Soc*, 5th ser 25 (1975), 186–93
- , Evidence for settlement study: Domesday Book, in P H Sawyer (ed), *Medieval settlement* (London, 1976), 195–9
- HASE, P H, The development of the parish in Hampshire, Cambridge Univ Ph D thesis (1975)
- , The mother churches of Hampshire, in W J Blair (ed.), *Minsters and parish churches* (1988), 45–66
- HASLAM, J, Parishes, churches, wards and gates in eastern London, in W J Blair (ed) *Minsters and parish churches* (1988), 35–43
- HAWKES, S C, The Early Saxon period, in G Briggs, J Cook & T Rowley (eds), *The archaeology of the Oxford region* (Oxford, 1986), 64–108
- HEALES, A & HUMBERT, L M, Chiddingfold church (with an appendix), *SyAC*, 5 (1871), 157–76
- HEWLETT, G, Stages in the settlement of a Downland parish: a study of the hedges of Chelsham, *SyAC*, 72 (1980), 91–6
- HILL, B D, *English Cistercian monasteries and their patrons in the 12th century* (Urbana, 1968)

- HILL, D, The Burghal Hidage: the establishment of a text, *Medieval Archaeol*, **13** (1969), 84–92
- HOHLER, C, St Osyth and Aylesbury, *Recs of Buckinghamshire*, **18** (1966–70), 61–72
- HOLLING, F W, The early foundations of St Mary's church, Guildford, *SyAC*, **64** (1967), 165–8
- HONEYBOURNE, M B, The pre-Norman bridge of London, in A E J Hollaender & W Kellaway (eds), *Studies in London history presented to P E Jones* (London, 1969), 17–39
- HOOKE, D, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes of the west Midlands: the charter evidence*, Brit Archaeol Rep British Ser, **95** (1981)
- , *The Anglo-Saxon landscape: the kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester, 1985)
- , (ed), *Anglo-Saxon settlements* (Oxford, 1988)
- HOOPER, W, Bondmen at Reigate under the Tudors, *SyAC*, **38** (1930), 149–55
- HOPE-TAYLOR, B, Celtic agriculture in Surrey, *SyAC*, **50** (1946–7), 47–72
- , Excavation on Farthing Down, *Archaeol News Letter*, **2.10** (March 1950), 170
- HUDSON, W, The ancient deaneries of the diocese of Chichester, *SxAC*, **55** (1912), 108–22
- HYAMS, P R, The origin of a peasant land-market in England, *Econ Hist Rev*, 2nd ser **23** (1970), 18–31
- JOHNSON, D J, *Southwark and the City* (Oxford, 1969)
- JOHNSTON, P M, Send church and the chapel of Ripley, *SyAC*, **16** (1901), 168–89
- , The church of Witley and Thursley chapel-of-ease, *SyAC*, **18** (1903), 80–95
- , Stoke D'Abernon church, *SyAC*, **20** (1907), 1–61
- , West Horsley church, *SyAC*, **22** (1909), 168–83
- , Notes on the history and architecture of Farley church, *SyAC*, **23** (1910), 83–90
- , Stoke D'Abernon church: some recent discoveries, *SyAC*, **26** (1913), 121–33
- , Great Bookham church, *SyAC*, **27** (1914), 103–22
- , Discovery at Rotherhithe church, *SyAC*, **27** (1914), 141–3
- , An early window and wall paintings in Witley church, *SyAC*, **31** (1918), 28–44
- , Albury old church, *SyAC*, **34** (1921), 52–94
- , Witley and Thursley churches: recent discoveries, *SyAC*, **39** (1931), 104–11
- , Ewhurst church: recent discoveries, *SyAC*, **42** (1934), 100–8
- JOLLIFFE, J E A, The Domesday hidation of Sussex and the Rapes, *Engl Hist Rev*, **45** (1930), 427–35
- , *Pre-feudal England: the Jutes* (Oxford, 1933)
- , The 'Era of the Folk' in English History, in F M Powicke (ed), *Oxford studies in medieval history presented to H E Salter* (Oxford, 1934), 1–32
- JONES, G R J, Multiple estates and early settlement, in P H Sawyer (ed), *Medieval settlement* (London, 1976), 11–40
- , Multiple estates perceived, *J Hist Geogr*, **11.4** (1985), 352–63
- KEMP, B R, The mother church of Thatcham, *Berkshire Archaeol J*, **63** (1967–8), 15–22
- , The churches of Berkeley Hernesse, *Trans Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeol Soc*, **87** (1968), 96–110
- , Monastic possession of parish churches in England in the 12th Century, *J Eccles Hist*, **31** (1980), 133–60
- KENNETT, W, *Parochial antiquities*, **1** (Oxford, 1818)
- KENYON, G H, *The glass industry of the Weald* (Leicester, 1967)
- KERSHAW, I, The great famine and agrarian crisis in England, 1315–1322, *Past & Present*, **59** (1973), 3–50
- KETTERINGHAM, L L, *Alsted: excavation of a 13th–14th century sub-manor house with its ironworks in Netherne Wood, Merstham, Surrey*, SyAS Res Vol. **2** (1976)
- , Excavations at the church of St John the Evangelist, Coulsdon, *SyAC*, **71** (1977), 101–10
- KEULEMANS, M, Old St Nicholas's church, Tooting Graveney, *SyAC*, **57** (1960), 93–9
- KING, C R B, St Mary's church Blechingley, *SyAC*, **19** (1906), 203–4
- , The tower of St Mary's church, Blechingley, *SyAC*, **24** (1911), 169–72
- KING, E, *Peterborough Abbey 1086–1310* (Cambridge, 1973)
- KNOWLES, D, *The monastic order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1950)
- , & HADCOCK, R N, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971)
- LAMBERT, H, *History of Banstead in Surrey* (Oxford, 1912)
- , The Banstead court rolls in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, *SyAC*, **37**, (1927) 164–79
- , *Woodmansterne: a brief historical account* (Sutton, 1931)

- , Some account of the Surrey manors held by Merton College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the 17th century, *SyAC*, **41** (1933), 34–49
- LAMBERT, U, *Blechingley: a parish history* (London, 1921)
- , *Godstone: a parish history* (1929)
- LE NEVE, J, *Fasti ecclesie anglicanae 1066–1300: I: St Paul's Cathedral; II: monastic cathedrals*, (ed D E Greenway) (London, 1968, 1971)
- LENNARD, R V, *Rural England 1086–1135* (Oxford, 1959)
- LEWIN, S, The Pyrford fresco, *SyAS Bull*, **161** (1979)
- LILLIE, H W R, The North Downs trackway in Surrey, *SyAC*, **61** (1964), 18–28
- LIVETT, G M, Whitfield alias Beuesfeld, *Archaeol Cantiana*, **40** (1928), 150
- LOWTHER, A W G, Ashted and its history, part **9**, *PLDLHS*, **2.3** (1959), 88–93
- , RENN, D & RUBY, A T, Pachenesham, Leatherhead: the excavation of the medieval moated site known as 'The Mounts', *SyAC*, **74** (1983), 1–45
- MCPHAIL, R I & SCAIFE, R G, The geographical and environmental background, in J & D G Bird (eds) *The archaeology of Surrey to 1540* (SyAS, 1987), 31–51
- MAITLAND, F W, *Domesday Book and beyond* (Cambridge, 1897)
- , The surnames of English villages, in H A L Fisher (ed), *The collected papers of Frederic William Maitland*, **2** (Cambridge, 1911), 84–95
- MALDEN, H E, The Domesday survey of Surrey, in P E Dove (ed), *Domesday studies*, **2** (London, 1891)
- , *A history of Surrey* (London, 1900)
- , *The Victoria history of the county of Surrey*, **1–4**, index (London, 1902–1912)
- , Holmbury Hill and the neighbourhood, *SyAC*, **17** (1902), 72–6
- , Villeinage in the Weald of Surrey, *SyAC*, **20** (1907), 143–52
- , The three field system of farming in Surrey, *SyAC*, **37** (1927), 251–4
- , Kingsland in Newdigate and Newdigate in Cophorne Hundred, *SyAC*, **39** (1931), 147–9
- MANNING, E, *Saxon Farnham* (Chichester, 1970)
- MANNING, O, & BRAY, W, *The history and antiquities of the County of Surrey*, **1–3** (London, 1804–14)
- MARGARY, I D, The North Downs main trackways, *SyAC*, **52** (1952), 29–31
- , The North Downs trackway in Surrey, *SyAC*, **62** (1965), 80–2
- MARSHALL, C J, *A history of the old villages of Cbeam and Sutton* (Cheam, 1936)
- MASON, E, The role of the English parishioner 1100–1500, *J Eccles Hist*, **27** (1976), 17–29
- , Timeo barones et donas ferentes, in D Baker (ed), *Religious motivation: studies in church history*, **15** (1978), 61–75
- , A truth universally acknowledged, in D. Baker (ed), *The church in town and countryside: studies in church history* **16** (1979), 171–86
- MASON, J F A, The rapes of Sussex and the Norman Conquest, *SxAC*, **102** (1964), 68–93
- MEEKINGS, C A F, The early history of Sandon Hospital, *SyAC*, **57** (1960), 75–84
- , Notes on the de Abernon family before 1236, *SyAC*, **77** (1980), 157–73
- MILLER, E, La société rurale en Angleterre (X^e–XIII^e Siècles), in *Agricoltura e Mondo Rurale in Occidente nell'Alto Medioevo: Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* **13** (Spoleto, 1966), 111–34
- , & HATCHER, J, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1066–1348* (London, 1978)
- MOORE, J S, The Domesday temland: a reconsideration, *Trans Roy Hist Soc*, 5 ser **14** (1964), 109–30
- MORRIS, J, A gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon Surrey, *SyAC*, **56** (1959), 132–58
- MORRIS, R, *The church in British archaeology*, Counc Brit Archaeol Res Rep **47** (1983)
- MORTIMER, R, The beginnings of the honour of Clare, *Proc Battle Abbey Conf*, **3** (1980)
- MUCKELROY, K W, Woodcote, or Woodcote Warren, once a city, according to tradition, *SyAC*, **69** (1973), 37–45
- MUMFORD, W F, The manor of Oxted 1360–1420, *SyAC*, **63** (1966), 66–94
- MYRES, J N L, The Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes, *Proc. Brit Acad*, **56** (1970), 145–74
- , *The English settlements* (Oxford, 1986)
- NAIL, D, The meeting-place of Cophorne hundred, *SyAC*, **62** (1965), 44–53
- NORRIS, N E S, & HOCKINGS, E F, Excavations at Balsdean chapel, Rottingdean, *SxAC*, **91** (1953), 53–68

- O'CONNELL, M, *Historic towns in Surrey: SyAS Res Vol, 5* (1977)
- , and POULTON, R, The towns of Surrey, in J Haslam (ed), *Anglo-Saxon towns in southern England* (Chichester, 1984), 37–51
- OLLARD, S L, Dunsfold and its rectors, *SyAC*, **31** (1918), 45–84
- ORTON, C, Excavations at 32 Burleigh Avenue, Wallington, 1921 and 1976, *SyAC*, **72** (1980), 77–82
- OWEN, D M, Chapelries and rural settlement: an examination of some of the Kesteven evidence, in P H Sawyer (ed), *Medieval settlement* (London, 1976), 66–71
- , *Church and society in medieval Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1981)
- PAGE, W, Some remarks on the churches of the Domesday Survey, *Archaeologia*, **66** (1914–15), 61–102
- PARK, D, The Romanesque wall paintings of All Saints church, Witley, Surrey, *SyAC*, **74** (1983), 157–67
- PARKER, J H, The church of St Mary, Guildford, *Archaeol J*, **29** (1872), 170–80
- PEARCE, C M H, An account of the buildings of Newark priory, *SyAC*, **40** (1932), 1–40
- PERCY, K, Limpsfield: interpretation of the Domesday Book entry, *SyAS Bull*, **156** (1979)
- PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, C, Rutland reconsidered, in A Dornier (ed), *Mercian studies* (Leicester, 1977), 63–84
- PIGGOTT, S (ed), *The agrarian history of England and Wales: I.1: Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1981)
- POULTON, R, Cherchefelle and the origins of Reigate, *London Archaeologist*, **3.16** (1980), 433–8
- , Excavations on the site of the Old Vicarage, Church street, Reigate, 1977–82, Part 1 Saxo-Norman and earlier discoveries, *SyAC*, **77** (1986), 17–94
- , Saxon Surrey, in J & D G Bird (eds) *The archaeology of Surrey to 1540* (SyAS, Guildford, 1987), 197–222
- RACKHAM, O, *Trees and woodland in the British landscape* (London, 1976)
- RADFORD, C A R, The church of St Mary, Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, *Archaeol J*, **118** (1961), 165–74
- RAFTIS, J A, *Assart data and land values* (Toronto, 1974)
- RAHTZ, P, Buildings and rural settlement, in D M Wilson (ed), *The archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1976), 49–98
- REICHEL, O J, The church and the hundreds of Devon, *Trans. Devonshire Assoc*, **71** (1939), 331–42
- RENN, D F, The early church at Great Bookham, *PLDLHS*, **3.1** (1967), 19–24
- , The early church at Fetcham, *PLDLHS*, **3.2** (1968), 56–7
- , *Norman castles*, 2nd edn (London, 1973)
- ROBERTS, B K, Moated sites in midland England, *Trans Birmingham Archaeol Soc*, **80** (1965), 26–37
- , A study of medieval colonisation in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire, *Agric Hist Rev*, **16** (1968), 101–13
- , Village plans in County Durham, *Medieval Archaeol*, **16** (1972), 33–56
- , *Rural settlement in Britain* (Folkestone, 1977)
- ROBINSON, D M, *The geography of Augustinian settlement in England and Wales*, *Brit Archaeol Rep British Ser* **80** (1980)
- ROBO, E, *Medieval Farnham* (Farnham, 1939)
- RODWELL, W, & RODWELL, K, *Historic churches: a wasting asset*, *Counc Brit Archaeol Res Rep*, **19** (1977)
- ROUND, J H, Some early grants to Lewes Priory, *SxAC*, **40** (1896), 58–78
- , Bernard, the king's scribe, *Engl Hist Rev*, **14** (1899), 417–30
- RUDLING, D R, Downland settlement in East Sussex, in B L Burnham & H B Johnson (eds), *Invasion and response: the case of Roman Britain*, *Brit Archaeol Rep British Ser* **73** (1979), 339–56
- RUMBLE, A R, The Merstham (Surrey) charter bounds, AD 947, *J Engl Place-Name Soc*, **3** (1970/1), 6–31
- , Place-names and their context, with special regard to the Croydon survey region, *Proc Croydon Natur Hist & Sci Soc*, **15.8**, 161–84
- RUSSELL J C, The Tribal Hidage, *Traditio*, **5** (1947), 192–209
- SALTER, H E, Cogges Priory, *Oxon Architect Soc Rep & Papers* **75** (1930), 322–3
- SALWAY, P, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1981)
- SALZMAN, L F, Sussex Domesday tenants; 4: the family of Chesney or Cheyney, *SxAC*, **65** (1924), 20–53
- , The rapes of Sussex, *SxAC*, **72** (1931), 20–9
- SAUNDERS, P R, Saxon barrows excavated by General Pitt-Rivers on Merrow Down, Guildford, *SyAC*, **72** (1980), 69–75

- SAWYER, P H, *Anglo-Saxon charters: an annotated list and bibliography* (London, 1968)
- , (ed), *Medieval settlement* (London, 1976)
- , *From Roman Britain to Norman England* (London, 1978)
- SCHÄRER, A, *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde im 7 und 8 Jahrhundert* (Vienna etc, 1982)
- SEARLE, E, Hides, virgates and tenant settlement at Battle Abbey, *Econ Hist Rev*, 2nd ser **16** (1963–4), 290–300
- , *Lordskip and community* (Toronto, 1974)
- SEWILL, R, & LANE, E, *The free men of Charlwood* (London, 1951)
- SHEARMAN, P, Ewell in 1577, *SyAC*, **54** (1955), 102–23
- , The topography of medieval Ewell and Cuddington, *SyAC*, **71** (1977), 139–44
- SHERLOCK, R J, Sir Stephen Glynne's notes on churches in Surrey, *SyAC*, **55** (1958), 65–117
- SMITH, A H, *English place-name elements. 1–2*, *Engl Place-Name Soc*, **25–6** (1956)
- SMITH, J T, The pre-Conquest minster at Southwark, *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeol Soc*, **19** (1958), 174–9
- SOUTHERN, R W, *Western society and the church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970)
- STAFFORD, P, The king's wife in Wessex, *Past & Present*, **91** (1981), 3–27
- STENTON, F M, Medeshamstede and its colonies, in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England* (ed D M Stenton), (Oxford, 1970), 179–92
- , The English occupation of southern Britain, in *ibid*, 266–80
- , The thriving of the Anglo-Saxon ceorl, in *ibid*, 383–93
- , *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971)
- STRAKER, E, The intrenchment on Riddlesdown, *SyAC*, **42** (1934), 120–1
- STOW, J, *A survey of London*, ed C L Kingsford, 1–2 (Oxford, repr 1971)
- TAYLOR, C C, *Dorset* (London, 1970)
- , The Anglo-Saxon countryside, in R T Rowley (ed), *Anglo-Saxon settlement and landscape*, *Brit Archaeol Rep British Ser*, **6** (1974), 5–15
- , Polyfocal settlement and the English village, *Medieval Archaeol*, **21** (1977), 189–93
- , Aspects of village mobility in medieval and later times, in S Limbrey & J G Evans (eds), *The effect of man on the landscape: the lowland zone*, *Counc Brit Archaeol Res Rep* **21** (1978), 126–38
- , *Village and farmstead* (London, 1983)
- TAYLOR, H M & TAYLOR, J, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 1–3 (Cambridge, 1965–78)
- TAYLOR, J G, *Our Lady of Batersey* (London, 1925)
- THACKER, A T, Some terms for noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England, in D Brown, J Campbell & S C Hawkes (eds), *Anglo-Saxon studies in archaeology and history*, **2**, *Brit Archaeol Rep British Ser*, **92** (1981), 201–36
- THIRSK, J, The common fields, *Past & Present*, **29** (1964), 3–25
- THOMAS, J B (ed), *St John's Wotton* (Wotton PCC, 1978).
- THOMPSON, F H, Three Surrey hillforts: excavation at Anstiebury, Holmbury and Hascombe, 1972–77, *Antiq J*, **59** (1979), 245–318
- THORNHILL, L, *A Croydon backcloth: some little-known estate maps in Lambeth Palace Library* (Croydon Natur Hist & Sci Soc, 1975)
- , Report on field work at Addington, Surrey, 1970–72, *Proc Croydon Natur Hist & Sci Soc*, **14** (1975), 500–9
- , Croydon: a summary of work by the CNHSS on medieval Croydon, *SyAS Bull*, **160** (1979)
- THORPE, J, *Registrum Roffense* (London, 1769)
- TITFORD, C F, Medieval Ewell and Cuddington, *SyAC*, **69** (1973), 27–35
- TITOW, J Z, Medieval England and the open field system, *Past & Present*, **32** (1965), 86–102
- TURNER, D J, A moated site near Burstow Rectory, *SyAC*, **63** (1966), 51–65
- , Medieval pottery from Watendone, Kenley, *SyAC*, **69** (1973), 214–18
- , Moated site near Moat Farm, Hookwood, Charlwood, *SyAC*, **71** (1977), 57–87
- , Moated sites in Surrey: a provisional list, *SyAC*, **71** (1977), 89–94
- , The North Downs trackway, *SyAC*, **72** (1980), 1–13
- , Nutfield and the settlement of the Weald, *Surrey History*, **2.2** (1980/1), 62–5

- , Archaeology of Surrey, 1066 to 1540, in J & D G Bird (eds) *The archaeology of Surrey to 1540* (SyAS, Guildford, 1987), 223–61
- , Thunderfield, Harrowsley and Thunderfield castle, *SyAC* (forthcoming)
- , & BLAIR, W J, Manors and churches in Blackheath hundred, *SyAC* (forthcoming)
- TURNER, F, *Egham, Surrey* (Egham, 1926)
- TWEDDLE, D, Anglo-Saxon sculpture in south-east England before c 950, in F H Thompson (ed), *Studies in medieval sculpture*, Soc Antiq Occas Paper, 11 (London, 1983), 35–6
- VINOGRADOFF, P, *The growth of the manor* (London, 1905)
- VOSS, L, *Heinrich von Blois, Bischof von Winchester (1129–71)* (Berlin, 1932)
- WADE-MARTINS, P, The origins of rural settlement in East Anglia, in P J Fowler (ed), *Recent work in rural archaeology* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1975), 135–57
- WALKER, T E C, Esher: the Fullinga Dic, *SyAC*, 69 (1973), 193
- WELMAN, S, *The parish and church of Godalming* (London, 1900)
- WHITELOCK, D, *Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London* (The Chambers Memorial Lecture, 1974)
- WITNEY, K P, *The Jutish forest: a study of the Weald of Kent from 450 to 1380 AD* (London, 1976)
- WOOD, E S, A medieval glasshouse at Blunden's Wood, Hambledon, Surrey, *SyAC*, 62 (1965), 54–79
- WOODS, H, Excavations in Reigate 1974, *SyAC*, 70 (1974), 70–94
- WOODS, P, The parsonage or rectory manor of Godalming, and a 14th-century custumal thereof, *SyAC*, 22 (1909), 115–36
- , On a 14th-century rental of the principal manor of Godalming, with some remarks on coholders, *SyAC*, 23 (1910), 91–107
- WORMALD, P, Bede, *Bretwaldas* and the origins of the *Gens anglorum*, in P Wormald (ed), *Ideal and reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon society* (Oxford, 1983), 99–129
- , *Bede and the conversion of England: the charter evidence* (The Jarrow Lecture, 1984)
- YATES, E M, A Study of settlement patterns, *Field Studies*, 1.3 (1961), 65–84
- YOUNG, C R, *The royal forests of medieval England* (Leicester, 1979)

Notes

Introduction

- 1 P Vinogradoff, *The growth of the manor*, 235. For this interpretation, see also F W Maitland, *Domesday Book and beyond*, 318-40
- 2 T H Aston, The origins of the manor, 73
- 3 E Miller & J Hatcher, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1066-1348*, 20
- 4 See P Salway, *Roman Britain*, 544-5
- 5 P F Brandon, *A History of Surrey*, 15. A very useful survey of the geographical and ecological background by R I MacPhail & R G Scaife has now appeared in J Bird & D G Bird (eds), *The archaeology of Surrey to 1540*, 31-51
- 6 Brandon, *History of Surrey*, 18
- 7 These tracks have been much discussed: I D Margary, The North Downs main trackways; H W R Lillie, The North Downs trackway in Surrey; Margary, The North Downs trackway in Surrey; D J Turner, The North Downs trackway. Cf comments by R Poulton in Saxon Surrey, 211, and by D G Bird in The Romano-British period in Surrey, 168
- 8 For the closely analogous pattern of Kentish lanes and droveways see A Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation: the evolution of Kentish settlement*, 36-9, 267-70
- 9 For a new assessment of Roman Surrey see D G Bird, The Romano-British period in Surrey
- 10 *The Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, 18-19
- 11 See for instance J N L Myres, The Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes; P Drewett, D Rudling & M Gardiner, *The South-East to AD 1000*, 256; Poulton, Saxon Surrey, 216
- 12 Myres, *The English settlements*, 137-9
- 13 G J Copley, Stane Street in the Dark Ages
- 14 For the 'Wandle Saxons', see J Morris, A gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon Surrey, 148-58. See also the works cited in n 11 above
- 15 *PNSy*, xiv-xv. cf also Myres, *The English settlements*, 106 n, and the remarks on the hunting rights of the citizens of London in F M Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 58
- 16 M Gelling, *The place-names of Berkshire*, 3, 813-14, 820-2. However, her view that the main area of Berkshire was settled from East and Middle Anglia, in contrast to the eastern arm which was settled from the south, is at variance with some current archaeological opinion: see F M Stenton, The English occupation of Southern Britain, 273; S C Hawkes, The early Saxon period, 85; T M Dickinson, On the origin and chronology of the early Anglo-Saxon disc brooch, 54
- 17 Gelling, *Place-names of Berkshire*, 3, 840-1, 925-39
- 18 *ibid* 3, 841
- 19 S 1165. The authenticity of this charter has been much debated, but despite obvious modifications the core of the text stands up to criticism. The main point in its favour is that it shares a preamble with Hodilred's charter for the sister foundation at Barking, and belongs to a distinctive group of early charters linked by the activities of Bishop Eorcenwold: see P Wormald, Bede and the conversion of England: the charter evidence, 9-11. The charter is also vindicated by H Edwards, *The charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, 132-7. The strictures of A Scharer, *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde im 7 und 8 Jahrhundert*, 129-41, are therefore over-severe. See also D Whitelock, *Some Anglo-Saxon bishops of London*, 5-10, and below, p14. I am grateful to Roger Bacon for allowing me to read the detailed discussion of the same problems in his undergraduate dissertation.
- 20 cf J Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon history*, 88
- 21 As first suggested by Wormald, Bede, *Bretwaldas* and the origins of the *Gens Anglorum*, 112. cf below, pp103-4
- 22 See C Hohler, St Osyth and Aylesbury, 63-4, 66; D Bethell, The lives of St Osyth

- 23 This argument is developed more fully in W J Blair, Frithuwold's kingdom and the origins of Surrey, 97–107, 231–6.
- 24 cf the papers of Bailey, Blair and Dumville in Bassett, *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms*
- 25 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 218. cf Campbell, *Essays*, 86–7, 113
- 26 For fuller discussion of these possibilities, see the papers by Bailey and Blair in Bassett, *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms*.
- 27 Drewett, Rudling & Gardiner, *South-East to 1000*, 288–90; A Clark, A cross-valley dyke on the Surrey–Kent border. cf also below, p181 n 23.
- 28 J C Russell, *The Tribal Hidage*, 197. This suggestion is not considered by W Davies & H Vierck, *The contexts of the Tribal Hidage: social aggregates and settlement patterns*, 232, 240, who prefer to locate 'Noxgaga' (5,000 hides) and 'Ohtgaga' (2,000 hides) in the Surrey region; however, Russell op cit, 203, suggests reasons for placing these tribes in South Wales. The suggestion of C R Hart (*The Tribal Hidage*, 147–8) that 'Noxgaga' = 'Woxgaga' = 'Woxinga' = 'Woccingas' (ie the inhabitants of the Woking region) seems over-speculative.
- 29 *VCHSy*, 1, 276–7. This misquotes the Burghal Hidage figures, for which a preferred version (1,800 hides to Southwark, 600 hides to Eashing) is given by D Hill, *The Burghal Hidage: the establishment of a text*, 86–7.
- 30 S 235; cf Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 69–71, and *PNSy*, xiii
- 31 cf Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 72–3; Hart, *The early charters of eastern England*, 120–2
- 32 BCS no 133
- 33 *Anglo Saxon chronicle*, 60–1
- 34 cf Gelling, *Place-names of Berkshire*, 3, 844, who suggests that it may not have been until after 825 that the south-east boundary of the Sonning province was selected as the shire boundary.
- 35 cf Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 439. Surrey had probably long been part of Winchester diocese, perhaps since the days of Cædwalla and Ine. It is possible, though not certain, that it had previously belonged to Eorcenwold's East Saxon diocese: cf *ibid*, 73.
- 36 H C Darby, *Domesday England*, 243
- 37 See R Mortimer, *The beginnings of the honour of Clare*
- 38 V Gibbs (ed), *The Complete Peerage by G E C* (London, 1910), 12.1, 494
- 39 See Mortimer, *Beginnings of honour of Clare*, 124
- 40 See W J Blair, *The Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory before 1200*, 110–12
- 41 DB 34c (XIX. 1–2). Recent excavations have defined the late 11th-century masonry building at Blechingley Castle as a double-pile, two-storey house resembling the first phase at Castle Acre: see D J Turner in *Archaeology of Surrey, 1066–1540*, 253–4, and Bird, Crocker & McCracken, *Archaeology in Surrey, 1985–6*, 139
- 42 See W J Blair, *Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory*, 104–9
- 43 For which see J F A Mason, *The rapes of Sussex and the Norman Conquest*
- 44 See D F Renn, *Norman castles*, 197–9, 187–9, 111, 291
- 45 See W J Blair, *William fitz Ansculf and the Abinger motte*
- 46 *VCHSy*, 1, 349–50
- 47 *VCHSy*, 2, 64ff, 77ff, 94ff, 107ff
- 48 For a fuller account of the Forest, see *VCHSy*, 1, 356–9
- 49 DB 32b (VI.5) and 30b (I.3)
- 50 *Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, 2, 56
- 51 *Rot litt claus*, 2, 56; *VCHSy*, 1, 358. For the 1226 disafforestation see H E Malden, *A History of Surrey*, 121
- 52 Brandon, *History of Surrey*, pl 18
- 53 Darby, *Domesday England*, 90–4, 127–32
- 54 R F Glasscock, *The lay subsidy of 1334*, map p xxvii
- 55 H E Hallam, *Rural England 1066–1348*, 81
- 56 Brandon, *History of Surrey*, 42–3
- 57 *ibid*, 43. A late 13th-century Addington man called himself 'Robert Timbermongre', and depicted a tree on his seal (SRO 2609/11/2/7)
- 58 *VCHSy*, 2, 263, 295–6; H Cleere & D Crossley, *The iron industry of the Weald*, 87–110; E S Wood, A

- medieval glasshouse at Blunden's Wood, Hambledon, Surrey, 54–79; G H Kenyon, *The glass industry of the Weald*
- 59 *VCHSy*, 4, 424
- 60 PRO, DL27/46, 25/105–6; Brit Lib, Cotton Ch.xvi.41
- 61 S 1165; S 235
- 62 S 1508; S 1511
- 63 S 528
- 64 See especially Malden, *The Domesday survey of Surrey*; J H Round in *VCHSy*, 1, 275–93; H C Darby & E M J Campbell, *The Domesday geography of south-east England*, 364–405; W J Blair, *Introduction to the Surrey Domesday*
- 65 *VCHSy*, 1, 275

Chapter 1

- 1 J E A Jolliffe, *Pre-feudal England: the Jutes*. K P Witney, *The Jutish forest: a study of the Weald of Kent from 450 to 1380 AD* develops Jolliffe's analysis of Kent, though unfortunately clinging to the ethnic preoccupations of *Pre-feudal England*. For some problems with Jolliffe's hypothesis see N P Brooks, 'The creation and early structure of the kingdom of Kent', 69–83
- 2 Jolliffe, *Pre-feudal England*, viii
- 3 Jolliffe, 'The 'Era of the Folk' in English history
- 4 For a convenient over-view see G W S Barrow, *The kingdom of the Scots*, 7–68
- 5 S Bassett (ed), *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms*
- 6 Campbell, *Essays*, 95–6; cf *ibid*, 110–16
- 7 cf HM Cam, *Manerium cum hundredo*; *idem*, 'Early groups of hundreds'
- 8 Cam, *Manerium cum hundredo*
- 9 Witney, *Jutish forest*, 35–8, 66–77; A Everitt, 'River and wold'; D Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes of the West Midlands: the charter evidence*, 48–50; Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, *passim*
- 10 The evidence for mother church/daughter church relationships will be found in Chs 4–6 and the accompanying maps; that for parish outliers surviving into the 19th century on the first editions of the OS six-inch maps. All pre-Conquest tenurial links, and all significant post-Conquest ones, are cited in Ch 2 below, or in *VCHSy*. Two previous attempts have been made to compile this map. G P Moss's map in D J Turner, 'Moated site near Moat Farm, Hookwood, Charlwood', 65 is accurate but less complete. Brandon, *History of Surrey*, 32 gives various Wealden dependencies of Ewell (omitted from the present map) on the dubious assumption that a group of Merton Priory holdings (listed in Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, f103) all belonged to this manor.
- 11 S 1165
- 12 *Huneuualdesham* of the 672 × 4 charter, identifiable with a lost location in Weybridge (*PNSy*, 98), was presumably the easternmost part of the estate, though there is no independent evidence that it lay west of *Fullingadic*. T E C Walker, 'Esher: the Fullinga Dic', tries to identify the boundary with an 'old ditch' crossed by Esher charter-bounds of 1005. This seems much too far to the east.
- 13 OS Surrey 25" 1st ed (1870), sheets XI.16; XVII.4,8,12. I am grateful to Shirley Corke for drawing my attention to the bank between Shere and Abinger.
- 14 Jolliffe, *Pre-feudal England*, 91, identifies the early boundary with Beverley Brook, on the east side of Kingston parish. However, Keith Bailey makes the following comment, based on his detailed local research: 'The western boundary of Brixton hundred did not, apparently, follow parish boundaries in the Mortlake/Wimbledon area, but ran along a line marked in part by the NE wall of Richmond Park, so that, although the Park included part of Putney and Mortlake parishes, these lands, which were open fields and uninhabited, lay in Kingston hundred. The boundary then ran roughly N-S across Wimbledon Common, passing near or through Bensbury. Most of the evidence for this comes from much later, but would seem to preserve the original boundary between the two early units.' (pers comm)
- 15 This was the Domesday hundred boundary, pre-dating the union of Banstead and Burgh as a single parish wholly in Cophthorne hundred (below, p154).

- 16 J H Harvey, *The hundred of Copthorne and Effingham*, 157–61; *idem*, Polesden: the name and the place, 161–4. Harvey has shown that the hundreds were ‘paired’ at least by the late 13th century; evidence for an older focal point in Copthorne hundred (below, p21), does nothing to show that they were ever separate.
- 17 W J Blair, *Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory*, 100 and n 23. In the 1230s Burstow was still regarded as part of Wimbledon for accounting purposes (Lambeth Palace Library, Estate Record 1193).
- 18 J Greenwood, *A suggested model for the settlement development of the Reigate hundred*, with special reference to Horley, (forthcoming). I am most grateful to Mr Greenwood for generously giving me a copy of his paper, written partly in response to an earlier draft of the present chapter, before publication; it has rescued me from several errors.
- 19 Jolliffe, *Pre-feudal England*, 91; Witney, *Jutish forest*, 40, 217–22; K Percy, *Limpsfield: interpretation of the Domesday Book entry*
- 20 S 1202
- 21 S 1508. Sanderstead and Lingfield were reputedly still linked in the late 10th century (Brit Lib, MS Cotton Vesp D. ix, f32)
- 22 S 1511
- 23 The Beddington/Croydon parish boundary is a straight ridge called Mere Bank. It continues south as a roadline around the west side of Sanderstead, passes through Caterham village and then joins the Roman road. Between Warlingham, Coulsdon and Caterham the line is marked by a substantial ditch (E Straker, *The intrenchment on Riddlesdown*).
- 24 For the Westerham estate immediately to the east, which runs down the Kent side of the boundary, see Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 79
- 25 As argued by D J Bonney, *Pagan Saxon burials and boundaries in Wiltshire*; *idem*, *Early boundaries in Wessex*; *idem*, *Early boundaries and estates in southern England*; A Goodier, *The formation of boundaries in Anglo-Saxon England*. The statistical basis of Goodier’s paper has not been widely accepted. T M Charles-Edwards, *Boundaries in Irish law*, gives Celtic evidence for the legal and magical significance of burials on boundaries.
- 26 J Morris, *Anglo-Saxon Surrey*, 145; L V Grinsell, *An analysis and list of Surrey barrows*, 38; *idem*, *Surrey barrows 1934–1986: a reappraisal*, 22
- 27 Grinsell, *Analysis and list*, 29–30, 34–6; it has not been proved that these are Anglo-Saxon.
- 28 Grinsell, *Analysis and list*, 43–5; *idem*, *Surrey barrows 1934–1986*, 28–30; J F Barfoot & D P Williams, *The Saxon barrow at Gally Hills, Banstead Down, Surrey*
- 29 Grinsell, *Analysis and list*, 50; *idem*, *Surrey barrows 1934–1986*, 24; P R Saunders, *Saxon barrows excavated by General Pitt-Rivers on Merrow Down, Guildford*
- 30 Grinsell, *Analysis and list*, 45–7; Morris, *Anglo-Saxon Surrey*, 136–7; B Hope-Taylor, *Excavation on Farthing Down*
- 31 cf Poulton, *Saxon Surrey*, 200–1
- 32 cf A T Thacker, *Some terms for noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England*, 210–13
- 33 S 1507
- 34 cf I Burrow, *Hillfort and hill-top settlement in Somerset in the 1st to 8th centuries AD*, which shows that at least 25% of Somerset hilltop sites were re-occupied during AD 0–700. For hillforts in Berkshire and the West Midlands identifiable as post-Roman foci, see Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes*, 57–66, and Gelling, *Place-names of Berkshire*, 3, 812, 823–4, 830–1
- 35 For the latest survey of Surrey hillforts see R Hanworth, *The Iron Age in Surrey*
- 36 Malden, Holmbury Hill and the neighbourhood
- 37 *Councils and synods, with other documents relating to the English Church*, 1, 49, 54–7
- 38 *PNSy*, 295
- 39 Brit Lib, Add Ch 23516 (land between Wedreshulle and Thondrefeld)
- 40 J McN Dodgson, *The place-name Burstow*
- 41 However, D J Turner, *Thunderfield, Harrowsley and Thunderfield castle*, (forthcoming), will suggest evidence for a Romano-Celtic religious site at Horleylands Farm not far away.
- 42 These names are discussed by Gelling, *Place-names and Anglo-Saxon paganism*; *idem*, *Early charters of the Thames Valley*, 150–1. See also *PNSy*, xii
- 43 cf Gelling, *Signposts to the past*, 125, 184–5

- 44 S 144 (757 × 96); S 280 (838)
- 45 BCS 421. I owe this suggestion to Patrick Wormald. See also Edwards, *Charters of early W. Saxon kingdom*, 286
- 46 *PNSy*, 63. Recent excavations suggest that Kingston may have been an island site in the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, cut off by a silting-up branch of the Thames (pers comm from excavators).
- 47 R Coates, Methodological reflections on Leatherhead
- 48 J H Harvey, 'The Mounts', Pachenesham: an historical note; cf below, p 101, for the site of the church
- 49 C Orton, Excavations at 32 Burleigh Avenue, Wallington, 1921 and 1976
- 50 S 1165
- 51 D Nail, The meeting-place of Cophthorne hundred. Mrs Nail demonstrates the importance of 'Nutshambles', but fails to show any evidence that it was ever the meeting-place of the hundred.
- 52 Jolliffe, *Pre-feudal England*, 43–7
- 53 Witney, *Jutish forest*, ch 2; cf the strictures of Brooks, Creation and early structure, 69–83
- 54 Jolliffe, The Domesday hidation of Sussex and the rapes; L F Salzman, The rapes of Sussex; D K Clarke, The Saxon hundreds of Sussex, and comment by Mason, Rapes of Sussex and Norman Conquest, 89n. Mark Gardiner comments (pers comm): 'I do not find Clarke's reconstruction credible; it seems to be an exercise in numerology. At least it is clear that Hastings of Domesday Book is a post-Conquest formation . . . The primary units may be correct with the exception of Hastings, but the secondary units I do not find very meaningful.'
- 55 S 235, 1165
- 56 S 1248; *DB* 32b (VI.1)
- 57 S 144; no Domesday hidation
- 58 Merstham (S 528), Merton (S 551, 747) and Send (S 1447) were each of 20 hides in the charters and TRE. Esher (20 hides in S 911) was in fragments totalling 18½ hides by 1066. In the spurious Chertsey Abbey list (S 1181), which may have some pre-Conquest basis, eight of the 26 manors are of 20 hides and six others of 10.
- 59 The evidence is not, of course, inconsistent with the more familiar arguments for five-hide units (cf Darby & Campbell, *Domesday geography of south-east England*, 373); it merely suggests that symmetry was on a larger scale than this.
- 60 This applies to Beddington (70 hides in S 1444, 815); Pyrford (16 hides in S 621); Thames Ditton (9 hides in S 847); and various manors in Ealdorman Alfred's will (S 1508). The 10 hides of Stratton (S 1511) were presumably absorbed into the TRE 40 hides of Walkhampstead.
- 61 Jolliffe, *Pre-feudal England*, 83–4; cf *idem*, 'Era of Folk', 9–14. On the meaning of *forræpe*, see, however, E Ekwall, Old English *forræpe*, which interprets it as 'land from which roots etc have been torn up', ie assart land. I am grateful to Mark Gardiner for the following Sussex references, which seem, rather, to support the translation 'land outside the rape': (a) grants to Lewes Priory, c1100 and c1160, describing land as *forsrap*; two holdings are said to 'owe no hidage nor any other service because they are of *forsrap*' (*The chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, 73, 118, 137); (b) Bosham, 1616/18, distinction between free land, customary land and *forrep* land (ESRO, Sussex Archaeol Soc Box 19).
- 62 S 528: 'pedan hrycg and æt lace þæt forræpe on þunres feld norþan an hid'. A R Rumble, The Merstham (Surrey) charter bounds, AD 947, 8, translates this as 'Peda's ridge and at the watercourse which detaches one hide to the north in Þunor's field'. But *þæt* can scarcely be a relative pronoun and *forræpe* can scarcely be a verb. Ekwall, Old English *forræpe*', 34–5, says that 'the *forræpe* is located on *þunresfeld norþan*' and that '*an hid* must refer to the *forræpe*'. However, a more convincing version would be 'Petridge and at Lake the *forræpe*; in the north part of Thunderfield a hide'. I am grateful to Brian Miller for advice on the grammar of this passage.
- 63 The main problems are the vagueness of the primary boundary through Reigate, Horley and Charlwood; the uncertain status of Mortlake and Wimbledon; and the vagueness of the border with Kent. On the last point cf Witney, *Jutish forest*, 40
- 64 Jolliffe, *Pre-feudal England*, 91
- 65 Woking 148, Godley 100, total 248 hides; Farnham 60, Godalming 97½, Blackheath 83½, total 241 hides

- 66 Witney, *Jutish forest*, fig 5; but cf the rather more cautious map in Brooks, *Creation and early structure*, fig 4.2
- 67 See Gelling, *Place-names of Berkshire*, 3, 815, 842
- 68 See *ibid.*, 3, 810, 842–3, 932–3. For the area north of the Thames generally, important advances are made by K Bailey, *The Middle Saxons*.
- 69 cf for instance the caveats expressed by Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 8–11
- 70 For the capacity of prehistoric communities to divide up territory on a large scale, see A Fleming, *Coaxial field systems: some questions of time and space*
- 71 See for instance several essays in S Bassett (ed), *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms*, and D Hooke (ed), *Anglo-Saxon settlements*; Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes*, 51–66; Gelling, *Place-names of Berkshire*, 3, 810, 842–3
- 72 See notably Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, *passim*
- 73 Poulton, *Saxon Surrey*, 216
- 74 For instance, Cuthwulf's capture of the *tūnas* of Limbury, Aylesbury, Benson and Eynsham in '571' (*The Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, 18–19; cf Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 27–8, and Campbell, *Essays*, 115) may have been considered important less because these places were significant in a military sense than because they controlled four contiguous *regiones*.
- 75 E Miller, *La société rurale en Angleterre (X^e-XIII^e siècles)*
- 76 G R J Jones, *Multiple estates and early settlement*, 26–35
- 77 See especially the recent criticisms by N Gregson, *The multiple estate model: some critical questions*. This and the accompanying rejoinder (Jones, *Multiple estates perceived*) provide a convenient survey of the literature to date. Cf Steven Bassett in Bassett (ed), *The origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms*, 20, for the view that 'the concept of the multiple estate should be rejected as unhistorical'.
- 78 *DB* 32d (VIII.18–22)
- 79 S 1165; for its authenticity see above, p178 n 19. For its contents see also Gelling, *Early charters of Thames Valley*, 148–9, and for the Chertsey forgeries (especially S 1181 and 1035) see *ibid.*, 151–2, 163–4. The text of Frithuwold's charter may contain corruptions; however, the consecutive statements that the main estate contained 200 hides plus 5 at Thorpe, and that it contained 300 hides in all, can be made intelligible by supposing that the monastery was given 95 hides when first founded c666, which Frithuwold increased to 300 hides.
- 80 The boundaries of the Chertsey property in fig 9A are based on the assumptions (a) that Frimley, originally as later, was part of Chobham; (b) that Byfleet was included in Chertsey; (c) that Windlesham, as later, was a Woking dependency and never associated with Chertsey. This reconstruction departs from the Domesday hundred boundaries only in excluding Horsell and Pyrford. Henley (ie Ash), in Woking hundred, was only acquired by Chertsey in the 11th century (*DB* 34a (VIII.30)).
- 81 S 1248; see discussion in Hart, *Early charters of eastern England*, 135–41, 144. For the authenticity of the Chertsey and Barking charters see above, p178 n 19, and Edwards, *Charters of early W Saxon kingdom*, 306–8
- 82 The outline plot of these bounds in fig 9B, which differs from the solutions offered in J G Taylor, *Our Lady of Batersey*, ch 1, and *PNSy*, 12–13n, has been amended in the light of comments by Keith Bailey.
- 83 S 235; see comments in Gelling, *Early charters of Thames Valley*, 150–1, and Edwards, *Charters of early W Saxon kingdom*, 132–7
- 84 S 1263: *DB* 31a (III.1)
- 85 S 382. Although the charter is a forgery these are probably genuine late 10th-century bounds. They are mapped in E Manning, *Saxon Farnham*.
- 86 N P Brooks, *The early history of the church of Canterbury*, 106–7
- 87 *VCHSy*, 4, 69, 83
- 88 S 1444. (The Archbishop here leases Beddington to Edward the elder, but refers to 'when my lord [ie Edward] first let it to me'.) cf comments of R Fleming, *Monastic lands and England's defence in the Viking age*
- 89 East Shalford, Chilworth and Tyting were already independent by the Conquest, while the Wealden parish of Alfold was also alienated from the main estate as a detached pasture of East Shalford. See manorial descents in *VCHSy*, 3, 72–127; D J Turner & W J Blair, *Manors and churches in Blackheath*

- hundred (forthcoming). cf below p31, for the breakup of the manor and p119 for the identity of the Domesday churches of Bramley and Shalford
- 90 *VCHSy*, 3, 10–16, 24–42, 45–9; *ibid* 111–21. Gomshall was in Shere parish, and parochial outliers (terrier, GLRO, DW/S/79a) suggest an early relationship between Shere and Albury.
- 91 U Lambert, *Godstone: a parish history*, 6
- 92 Three in Selhurst and nine in East Bramley (court rolls of 1485 and 1570, SRO, 212/15/1 and Acc 580 Box 5)
- 93 *VCHSy*, 3, 141
- 94 *DB* 30b–c (I.7,13,12). Edith's only other Surrey property was the relatively insignificant manor of Fetcham (*DB* 30c (I.10)).
- 95 Cf P Stafford, The king's wife in Wessex, 22–3; C Phythian-Adams, Rutland reconsidered
- 96 Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes*, 68–73
- 97 Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes*, 34–8, 97–106
- 98 J McN Dodgson, Place-names from *-hām*, distinguished from *hamm* names, in relation to the settlement of Kent, Surrey and Sussex, 31–3; for other types of name see *PNSy*
- 99 eg 'Isdem Haimo tenet in Totinges unam hidam de abbate de Certesy. Osuardus tenuit de rege E et potuit ire quo voluit. Ibi est unus villanus cum dimidia caruca et una acra prati. TRE 15 sol, modo 10 sol' (*DB* 33a–b (VIII.26))
- 100 *DB* 33a–b (VIII.24); other cases are 30b (I.5), 32c (VIII.4), 34b (XVIII.1), 36d (XXXVI.4)
- 101 eg 'Ipse episcopus tenet Codintone. Leuuinus comes tenuit. Tunc se defendebat pro 30 hidis, de quibus tenebat comes 20 hidas, et 10 hidas tenebant alodiarii villae . . . Modo de his 10 tenet episcopus 6 cum aliis 20' (*DB* 31d (V.19))
- 102 For a review of this problem, which suggests that Domesday 'ploughlands' record the number of actual arable hides existing in 1086, see J S Moore, The Domesday teamland: a reconsideration. But for a different view see S P J Harvey, Domesday Book and Anglo-Norman governance, 186–93
- 103 *DB* 36d (XXXVI.10)
- 104 *DB* 36a (XXI.5)
- 105 *DB* 30d (I.15)
- 106 *DB* 31b (IV.2)
- 107 *DB* 30d (I.13); cf *VCHSy*, 3, 146–7
- 108 *DB* 32c (VIII.7); cf *VCHSy*, 1,307, 3, 444
- 109 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Julius C. vii, f217
- 110 SRO, 2609/11/5/35; cf C R Hart, Shoelands
- 111 C Taylor, *Dorset*, 49–75
- 112 Gelling, *Place-names of Berkshire*, 3, 808–9; Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes*, 87–100
- 113 For which see P J Fowler, Agriculture and rural settlement
- 114 Survey of Thorncroft manor in 1629 (MM 5.28); these fields were already Thorncroft demesne in the 13th and probably the late 11th century (*PLDLHS*, 3.10 (1976), 324).
- 115 *VCHSy*, 3, 249–50; *PLDLHS*, 1.7 (1953), 18–19; map reproduced *PLDLHS*, 1.10 (1956), opp 21
- 116 See for instance P J Drury & W J Rodwell, Investigations at Asheldham, Essex; S R Bassett, Beyond the edge of excavation (and other works by the same author cited there). For comments on the present hypothesis regarding Ashtead see Drewett, Rudling & Gardiner, *South-East to AD 1000*, 272, and D G Bird, The Romano-British period in Surrey, 179–80
- 117 See Rumble, Place-names and their context, 173–5, who argues that these manors illustrate the imposition of bookland on the economic organisation of folk-territories. It is interesting that most of them appear in the list preserved in Chertsey forgeries S 420 and S 1181.
- 118 cf parallels from Kentish lathe organisation in Jolliffe, *Pre-feudal England*, 54–5. See also Rumble, Place-names and their context, 173, who argues for the confluence of parish boundaries around Banstead and Coulsdon that 'the logic behind this arrangement was . . . to allow the sharing of two areas of upland pasturage, the *dunland* of Banstead Downs and of Coulsdon (*Cuðraedesdun*) between neighbouring *hocland* estates'.
- 119 Some such arrangements would explain the celebrated reference to common meadow in Ine's laws: cf the comment in R A Dodgshon, *The origin of British field systems: an interpretation*, 76.
- 120 Aston, Origins of manor

- 121 S 1165; cf above, p25. *Geitinges* is Eaton Farm in Cobham (*PNSy*, 88). For the 'ten hides by the port of London where the ships come to land' see T Dyson, London and Southwark in the 7th century and later: a neglected reference. However, the subsequent archaeological discovery of the mid-Saxon *wic* of London along the Strand now suggests that the Chertsey land lay opposite it on the south bank.
- 122 Brooks, The pre-Conquest charters of Christ Church Canterbury, 248–50
- 123 Gelling, *Early charters of Thames Valley*, 156–62
- 124 Miller, *La société rurale*; Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes*, 68–9
- 125 Notably S 1181. See discussions of authenticity in Gelling, *Early charters of Thames Valley*, 151–2; Rumble, Place-names and their context, 168–9; R Fleming, Monastic lands and England's defence, 257–61
- 126 Brooks, Pre-Conquest charters of Christ Church, 280–312
- 127 *DB* 30d-31a (II.1–6)
- 128 Mickleham, Fetcham, Effingham and Wisley (*DB* 32d (VIII.20); 35a (XIX.19); 36d (XXXVI.1,3,5))
- 129 cf Miller, *La société rurale*, 121–2
- 130 *DB* 35a (XIX.23); W J Blair, A military holding in 12th-century Leatherhead
- 131 Byfleet, 8 hides (*DB* 34a (VIII.28)); Chertsey, 2½ hides (32d (VIII.18))
- 132 Egham, 3 hides; Chobham, 6 hides (*DB* 32d (VIII.21–2))
- 133 *DB* 31a (III.1)
- 134 *DB* 31b (V.1); C A F Meekings, The early history of Sandon Hospital, 81–2
- 135 Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes*, 34–8
- 136 Aston, Origins of manor, 65–8
- 137 Jones, Multiple estates and early settlement, 15
- 138 cf Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 175–9, 280–1, for conclusions which were arrived at independently of my own in these paragraphs, but point in much the same direction.
- 139 S 815; *DB* 34d–35a (XIX.15); 36c (XXIX.1)
- 140 S 1181. For 'paired' place-names see also Darby & Campbell, *Domesday geography of south-east England*, 366–7
- 141 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Julius C.vii, f189
- 142 Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, 130
- 143 S 911; *DB* 32a (V.25); 32c (VIII.7–8); 32d (VIII.16); 34a (X.1); 36d (XXXV.1). The holding listed 32c (VIII.7) was apparently Norwood Farm (above, p28), so the Esher bounds evidently extended into later Cobham.
- 144 cf Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, chs 5–6, and the present Ch 3
- 145 Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, 115–19; F W Maitland, The surnames of English villages

Chapter 2

- 1 P H Sawyer (ed), *Medieval settlement*, 2
- 2 *PNSy*, 341–9; it should be noted that these lists exclude fieldnames.
- 3 Poulton, Saxon Surrey, 198–201; Drewett, Rudling & Gardiner, *South-East to AD 1000*, 256
- 4 S 847; Gelling, *Early charters of the Thames Valley*, 162; *PNSy*, 90n. Cf the forged writ of 1058 × 66 (S 1137) referring to trees in 'Kingswood', Ditton
- 5 S 645; Gelling, *Early charters of the Thames Valley*, 167; *PNSy*, 14–15
- 6 Brit Lib, Add Ch 8139, Harl Ch 111.D.44; WAM, 1891. However, more than half of Penge was still common land at the time of its inclosure in 1827.
- 7 *PNSy*, 95–6; Brit Lib, Add Chs 5528, 5531–2
- 8 Fine, PRO, CP25(1)/226/12(281)
- 9 *PLDLHS*, 4.2 (1978), 31 and 37 no 25
- 10 Dodgson, Place-names from *-hām*, 15; Drewett, Rudling & Gardiner, *The South-East to AD 1000*, 294–6. For one extensively excavated site, which produced a small quantity of 8th-century material and a 12th-century farmhouse, see R Hanworth & D J Tomalin, *Brooklands, Weybridge: the excavation of an Iron Age and medieval site*.

- 11 *Bracton's note book*, 2 125–6
- 12 cf C R Young, *The royal forests of medieval England*, 87, 109
- 13 *Bracton's note book*, 3, 148–9 (case 1129)
- 14 PRO, E32/195 and E32/194
- 15 A H Smith, *English place-name elements*, 2, 102–3
- 16 PRO, E40/4055
- 17 See J A Raftis, *Assart data and land values*, 101
- 18 *ibid*, loc cit
- 19 WAM, 27392–27428; WAM, 27468–27481; *Chertsey Abbey court rolls abstract*. I am very grateful to Miss Barbara Harvey for the use of her transcripts of the Westminster rolls.
- 20 WAM, 27397, 27398
- 21 *Chertsey court roll abstract*, nos 256, 258; WAM, 27477, m1
- 22 The Pyrford evidence is cited by B F Harvey, *The population trend in England between 1300 and 1348*, 40–1
- 23 Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 124–64
- 24 *ibid*, 175–80
- 25 Dodgson, *Place-names from -bām*, 15
- 26 J Morris, *Anglo-Saxon Surrey*, 140–1. Note also the cemetery at the Goblin Works, Leatherhead: Poulton, *Saxon Surrey*, 214
- 27 S Piggott (ed), *The agrarian history of England and Wales: I.i: Prehistory*, 96–129
- 28 B Hope-Taylor, *Celtic agriculture in Surrey*. There is no inherent geographical reason inhibiting Downland agriculture: see MacPhail & Scaife, *Geographical and environmental background*, 47–8.
- 29 Rudling, *Downland settlement in East Sussex*
- 30 F H Thompson, *Three Surrey hillforts*, 296
- 31 J Morris, *Anglo-Saxon Surrey*; Dodgson, *Place-names from -bām*, 13–15
- 32 S 1508
- 33 S 528. See Rumble, *The Merstham (Surrey) charter bounds, AD 971*, and *idem* *Place-names and their context*, 165–6
- 34 See Gelling, *Latin loan-words in old English place-names*, 5–8
- 35 Rumble, *Merstham (Surrey) charter bounds, boundary – points 12–16*
- 36 *ibid*, *boundary-points 2, 4, 6*
- 37 S 753. Uncertainty surrounds this text, which evidently does not, as has been claimed (*Place-names of Essex*, 58–9), refer to Kelveden in Essex. The form *Cealwadune* is consistent with early spellings of Chaldon (*PNSy*, 42)
- 38 cf comments in Dodgson, *Place-names from -bām*, 13
- 39 *PNSy*, 43
- 40 Ex inf D J Turner
- 41 Rumble, *Merstham (Surrey) charter bounds*, 12–13
- 42 *PLDLHS*, 4.1 (1977), 9–11
- 43 G Hewlett, *Stages in the settlement of a Downland parish: a study of the hedges of Chelsham*
- 44 On principles of hedge dating, see O Rackham, *Trees and woodland in the British landscape*, 166–8
- 45 Excavation of a lynchet in field near Addington village and church dated the first ploughing to the early 12th century: L Thornhill, *Report on field work at Addington, Surrey, 1970–1972*.
- 46 eg at Punesherst in Leatherhead as late as 1316: a croft called Pynchonesgrove ‘ubi grava prius fuit assarta’ (*PLDLHS*, 4.8 (1984), 205 no 271)
- 47 *The cartae antiquae rolls 11–20*, no 620
- 48 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, f69
- 49 *ibid*, ff63^v–64
- 50 *ibid*, ff80^v–81, 143, 93
- 51 PRO, C52/31 (*Cartae antiquae roll GG*), no 18
- 52 For the later medieval topography, including a discussion of the bounds of Bandon, see H M Gowans, M Wilks & J Bray (eds), *Courts of the manors of Bandon and Beddington 1498–1552*
- 53 S 1444

- 54 *Calendar of curia regis rolls*, 2, 107, 248; 5, 111. Cf K W Muckelroy, 'Woodcote, or Woodcote Warren, Once a City, According to Tradition'
- 55 The phrase occurs in the Chertsey forgeries, which evidently use genuine pre-Conquest descriptions (above, p30–1)
- 56 Brit Lib, Egerton Ch 6132. I am grateful to Elizabeth Gardner for bringing this deed to my attention.
- 57 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Nero C.iii. f197c
- 58 Quoted in Sawyer (ed), *Medieval settlement*, 1
- 59 *ibid*, 2–4
- 60 A R H Baker & R A Butlin (eds), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles*, 380
- 61 Witney, *Jutish forest*; Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*
- 62 See for instance P H Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, 136–8
- 63 Maitland, *Domesday Book and beyond*, 13–14
- 64 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 84–5
- 65 J Morris, Anglo-Saxon Surrey
- 66 Dodgson, Place-names from *-hām*; J Morris, Anglo-Saxon Surrey, map, p149
- 67 Sawyer (ed), *Medieval settlement*, 4, 5–7; *idem*, *Roman Britain to Norman England*, 143–5
- 68 A H Smith, *English place-name elements*, 1, 90–1; Darby, Place-names and the geography of the past, 8–9; Witney, *Jutish forest*, 104–10; Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 49–52.
- 69 This problem is discussed for the Weald in general by Darby, Place-names and the geography of the past, 14–18.
- 70 However, Mark Gardiner (pers comm) comments that in Sussex '*denm* occurs more commonly than *The place-names of Sussex* would lead one to expect. In some areas, such as the north-western section of Hastings rape, it is the most common placename element in parish-, farm- and field-names.'
- 71 Darby, Place-names and the geography of the past, 17
- 72 *ibid*, 17–18; Smith, *Place-name elements*, 1, 276–7, 157–8
- 73 Smith, *Place-name elements*, 2, 18–22
- 74 S 1508
- 75 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Vesp D.ix, f32
- 76 S 1511
- 77 In this context it is worth noting the current excavations at Cranleigh Rectory, some 50m from Cranleigh parish church, where the pottery indicates initial occupation in the mid to late 11th century (ex inf J English).
- 78 cf Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscapes*, 111: 'It is in previously densely wooded areas that charter bounds become most often difficult to solve and quite obviously do not always follow modern boundary lines.'
- 79 Witney, *Jutish forest*, passim; J L M Gulley, The Wealden landscape in the early 17th century and its antecedents, 458 and map facing
- 80 *VCHSy*, 3, 201; below, p114
- 81 S 420, 752
- 82 S 528
- 83 S 815
- 84 Brit Lib, Add Roll 23023
- 85 S 1181
- 86 Canterbury Cathedral Library, MS E24, f154
- 87 For which see court roll evidence cited in H Lambert, The Banstead court rolls in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV
- 88 Greenwood, Model for settlement development of Reigate hundred (forthcoming)
- 89 See *VCHSy*, 3, 310. When Hamelin de Warenne confirmed Newdigate chapel to Southwark Priory as 'elemosinam . . . antecessorum meorum' (below, p129) he was almost certainly regarding it as a member of Reigate, Betchworth or Leigh church, all of which his ancestors had given to the Priory.
- 90 *VCHSy*, 3, 246
- 91 MM, 5777c, 5778, 5788, 5791 etc
- 92 MM, 5.28, f39
- 93 W J Blair, Medieval deeds of the Leatherhead district, Part IV, *PLDLHS*, 4.5 (1981), nos 112, 146–9
- 94 A W G Lowther, Ashted and its history, part 9, 88

- 95 Malden, Kingsland in Newdigate and Newdigate in Copthorne hundred
 96 Research in progress by Mr P J Gray (pers comm)
 97 Above, p51. Lingfield fails to appear in Domesday Book, presumably being included in the Sanderstead entry.
 98 D J Turner, Nutfield and the settlement of the Weald
 99 *DB* 30d (I.14). In the Surrey Domesday the terms ‘bordar’ and ‘cottar’ seem generally to be near-synonymous alternatives; see Malden, Domesday survey of Surrey, 469–70.
 100 *DB* 36b (XXIV.1)
 101 The proportion of serfs is the same in both cases (16%).
 102 cf, for Kent, Witney, *Jutish forest*, 116–18
 103 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 100
 104 *DB* 34c (XIX.1)
 105 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 109–10; *idem*, The early history of Horne: an addendum
 106 cf S P J Harvey, Evidence for settlement study: Domesday Book
 107 Heather Warne (pers comm) notes that Keymer and Ditchling, Sussex, shared a wood called Frekeburgh which was apparently kept as such until the Conquest, but subsequently broken up into assart plots by the Warenes.
 108 Brit Lib, Add Ch 24607
 109 Canterbury Cathedral Library, MS E24, f154v
 110 Battle Abbey Cartulary, Henry Huntingdon Library, California, BA vol 29, ff185–196v
 111 Analysis of Winchester pipe rolls for Farnham by Philip Brooks, in progress
 112 E Searle, Hides, virgates and tenant settlement at Battle Abbey; *idem*, *Lordship and community* 44–68; Brandon, Medieval clearances in the East Sussex Weald. An explicit Sussex example of 1121 is cited by Round, Some early grants to Lewes Priory, 67–8. Heather Warne (pers comm) notes a contrast between the large-scale clearances around Battle Abbey and the much more piecemeal, small-scale assarting of the central Sussex Weald.
 113 Witney, *Jutish forest*, 154–61; F R H du Boulay, Dens, droving and danger
 114 See Gulley, Wealden landscape, 411–12. A good mid 12th-century example, granting pannage in the wood of Blechingley to Lewes Priory, is printed in W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 117.
 115 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, ff135v–136. For a thorough discussion of residual droving and grazing rights in the Weald as a whole, see Gulley, Wealden landscape, 405–11
 116 Gulley, Wealden landscape, 307–19, 392–7
 117 E M Yates, A study of settlement patterns, 65–84
 118 For a summary of recent work on these problems see P Bigmore, Villages and towns, 157–69
 119 P Rahtz, Buildings and rural settlement, 58–63
 120 B Cunliffe, Saxon and medieval settlement-pattern in the region of Chalton, Hampshire; Fowler, Agriculture and rural settlement, 43
 121 C C Taylor, Polyfocal settlement and the English village; *idem*, Aspects of village mobility in medieval and later times. A synthesis of Taylor’s work is now available in his *Village and farmstead*.
 122 P Wade-Martins, The origins of rural settlement in East Anglia
 123 J Morris, Anglo-Saxon Surrey, 140; Anon, Saxon hut at Ham, 101; Orton, Excavations at 32 Burleigh Avenue, Wallington; Bird *et al*, Archaeology in Surrey 1976–8, 250. For an up-to-date map and discussion, with further references, see Poulton, Saxon Surrey, 198, 207.
 124 For an outline survey see also M O’Connell & R Poulton, The towns of Surrey, 37–51. See also Poulton, Saxon Surrey, 208–11
 125 Hill, Burghal Hidage, 86–7
 126 F Aldsworth & D Hill, The Burghal Hidage – Eashing, 198–201
 127 M Biddle & D Hill, Late Saxon planned towns, 84
 128 O’Connell, *Historic towns in Surrey*, 29–32; O’Connell & Poulton, Towns of Surrey
 129 Dyson, London and Southwark in the 7th century and later, argues that the *burh* was founded in conjunction with a rebuilding of London Bridge in c900

- 130 See D J Johnson, *Southwark and the city*, chs 1–2; *VCHSy* 4, 125–6. M Biddle, D Hudson & C Heighway, *The future of London's past*, fig 9, shows the possible perimeter of the *burh*.
- 131 This is discussed more fully, and the evidence summarised, in Darby & Campbell, *Domesday geography of south-east England*, 397–400.
- 132 For some archaeological evidence see Drewett, Rudling & Gardiner, *South-East to AD 1000*, 307
- 133 O'Connell, *Historic towns in Surrey*
- 134 On the rather complex town plan of Godalming, see O'Connell, *Historic towns in Surrey*, 25–8
- 135 O'Connell, *Historic towns in Surrey*, 19–23, 45–8. For Reigate see also M Beresford, *New towns of the Middle Ages*, 491; the first clear evidence for urban status is a reference to a burghage in a charter of Earl Hamelin de Warenne (royal inspeximus, PRO, C66/328 m13). Excavations on the south side of Reigate High Street have produced 12th- to 13th-century pottery (H Woods, *Excavations in Reigate*, 1974). See also Poulton, Cherchefelle and the origins of Reigate. For evidence of a Saxo-Norman, pre-town nucleus around the church, see Poulton, *Saxon Surrey*, 211
- 136 *Regesta regum anglo-normannorum*, 2, no 1768
- 137 Bird *et al*, *Archaeology in Surrey*, 1976–8, 238–9. See also O'Connell, *Historic towns in Surrey*, 11–14
- 138 O'Connell, *Historic towns in Surrey*, 35–9; Beresford, *New towns*, 490–1
- 139 *Cal Cur Reg Rolls* 16, 322; see also O'Connell, *Historic towns in Surrey*, 15–18
- 140 *VCHSy*, 4, 217–18; Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1212, ff64^v–65 (deeds of 1286); see also L Thornhill, *Croydon: a summary of work by the CLHSS on medieval Croydon*
- 141 W J Blair, *The early town of Leatherhead*, 3–5
- 142 W J Blair, *Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory*, 106–9
- 143 See especially B K Roberts, *Rural settlement in Britain*, ch 5
- 144 *ibid*, 124–7
- 145 See K Bailey, *Medieval Putney: a planned village?*, 1–8
- 146 *Brit Lib*, Add Chs 17278, 5572, 8811
- 147 SRO, 2609/11/5/35
- 148 Witney, *Jutish forest*, 139–48
- 149 Ewell: *Fitznells cartulary*, cxxiv–cxl; P Shearman, *Ewell in 1577*; C F Titford, *Medieval Ewell and Cuddington*; Shearman, *The topography of medieval Ewell and Cuddington*. Great Bookham, 1273 (*Brit Lib*, Add Ch 5569); Walton-on-Thames, 1316 and 1324 (PRO, E326/7976, 7802); *Chertsey cartularies, passim*
- 150 *Brit Lib*, Add MS 6040, nos 2 and 1
- 151 *Brit Lib*, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, f78
- 152 B K Roberts, *Village plans in County Durham*
- 153 *The letters of Abelard and Heloise*, 195
- 154 *Brit Lib*, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, f123^v
- 155 For the purprestures and diversion of roadways see J H Harvey in *PLDLHS*, 1.2 (1948), 8–10, and W J Blair in *ibid*, 4.2 (1978), 31–2, 37. For the manor-house excavations see below, p190 n 163. Curiously, but probably coincidentally, the planned settlement must have been very near the site of the ancient minster church and *villa regia* of Leatherhead (above, p20).
- 156 *Inquisition and survey* printed *PLDLHS*, 3.9 (1975), 292–7
- 157 *PNSy, passim*; almost every parish contains at least one or two isolated habitation sites recorded by, or not long after, c1280–1320.
- 158 *PNSy*, 349
- 159 cf Smith, *Place-name elements*, 2, 273–4, which notes the large number of compounds with personal names and comments that *-weorþ*, 'would not . . . seem necessarily to denote an enclosure for agricultural purposes, but it may have been one enclosing a dwelling . . .; it may well be that the *worð* was something like a *topt*, the small enclosure in which a single dwelling stood in the settlement'. Rumble, *Place-names and their context*, 175–6, suggests that in this part of Surrey *worþ*, reflects (mostly lost) habitation sites. cf Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon landscape: the kingdom of the Hwicce*, 47–50, who notes that in the West Midlands *worþ*, occurs 'in the more wooded areas of secondary development where relatively minor settlements were able to become parish nuclei'.
- 160 Dodgson, *Place-names from -bām*, 22–4
- 161 *PNSy*, 342–3

- 162 *PNSy*, 100, 239
- 163 A W G Lowther, A T Ruby & D Renn, Pachenesham, Leatherhead: the excavation of the medieval moated site known as 'The Mounts'; L L Ketteringham, *Alsted: excavation of a 13th–14th century sub-manor house with its ironworks in Netherne Wood, Merstham, Surrey*; H M Colvin (ed), *The history of the king's works*, 2, 950–2, and Bird *et al*, *Archaeology in Surrey*, 1976–8, 232–3
- 164 D J Turner, Moated site near Moat Farm, Hookwood, Charlwood, 57–87; Bird *et al*, *Archaeology in Surrey*, 1976–8, 240, 242
- 165 Bird *et al*, *Archaeology in Surrey*, 1976–8, 240–1
- 166 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, f93. For the moat (national grid TQ 295 440) see Turner, Moated sites in Surrey: a provisional list, 93
- 167 B K Roberts, A study of medieval colonisation in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire, 109–12; *idem*, Moated sites in midland England
- 168 D J Turner, Moated site near Moat Farm, 66. Since this section was drafted, an important general discussion of Surrey moats by D J Turner has appeared in Bird & Bird (eds), *Archaeology of Surrey to 1540*, 230–46.
- 169 See C C Taylor, The Anglo-Saxon countryside. The desertion of very small nucleations in response to the 'balling' process is possibly suggested by the units of one or two hides which supported small groups of peasants in 1086 but emerge as single farms in the 13th and 14th centuries (above, p28).
- 170 D Hall, The origins of open-field agriculture – the archaeological fieldwork evidence, 35
- 171 Wade-Martins, Origins of rural settlement in East Anglia

Chapter 3

- 1 H L Gray, *The English field systems*, 356–69; A R H Baker & R A Butlin (eds), *Studies of field systems in the British Isles*, 419–29.
- 2 K A Bailey & I G Galbraith, Field systems in Surrey: an introductory survey
- 3 For a fuller discussion see Baker & Butlin, *Studies of field systems*, 379–81
- 4 It would be impracticable to list all references individually. The main sources are: for the 13th and 14th centuries, PRO fines and deeds (CP25(i) and Ancient Deeds classes), Brit Lib and SRO deeds; for the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, surveys quoted by Gray, *Field systems*, 356–69; and for the 18th and 19th centuries, SRO inclosure awards and tithe maps and references in *VCHSy*. For an earlier discussion of this question see *VCHSy*, 4, 408–10.
- 5 For similar evidence for Kent, see Baker & Butlin, *Studies of field systems*, 402–5. It has been asserted that the Surrey Wealden townships of Charlwood, Burstow and Horley had common fields (D J Turner, Moated site near Moat Farm, Hookwood, Charlwood, 84, and sources cited there), but the first case is based on a misunderstanding of a document and in the others the evidence is late and equivocal.
- 6 W F Mumford, The manor of Oxted 1360–1420, 70–5
- 7 cf evidence for Kent and Sussex discussed by du Boulay, *The lordship of Canterbury* 131–3
- 8 Well shown on map in J H Harvey, A cartographical survey of the area: 6 the Middle Ages, opposite p103
- 9 eg Brit Lib, Add Chs 22795, 22723, 22747, 22866, 22851, 22764
- 10 eg Brit Lib, Add Chs 22758, 23046, 22847, 23060, 22859, 22873, 23040, 22733, 22833
- 11 eg Leatherhead deeds calendared *PLDLHS*, 4.2 (1978), 37–8; 4.4 (1980), 95–6; and a reference to the 'common field of [East] Clandon called le Southefeld' (*Chertsey cartularies*, 2, no 868)
- 12 1629 Thorncroft survey, *MM*, 5.28; *VCHSy*, 4, 109; Gray, *Field systems*, 361. Keith Bailey comments (pers comm) that 'there is some evidence of one larger field at Wandsworth (South Field) and Putney (Sixth or Thames Field), and only one common field at Battersea'.
- 13 *VCHSy*, 4, 409; for Hurtmore fields see also PRO, E315/41(106), 31(65), 42(125), 44(107)
- 14 Including 'Teynturefeld' (PRO, E326/9878, 9879, 9880, 9915), the 'small field' (E326/6665, 9913), and the Marsh (E326/6693, 9784, 9908)

- 15 PRO, E326/4352, 4876, 4879, 4880
- 16 PRO, E315/41(64), E326/4350, 9854–6, 9909
- 17 Gray, *Field systems*, 366–8
- 18 Malden, The three field system of farming in Surrey, 251–4. (I am grateful to Shirley Corke for pointing out that the inquisition which Malden ascribed to Abinger actually relates to Paddington.)
- 19 Bailey & Galbraith, *Field systems in Surrey*, 76, 79–80
- 20 R Sewill & E Lane, *The free men of Charlwood*, 8–9
- 21 E Robo, *Medieval Farnham*, 33, 123. In the 14th century there were also three-course shifts on the demesnes of Thorncroft (a lease of 1303 stipulating that after three years all fields are to have the fruits now in them: MM, 632, printed *PLDLHS* 4.4 (1980), 93–4 no 88) and Oxted (Mumford, *Manor of Oxted*, 75).
- 22 Brandon, *History of Surrey*, 41–2. cf the case of Westcott in 1392 (cited by Yates, *Settlement patterns*), where the demesne lay in numerous named fields but was subject to a three-course rotation.
- 23 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Faust A.viii, f157
- 24 Fox, *Approaches to the adoption of the Midland system*, 67–8
- 25 Brit Lib, Add Ch 22808
- 26 Bailey & Galbraith, *Field systems in Surrey*, 76–7
- 27 MM, 4706. I am grateful to Ralph Evans for this reference.
- 28 Bailey & Galbraith, *Field systems in Surrey*, 77
- 29 Thus at Thorncroft in 1629 the tenants of the manor had depasturing *in the manor's lands* in the common field (MM, 5.28 f40); there is no suggestion of comprehensive grazing rights there enjoyed by the whole township of Leatherhead. On the other hand, Keith Bailey (pers comm) notes that 'grazing arrangements at Wandsworth were later organised on a parochial basis, ignoring the division of the common fields between four manors'. More work is needed here on the later sources.
- 30 MM, 918
- 31 *Fitznells cartulary*, xxx
- 32 cf Baker, *Some fields and farms in medieval Kent*, 168–9
- 33 Brandon, *Common lands and wastes of Sussex*, 39–43; Gulley, *Wealden landscape*, 102–4, 319–22
- 34 This is clear from its survival to a much later date. Gulley, *Wealden landscape*, 364–6, points out that the individualistic nature of Wealden tenure did not preclude intercommoning on a large scale.
- 35 *Bracton's note book*, 3, 293–5 (no 1284); Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, f105. cf the similar dispute between Claygate and Thames Ditton in WAM, *Westminster Domesday*, f468^v.
- 36 H Lambert, *Some account of the Surrey manors held by Merton College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford in the 17th century*, 44
- 37 By c1300 the lord of Pachenesham Parva had several pasture here in la Hoke, la Upcrofte and le Brewer (*PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 232), and in 1288 the lord of Pachenesham Magna was enclosing his common pasture of 'bruera' in the same area (*PLDLHS*, 4.2 (1978), 37). For a detailed perambulation of Thorncroft common in 1450/1 see MM, 5734
- 38 *PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 228
- 39 Meekings, *Notes on the de Abernon family before 1236*, 173, n77; *PLDLHS*, 4.2 (1978), 34, no 9
- 40 eg common of half a virgate in Surbiton in the early 13th century (PRO, E326/4893)
- 41 Charter of Ingram d'Abernon, *inspeximus* in Pat R 11 Edw II pt ii (PRO, C66/149), m36; Brit Lib, Add Ch 5531–2
- 42 Charter of Gilbert d'Aquila, *inspeximus* in Pat R 11 Edw II pt ii (PRO, C66/149), m36
- 43 Goats are most commonly mentioned, as at Cobham in 1271/2 (Brit Lib, Add Ch 5547).
- 44 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Faust A.viii, f155^v
- 45 eg at Tolworth, 'unam dol prati in Pukemed sicut loth condonat . . . quantum pertinet ad unam dimidiam virgatam terre (PRO, E40/7275); and at Surbiton, common pertaining to a half-virgate (E326/4893). cf early 14th-century conveyances of meadowland apportioned by lot, eg *Chertsey abstract*, no 1085
- 46 eg *PLDLHS*, 4.2 (1978), 34, no 7
- 47 Bailey & Galbraith, *Field systems in Surrey*, 77–8, discussing the customal printed in *Register or memorial of Ewell, Surrey*, 135–8
- 48 PRO C143/271(20); Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, f125

- 49 W J Blair, A military holding in 12th-century Leatherhead
 50 *Chertsey abstract*, no 139
 51 *Manorial records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire*, 78
 52 Listed in Thorncroft court roll 1307 (MM, 5781, m23^v) as of the tenement of Giles atte Boxe; presumably half of one of Giles's two virgates of 1279 (MM, 5786)
 53 Listed in Thorncroft rental 1332 (MM, 5779d) as 'tenementum que fuit Johannis de Chereborgh' que est dimidiam virgatam terre': presumably John's half-virgate of 1279 (MM, 5786)
 54 Listed in Pachensham Parva rental c1300 (*PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 228–9); one of William le Malevile's two virgates, the other comprising 13 acres in Catebardene
 55 Gray was much struck by these irregular virgates and gives a large collection of examples (*Field systems*, 360ff).
 56 H Lambert, *History of Banstead in Surrey*, 69–87
 57 The key is MM, 5.28, a detailed survey with maps compiled in 1629. See Lambert, Some account of the Surrey manors, 41–6. The fields can be traced back from this to 13th- and 14th-century rentals; the most important earlier documents are MM, 5777c, MM, 5779d.
 58 Heather Warne (pers comm) notes a similar contrast in Ditchling and Keymer, Sussex, between (a) subdivided 16-acre virgates in open fields near the Greensand villages, and (b) compact virgates of 40 to 200 acres in the Weald.
 59 For which see B Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its estates in the Middle Ages*, 218–19
 60 Scutage at Thorncroft and Farleigh (MM, 5777c, MM, 4904) and tallage at Pyrford (WAM, 27469) were assessed on the virgate; at Merrow rents were imposed at a standard 1s per virgate (Brit Lib, MS Cotton Claud A.vi, f13).
 61 Wealden outliers described in Banstead customal printed Lambert, *History of Banstead*, 65–9. However, Mark Gardiner suggests to me that ferlings in the Sussex Weald (eg Brandon, Medieval clearances, 135–53) are 'in all respects identical to the virgates (or wists) elsewhere in the Weald; there is no evidence that they were fragments of larger virgates'.
 62 Searle, Hides, virgates and tenant settlement. I am grateful to Heather Warne for the information that Balcombe, Sussex, contained compact virgates, held of Keymer manor, of up to 200 acres per virgate.
 63 This is clear from a Hambledon deed of c1220, granting a recently-assembled holding, which is endorsed 'Ista carta tenetur pro dimidia virgata terre' (PRO, E326/8090).
 64 O Manning & W Bray, *The history and antiquities of the county of Surrey*, 2, 70; Malden, Villeinage in the Weald of Surrey
 65 Brandon, Common lands and wastes of Sussex, 50–2
 66 Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, ch 3, esp 71
 67 Canterbury Cath Lib, MS E24, ff153–6 for Cheam and Croydon; Lambeth Palace, LR 2068 (cited here from notes kindly provided by Keith Bailey) for Wimbledon
 68 P Woods, The parsonage or rectory manor of Godalming, and a 14th-century customal thereof
 69 Woods, On a 14th-century rental of the principal manor of Godalming with some remarks on coholders; note especially a tenant who died in 1357 holding a toft and 12 acres of land called *cotlond*. An interesting parallel for the house-plots is provided by Toddenham (Gloucestershire), where five *cotmanni* dwelt side-by-side in a croft apart from the other tenants (B F Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, 262n).
 70 Jones, Multiple estates and early settlement, 31
 71 *Register or memorial of Ewell*, 137ff
 72 W Hooper, Bondmen at Reigate under the Tudors
 73 This is best seen at Ewell; compare the names of tenants in the list of *iugera* with the 1411 survey and the reconstructed map of the village plots (*Register or memorial of Ewell*, 135ff, 169ff; *Fitznells cartulary*, opp cxxix). Two Leatherhead virgates are stated to have messuages adjoining those of other tenants (above, p73, and *PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 226).
 74 See especially the recent re-formulation of this view by Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, ch 2
 75 For which see Baker & Butlin, *Studies of field systems*, 393–408
 76 Baker & Butlin, *Studies of field systems*, 311, argue for a compact origin, but B M S Campbell, Population change and the genesis of commonfields in a Norfolk manor, 177–8, concludes that the *erlung* was generally fragmented.

- 77 Note, for instance, the frequency with which the same furlong names recur in the Thorncroft-Pachenesham Parva rentals, MM 5779d and *PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 224–33
- 78 B M S Campbell, Population change and the genesis of commonfields, 178
- 79 B Dodwell, Holdings and inheritance in medieval East Anglia
- 80 R V Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135*, 346–7
- 81 *PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 228–9
- 82 Fine, PRO, CP25(i)/225/3(93). (The plots had, however, been held by several tenants.)
- 83 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, ff 113^v–114
- 84 Brit Lib, Add Chs 24165, 23662
- 85 For exactly this process in relation to compact holdings cf below, p84; see also Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, ch 4
- 86 Dodwell, Holdings and inheritance for East Anglia; below, Ch 6, for Surrey glebes
- 87 Dodwell, Holdings and inheritance, 58
- 88 *Documents illustrative of the social and economic history of the Danelaw*, xxviii–xxxi (though in these cases it appears that both halves normally consisted of dispersed strips)
- 89 Fox, Approaches to adoption of Midland system, 86–8; cf Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, ch 2
- 90 Brit Lib, Add Ch 5556
- 91 *PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 228
- 92 MM, 5779
- 93 *PLDLHS*, 4.4 (1980), 94 no 91
- 94 *PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 224–8
- 95 *PLDLHS*, 4.7 (1983), 173–4, no 215
- 96 *PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 228
- 97 *PLDLHS*, 4.7 (1983), 177–8, no 242
- 98 Bailey, Medieval Putney, 1–8
- 99 Canterbury Cath Lib, MS E24, ff147–8
- 100 MM, 5786; the present summary uses related evidence from the court rolls to distinguish free from unfree holdings and eliminate outliers in Mickleham and Newdigate.
- 101 MM, 5779d
- 102 *PLDLHS*, 3.8 (1974), 226
- 103 cf the case of Aldenham, Hertfordshire, where ‘the insistence of the monks of Westminster of that period upon bringing to the surface all inter-tenant sales of land’ produced an illusion that the number of tenants had suddenly doubled (Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, 211n). The passing in 1290 of the *Quia Emptores* statute, which replaced subinfeudation with substitution, may have affected manorial policy. However, see also I Kershaw, The great famine and agrarian crisis in England 1315–1322, 40, who notes the fragmentation, under market pressures, of assessed holdings on St Albans manors during c1315–25, and points out that ‘by the 1330s tenants were willing to pay fines to have the rents and services of their disintegrated tenements properly apportioned’
- 104 *PLDLHS*, 4.4 (1980), 95 no 93
- 105 eg MM, 5781, m3, court of 1283: list of holdings seized for unlicensed alienation
- 106 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Claud A.vi, f13
- 107 *ibid*, f100 ff
- 108 At a court of 1291 (MM, 4904) the homage stated that half a virgate contained 16 acres, and that an aid to marry the lord’s daughter should be levied at a rate of 2s per virgate.
- 109 Rental, MM, 4890
- 110 Rental printed *Customals of Battle Abbey*, 137–63 (excluding outliers in Broadham and Prinkham)
- 111 For this process in Kent see Baker, Open fields and partible inheritance on a Kent manor; Baker & Butlin, *Studies of field systems*, 407–8. cf also Bailey & Galbraith, Field systems in Surrey, 77–9, on Ewell
- 112 eg Brit Lib, Add MS 6040(1–2) (Mitcham); *Fitznells cartulary* no 53 (Ewell)
- 113 PRO, CP25(i)/225/1–226/17
- 114 For which see Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, 107–15
- 115 *ibid*, 207
- 116 *ibid*, 212

- 117 For which see *ibid.*, 214–5. cf the case of Pyrford (*ibid.*, 301–2), where alienations of customary land were permitted, but subjected to increments of rent which caused the land in question to appear twice in the same customal.
- 118 For the same process in Kent, see A Brown, London and north-west Kent in the later Middle Ages: the development of a land market
- 119 Brit Lib, Add Chs 22727, 22728, 22730, 22783, 22801, 22809, 22967, 22990
- 120 Brit Lib, Add Chs 22976, 22978, 23002, 23050, 23677, 23678, 23684, 23685, 23687, 23688
- 121 Brit Lib, Add Chs 22723, 22724, 22763, 22771, 22772, 22821, 22927, 22942
- 122 *Fitznells cartulary*, l–lxxxviii
- 123 See *PLDLHS* 4.8 (1974), 203–19; W J Blair, Later middle ages (*Hist. of Leatherhead*), 49–51
- 124 For instance, he acquired property in Epsom by a fine of 1311 (CP25(i) 228/31(78)).
- 125 There is virtually no evidence for smallholders' flocks. But they certainly existed: the Thorncroft manorial accounts sometimes note the hire of sheep for manuring the demesne, including 120 sheep from John le Heyward and 420 from Gilbert Burgeys in 1343/4 (MM, 5758), and 160 from Gilbert Burgeys and 90 from William le Baker in 1344/5 (MM, 5724). I owe these references to Ralph Evans.
- 126 P D A Harvey, *A medieval Oxfordshire village*, 115–7; E King, *Peterborough Abbey, 1086–1310*, 116–17
- 127 This is very consistent with Paul Hyams's conclusion, drawn mainly from legal and manorial sources, that a villein land-market had developed in 'non-champion' areas by the 1240s and elsewhere by c1300 (P R Hyams, The origin of a peasant land-market in England). The market in free land would naturally have developed more precociously than that in villein land.
- 128 eg 'terra de Gretenese' in Blechingley in the 1140s (W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 117); half a hide called la Berne in Charlwood in 1199 (fine, PRO, CP25(i)/225/2(9)). A Titsey deed of c1148 defines an earlier holding as '10 solidatas terre apud Bradested' (PRO, C146/10365).
- 129 As at Oxted (Mumford, Manor of Oxted, 70–5)
- 130 Brit Lib, Add Ch 26728; fine, PRO, CP25(i)/225/5(47). Cf below, p195 n151
- 131 Fine, PRO, CP25(i)/225/6(83)
- 132 For instance: 8 acres land in le Slefhurst (Ewhurst, late 13th cent, Brit Lib, Add Ch 5564); 6 acres in my field called Rude as they are enclosed (Hambledon, late 13th cent, PRO, E326/8242); a piece of land in a croft called le Longeham delimited by metes and bounds (Wonersh, 1315, PRO, E326/6219)
- 133 Brit Lib, Add Chs 22941, 22943, 23005, 22926, 22942; his land scattered elsewhere in the parish is disposed of in Add Chs 22992, 22713, 22736, 22739, 22737, 22712.
- 134 Brit Lib, Add Chs 22958, 22950, 23038, 23049, 23051, 23693
- 135 Brit Lib, Add Ch 7598
- 136 *Inspeximus*, Chart R 14 Edw II (PRO, C53/107), m8
- 137 Fine, PRO, CP25(i)/225/2(15); Brit Lib, Cotton Ch xvi. 41
- 138 PRO, E326/8094, 8090
- 139 Two good examples in deeds of c1230–50 are PRO, E210/7208 (Shere) and E326/8082 (Hambledon)
- 140 Gray, *Field systems*, 368; fine, PRO, CP25(i)/226/12(314)
- 141 Abutments of 13th-century Wealden deeds often mention lanes leading to other tenants' 'doors' or 'houses'; eg Brit Lib, Add Ch 5934; PRO, E326/8082.
- 142 Gulley, Wealden landscape, 342–56, 364–6
- 143 T A M Bishop, Assarting and the growth of open fields, 13–29; see also general discussion in Baker & Butlin, *Studies of field systems*, 368–9
- 144 B M S Campbell, Population change and the genesis of commonfields
- 145 Baker, Some fields and farms in medieval Kent
- 146 R J Faith, Peasant families and inheritance customs in medieval England, 82–4, 95. The Borough English principle is formulated in a late 13th-century Beddington deed in which Thomas Colswain grants a curtilage to his son Hugh, with reversion to Hugh's brother Alan; if Alan dies without issue, 'volo . . . quod totum tenementum . . . descendet ad proximum juniorem filium meum vel filiam meam post ipsum' (Brit Lib, Add Ch 22958).
- 147 cf discussion of this in Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, 38–43
- 148 Fine, PRO, CP25(i)/225/9(198)
- 149 As in a Wisley fine of 1206 which defines components of a half-hide and half-virgate, scattered through a long series of fields, as the northern, western or southern halves (PRO, CP25(i)/225/3(67));

- and a Headley fine of 1218 which states that half a holding 'iacet versus partes boreales' of its component fields (PRO, CP25(i)/225/4(3))
- 150 As in a Wimbledon fine of 1248 where each of the five open-field strips lies next land of William fitz Peter (PRO, CP25(i)/226/13(323))
- 151 PRO, E326/8239; the depth of the new ditch was to be 'ad mensuram consued' patrie', the ditch itself to be on the grantor's land but the bank on the grantee's. cf E326/8243
- 152 Brit Lib, Add Ch 7599
- 153 *Chertsey cartularies*, 2, nos 702, 721, 820, 824
- 154 *Chertsey cartularies*, 1, no 359; WAM, 27473. For a third case see *Chertsey cartularies*, 2, no 676.
- 155 *Chertsey cartularies*, 1, nos 169–240, especially 173, 176–7, 195, 207–8, and 230. For a comparable group of assarts in Egham see *ibid*, 2, no 687
- 156 This distinction occurs at Egham as late as 1484 (*Chertsey cartularies*, 2, no 738), and is suggested in a survey of the Chobham glebeland made in 1331 (*ibid*, 1, no 77).
- 157 For the same process in the champion country see P D A Harvey, *Medieval Oxfordshire village*, 20–1
- 158 Brandon, *History of Surrey*, 42
- 159 Canterbury Cath Lib, Cartae Antiquae W 108–20
- 160 *Chertsey abstract*, 1, xxxiv and 2, no 1150
- 161 Brit Lib, Add Chs 23080, 22714
- 162 Fox, The chronology of enclosure and economic development in medieval Devon
- 163 Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, 155
- 164 B M S Campbell, Population change and the genesis of commonfields, 174–7, 191–2
- 165 Fox, Approaches to the adoption of the Midland system, especially his critique of the chronology first proposed by J Thirsk, The common fields. The same problems are discussed by J Z Titow, Medieval England and the open field system; Baker & Butlin, *Studies of field systems*, 650–3; Dodgshon, *Origin of British field systems*, 17–21.
- 166 For the general line of argument in this paragraph, cf B M S Campbell, Population change and the genesis of commonfields
- 167 Baker, Field systems in the Vale of Holmesdale, 15; cf Baker & Butlin, *Studies of field systems*, 416–19

Chapter 4

- 1 Until recently, the standard modern account has been G W O Addleshaw, *The development of the parochial system from Charlemagne to Urban II*, 4–11. The last ten years have produced a flood of new research on the minster system and its collapse. The most recent general survey is W J Blair, Secular minster churches in Domesday Book, which lists other work on 104 n1. There are other relevant papers in W J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches: the local church in transition 950–1200*.
- 2 M Brett, *The English church under Henry I*, 141–6
- 3 P H Hase, The development of the parish in Hampshire, 16–34. See also his article based on his thesis: *idem*, The mother churches of Hampshire
- 4 B R Kemp, The mother church of Thatcham; *idem*, The churches of Berkeley Hennesse
- 5 See for instance D H Gifford, The parish in Domesday Book. But a different emphasis, which the recent work tends to support, was expressed long ago by W Page, Some remarks on the churches of the Domesday Survey
- 6 Hase, Parish in Hampshire, 9–10
- 7 *VCHSy*, 2, 4
- 8 cf Hase, Parish in Hampshire
- 9 W J Blair, Secular minster churches in Domesday Book, 105–6
- 10 F Barlow, *The English church 1000–1066*, 188; cf W J Blair, Secular minster churches in Domesday Book
- 11 For the authenticity of the early Chertsey and Barking charters, and their relationship to each other, see above, p178 n19.

- 12 Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, iv.6 (1, 218–19); Brit Lib, MS Cotton Vitell A.xiii, f20. See discussions of the foundations in Hart, *Early charters of eastern England*, 117–22, and W J Blair, Frithuwold's kingdom
- 13 S 1165. Both R Fleming, *Monastic lands and England's defence*, and Rumble, *Place-names and their context*, argue for a genuine basis to the Chertsey forgeries.
- 14 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Vitell A.xiii, ff33–5; *Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, 116. The evidence is printed and discussed by W J Blair, *Frithuwold's kingdom*, 231–6.
- 15 For a general account see *VCHSy*, 2, 55–6
- 16 BCS no 133; F M Stenton, *Medeshamstede and its colonies*, in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, 186–7
- 17 S 144. The *Chronicle* entry under 779 (*Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, 53) is derived from this charter.
- 18 Fine of 1240, PRO, CP25(i)/226/10(229)
- 19 *Bracton's note book*, 2, 586–8. See also *Cal Cur Reg R*, 12, 310–11
- 20 Royal inspeximus, charter roll 14 Edward II (PRO, C53/107), m8; printed incompletely in W Dugdale, *Monasticum anglicanum*, 6, 382. Date: the witnesses include Amicius archdeacon of Surrey, appointed after c1190 (J le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae 1066–1300: II: monastic cathedrals*, 94), and Ives, archdeacon of Derby, in office c1189–98 (A L Browne, *The early archdeacons of Derby*, 52–4). The presence of seven witnesses who regularly attest for Godfrey bishop of Winchester (cf for instance Blair, 'Surrey endowments', p120) may suggest that this charter was executed under episcopal advice or pressure; Godfrey's confirmation of it appears in the same inspeximus. For Ruald de Calne and his family see C M H Pearce, *An account of the buildings of Newark Priory*, 24–32; *The 1235 Surrey eyre*, 1, 238–40
- 21 Compare Gilbert Basset's 'foundation charter' of 1182–5 for the Augustinian priory which superseded the old minster of Bicester (Oxfordshire), printed W Kennett, *Parochial antiquities*, 1, 186: 'Notum sit universitati vestre quod ego dedi et concessi Johanni priori de Bernecestre et canonicis ibidem deo servientibus . . . ecclesiam de Bernecestre cum omnibus pertinentiis suis . . .' In both the Newark and Bicester charters, the other endowments listed are odd collections of small pieces of land which might be interpreted as residual minster glebes.
- 22 P M Johnston, *Send church and the chapel of Ripley*
- 23 R N Bloxam, *The dedication of Ripley chapel*
- 24 The fine of 1240 by which Peter de Pirbright acknowledges the Prior of Newark's right to Pirbright chapel as an appurtenance of his church of Woking (n18 above) mentions an earlier grant of his church of Woking. But the royal manor of Woking was never in Peter's hands (*VCHSy*, 3, 382; cf *The 1235 Surrey eyre*, 1, 227); the 1240 fine had followed genuine litigation (a plea of last presentation), and it seems very likely that he had only 'granted' Woking church to the canons after failing to establish claims against them. However, a mysterious reference to an early 12th-century grant of Woking church by Ingram d'Abernon to Stoke-by-Clare Priory (Meekings, *Notes on the d'Abernon family*, 158) may hint at an earlier connection with Pirbright: d'Abernon was elsewhere a Clare tenant, and Pirbright first appears as a member of the honour of Clare.
- 25 Fine of 1258, PRO, CP25(i)/226/16(113); *Chertsey cartularies*, 1, no 92
- 26 Weybridge, c1200 (*Chertsey cartularies*, 1, no 87); St Martha's Chilworth, by 1204 (*Cal Cur Reg R*, 11, no 2753); and Wanborough, by 1262 (*VCHSy*, 2, 103; cf *Valor*, 2, 34)
- 27 *TPN*, 208 (values of rectory and vicarage combined); the text actually reads 'ecclesia de Farham cum capella', but there is evidence for chapels at both Elstead and Frensham before this date (below, p129), and 'ecclesia de Farnham . . . et capellis adiacentibus eidem' occurs in 1300 (*Registrum Jobannis de Pontissara*, 1, 105).
- 28 *Valor*, 2, 32; a fourth chapel, at Bentley, lay over the county boundary (cf n89 below).
- 29 Illustrated *VCHSy*, 3, 39. A 9th-century date is claimed for both pieces by D Tweddle, *Anglo-Saxon sculpture in south-east England before c950*, 35–6; this cites artistic parallels and illustrates the major piece.
- 30 *Sarum charters and documents*, 3
- 31 *The register of St Osmund*, 1, 203, 296–8
- 32 For the building see S Welman, *The parish and church of Godalming*; *VCHSy*, 3, 37–40; H M & J Taylor, *Anglo Saxon architecture*, 1, 258–61
- 33 *The register of St Osmund*, 1, 297–8; P Woods, *The parsonage or rectory manor of Godalming*. In 1291 the rectory and vicarage were taxed at a combined value of £50 (*TPN*, 208).

- 34 A survey of crown lands in c1552 (PRO, LR2/190 f237) notes that 'Laurencius Eliot tenet ad voluntatem unam capellam in Godalmyng vocatam Oldmynster cum cimiterio circumiacente' for 12p a (I am grateful to Christopher Whittick for this reference). Excavations at Tuesley revealed the footings of a small three-cell church (Welman, *Parish and church of Godalmyng*, 6; Poulton, *Saxon Surrey*, 204–5), marked on OS Surrey 25" 1 edn. The site is now marked by a modern statue of the Virgin Mary.
- 35 The later church, on the present interpretation, bears what would normally be considered the earlier dedication. Early dedications to the Virgin do, however, occur, especially for subsidiary churches, and her cult became increasingly popular from the late 8th century; see F Arnold-Foster, *Studies in church dedications*, 1, 41–2, and A Dornier, *The Anglo-Saxon monastery at Breedon-on-the Hill*, 160. Alternatively, it is possible that the dedication of the minster was transferred together with its attributes.
- 36 *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, 3, 617–20. See also Brooks, *Early history of church at Canterbury*, 197–203
- 37 Illustrated W E St L Finny, *The Saxon church at Kingston*, pl opp 212
- 38 *VCHSs*, 3, 487; *Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, 105, 122–3
- 39 John Leland's 'Collectanea', 1 (Bod Lib, MS Top Gen c.1), p67; printed *Johannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis collectanea*, 1, 70
- 40 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, ff59^v, 60, 66^v, 67; f99^v. The source for Leland's statement that Henry II appropriated Kingston church to Merton Priory (*The itinerary of John Leland*, 7–8, 85) has not been traced.
- 41 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, ff61^v–62. Richard bishop of Winchester confirms the early endowments 'sicut pie recordationis H quondam Winton' episcopus decessor noster ea vobis episcopali auctoritate confirmavit, in quibus h' propriis duximus exprimendi vocabulis: villam ipsam de Meriton etc.' The original presumably recited Henry's confirmation *in toto*.
- 42 Private Act, 9 Geo III cap 5; cf *Valor*, 2, 36. Kew parish was formed out of Sheen (modern Richmond) at the same date.
- 43 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, ff124–5; the men of Petersham are described as 'parochianos ecclesie de Kyng', and the chaplain of Petersham is to operate 'iure dicte matris ecclesie de Kyngestone integro remanente'.
- 44 Thames Ditton, now in Elmbridge hundred, was in Kingston hundred in 1086, but this fact is probably of little importance given the close administrative links between the two hundreds.
- 45 Both appear in the episcopal confirmation (n 41 above); see also *Plac Abbrev*, 50 (Malden), and *Bracton's note book*, 3, 467 (Long Ditton).
- 46 These paragraphs summarise an argument set out in full in W J Blair, *The origins of Leatherhead parish church*.
- 47 *Cartularium monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria*, 1, 1–4. This charter is heavily inflated, but the phrase recurs in genuine royal confirmations and agrees too well with the other evidence to be dismissed as a forger's invention.
- 48 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, f103. Merton Priory had acquired Ewell manor from the crown in 1158 (above, p48).
- 49 Gifford, Parish in Domesday Book, 252–8, concludes that *valet* applied to a Domesday church generally refers to the value of the glebe, excluding other ecclesiastical revenues. If Leatherhead church was farmed on the terms which she proposes as normal, a fixed annual sum need not necessarily have been affected by the disappearance of the building.
- 50 W J Blair, *Origins of Leatherhead parish church*.
- 51 G Dennis, Southwark, Hibernia Wharf; Bird *et al*, *Archaeology in Surrey*, 1979–80, 154. M B Honeybourne, *The pre-Norman bridge of London*, 28–9, points out the connection, though she unaccountably tries to identify the *monasterium* with St Olave's church.
- 52 J Stow, *A survey of London*, 2, 56
- 53 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Faust A.viii, f133^r; a late medieval hand has written against the entry 'per W Gifford'.
- 54 College of Arms, MS Vincent 46 (notes from lost Southwark cartulary), p113
- 55 It has been argued, very unconvincingly, that the Priory church incorporates the shell of a late Saxon minster with a westwork (J T Smith, *The pre-Conquest minster at Southwark*).

- 56 See J C Dickinson, *The origins of the Austin canons and their introduction into England*, 119–20; but cf criticisms in D Knowles & R N Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: England and Wales*, 174. The narrative sources associating the foundation with Bishop William Giffard and William de Pont de l'Arche are late though to some extent supported by charter evidence; the statement that Giffard instituted secular canons at Southwark (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 6, 171, derived from late medieval notes transcribed in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS D256, f197r) has no known early authority. References in the Bermondsey and Worcester Annals and by Matthew Paris to the foundation of the Priory in 1106 all derive from the Southwark Annals (not from Florence of Worcester as Dickinson states in the second case); see N Denholm-Young, *The Winchester-Hyde chronicle*.
- 57 See W J Blair, *Secular minster churches in Domesday Book*, 138 and n173
- 58 *Regesta regum anglo-normannorum*, 1, nos 301–2; Brit Lib, Campb Ch vii.1 and Cotton Ch. viii.10. These two 'originals', however, are forgeries: see M Brett, *Forgery at Rochester*, in *Fälschungen im mittelalter* (MGH 33, iv, Hannover, 1988), 403, 405. Rochester's later claim that Godgifu had given them the manor before the Conquest (J Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 2) was presumably baseless.
- 59 *DB* 66a
- 60 cf Gifford, Parish in *Domesday Book*, 162
- 61 It is curious, but perhaps merely coincidental, that Archbishop Baldwin chose Lambeth as the site of his proposed college of secular canons in 1188; see *VCHSy*, 2, 127, and Canterbury Cathedral Library, *Cartae Antiquae L* 129–38.
- 62 Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 119
- 63 The tentative identification with Warmington (Northamptonshire) proposed by Knowles & Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses*, 485, is etymologically impossible.
- 64 Information from John Schofield. I am grateful to Jeffrey West for the view that in its abraded state the fragment is almost impossible to date, and may well be much later.
- 65 For the problems of the 1082 and 1089 dates see R Graham, *English ecclesiastical studies*, 92–7. For the architectural implications see R D H Gem, *The Romanesque architecture of Old St Paul's Cathedral and its late 11th-century context* (forthcoming)
- 66 This was ruinous and used as a barn in the 18th century (*VCHSy*, 4, 169). It is mentioned in a deed of 1295 and a lease of 1502 (Brit Lib, Add Chs 23671, 23409). The site has been excavated and the simple plan recovered; burials associated with it were found in 1976, overlying probable mid-Saxon occupation and ovens (Orton, *Excavations at 32 Burleigh Avenue, Wallington*). K W Muckleroy, *Woodcote, or Woodcote Warren*, 42–4, is surely wrong in locating the chapel at Woodcote.
- 67 Brooks, *Early history of church of Canterbury*, 106–7; *DB* 30d (II.1)
- 68 BCS, no 328
- 69 S 1511
- 70 In 1291 the rectory and vicarage were taxed at a combined value of £50 (*TPN*, 208); cf *Valor*, 2, 59. All churches in Croydon deanery were peculiars of the see of Canterbury.
- 71 *VCHSy*, 4, 288–90; notes about the manor and advowson in PRO, E41/330 (late medieval collection of deed transcripts)
- 72 S 1511
- 73 'Wolcensted' is the usual late medieval spelling, and 'Strættune' is probably Stratton in Godstone parish: *PNSy*, 319–20.
- 74 It is an odd coincidence, but probably no more, that yet another Augustinian house, Tandridge Priory, was founded nearby in the late 12th century (*VCHSy*, 2, 112).
- 75 For such an argument applied to one county see Hase, *Parish in Hampshire*, 13; for the ways in which patronage of minsters may have utilised existing systems of secular obligation, see J Campbell (ed), *The Anglo-Saxons*, 61
- 76 cf C R Hart, *Early charters of eastern England*, 117–22
- 77 F M Stenton, *Medeshamstede and its colonies*, 182; Dornier, *The Anglo-Saxon monastery at Breedon-on-the-Hill*, 157–8; W J Blair, *Frithuwold's kingdom*, 105–6
- 78 Dornier, *Anglo-Saxon monastery at Breedon*, 159–60
- 79 See the various papers by J Haslam, especially his *Parishes, churches, wards and gates in eastern London*, 35–43
- 80 Thus the striking concentration of minsters in East Kent (Gifford, Parish in *Domesday Book*, 145–54;

- Barlow, *English church 1000–1066*, 181) is clearly due to the ecclesiastical importance of Canterbury. It is worth stressing the abnormality of this much-quoted example.
- 81 Hase, Parish in Hampshire, 1–3, 38–40; Page, Remarks on churches of Domesday Survey, 79–83 (and for Sussex see also W Hudson, The ancient deaneries of the Diocese of Chichester); O J Reichel, The church and the hundreds of Devon. See also W J Blair, Secular minster churches in Domesday Book, 118–19 and n56
- 82 See comments in J Campbell (ed), *Essays in Anglo-Saxon history*, 140–2, and the evidence for settlement growth within monastic precincts discussed by W J Blair, Minster churches in the landscape, 47–50.
- 83 This is close to the position in Hampshire, where Hase (Parish in Hampshire, 1) concludes that even in the 8th century nowhere was more than six miles from a church.
- 84 See W J Blair, Secular minster churches in Domesday Book
- 85 *ibid*, 113–14
- 86 *ibid*, 124–6
- 87 *VCHBucks*, 1, 266b; *VCHBeds*, 1, 227b, 264a
- 88 J le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae anglicanae 1066–1300: I: St Paul's Cathedral*, 69; this Osbern was succeeded in the prebend by his son Robert de Auco, who first appears as a canon in 1111/2.
- 89 *VCHSussex*, 1, 393a, 395b, 406a; this last entry relates to a royal charter of 1070/1, falsified in its present form, which confirms a gift to Battle Abbey by Osbern son of Hugh de Eu, with the consent of his lord the count of Eu (*Regesta regum anglo-normannorum*, 2, addenda, 391, no 59a). Land at Bentley held of the bishop of Winchester by Osbern in 1086 (*VCHHants*, 1, 463b) was probably the half-hide in Hampshire mentioned in the Domesday entry for Farnham church (cf. note 28 above).
- 90 On Regenbald, and this kind of ecclesiastical pluralist generally, see J Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon history*, 149–50; W J Blair, Secular minster churches in Domesday Book
- 91 This interpretation of Domesday *valet* proposed by Gifford, Parish in Domesday Book, 254–8, seems convincing, though it need not be confined, as she implies, to episcopal churches.
- 92 Cf Gifford, Parish in Domesday Book, 187–8. Even in so late a source as the 1291 taxation, the former minsters are notable for their high valuations. For mother church glebes see Gifford, Parish in Domesday Book, 159–62; Hase, Parish in Hampshire 37–8
- 93 For the central argument of this section see W J Blair, Secular minster churches in Domesday Book, 131–7
- 94 Hase, Parish in Hampshire, 181ff; *idem*, The mother churches of Hampshire
- 95 See A R Dufty, The parish church of St Andrew, Farnham
- 96 Plan in *VCHSy*, 3, 509; see also Finny, Saxon church at Kingston. Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 2, 353, are surely wrong in calling the chapel Anglo-Saxon.
- 97 *Itinerary of John Leland*, 7–8, 85
- 98 WAM, 1836
- 99 PRO, E40/14192, a Lewes Priory deed calendared L F Salzman, *Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, 2, 99–100. Lewes probably acquired Stoke church during 1148 × 59 (W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory). Was ‘Gilebertus decanus’ the rural dean or dean of a college? Brett, *Church under Henry I*, 213, sees no antecedents to English rural deaneries, but the possibility of some institutional continuity in cases where old minsters became the head churches of deaneries would be worth pursuing.
- 100 See D M Robinson, *The geography of Augustinian settlement in England and Wales*, 174–7
- 101 M Chibnall, Monks and pastoral work: a problem in Anglo-Norman history, minimises the pastoral involvement of monks. But for a vigorous statement of the alternative view see G Constable, Monasteries, rural churches and the *cura animarum* in the early Middle Ages, 349–89
- 102 Which might, for instance, include compulsory visits to the mother church on certain feast-days
- 103 Such as suggested by Gifford, Parish in Domesday Book, 274–5
- 104 Thus there is no likelihood of a pre-Conquest origin for any of the pensions or portions in the Surrey sections of *TPN* or *Valor*. Enforcement of burial in the mother-church cemetery is only recorded in cases of chapelries of late foundation (Windlesham to Woking, p95 above) or within the same estate (Chobham to Chertsey, p155 below). Contrast Hase, Parish in Hampshire, *passim*; Kemp, Mother church of Thatcham; and Churches of Berkeley Herness; several papers in W J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches*.

- 105 Contrast the west-country evidence in Gifford, Parish in Domesday Book, 97–100, and R W Dunning, *The minster at Crewkerne*, 63–7
- 106 Richard fitz Gilbert's grant of two-thirds demesne tithe-portions (below, p148), must have harmed it considerably.
- 107 cf the examples of minster authority linked with tenurial unity cited Brett, *Church under Henry I*, 223

Chapter 5

- 1 Eadgar II.2; see Hase, Parish in Hampshire, 25–7
- 2 FM Stenton, *The thriving of the Anglo-Saxon ceorl*, 383–93
- 3 The best general account remains that of Lennard, *Rural England*, ch 10. Gifford, Parish in Domesday Book, provides a meticulous analysis of all the Domesday data for churches. See also W J Blair, *Local churches in Domesday Book and before*
- 4 Miller & Hatcher, *Medieval England*, 107
- 5 VH Galbraith, *The making of Domesday Book*
- 6 For the rest of this paragraph and the next two, see Gifford, Parish in Domesday Book, 91–117, and W J Blair, *Local churches in Domesday Book and before*
- 7 Gifford, Parish in Domesday Book, 91–6
- 8 Lennard, *Rural England*, 293–4, and evidence cited there
- 9 Lingfield and Sanderstead; probably Wotton, Thursley and Godstone; and perhaps Thorncroft and Blechingley
- 10 *Reg Pontissara*, 606–9
- 11 *TPN*, 206–9
- 12 E Fernie, *The architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, 171
- 13 R Gem, *The English parish church in the 11th and 12th centuries: a great rebuilding?*, 21–30
- 14 Poverty and decay in the early modern period, followed by Victorian prosperity and suburban growth, resulted in the rebuilding or savage restoration of many Surrey churches, often those which had retained their early form most completely and were hence small and inconvenient. The main collections of drawings used here are those in the Minet Library (Petrie, Porden and Hassell), Bodleian Library (Hussey), and British Library (extra-illustrated Manning & Bray, *History of Surrey*, shelfmark Crack.1.Tab.1.b.1).
- 15 cf Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England*, 91–3; R Morris, *The church in British archaeology*, 19–48
- 16 B Cherry, *Ecclesiastical architecture*, 156–8. On Canterbury cf, however, Brooks, *Early history of church of Canterbury*, 16–22
- 17 W Rodwell & K Rodwell, *Historic churches: a wasting asset*
- 18 W J Blair, *Churches*, in A A Jackson (ed), *Ashtead: a village transformed*, 117–18
- 19 K Cameron, *Eccles in English place-names; Gelling, Latin loan-words*
- 20 This is the correct reading of the MS (a 13th-century cartulary copy, Brit Lib MS Cotton Claud B. vi, f55), misspelt in the *PNSy* analysis.
- 21 An alternative interpretation, but one which spaces the boundary-points less evenly, would be to place *mylen felda* near modern Millbrook; this would leave *eeceles hamme* at the north-west corner of Horsell parish, further but still not very far from Bisley church. This site, nearer the river, would suggest a rendering of *hamme* as 'meadow' rather than 'enclosure' (but cf above, p46).
- 22 *DB* 32d (VIII.22). No early details remain in the simple aisleless nave, but a watercolour (Brit Lib Crack.1.Tab.1.b.1, vol xviii, before p 190) shows a round-headed north door.
- 23 In a compound minor name such as this the derivation from *eclesia* is not conclusive, though the most likely. cf *eeceles beorb*, in an area of Iron Age occupation on the Berkshire Downs, in charter bounds which also include a *balige stowe* (Gelling, *Place-names of Berkshire*, 3, 682–3, 686)
- 24 *VCHSy*, 3, 398. cf now the discussion of holy wells in Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 296–300.

- 25 Arnold-Foster, *Studies in dedications*, 2, 509–11, 559–60; *PNSy*, 244–5
- 26 Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 196–8
- 27 *DB* 30c (I. 12–13). For Shere see *VCHSy*, 2, 434; 3, 117–21; for Dorking see W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 104–5
- 28 *VCHSy*, 3, 240. The early name of Reigate, *Cherchefelle*, might mean ‘church field’, though variant spellings make this etymologically unlikely (see *PNSy*, 281–2). The earliest written reference to the church is in 1106 or soon after (below, p146). For excavated evidence for 11th- and 12th-century occupation near Reigate church, see Poulton, Excavations on the site of the Old Vicarage, Church Street, Reigate, 1977–82, Part 1, Saxo-Norman and earlier discoveries, 25–36. (This publishes an orientated burial, some 300 m north-west of the church, which could be a remnant of a Christian Anglo-Saxon cemetery.)
- 29 Reigate church was later appropriated to Southwark Priory, which had 87 acres in demesne and numerous tenant holdings there in c1300 (Brit Lib, MS Cotton Faust A.viii, ff155–7). For Shalford rectory manor see *VCHSy*, 3, 110. The glebe of Shere church was 80 acres in 1535 (*Valor*, 2, 29), and would have been much bigger if the glebes of Cranleigh (below, p139) and Ewhurst (32 acres, *Valor*, 2, 30) were partitioned from it. The 1291 values were: Dorking £66 13s 4d, Reigate £18 16s 8d, Shalford £36 13s 4d, Shere £23 6s 8d (*TPN*, 208).
- 30 For excavations at Wotton see D J Fowler, Wotton: excavations at St John’s church; J B Thomas (ed), *St John’s Wotton*. The excavator interprets the present west tower as the axial tower of an early Norman church, later extended eastwards and with the original nave demolished. However, inspection of the standing fabric suggests that the tower is built up against the west end of an earlier nave, the west wall of which, pierced by a Norman arch, survives as the east wall of the tower. On this hypothesis, all four nave walls (including the chancel-arch wall) are 70–72cm thick and may therefore be pre-Conquest.
- 31 *TPN*, 208. For Barnes as a chapel of Wimbledon see below, p204 n117; Putney and Mortlake chapels are both late medieval.
- 32 *TPN*, 208
- 33 *VCHSy*, 3, 456
- 34 Inexplicably, it was established in 1279 that tithes at Ottershaw, deep in Chertsey Abbey territory, were due to the rector of Walton-on-Thames in the right of his church (*Chertsey cartularies*, I, 95)
- 35 *DB* 35b (XIX.26), 34d (XIX.11), 35a (XIX.23), 35a-b (XIX.24)
- 36 cf H Cam, The ‘private’ hundred in England before the Norman Conquest
- 37 For parallel cases in Hampshire, linked with the appearance of ecclesiastical franchise hundreds, see Hase, Parish in Hampshire, 293–308
- 38 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Vesp D.ix, f32
- 39 See M Deanesly, The late Old English church: bishops and pastoral care
- 40 Great Bookham, *DB* 32d (VIII.17); Chobham, *DB* 32d (VIII.22); Coulsdon, *DB* 32c (VIII.2); Epsom, *DB* 32c (VIII.9); Petersham, *DB* 32d (VIII.14); Sutton, *DB* 32c (VIII.3); Tooting, *DB* 33a-b (VIII.25); Waddington, *DB* 32c (VIII.1)
- 41 East Clandon, *DB* 34a (VIII.29); Cobham, *DB* 32c (VIII.6); Malden, *DB* 32d (VIII.13); East Molesey, *DB* 35b (XIX.30)
- 42 In neither case is there any other candidate for the second church. For Ewell, see *VCHSy*, 3, 283. The first subsequent reference is in each case in 1176 (*Papsturkunden in England*, 406).
- 43 Waddington church was a chapel of Coulsdon in 1291 (*TPN*, 207), disused by the 16th century and destroyed in c1780 (*VCHSy*, 4, 205). It is probably identifiable with a building excavated in 1966, associated with burials and with pottery spanning the 12th to mid 14th centuries. ([Anon], The search for the ‘lost’ village of Watendone; D J Turner, Medieval pottery from Watendone, Kenley)
- 44 See Ketteringham, Excavations at the church of St John the Evangelist, Coulsdon. The original walls were only 76cm thick.
- 45 The nave of Great Bookham church, which has plain single-splayed windows in walls only 76cm thick, might also be pre-Conquest; see Johnston, Great Bookham church, and Renn, The early church at Great Bookham, which suggests that the shell of the chancel is contemporary with the nave, possibly with an axial tower. Except at Tooting, there is no evidence in churches of this group of

substantial Norman work which would suggest a post-Conquest but pre-Domesday building.

- 46 *Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, 215.
- 47 *DB* 30d–31a (II.3)
- 48 *DB* 30d (II.1)
- 49 *DB* 31a (II.5)
- 50 *DB* 30d (II.2)
- 51 *DB* 31a (II.6)
- 52 *DB* 31a (II.4)
- 53 S 1641
- 54 Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 1, 153–4; D H Farmer, *The Oxford dictionary of saints*, 113
- 55 Made 1746, reproduced C J Marshall, *A history of the old villages of Cbeam and Sutton*, 23
- 56 The tower is built of small flint rubble, with a capping-course of dressed blocks, surmounted by later heightening. One standard single-splayed window (illustrated fig 30) remains in the west wall. A high early arch is said to have existed between tower and nave (*VCHSy*, 3, 351–2). For an excavated Sussex parallel for this unusual plan see O Bedwin, *The excavation of the church of St Nicholas, Angmering*, 1974.
- 57 On other monastic and episcopal properties in the county, even relatively valuable ones, churches are conspicuously lacking. cf the manors of Westminster Abbey (*DB* 32b (VI.2–3)); Barking Abbey (*DB* 34a (XII.1–2)); the bishop of Exeter (*DB* 31a-b (IV.1)); St Paul's Cathedral (*DB* 34a (XIII.1), 30d (II.3)); Hyde Abbey (*DB* 32b–c (VII.1)); and the bishop of Winchester (*DB* 31a (III.1)). At Farnham the minster had of course existed from an earlier period (above, p97), while the Hyde Abbey churches of Sanderstead and Lingfield (neither mentioned by Domesday Book) had apparently existed before Hyde acquired the manors (above, p114).
- 58 Churches are mentioned on Harold's manors at Merton, Limpsfield and Bermondsey (*DB* 30b (I.5); 34a (XI.1); 30b (I.4); but see above, p102 for Bermondsey). At Wotton, Domesday probably omits a church (above, p113). The only churches listed on former manors of Swein and Leofwine were at Gatton (but cf below, p122) and Wanborough (*DB* 31c-d (V.11); 36b (XXV.3)).
- 59 *DB* 36b (XXIV.1); 34b (XV.1)
- 60 For Witley, see Johnston, *An early window and wall paintings in Witley church*, and the same author's articles on Thursley; Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 2, 676–8. The wall paintings are discussed by D Park, *The Romanesque wall paintings of All Saints' church, Witley, Surrey*, the critical evidence being presented on 158 and 164–5. For Thursley see Johnston, *The church of Witley and Thursley chapel-of-ease*, and *idem*, *Witley and Thursley churches: recent discoveries*; Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 2, 916–18
- 61 Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 252
- 62 Godstone, Addington and Tooting (*DB* 34b (XV.2); 36d (XXXIV.1); 33a-b (VIII.26)). See above, p103 for Godstone minster; Addington and Tooting churches were probably Norman foundations (below, pp124, 122).
- 63 Malden and Streatham (*DB* 35a (XIX.23); 34d (XIX.11)) had chapels, but the latter case was probably a post-Conquest foundation by the monks of Bec who held the manor of Richard fitz Gilbert.
- 64 Long Ditton and Ockham (*DB* 35a (XIX.21); 35d (XIX.45))
- 65 *DB* 34d–35a (XIX.15–16); 35c (XIX.36); 34d (XIX.6, not named but identified from later descent); 34a (VIII.30))
- 66 The manors ascribed to Azur which lack churches are at Walton-on-Thames, Effingham and Hambledon (*DB* 36b (XXVII.1); 35d (XIX.44); 36b (XXVII.2)).
- 67 See Johnston, *Albury old church*; Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 1, 19–20
- 68 He is discussed by C A R Radford, *The church of St Mary, Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey*, 171.
- 69 *DB* 36a (XXII.1)
- 70 *DB* 36b (XXII.5)
- 71 *DB* 35b (XIX.32)
- 72 *DB* 31c (V.10)
- 73 Johnston, *Stoke D'Abernon church*; *idem*, *Stoke D'Abernon church: some recent discoveries*; Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 2, 573–4

- 74 Radford, Church of St Mary, Stoke D'Abernon. The comparisons made here with early Kentish apses have little weight; whereas the long-and-short quoins which formerly existed on the west corners of the nave are a specifically 10th- or 11th-century feature (Fernie, *Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, 144–5).
- 75 Radford, Church of Stoke D'Abernon
- 76 See photograph in *VCHSy*, 3, opp 22. Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 1, 172, are unaccountably sceptical; the tower, with rubble quoins and windows with non-radial rubble voussoirs, adjoins (possibly as a later addition) a high, thin-walled nave.
- 77 The early Norman tower is butted up against an earlier nave with walls only 80cm thick; see Johnston, West Horsley church.
- 78 *VCHSy*, 1, 282–3. Mortimer, Beginnings of honour of Clare, 125, seems unnecessarily cautious about the identity of 'Alnod': the suffix 'cild' suggests that the Surrey man was of notable importance.
- 79 *DB* 34c (XIX.2)
- 80 *DB* 34c (XIX.1)
- 81 *DB* 31c (V.8)
- 82 *DB* 34d (XIX.5)
- 83 *DB* 34d (XIX.14)
- 84 *DB* 31b (V.1a)
- 85 The nave shells at Banstead and Tillingdown (Tandridge) suggest pre-Conquest building methods, but the evidence is far from conclusive. *VCHSy*, 3, 260–2 (Banstead, commenting on the high, thin walls of the nave, which pre-dates enlargements of c1200); *VCHSy*, 4, 324–6 (Tandridge, with plan showing that the early Norman chancel deviates from the axis of a probably earlier nave)
- 86 *VCHSy*, 3, 86, 127; *Reg Pontissara*, 26–7; *Cal Charter R*, 3, 52. cf *Cal Cur Reg R*, 1, 61, 88, and *Bracton's note book*, 2, no 913. A late 16th-century set of depositions (SRO, LM 454) complains that Shalford is the mother church even though Bramley has more households, which 'have had allewayes service in the church of Bramley tyme out of mynde': 'the township of Bramley hath byn ever severed from Shalford by the holywater weke, . . . and hath had also all the sacramentes mynistr'd in the church of Bramlye, onlye buryall excepted for the wich we pay unto Shaulford onlye vj d a yere'. I am very grateful to Elizabeth Stazicker for this reference.
- 87 It was wholly rebuilt in the late 18th century.
- 88 *VCHSy*, 3, 85–6
- 89 Wonersh; *VCHSy*, 3, 124–6; J C Cox, *The little guide to Surrey*, 209. Manning & Bray, *History of Surrey*, 2, 112, give the dimensions of the early nave before shortening. Hascombe: painting and notes by R C Hussey, 1845, Bodl Lib MS Top Gen f18, ff35^v–36; painting by H Petrie, 1808, Minet Library, LO9541/66; dimensions given by Manning & Bray, *History of Surrey*, 2, 66
- 90 West Molesey (£5), *DB* 36d (XXXV.2); Esher (£5), *DB* 34a, 36d (X.1, XXXV.1; TRW valuation only); Farleigh (£3), *DB* 34d (XIX.8); Rodsell (£2), *DB* 31b (V.2)
- 91 Mickleham (£5), *DB* 35a (XIX.19); Fetcham (£4), *DB* 36d (XXXVI.3); Effingham (£2), *DB* 32d (VIII.20); *Pechingeorde* (£2), *DB* 36d (XXXVI.1); Wisley (£2), *DB* 36d (XXXVI.5); Worth (£1 10s), *DB* 34d (XIX.13)
- 92 Titsey (£10), *DB* 36c (XXX.1); Tadworth (£5), *DB* 35d (XX.1); Little Bookham (£2 10s), *DB* 35d (XX.2)
- 93 Betchworth (£9), *DB* 35d (XIX.47); Thorncroft (£5), *DB* 35c (XIX.39); Coombe (£3), *DB* 36d (XXXVI.8; TRW valuation only)
- 94 This capital, of multi-stepped profile, is now incorporated in a window in the Victorian north aisle; this was built immediately after the demolition of the Norman central tower and incorporates fragments from it, so it seems likely that the capital had been re-used there.
- 95 Lennard, *Rural England*, 290–1
- 96 *DB* 36b (XXV.2); *VCHSy*, 4, 185–8. This church can be reconstructed from the existing building in conjunction with a pre-restoration plan (Victoria & Albert Museum, Dept of Prints and Drawings, E1104–1930). Cf also Drury & Rodwell, Investigations at Asheldham

- 97 The Norman church can be reconstructed from watercolours in the Minet Library (SP 190/713 etc), the block-plan in C T Cracklow, *Views of the churches and chapels-of-ease in the county of Surrey*, and the existing building (which retains the tower arch capitals re-set).
- 98 *VCHSy*, 3, 474–5; J W L Forge, The church of St Mary, Walton-on-Thames. The nave is featureless but pre-dates a mid 12th-century aisle.
- 99 W J Blair, Origins of Leatherhead parish church; idem in Vardey (ed.), *Hist. of Leatherhead*, 273–5
- 100 U Lambert, *Blechingley: a parish history*, 2, 334–48; C R B King, St Mary's church, Blechingley, and *idem*, The tower of St Mary's church, Blechingley
- 101 Of Richard's other demesne manors in 1086, Stoke D'Abernon retained its Anglo-Saxon church, while the structural evidence for Woodmansterne and Ockham has been lost.
- 102 *DB* 31c (V.9)
- 103 *DB* 36b (XXVII.3)
- 104 *DB* 34d (XIX.7)
- 105 *DB* 35a (XIX.21)
- 106 *DB* 31c–d (V.11)
- 107 *DB* 33a–b (VIII.25)
- 108 Chaldon: *VCHSy*, 4, 191–4. Gatton: no early detail now remains, but a watercolour (Minet Library, K31660/57) shows a small round tower on the north side, apparently with a Norman window. Tooting: the demolished old church had a round tower with Norman windows (drawings etc in Brit Lib, Crack 1.Tab.1.b.1, xxiii, before and after 375; Brit Lib, MS Add 36389, f57; Minet Library, LP25/713, SP25/713; see also M Keulemans, Old St Nicholas' church, Tooting-Graveney).
- 109 Arnold-Foster, *Studies in dedications*, 2, 111–13; Farmer, *Oxford dictionary of saints*, 244
- 110 Of all Surrey manors with TRW listed populations of less than nine, only Tooting (five) and Chaldon (nil) have churches.
- 111 If, as seems likely from parallel cases, the Hascombe apse was a Norman addition.
- 112 The church is first mentioned c1270 (*Reg Pontissara*, 608). Only the remodelled shell of the early building remains.
- 113 *DB* 35c (XIX.37); Brit Lib, Add MS 6167, f370^v
- 114 See *VCHSy*, 3, 79–80. Although no early features remain, the late 12th-century south arcade pierces an earlier nave wall only 69cm thick.
- 115 See for instance Lennard, *Rural England*, 319ff
- 116 cf Lennard, *Rural England*, 296–8
- 117 The earliest building seems to have been of one cell: its south doorway of c1100 was discovered in 1980, and the early plan has been elucidated (see D J Turner, *Archaeology of Surrey, 1066 to 1540*, 235–6). The first known reference is in 1181 (*The Domesday of St Paul's*, 151). Documents from a late 12th-century presentation dispute (Guildhall Library, MSS 25122/641, 1426, 1428) show that Barnes church was considered a chapel of Wimbledon.
- 118 St Olave's was given to Lewes Priory by the Warenes before 1121 (W J Blair, *Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory*, 99–100); St Margaret's to Southwark Priory by Bishop Giffard between 1107 and 1129 (inspeximus, PRO, C53/131, m3) and St George's to Bermondsey Abbey by Thomas de Arden in 1122 (*Annales monastici*, 3, 433).
- 119 J H Parker, The church of St Mary, Guildford; *VCHSy*, 3, 563–7; Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 1, 266–8; F W Holling, The early foundations of St Mary's church, Guildford
- 120 *VCHSy*, 3, 567–8
- 121 M L Colker, Latin texts concerning Gilbert, founder of Merton Priory; *VCHSy*, 4, 67–8. I am grateful to Freda Anderson for pointing out to me the relatively late date of the architectural features.
- 122 cf Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 198–205. Although Everitt's chronology for Kent is rather earlier than my own for Surrey, his model of church-building in a context of manorial proliferation is very apposite.
- 123 *DB* 31d (V.19); Round, Bernard, the king's scribe. Hugh Laval succeeded Ilbert in other TRW manors of Odo. For the building see M Biddle, *Nonsuch Palace 1959–60: an interim report*. The date of c1100 is that proposed by the excavator; the wall-thicknesses suggest that the builders were working in the pre-Conquest tradition.

- 124 *Cartularium Monasterii de Colecestria*, 1, 78; W J Blair in Jackson (ed), *Ashtead: a village transformed*, 116–19
- 125 *DB* 35d (XX.2); *VCHSy*, 3, 337–8; J H Harvey, A short history of Bookham, 12–13
- 126 *VCHSy*, 3, 288–90, 2, 446; Taylor & Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture*, 1, 40; Renn, The early church at Fetcham. For origins cf *VCHSy*, 3, 285–7; the other Domesday third, later held by Merton Priory, is probably ruled out by the absence of any claim to Fetcham church on the part of Merton. Fetcham church occurs c1270, and the d'Abernons presented to it in 1284 (*Reg Pontissara*, 607, 16–17).
- 127 *VCHSy*, 3, 321–5. The statement that William Dammartin gave the church to Merton apparently cannot be substantiated.
- 128 *VCHSy*, 4, 166–8. The destroyed west tower, chancel arch and north nave wall appear in a plan in Bodl Lib, MS Top Gen c.80, f3; see also plan and views in Minet Library, SP49/713, S4822 pls 5301–6.
- 129 Bartholomew's original charter (SRO, 2609/11/5/1) grants the church with 24 acres 'quas avus meus et pater meus ecclesie illi in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam dederunt'.
- 130 *VCHSy*, 4, 282–3, 326–30. For Farleigh see also Johnston, Notes on the history and architecture of Farley church.
- 131 *VCHSy*, 4, 268–9 (where the apse evidence is overlooked); noted by G M Livett, Whitfield alias Beuesfeld. The origins of this church are obscure.
- 132 W J Blair, The destroyed medieval church at Headley
- 133 *VCHSy*, 3, 291
- 134 *VCHSy*, 3, 88–9, 104–6
- 135 *VCHSy*, 3, 105–6. The church is now largely rebuilt, but several drawings and engravings (eg Brit Lib, Crack. 1.Tab. 1.b.1, ix, 118–20) show the ruins of the west tower.
- 136 *VCHSy*, 3, 316, 318–19
- 137 College of Arms, MS Vincent 46, p125; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 6, 172–3
- 138 Arnold-Foster, *Studies in dedications*, 2, 111–13; Farmer, *Oxford dictionary of saints*, 244
- 139 cf *1235 Eyre*, 1, 252–5
- 140 cf R N Bloxam, A Surrey charter of King John
- 141 cf *Sir Christopher Hatton's book of seals*, 72
- 142 cf L F Salzman, Sussex Domesday tenants: 4: the family of Chesney or Cheyney, 45–6
- 143 *DB* 31d (V.20, 19), 35a (XIX.17)
- 144 *DB* 36d (XXXVI.7), 36c (XXXII.1)
- 145 *DB* 36b (XXVII.2)
- 146 College of Arms, MS Vincent 46, p114
- 147 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 109–11, 117–18
- 148 *VCHSy*, 4, 279–81; Arnold-Foster, *Studies in dedications*, 2, 471–3; Farmer, *Oxford dictionary of saints*, 166. The church is first mentioned in c1270 (*Reg Pontissara*, 606).
- 149 *VCHSy*, 3, 180–2; W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 100, 102
- 150 Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, 108–10
- 151 *VCHSy*, 3, 85–6; pre-restoration external view, Minet Library, K31660/17. First specifically mentioned 1305 (*Cal Charter R*, 3, 52)
- 152 This church served Artington, a member of Godalming royal manor; it was in the hands of Salisbury Cathedral by 1324 (*VCHSy*, 3, 570), but it does not appear in the 1220 Godalming survey (below, pp157–8) and was probably acquired after that date. Rebuilt 1836 and 1875–6, but earlier notes say that 'the lower part [of the west tower] opens by 3 plain arches, one of which is semicircular and has Norman shafts . . . The South aisle has at the west end a Norman window' (R J Sherlock, Sir Stephen Glynne's notes on churches in Surrey, 90–1).
- 153 First mentioned 1208 (*Rotuli litterarum patentium*, 1, 78b). Rebuilt 1881; fragments remain of a mid 12th-century door and south arcade, and a painting of 1839 (Bodl Lib, MS Top Gen f13, f70) shows a plain Norman west tower.
- 154 *VCHSy*, 3, 57–8; first mentioned c1270 (*Reg Pontissara*, 608)
- 155 cf the consecration of cemeteries *ad refugium* noted by B R Kemp in W J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches*, 86–9

- 156 *Papsturkunden*, 1, no 137; cf *Chertsey cartularies*, 1, no 46
- 157 Chertsey: nothing now Romanesque, but in 1808 ‘12th cent. arcades and other interesting features were swept away’ (Cox, *Little guide to Surrey*, 78). Egham: the old church had a mid 12th-century north door and south arcade (F Turner, *Egham, Surrey*, 77; print in Brit Lib, Crack 1 Tab 1.b.1, xix, after 258). Thorpe: remains of 12th-century chancel arch (*VCHSy*, 3, 439; pre-restoration drawing in Brit Lib, Crack. 1 Tab. 1.b.1, xix, 234–5). Cobham: mid 12th-century nave and west tower (*VCHSy*, 3, 445–6). East Clandon church, with its dedication to St Thomas of Canterbury, was probably very new in 1176.
- 158 *Papsturkunden*, 1, no 69
- 159 *VCHSy*, 3, 434–6; S Lewin, The Pyrford fresco
- 160 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 106. For place-names of this type see Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 184
- 161 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 104
- 162 Balsdean chapel, firmly dated to between 1121 and 1147 on written and archaeological evidence (N E S Norris & E F Hockings, Excavations at Balsdean chapel, Rottingdean)
- 163 Henry of Blois’s confirmation (Brit Lib, Add MS 6040 no 16) includes a grant of Gervase de Cornhill’s tithes in Addington, presumably from the property which Gervase held of the archiepiscopal fee (cf deed, PRO, DL25/106). Subsequently, Bartholomew de Chesney’s grant of Addington church in c1180 (SRO, 2609/11/5/1) also included a chapel, which another local landowner, Reynold de Addington, then released to the Priory in the presence of the archdeacon of the Canterbury peculiar (below, p210 n111). These facts suggest that the chapel was on Gervase’s land and that the Priory’s rights stemmed in some way from the original tithe grant.
- 164 E Hart & H Braun, West Humble Chapel
- 165 Brit Lib, Add MS 6040 no 16 (copy of episcopal confirmation)
- 166 *Early Yorkshire charters*, 8: *the honour of Warenne*, no 80
- 167 College of Arms, MS Vincent 46, p114. It is significant that a slightly earlier episcopal confirmation (Brit Lib, Add MS 6040 no 16) fails to mention the chapel.
- 168 First mentioned 1231–8: Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, f97
- 169 First mentioned c1270: *Reg Pontissara*, 608
- 170 First mentioned c1270: *Reg Pontissara*, 608; see also Johnston, Discovery at Rotherhithe church, 141–3
- 171 First mentioned 1291: *The rolls and register of Bishop Oliver Sutton*, 145. Keith Bailey informs me that recent excavations, which I have been unable to take into account here, may show that Putney church was considerably earlier.
- 172 *VCHSy*, 3, 94–7; S L Ollard, Dunsfold and its rectors. The first reference is in c1270 (*Reg Pontissara*, 608). See also J Bony, *The English Decorated style*, 13 and pl 79
- 173 *VCHSy*, 2, 606–7
- 174 *Annales monastici*, 2, 323
- 175 *VCHSy*, 2, 619–20; largely rebuilt 1861–73, but watercolours (Brit Lib Crack. 1.Tab. 1.b.1, xviii, after 178) show the early Gothic detail.
- 176 *Register of St Osmund*, 1, 268
- 177 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, ff61^v–2 (copy of episcopal confirmation)
- 178 *VCHSy*, 3, 162–3
- 179 J H Gibson, Compton church: the oratory, suggests that this was for the use of an anchorite.
- 180 Now demolished: see plan (GLRO, DWOP W227) and two illustrations of the blocked Norman arcade (Minet Library, LO9541/137, and reproduced H Lambert, *Woodmansterne: a brief historical account*, opp 10)
- 181 Johnston, Ewhurst church: recent discoveries; *VCHSy*, 3, 67–9. These may copy the earlier enlargement of Godalming church (fig 27).
- 182 *VCHSy*, 3, 137–40; W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 106
- 183 *VCHSy*, 3, 239–44, 297–300
- 184 *VCHSy*, 3, 260–2

Chapter 6

- 1 DB 31c (V.9)
- 2 Apparently the Abinger motte was built, and the church perhaps rebuilt, soon after William fitz Ansculf established a tenant here. See W J Blair, William fitz Ansculf and the Abinger motte
- 3 D J Turner, A moated site near Burstow rectory
- 4 Above, p122; *VCHSy*, 3, 97–101; above p126
- 5 Above, pp114–15
- 6 Above, pp114, 124, 129. Maps show a moat on the rectory site next Charlwood church (Turner, Moated sites in Surrey: a provisional list, 90).
- 7 Brett, *Church under Henry I*, 127–8, 131
- 8 *Cartularium monasterii de Colecestria*, 1, 78
- 9 SRO, 2609/11/5/1
- 10 *Documents illustrative of the social and economic history of the Danelaw*, lxx–lxxi. cf the endowment of a Warwickshire church by a group of ‘probi homines’ (Brett, *Church under Henry I*, 130)
- 11 *Documents of the Danelaw*, lxxvii
- 12 *VCHSy*, 3, 134; *Reg Pontissara*, 22–3 (admission in 1286 to ‘portionem que vocatur Patingdenne in ecclesia de Abbingeworth’), 212
- 13 DB 36a (XXI.6–7)
- 14 *VCHSy*, 4, 285, 290; Lucy’s grant to Lesnes is noted PRO, E41/330(2).
- 15 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 120
- 16 Brit Lib, Harl Ch 55.A.30
- 17 Brit Lib, Add MS 6040 no 2 (cartulary copy of confirmation of earlier grant)
- 18 As argued for the Danelaw by F M Stenton (*Documents of the Danelaw*, lxxi–lxxii)
- 19 This is usually apparent where independent evidence is available. The explanation is probably that the *Valor* figures exclude parsonage houses and contiguous glebe.
- 20 The evidence of ex-monastic glebes is very unreliable, both because of the likelihood of piecemeal amalgamation and because they were frequently divided up to create vicars’ portions or at the Dissolution.
- 21 Above, pp75, 98–9
- 22 Kent Archives Office, CCRC T 213 (terriers 1599–1730)
- 23 GLRO, DW/S/28 (17th century terrier)
- 24 *Valor*, 2, 45, 30
- 25 GLRO, DW/S/33 (1618 terrier)
- 26 Noted PRO, E41/330 (summary of manorial deeds)
- 27 GLRO, DW/S/37 (early 17th-century terrier)
- 28 *Valor*, 2, 29, 31
- 29 The vicars’ portions at Chobham and Egham, which may not have comprised the entire glebes, amounted to something over 58 and 40 acres respectively in 1331 and 1333 and had apparently done so for some time (*Chertsey cartularies*, 1, nos 70, 77).
- 30 *Valor*, 2, 40–1
- 31 GLRO, DW/S/49 and DW/S/81 (1764 and 1616 terriers)
- 32 GLRO, DW/S/6 and DW/S/32 (1616 and late 17th-century terriers)
- 33 GLRO, DW/S/10 (1616 terrier)
- 34 GLRO, DW/S/46 (1616 terrier). Both a survey of 1331 (*Chertsey cartularies*, 1, no 80) and *Valor* (2, 37) estimate the *vicarage* portion as 15 acres.
- 35 *The Domesday of St Paul’s*, 151
- 36 GLRO, DW/S/58b (1616 terrier)
- 37 *Valor*, 2, 44, 40
- 38 Above, p139. In the late 13th century the canons of Southwark distinguished the 12 acres which were of the church’s dower from 12 acres which maintained a lamp (Brit Lib, MS Cotton Faust A.viii, f 158).
- 39 MM 4901 (schedule of holdings attached to court roll)
- 40 Lennard, *Rural England*, 307; cf *ibid*, 314–15

- 41 *Registrum Henrici de Woodlock*, 232
- 42 *Chertsey cartularies*, 1, no 77; D J Turner, Moated sites in Surrey: a provisional list, 90
- 43 GLRO, DW/S/49 (1764 terrier); SRO, 65/1/1 (deed)
- 44 Brit Lib, Harl Ch 55 A.30
- 45 One exception is Leatherhead, which had both rectory and vicarage houses in the Middle Ages (F Bastian, Rogers of the rectory, 103).
- 46 W J Blair, A late 13th-century survey of buildings on estates of Southwark Priory. Recent excavations on the site of the old vicarage at Reigate have revealed 11th- and 12th-century occupation followed, after a gap, by the building of a hall-house in the 13th century (Poulton, Old Vicarage, Reigate, 23). The canons' 'rectory manor' house (for which see W J Blair, Late 13th-century survey) was evidently on a different site. The first written reference to a vicar of Reigate is not until 1243 (Bodl Lib, MS Ch Surrey a.2 (61)).
- 47 A series of early 14th-century documents (*Chertsey cartularies*, 1, nos 68–81) record a systematic attempt to regularise the status and endowments of the Abbey's vicarages.
- 48 *Valor*, 2, 32
- 49 *Chertsey cartularies*, 1, no 79 (1331 survey); *Valor*, 2, 44 lists the mansion and 1 acre of land.
- 50 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 109–11, 118
- 51 cf Winchester synodal statutes of 1224: 'Precipimus etiam ut omnis persona ecclesie domum habeat in fundo ecclesie positam in qua honeste possit manere' (Winchester i.22, *Councils and synods*, 2, 129)
- 52 For this section cf B R Kemp, Monastic possession of parish churches in England in the 12th century, which covers much of the same ground with a wider range of examples. For Augustinian acquisitions see also Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian settlement*, 172–88, 276–84
- 53 cf E Mason, Timeo barones et donas ferentes
- 54 *DB* 34a (VIII.30); above, p101
- 55 *VCHSy*, 2, 77–8; cf the charters in a royal inspeximus, Patent Roll 11 Edward II pt 1 (PRO, C66/149) mm 36–5. Churches find virtually no place in B D Hill's study of Cistercian patronage (*English Cistercian monasteries and their patrons in the 12th century*. cf Kemp, Monastic possession, 144
- 56 *VCHSy*, 2, 64–6. The churches were: St George's Southwark, given by Thomas de Arden in 1122; Camberwell, by William earl of Gloucester in 1154; and Chelsham and Warlingham, by William de Wateville in 1158 (*Annales monastici*, 3, 433, 439, 440).
- 57 The Merton Cartulary (Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii) contains few documents before the late 12th century. An episcopal confirmation of 1177 × 88 (*ibid*, ff61^v–62) lists grants of the churches at Ditton (Peter de Tolworth), Malden with Chessington chapel (Eudes de Malden), Compton(?) (William fitz Ascelin), Carshalton (Faramus de Boulogne), and St Mary and Holy Trinity Guildford. The lost confirmation by Henry of Blois (above, p197 n41) may have mentioned earlier acquisitions: Kingston with its chapels, Cuddington and Effingham (above, pp99, 124, and below p152). Portions and temporalities (including members of Ewell manor, above, p180 n10) are listed *ibid*, f103^{r-v}.
- 58 *VCH Sussex*, 2, 64–6, and map opp 8; W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory
- 59 The Southwark Priory charters are being reassembled from numerous different sources for an edition to be published by the Surrey Record Society.
- 60 For association of Odo and William with the Clares see *Regesta regum anglo-normannorum*, 2, no 1015a; Blair, Surrey endowments, 117; *Cal docs France*, 291. For the Dammartin lands see Bloxam, A Surrey charter of King John
- 61 See W J Blair, William fitz Ansculf and the Abinger motte
- 62 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 100, 119
- 63 For child oblation see D Knowles, *The monastic order in England*, 417–22. Under Lanfranc's scheme (unlike the original Benedictine Rule), the oblate brought up in the cloister made his final profession at adolescence – a likely occasion for the archiepiscopal confirmation of the church. While dowries of land and money were still usual, a church seems exceptional. The *arenga* of Archbishop Ralph's 1121 confirmation (W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, n 4) expresses the affection of both Anselm and himself towards Lewes.
- 64 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 100
- 65 R W Southern, *Western society and the church in the Middle Ages*, 247
- 66 Thus a grant to the canons of Southwark by Hugh de Fraxineto and his wife in c1200 was made on the

- occasion of receiving confraternity (Brit Lib, Add MS 6040 no 21), while Hamo de Gravenel gave them an acre of meadow in Tooting in c1170 to maintain a light over his wife's tomb in the cloister (*ibid* no 10).
- 67 Brit Lib, Add MS 6040 no 16 (cartulary copy of episcopal confirmation)
- 68 G Constable, *Monastic tithes*, gives a broad survey of monastic tithe-owning and attitudes to it in medieval Europe, without, however, discussing very specifically the development of the custom in England and the ways in which the tithe rights of local churches were safeguarded there. Kemp, Monastic possession, 141–3, distinguishes between 'two-thirds' and 'unrestricted' tithe grants but does not relate this to possession or non-possession of churches by the respective donors.
- 69 The latter is much less common; one instance, concerning Bramley manor, is Ralph de Fay's confirmation to Lyre Abbey in c1200 of 'decimam denariorum de toto gabulo meo de manerio meo de Bromleya quam consueverunt antiquitus habere de antecessoribus meis' (PRO, E40/14136).
- 70 The clearest and most recent general discussion of this is Brett, *Church under Henry I*, 225–7.
- 71 eg H E Salter, Cogges Priory, 322–3
- 72 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 103–4
- 73 *ibid*, 110–12
- 74 cf instances cited Lennard, *Rural England*, 316
- 75 Windsor Dean and Chapter Archives, Arundel White Book, f127^v
- 76 *Chertsey cartularies*, 1, nos 45, 54
- 77 Above, p200 n1; Barlow, *English church 1000–1066*, 195; Addleshaw, *Development of parochial system*, 14
- 78 F M Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 155–6. cf W J Blair, Secular minster churches, 125, and W J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches*, 10–13
- 79 Discussed further by W J Blair, Origins of Leatherhead parish church
- 80 *DB* 36a (XXII.1); *Chertsey cartularies*, 1, nos 45–6, 55, 56
- 81 W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 121
- 82 *ibid*, 116–17
- 83 *ibid*, 110–12
- 84 Brett, *Church under Henry I*, 127–8
- 85 *DB* 35d (XXI.2); Brit Lib, Add MS 6040 no 17
- 86 Brit Lib, Add MS 6040, no 2
- 87 *DB* 36a (XXI.4) and 35c (XIX.43); 32a (V.23)
- 88 Brit Lib, Add Ms 6040 no 16
- 89 Some of the Southwark examples (table 15) can scarcely be pushed back before c1150. The grant of demesne tithe in Mickleham by William de Dammartin (ob c1170) to Lewes Priory post-dates Henry of Blois's confirmation, itself no earlier than 1153 (W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory, 120–1, 116–17). But no later cases have been identified. For the proposed change of ideas as to what constituted acceptable practice, cf B R Kemp in W J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches*, 94 n41.
- 90 G J Gollin, The medieval manor house of Ashtead. Laurence's daughter Mary is described as 'Maria de Estede' in a charter endorsement (Brit Lib, Cotton Ch v.11) and in notes from the lost Southwark Cartulary (College of Arms, MS Vincent 46, p129).
- 91 Hase, The mother churches of Hampshire, 54–7
- 92 SRO, 2609/11/5/1. Kemp, Monastic possession, 135–8, discusses this terminological change.
- 93 cf Brett, *Church under Henry I*, 230–1; Kemp, Monastic possession, 134–5
- 94 Knowles, *Monastic order*, 597
- 95 C N L Brooke, The missionary at home: the church in the towns 1000–1250, 72. cf W J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches*, 13–15
- 96 For Henry as bishop see L Voss, *Heinrich von Blois, Bischof von Winchester (1129–71)*, 77–100, especially the Christchurch *acta* printed *ibid*, 159–64 which mark a new stage in the development of perpetual vicarages. These are discussed by Hase, The mother churches of Hampshire. R H C Davis, The college of St Martin le Grand and the Anarchy, 1135–54, is also relevant to this aspect of Henry.
- 97 *The letters of John of Salisbury*, 1, 87
- 98 C Duggan, Richard of Ilchester; *Corpus iuris canonici*, 3.38.8
- 99 cf C R Cheney, *From Becket to Langton*, 124–5
- 100 SRO, 2609/11/5/1 (deed)

- 101 cf for instance N Adams, *The judicial conflict over tithes*
- 102 For a detailed analysis of the concept of the parish in canon law and the Anglo-Saxon law codes see Hase, *Parish in Hampshire*, 16–30; *idem*, *The mother churches of Hampshire*, 64, n40 and n41
- 103 For instance: in 1086 Banstead parish as defined by the end of the Middle Ages included the manors of Banstead, Burgh, Tadworth, South Tadworth and an additional nine hides (*DB* 31c, 32a, 35d, 31d, 32c (V.8, V.24, XX.1, V.21, V.8)). Banstead was the largest holding and had the Domesday church, but this did not prevent the later foundation of an independent church at Burgh; the amalgamation of its parish with Banstead resulted purely from a later rearrangement (below, p154).
- 104 C N L Brooke has summed up the issue succinctly: ‘Burial rights, baptismal rights, and tithes . . . were all essential to the making of a parish church; and that is why strict parochial boundaries of the kind familiar to us today can never have existed before the 12th century; and much of the controversy that has raged from time to time about parochial origins has turned on these definitions’ (Brooke, *Missionary at home*, 68).
- 105 This is certainly true in the cases of Bampton, Ashted, Astley and Wingerworth (Brett, *Church under Henry I*, 129, 130, 131, 224). However, there is a clear need here for a review of all the early charter evidence, relating it to its ecclesiastical and tenurial background.
- 106 *Cartularium monasterii de Colecestria*, 1, 78
- 107 For the line of argument in this paragraph see also W J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches*, 10
- 108 Gifford, *Parish in Domesday Book*, 170–3; cf the ‘*aeclesia et alia capella*’ at Chobham (above, p114)
- 109 W J Blair, *Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory*, 106–11, 117–18
- 110 *ibid*, 118–19
- 111 Episcopal confirmation printed (from lost original) Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 6, 172–3. Woodmansterne later emerged as an independent parish; Burgh church disappeared and its parish was absorbed into Banstead.
- 112 *ibid*
- 113 *Cartularium monasterii de Colecestria*, 1, 78
- 114 For other cases of this lack of definition between *ecclesia* and *capella* see Lennard, *Rural England*, pp298–9, 302–3
- 115 *Register of St. Osmund*, 1, 297–303. For this type of perpetual vicarage see Kemp, ‘Monastic possession’, 148–53
- 116 See G L Druce, *The symbolism of the goat on the Norman font at Thames Ditton*
- 117 Some of these must be near-contemporary with, and perhaps a consequence of, the 1213/14 Canterbury Statutes which stipulate that ‘*baptisterium habeatur in qualibet ecclesia baptismali lapideum, vel aliud competens, quod decenter operiatur et reverenter conservetur, ita quod in alios usus non convertatur*’ (Canterbury i.31, *Councils and synods*, 31). So numerous are they that in many cases they must have replaced older fonts, perhaps of a crudity which outweighed their sentimental value.
- 118 cf several papers in W J Blair (ed), *Minsters and parish churches*
- 119 *Chertsey cartularies*, 1, no 74. cf the similar case of Bisley in 1283 (*ibid*, no 83)
- 120 *Register of St. Osmund*, 1, 297
- 121 Winchester iii. 38 (*Councils and synods*, 2, 709), following a provision which apparently first appears in the Wells statutes a few years before (Wells i. 21, *Councils and synods*, 2, 602); for a transcript of the licence to consecrate, see A Heales & L M Humbert, *Cluddingfold church* (appendix), 176
- 122 The following section was written before the appearance of Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, with its strikingly similar analysis of Kentish chapels, 205–21. This especially emphasises the pastoral significance of chapels in regions of late, sparse and scattered settlement.
- 123 *The Beauchamp cartulary*, no 205; Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1212 (archiepiscopal cartulary), f58.
- 124 *Battle Abbey Cartulary*, Henry Huntingdon Library, California, B A vol 29, f112: ‘*Gilbertus filius Willelmi archid’ de Chauz, de voluntate Magistri Sampsonis rectoris ecclesie Sancti Olavi de Suthwerk, capellam in honore Sancte Katerine apud mesuagium suum iuxta calceam versus Beremond’ construxit, in qua per proprium sive alienum sicut placuerit capellanum divina celebrabuntur, salvis predictae ecclesie oblationibus que in dicta capella pervenerint, et annuatim j librum*

- thur' (This Battle Abbey deed refers to an agreement with Stephen, prior of Lewes, who resigned in 1220.)
- 125 *Reg Henrici de Woodlock*, 607
- 126 Winchester ii. 40 (*Councils and synods*, 2, 408–9)
- 127 E Mason, The role of the English parishioner 1100–1500; cf her 'A truth universally acknowledged', 179
- 128 D M Owen, Chapelries and rural settlement: an examination of some of the Kesteven evidence; *idem*, *Church and society in medieval Lincolnshire*, 5–19. On the problem of lost chapels see also W J Blair, *Minsters and parish churches*, 15–16; and cf n122 above.
- 129 Bishops were primarily concerned to protect the financial rights of parish churches, not necessarily to restrain people from worshipping in chapels. The 1268 Legatine Council's statute on this point is concerned entirely with avoiding prejudice to existing rights and ensuring that chaplains made oblations and other dues without difficulty (*Councils and synods*, 2, 766).
- 130 The Exeter Statutes of 1287, which severely restrict the taking of the sacrament in chapels lacking their own parishioners, may point to a campaign to tighten control (Exeter ii.9, *Councils and synods*, 2, 1002–3).
- 131 This important site unfortunately remains unpublished. The present summary is based on details kindly assembled by D J Turner from the *Surrey Archaeological Society Annual Reports* for 1952, 1953 and 1954, and the *Croydon Advertiser* for 22 August 1952.
- 132 [Anon], General notes and documents: Blechingley
- 133 *PNSy*, 336
- 134 Minet Library, Surrey Deed 3615–6
- 135 *Reg Pontissara*, 40
- 136 *Register of St Osmund*, 1, 296–8
- 137 Catteshall, Farncombe and Hurtmore (*VCHSy*, 3, 32–5). The independent parish of Hambledon had its own church by c1100 (above, p126).
- 138 See Mason, Role of the English parishioner, 19–21
- 139 For which see Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, 123–34, and the recent fuller summary in Kemp, Monastic possession, 148–59
- 140 Evidence for all these cited in W J Blair, Surrey endowments of Lewes Priory
- 141 Brit Lib, MS Cotton Cleop C.vii, ff 74, 75
- 142 cf Kemp, Monastic possession, 151–3
- 143 B F Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, 48
- 144 *TPN*, 206–9

Conclusion

- 1 cf Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 336: 'There are a number of ways in which, as we move backward in time, the parallels in other areas tend to increase rather than diminish'
- 2 T M Charles-Edwards, Kinship, status and the origins of the hide, for one view of the social foundations of hide groups
- 3 Fox, Approaches to adoption of midland system, 98–102, sees the severance of linked vills as a major impetus for Midland townships to develop their highly organised field-systems.
- 4 Again, cf Everitt, *Continuity and colonisation*, 262, for the disorganised, 'meaningless' character of Wealden arrangements
- 5 For this aspect of township assemblies see W O Ault, *Open-field farming in medieval England*, 75–7
- 6 See W J Blair, The early middle ages; The late middle ages, in Vardey (ed.), *Hist. of Leatherhead*, 32–8, 41–8.
- 7 Dodgshon, *The origin of British field systems*, 66

Index

NOTE: Places are in Surrey except where otherwise stated. Minor place-names are grouped under their respective parishes, which are as defined by Gover, Mawer and Stenton, *The Place-Names of Surrey*.

- Abelard, Peter, 60
Abernon, Ingram d', 196 n.24
 Roger d', 54
 family, 54, 71, 124
Abingdon Abbey (Berks.), Chertsey colonised from, 94
Abinger, boundary bank (*Fullingadic?*), 14
 church, 135, 136, 139, 207 n.2
 castle, 9, 207 n.2
 fulling-mill, 10
 land-holding and farming, 69, 83
 meaning of name, 62
 Oakwood in, *see under* Wotton
 Paddington in, 38, 69, 139, 191 n.18
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 55
Abinger, William de, 146, 147, 149
Adam, Richard son of (Horne tenant), 84
Addington, chapel, 129, 146, 154, 206 n.163
 church, 124, 126, 128, 146, 150, 152, 154, 206 n.163
 glebe, 139, 140, 146
 land-holding, 10, 186 n.45
 timber-production, 179 n.57
 tithe, 146, 149, 150, 154
Addington, Reynold de, 206 n.163
Adrian IV, pope, 152
agriculture, 10, 39–55 *passim*
 prehistoric and Romano-British, 29–30, 39–40, 45
 see also fields, common and open; fields, inclosed
Æilav (Dorking tenant), 139
Ælfmær, thegn, 115–16
Ælfsi (priest of Croydon), 103
Ælfswith, *see* Brihtric
Æthelberht, king of Kent, 6
Æthelþæd, queen, 51, 114
Æthelhelm, nephew of King Alfred, 19
Æthelnoth (Alnod cild), thegn, 9, 25, 53, 113, 116–19
Æthelred, king of Mercia, 104
Æthelred II, king, 56, 99
Æthelstan, king, 56
Æthelwold, nephew of King Alfred, 19
Alan, chaplain of Chiddingfold, 154
Alban, St., cult of, 111
Albury, 53
 chapel, 156
 church, 116, 117
Albus, *see* White
Aldenham (Herts.), tenants at, 193 n.103
Alfold, 26, 51, 60, 74, 183 n.89
 church, 52, 118, 122, 135, 138, 150
 font, 52, 155
 glebe, 138, 142
Alfred, king, will of, 19–21, 101
Alfred, ealdorman, will of, 11, 17, 31, 51, 182 n.60
Alnod cild, *see* Æthelnoth
Anekecneppe, William de (Hambleton tenant), 87
Angmering (Sussex), 202 n.56
Ansculf, William fitz, 9, 147, 149, 207 n.2
Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, 126, 135, 147, 149, 208 n.63
Aperdele family, 46
appropriation of churches, 159
architecture, Anglo-Saxon, 98, 110, 113, 114, 115–19, 122
 Anglo-Norman, 98, 106, 110, 115, 120–9 *passim*, 134
 late 12th and 13th centuries, 128–33 *passim*
Arden, Forest of, moated sites in, 64
Ardern, Thomas de, 204 n.118, 208 n.56
Artingdon, 43
 Littleton in, 28
Ascelin, William fitz, 208 n.57
Ash, 43
 church, 116
 Henley in, 43, 116, 142
 Wyke in, 43
Ashtead, church, as chapel of Leatherhead, 111, 124, 125, 126, 134, 135, 136, 150, 153, 154
 field-boundaries, possibly Romano-British, 29–30, 39–40, 45
 glebe and tithe, 139, 140, 148
 land-holding and farming, 69, 70, 82
 Little Ashtead in, 30
 manor, 35
 Roman building (as site for church), 111
 Roman villa, 6, 30
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 44

- swine-pastures of in Newdigate, 52
 Ashtead, Mary of, 209 n.90
 assarts, purprestures and clearances, 39–55 *passim*,
 60–1, 64–5, 74, 83–7 *passim*
 Aston Subedge (Glos.), 102
 Auco, *see* Eu
 Augustinian canons, 95, 99, 101–2, 106–7, 145–8,
 198 n.74
 Aylesbury (Bucks.), minster, 7
 Azur, thegn, 115–16, 142
- Bagshot Sands, *see* Windsor Forest
 Baker, William le (Leatherhead tenant), 194 n.125
 Baldwin's land, tithe of, 143
 Bandon, Thomas de (Bandon tenant), 89
 Banstead, Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 45
 barrows, 18
 Burgh in, church, 126, 146, 154
 Canons Farm, *see* *Sutbmerefeld*
 church, 116, 126, 133, 146, 154, 203 n.85, 209
 n.103
 Downs, 17, 18, 184 n.118
 Gally Hills, 18
 land-holding and farming, 10, 69, 73–4, 84, 146,
 192 n.61
 manors, 209 n.103
 meaning of name, 30
Nutebrake in (?), 146, 149
 pasture arrangements, 184 n.118
 Potter's Lane, 17, 180 n.17
 Preston Hawe in, chapel and burials, 155, 156
Sutbmerefeld (Canons Farm, Summerfield etc.),
 49
 swine-pasture of in Horley, 52
 tithe, 146, 149
- baptism, 154–5
 Barking (Essex), Abbey, 25, 94, 202 n.57
 Barnes, church, as chapel of Wimbledon, 113,
 124, 204 n.117
 glebe, 140
 manor, 25
 settlement, landscape etc., 38
 barrows, Anglo-Saxon, relationship of with
 boundaries, 18–19
 Basset, Alan, 42,
 Gilbert, 196 n.21
 Battersea, Anglo-Saxon settlement, 56,
 church, 129, 159
 land-holding, 72, 81
 manor, 21, 25, 26, 27
 Penge in, 40, 64
 settlement, landscape etc., 40, 190 n.12
 Wassingham in, 25, 26
 Battle Abbey (Sussex), estates of, 54, 74
- Baudri, William (Woodcote tenant), 84, 89
 Bayeux, Odo bishop of, 53, 94, 102, 119, 122, 124
 beadle service, 75
 Bec Abbey (Normandy), grant of tithes to, 148
 Beddington, Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 45
 Bandon in, land-holding and farming, 49, 66,
 70, 82, 88–9
 'Borough English' inheritance, 194 n.146
 church, 116
Colswaynesfeld in, 84
 field-names in, 89
 glebe, 140
 land-holding and farming, 70, 82, 88–9
 manor, 20, 25, 32, 33, 49, 52–3, 182 n.60
 parson of, and his son William, 89
 swine-pastures of in Horley, 52–3
 Woodcote in, land-holding and farming, 49, 84,
 86
- Bede, the Venerable, 8
 Bentley (Hants.), church, as chapel of Farnham,
 196 n.28, 199 n.89
 Beorhtsige (Brixi cild), thegn, 9, 116, 119
 Berkeley (Glos.), minster church, 92
 Berkshire, settlement and territorial division in,
 6–7, 10, 22, 29
 Bermondsey, Abbey, 9, 92, 102, 142, 202 n.58,
 204 n.118
 church (parish), 129
 minster church, 8, 95, 102, 103–4, 105
 Bernard, royal scribe, 124
 Betchworth, 33–4, 55, 62, 146
 Brockham in, 33, 34
 church, 113, 119, 122, 123, 126, 146
 manor (Warene), 9, 28, 32, 34
 tithe, 143, 148, 149
 Wonham in, 28, 32
 Beverley Brook, 180 n.14
 Bicester Priory (Oxon.), 196 n.21
 bishops, rôle of in the formation of parishes, 150–4
 Bisley, boundary description of (956), 111–12
 church, 111–12, 114
 holy well, 111–12
 manor, 26
 settlement, landscape etc., 43, 58
 Blackheath hundred, 14, 19, 25, 26, 51, 53, 104–5,
 182 n.65
 Blechingley, castle (Clare *caput*), 9, 179 n.41
 Chapel Plat (in South Park), 156
 Chivington in, 9, 22, 32, 38, 54, 116
 church, 116, 122, 123, 135, 143, 153–4, 157,
 200 n.9
 dependencies of, 53–4, 58
 glebe, 139, 143
Gruteners in, 143, 194 n.128

- manor, 32, 58, 153
 pannage, 143, 188 n.114
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 39
 tithe, 143, 148, 149
 tithe-collector, 148
 town and market, 9, 56–8
- Blois, Henry of, bishop of Winchester, 9, 56, 99,
 146, 149, 150, 152, 209 n.96
- Bookham, Great, church, 114, 135, 201 n.40, 201
 n.45
Aylvehaw, 62
 glebe, 140
 manor, 32, 33
 Polesden (*Polledene*) in, 17
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 44, 45, 58, 59
- Bookham, Little, 32, 33, 44
 church, 124, 125, 134
 font, 155
- borghs*, see townships
- Borough English inheritance custom, 85, 194
 n.146
- Bosco, Geoffrey de (Hambleton tenant), 84
- Bosham (Sussex), land at, 182 n.62
- Boulogne, Eustace count of, 92
 Faramus de, 208 n.57
- boundaries, see ditches; earthworks; territorial
 organisation
- Bourne, River, 40
- Boxe, Giles de la (Leatherhead tenant), 73, 80, 192
 n.52
- Bradmere, John de (Leatherhead tenant), 79
- Bramley, church, as chapel of Shalford, 119, 126,
 203 n.86
 East Bramley in, 184 n.92
 house in Guildford, 56
 manor, 25, 26, 31, 53, 113, 119, 129
 Selhurst in, 184 n.92
 settlement, landscape etc., 53
 tithe, given to Lyre Abbey, 209 n.69
- Brancaster (Norfolk), 77
- Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leics.), minster, 7, 104
- Brihtric and Ælfswith, will of, 11, 17, 51, 103
- Brihtric, Wulfward son of, 76
- Brixi cild, see Beorhtsige
- Brixton hundred, 14, 17, 104
 boundary of, 180 n.14
- Brorda, ealdorman, 95
- bruera* (commons), 40
- Brun, Nicholas (Leatherhead tenant), 73
- Buckinghamshire, Anglo-Saxon settlement in, 7
- Buckland, 58
 church, 119, 135, 136
- Bule, Walter de (Woodcote tenant), 86
- Burchard's land, 143
- Burgeys, Gilbert (Leatherhead tenant), 194 n.125
- Burgh, John de, 146
 William atte (Leatherhead tenant), 79
- Burghal Hidage, the, 8, 9, 21, 56
- burbs*, see towns
- burial, organisation of, 154–5, 203 n.86
 see also cemeteries
- Burstow, 17, 19–20, 25, 32, 53–4, 181 n.17, 190
 n.5
 church, 54, 126, 128, 135, 143, 147
- Burstow, Roger (Roger de Frith), 84
 Walter de, 143, 147
 family, 54
- Byfleet, 14, 26, 38, 39, 43, 183 n.80
- Cædwalla, king of Wessex, 8, 25, 97, 103
- Calne, Ruald de and wife Beatrice, 95
- Camberwell, church, 208 n.56
- camp*, place-names in, 46
- Cantelowe, Felicia de, 146
- Canterbury, archbishops of, see Dunstan; Lan-
 franc; Anselm; Corbeil; Walter
 peculiar jurisdiction of in Surrey, 198 n.70, 206
 n.163
 see and Cathedral Priory, manors of in Surrey,
 17, 20, 25, 30, 31, 54, 69, 75, 88, 92, 103,
 113, 114–15, 119, 124, 126, 129, 135, 147,
 156
 Roman building at, used as church, 111
- Capel, church, as chapel of Dorking, 129, 132,
 133, 135, 143
 font, 155
- Carshalton, Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 45
 church, 122, 123, 208 n.57
Hugestescroft, 76
 land-holding, 76, 146
 manor, 25, 32, 33, 49
Thurkillescroft, 76
- castles, 9, 135, 179 n.41, 208 n.2
- Caterham, church, 124, 126, 128, 134
- Caux, Gilbert son of William archdeacon of, 156
- Cealvadune*, see Chaldon
- ceart*, place-names in, 35, 37, 51
- Ceawlin, king of Wessex, 6
- Cedde (nobleman), 97
- 'Celtic' fields, 45
- cemeteries, pagan Anglo-Saxon, 6, 39–40, 45
 Christian, 99, 109, 155, 156, 157, 198 n.66, 201
 n.28, 201 n.43, 205 n.155
 see also burial
- Chaldon, 30, 48
 boundary description of *Cealvadune* (? Chaldon)
 (967), 46

- church, 122, 125, 134, 135, 136
 glebe and parsonage, 140
 Tollsworth Farm in, 46, 62
- Chalton (Hants.), Anglo-Saxon settlement, 45, 55
 chantries, 157
- chapels, 95, 99, 107–8, 114, 129, 133, 140, 142, 153–9
 manorial, 155–7
- chaplain, going out from mother church to chapel, 95, 107
- Charlwood, church, 123, 124, 135
la Berne in, 194 n.128
 Hookwood in, 62
 land-holding and farming, 69, 74, 190 n.5
 meaning of name, 30
 moated site, 62, 207 n.6
 village, 58
- Cheam, 14, 69, 72, 75–6, 115
 church, 115, 117, 135
 swine-pasture of in Horley, 52, 54
- Chelsham, 38, 45, 48
 church, 122, 208 n.56
 Ficklesole Farm in, 48
 hedges, 48
- Chelsham, A. de (Malden tenant), 70
- Chereburgh, John de, 80, 192 n.53
- Chertsey, Abbey, *see below*, minster church
 abbot of (Wulfwold), 114
 Addlestone in, 43
 Anningley in, 43
 burial at, 155
 church/chapel, parish, 107, 129, 206 n.157
 hundred (also Godley hundred), 10, 14, 40–3, 58, 61, 92, 95, 104, 182 n.65
 manor, 7, 14, 21, 25, 27, 30–1, 42
 minster church (Abbey), 7, 8, 9, 11, 40, 56, 59–60, 92, 94–5, 97, 103, 104, 105, 107
 manors and other properties of, 11, 25, 26, 52, 58, 59–60, 87, 88, 99, 111, 114, 116, 122, 148, 149, 182 n.58
 Ottershaw in, 201 n.34
parochia of, 94–5, 107, 108, 129, 131, 135, 140, 153, 155
 settlement, landscape etc., 40–3, 87
 town and fair, 56, 59, 60
 Woodham in, 25, 26
- Chesney, Bartholomew de, 124, 139, 146, 150, 152, 206 n.163
 family, 126
- Chessington, church, as chapel of Malden, 99–100, 133, 208 n.57
 font, 155
- Chichester (Sussex), 6
- Chiddingfold, 25, 51
 church, as a chapel of Godalming, 133, 135, 154, 155, 157, 158
 glass-making at, 10
 graveyard, 155
- Chiddingfold, Richard de, 154, 157
- Chilworth (St. Martha's), church, 96–7, 111, 126, 196 n.26
 manor, 26
 Tyting in, 26, 28, 55
 settlement, landscape etc., 53, 55
- Chinthurst, Christine de (Leatherhead tenant), 79
- Chipstead, 30, 38, 83, 143
 tithe of, 148
- Chobham, burial of parishioners of at Chertsey, 155
 church and chapel, 111, 114, 135, 155, 201 n.40
 field-names, 69
 glebe and parsonage, 140
 manor, 25, 26, 185 n.132
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 40, 43, 58, 59, 69, 195 n.156
- Christchurch Priory (Hants.), 106, 150
- churches, local, 1–2, 109–62 *passim*, 161
 built by ecclesiastical proprietors, 114–15, 126–9
 built by lay proprietors, 115–26
 division of, 139
 given to monasteries, 142–52
 locations of, 134–42
 minster, 8, 91–108
 'secondary minster', 113–14
see also chapels; glebes; parishes
- churchyards, *see* cemeteries
- Cisi (nobleman), 97
- Clandon, East, 32–4, 190 n.11
 church, 107, 129
- Clandon, West, chapel, 156
 church, 122
 glebe, 140
 manor, 32, 33–4
 settlement, 38
- Clapham, church, 129
- Clare, barony of, 9, 56–8, 122, 124, 135, 143, 149
 Gilbert de, 143, 148, 149
 Richard de (Richard fitz Gilbert), 9, 54, 58, 101, 116, 122, 124, 147, 148
 Richard de (early 12th cent.), 143
- clearances, *see* assarts
- Clere, Roger de, 149
- clergy, *see* priests
- Clop, John le (Hambledon tenant), 84
- cloth-making, 10
- Cnut, king, law of, 91
- Cobham, 30, 44, 72, 191 n.43

- church, 107, 114, 129
 Eaton Farm in, 185 n.121
 Norwood Farm in, 28, 185 n.143
- Cola, thegn, 119, 122
- Colchester Abbey (Essex), 101, 142
- Colswain family (of Woodcote), 84
- Compton, church, 116, 118, 133, 135, 208 n.57
 glebe, 139
 settlement, landscape etc., 43
 tithe, 149
- consolidation of land-holdings, 81–3, 88–9
- Copthorne hundred, 14, 17, 20, 21, 104
- Corbeil, Ralph de, archbishop of Canterbury, 147, 152
- Cornhill, Gervase of, 10, 146, 148, 150, 206 n.63
- cottars and cotmen, status and functions of, 20–1, 53, 60, 192 n.69
- Coulsdon, Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 45
 barrows, 18
 ‘Celtic’ fields, 45
 church, 114, 115, 117, 154, 201 n.40, 201 n.43
 Farthing Down in, 18
 Hooley in (?), 76
 pasture arrangements, 184 n.118
 village, 58
 Waddington in, church, 114, 115, 154, 201 n.40
 Woodplace Farm in, 46
- councils and synods, ecclesiastical, 17, 99, 103
- Cranleigh, church, 118, 122, 135, 137
 glebe and rectory, 139, 187 n.77, 201 n.29
 manors, 25–6
 Pallinghurst in, 6
 Rydinghurst in, 25, 51
 Utworth in, 25, 62
 village, 58, 60
- Criswa (nobleman), 97
- Cross, (Cros, ad Crucem), Adam le (Malden tenant), 70
 Geoffrey (Mitcham tenant), 60
- Crowhurst, church, 126
- Croydon, Ælfsi priest of, 103
 Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, 7
 Anglo-Saxon settlement, 56
 church (? minster), 92, 103, 104, 105
 Church Field in, 68, 156
 deanery, 103, 198 n.70, 206 n.163
 land-holding and farming, 75–6
 manor, 17–18, 20, 25, 103, 114–15
 parish, 161
 settlement, landscape etc., 66, 68
 synod (809), 17, 103
 town and market, 56
 Waddon in, 66, 68, 69
- Crucem, *see* Cross
- cruciform churches, 98–9, 106, 133
- Cuddington, 14, 82, 184 n.101
 church, 124, 125, 126
- Cuddington, Robert de, 82
- cumb*, place-names in, 62
- Curtuna, Gilbert de, 143, 149
- Cuxham (Oxon.), 83
- Cysledun*, unidentified swine-pasture, 52
- Dammartin, Odo de, 143, 147
 William de, 143, 147, 205 n.127
 family, 124, 126, 135
- Danelaw, church glebes in, 139
- dedications of churches:
 All Saints, 157
 St. Bartholomew, 54, 126
 St. Catherine, 156
 St. Dunstan, 115
 St. George, 124, 126
 ‘Holy Martyrs’, 111
 Holy Trinity, 124
 St. John Baptist, 171
 St. Leonard, 126
 St. Margaret, 124
 St. Martha, 111
 St. Mary, 92–4, 95, 99, 101, 102, 124, 197 n.35
 St. Michael, 115
 St. Nicholas, 157
 St. Olave, 124, 156
 St. Peter, 95, 156
 Sts. Peter and Paul, 99
 St. Saviour, 102
 St. Thomas the Martyr, 95
- Delce, Geoffrey de, 146
- Dene, Luke son of William de la, 48
 -*denn*, place-names in, 51
 dennis, *see* transhumance
 -*denu*, place-names in, 62
- Devon, early inclosure in, 88
 parochial organisation of, 104
- Dip-slope, *see* Downs
- ditches, as tenemental boundaries, 70, 83–4, 86–9, 195 n.151
- Ditton, Long, church, 99–100, 122, 202 n.64, 208 n.57
- Ditton, Thames, Chadsworth in, 62
 church, as chapel of Kingston, 99–100, 155
 Claygate in, 72, 106, 191 n.35
 Ember in, 62
 font, 155
 manor, 182 n.60, 197 n.44
 settlement, landscape etc., 40, 106
- division and fragmentation of inclosed land, 83–7

- Domesday Book, 9, 10, 11, 19–21, 28, 31, 33–4, 38–9, 48, 64, 75–7
 record of churches, 92–4, 109–10, 113, 120–2
- Dorking, Anstic in, 28
 Anstiebury hill-fort in, 45
 church, 113, 129, 139, 143, 157
 glebe, 139, 201 n.29
 Hampstead in, 28
 settlement, land-holding, farming etc., 55, 69
Litelfeld in, 28
 manor (royal and Warenne), 9, 26–7, 113
 town and market, 56
Walde Borough of, 26
 Westcott in, 58, 191 n.22
- Dorset, Ralph and Levinia de (Woodcote tenants), 86
- Downs (North) and Dip-Slope, settlement, landscape etc. on, 2, 9, 14, 17, 33, 38, 39, 43–9, 55, 58, 62, 70–1, 73, 80, 82, 124–6
- droving, *see* transhumance
- Dru (Leatherhead tenement), 80
- Duc, William le (Bandon tenant), 89
-dun, place-names in, 62
- Dunsfold, 25, 26, 51
 church, 119, 129
- Dunstan, St., archbishop of Canterbury, 114, 115
- Dunst[anville], Robert de, 149
- Durham, County, villages in, 60
- Eadgar, king, 91, 94, 101, 109, 148, 155
- Earding, thegn, 113, 115
- earthworks, linear, 8, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21
see also ditches; *Fullingadic*; Mere Bank
- East Anglia, Anglo-Saxon settlement in, 56, 65,
 church glebes in, 140
 land-holding and farming in, 66, 76–7, 85, 89–90
- Eastry (Kent), 7, 8
- East Saxons, the, 7, 8, 179 n.35
eceles, in place-names, 111
- Egbert, king of Kent, 94
- Egbert, king of Wessex, 8, 20
- Edith, Queen, demesne of, 9, 26–7, 113
- Edward the Elder, king of Wessex, 9, 19, 99
- Effingham, church, 124, 152
 hereditary priests of, 152
 hundred, 14, 17, 31, 104
 manor, 32, 33
 settlement, landscape etc., 44, 58, 59
- Egham, church, 107, 129, 206 n.157
 glebe, 140
 manor, 25, 26, 185 n.132
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 43, 58, 59, 195 n.156
- Trotsworth in, 43, 62
- Elmbridge hundred, 14, 17, 104, 113
- Elstead, 26, 58
 church, as chapel of Farnham, 129, 196 n.27
- enclosure, *see* inclosure
- Eorcenwold, bishop of London, 25, 94
- Epsile, Simon de (Woodcote tenant), 86
- Epsom, church, 114, 201 n.40
 glebe, 140
 land-holding and farming, 69, 82
 meaning of name, 45
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 58
- eriang*, unit of land-holding, 76
- ersc*, place-names in, 35, 37, 51
- Esher, manor, 32, 34, 162, 182 n.58
 Lisleworth in, 62
- Essex, church sites in, 111
see also East Saxons
- estates and manors, local, 30–4, 160–1
 ‘multiple’, 24–30
 origins of, 1, 24–34
 partition and fragmentation of, 31, 33–4, 160–1
 royal, and *villae regales*, 9, 19–21, 26–7
- Eu (Ow, Auco), Hugh de, 105
 Osbern de (minster pluralist), 92, 94, 105, 108
 Robert de, 199 n.88
- Eudes Dapifer, 101, 142
- Ewell, church, 114, 135, 137
 Fitznells estate, 72, 88
 land-holding and farming, 69, 71, 72, 75, 82, 192 n.73
 manor (royal) and its dependencies, 19, 20, 27, 48–9, 52, 101, 180 n.10, 208 n.57
- Ewell, Gilbert and William de (Leatherhead tenants), 79, 82
- Ewhurst, church, 132–3, 135
 Edser in, 62
 font, 155
 glebe, 201 n.29
 Pollingfold in, 6
le Stefburst in, 194 n.132
 village, 60
- Executioners, tenants as, 75
- Exeter, bishop of, Surrey property of, 156, 202 n.57
- Falcon Brook (probably = *Hidaburna*), 25
-falod, place-names in, 35, 37, 51
- Farleigh, church, 124, 125, 135, 138
 glebe, 138, 140, 142
 land-holding and farming, 11, 72, 78, 80, 81, 192 n.60
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 45
 timber production, 10
- Farleigh (Farle), Gregory de (Farleigh tenant), 80

- farming, *see* agriculture; pasture
- Farnham, Anglo-Saxon settlement, 56
- castle, 9
 - Cusanweob* in, 25
 - field-names, 69
 - hundred, 14, 38, 104, 182 n.65
 - land-holding and farming, 69, 74
 - manor, 14, 21, 25, 26, 27, 31, 97
 - minster church, 8, 11, 92, 97, 98, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108
 - pagan place-names, 25, 50
 - parochia*, 97, 107, 108, 129–33, 196 n.28, 199 n.89
 - settlement, landscape etc., 38, 50–1, 54
 - town, 56
- Fay, Ralph de, 209 n.69
- feld*, place-names in, 7
- Felde, Gilbert de la (Chertsey tenant), 87
- Felgeres, Ralph de, 126
- Felpham (Sussex), 6
- ferlings, land measured in, 74
- Fetcham, 44, 45, 71, 184 n.94
- Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 45
 - church, 124, 125, 126
 - Downs, 71
 - glebe, 40
 - Hawks Hill in, 45
 - tithe, 143, 148
- fields, common and open, 45, 66–77, 85–90, 140–2, 161
- inclosed, 29–30, 39–40, 46–7, 53, 66–9, 73–4, 82–90, 140–2
- field-systems, 66–90 *passim*
- Flambard, Ranulf (royal clerk and bishop of Durham), 92, 98–9, 105, 106
- fonts, 52, 122, 126, 133, 155
- forests, royal, and forest law, effects of on the economy of Surrey, 9–10, 40–3
- see also* Windsor Forest
- forræpe*, meaning of, 21–2, 182 n.61, 182 n.62
- Fraxineto, Hugh de, 208–9 n.66
- Frensham, church, as chapel of Farnham, 129–33, 196 n.27
- Churt in, 25, 26
 - font, 155
- Freoricburna*, *see* Kingston upon Thames
- Frimley, 26, 40, 43, 183 n.80
- Frith, Roger de (Horne tenant), 84
- Frithuric, Mercian nobleman, 7, 103
- Frithuwold, sub-king of Surrey, 7–8, 21, 25, 94, 103–4
- fruit-growing, 10
- Fullingadic*, the, 7, 8, 14, 16, 18, 20–1, 25, 26
- Gatton, 30, 46, 58, 143
- church, 122, 143, 157, 202 n.58, 204 n.108
- Gavelestre, Maud (Leatherhead tenant), 79
- ge*, place-names in, 7–8
- Gerald, Alexander fitz, 146
- Giffard, William, bishop of Winchester, 102, 124, 139, 146, 153, 198 n.56
- Gilbert, dean of Stoke, 106
- Gilbert, sheriff of Surrey, 99, 124
- glass-making, 10
- glebes, of churches, 76, 83, 135–42
- Gloucester, William earl of, 208 n.56
- Gloucestershire, territorial organisation in, 14
- Glovere, Gilbert le (Leatherhead tenant), 80
- Goda, *see* Godgifu
- Godalming, Catteshall in, chapel, 157–8
- church (parish), 56, 97, 99, 114, 118, 122, 157–8
 - see also* minster church
 - Eashing in, *burh* and royal manor, 8, 19, 21, 56
 - Farncombe in, 69
 - glebe, 139
 - hundred, 14, 51, 104, 182 n.65
 - Hurtmore in, 69, 190 n.13
 - chapel, 157
 - manor (royal), 14, 19, 20–1, 25–6, 27, 75
 - minster church, 20, 56, 75, 92, 97–9, 104, 105, 106, 154, 157–8
 - Oldmynster* in, 99
 - parochia*, 97–9, 107, 157–8
 - settlement, land-holding, farming etc., 53, 60, 69, 75–6
 - Shackleford in, 69
 - as territorial centre, 18, 20, 22, 24
 - town, 56, 60, 75
 - Tuesley in, 20, 28, 69, 99, 157–8
 - Winkworth in, 62
- Godard, priest of Stoke, 106
- Godgifu (Goda), sister of Edward the Confessor, 94, 102
- Godbelmingas* (tribe), 14
- Godley hundred, *see* Chertsey
- Godstone (Walkingstead, *Wolcnæstedæ* etc.), church (?minster), 20, 92, 94, 103, 104, 115, 139, 200 n.9
- Felbridge in, 84, 143
 - glebe, 139–40
 - Lagham in, 62
 - manor, 17, 26, 32, 51, 182 n.60
 - moated site, 62
 - settlement, landscape etc., 51, 53
 - Stratton in, 17, 51, 103, 182 n.60
- Godtovi, thegn, 119
- Godwine, earl of Wessex, 9, 115, 116
- Gos, Christine, 146

- Gravenel, Hamo de, 146, 208–9 n.66
 family, 148
 graveyards, *see* cemeteries
 grazing, of fallow and stubble, 70
see also pasture
 Greensand belt, *see* Weald
 Grene, John atte (of Cuxham), 83
guestingsilver, 80
 Guildford, castle, 9
 chapter of, summoner, 157
 churches (St. Mary, St. Nicholas, Holy Trinity), 124, 126, 157, 205 n.152, 208 n.57
 cloth-making at, 10
 dependencies of Bramley and Shalford in, 56
 manor (royal), 19, 21, 62
 mint, 56
 moated site, 62
 park, 9–10, 62
 shire courts at, 9
 town, 9, 56
 Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, 102
 Gytha, mother of Earl Harold, 115
- Hacche, Sir Eustace de, 61–2
 Hædda (abbot of Breedon-on-the-Hill), 95, 104
 -*bagan*, place-names in, 46, 62
 Hage, Crispin, John and Walter atte (Farleigh tenants), 80
 Hale, John de (Newdigate tenant), 83
 Ham, Anglo-Saxon settlement at, 56
 -*hām*, place-names in, 28, 40, 45, 50, 56
 Hambleton, church, 126, 135, 138, 158, 211 n.137
Eldelene in, 87
 font, 126, 155
 glebe, 138, 142
Lafirthingland in, 85
 manor, 98
Rude in, 194 n.132
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 58, 84–5, 87, 192 n.63, 194 n.139
 Hambleton (Hameldune), Richard de (Leatherhead tenant), 73
 -*hamm*, place-names in, 46, 62
 Hamo the Sheriff (Domesday tenant), 122
 Hampshire, parochial organisation in, 91–2, 104, 107–8, 150, 199 n.83, 201 n.37
 settlement and territorial organisation in, 10, 22
 Hansard (Domesday tenant), 124
 Harold, earl of Wessex and king of England, 115
 Hascombe, church, 116, 118, 119, 122, 133
 hill-fort, 45
 manor, 25, 26
 Haslemere, chapels, 155, 157, 158
 graveyard, 155
 manor, 25
 Pepperhams (*Piperham* etc.) in, 56, 62, 158
 town and market, 56
 Hatcham, 40, 116
 Headley, 38, 72, 82, 194–5 n.149
 church, 126, 128, 133, 134
 glebe, 138, 140
 Hech, Robert de, 149
 Heddresham, John de, 54
 hedge-dating, 48
Hendrica (tribe), 8
 Henley, *see* Ash
 Henry I, king, 98, 99
 Henry II, king, 9, 48, 98, 197 n.40
 Henry III, king, 9
 Herbert, William (Leatherhead tenant), 73
 Herfrid (Domesday tenant), 122, 143
 Heyward, John le (Leatherhead tenant), 194 n.125
Hidaburna, *see* Falcon Brook
 hides and hidation, 8, 21–2, 28, 160, 179 n.28, 179 n.29
 hill-forts, Iron Age, 19, 45
 Hindhead, 2
 Hog's Back, the, 2, 10, 14
 Hoke, *see* Hook
 Holmesdale, Vale of, 2, 55, 66, 90
 Honing (tenant of Windlesham), 95
 Hook (*Hoke*), Simon de la, 61
 Horley, Bourner's Brook in, 17
 church, 52, 114, 115, 122, 126
 Duxhurst in, swine-pasture, 52, 54
 Edgeworth in, 62
 fields of, 190 n.5
 Harrowsley in, 32
 Lake in, swine-pasture, 22, 52
 Langshott in, 62–4
 manor (Warenne), 9
 manorial complexity, 17, 52
 moated site, 62–4
 parsonage, 142
 Petridge in, swine-pasture, 17, 22, 52
 swine-pastures in, 52–3; *and see others listed by name*
 Thunderfield (*Thunresfelda* etc.) in, royal centre and swine-pasture, 19–20, 22, 32, 50, 52
Wedresbulle in, 19
 Horley, Robert de, 64
 Horne, Bysshe Court (*la Bysse*), 87
 church, 101, 126, 143, 153–4
 Church Farm (*Impagbe*, ditched homestead by church), 62, 141, 142, 143
 field-names, 84
 land-holding, 84

- manor, 22, 32, 54
 St. Paul, wood of in, 84
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 53–4, 64, 126
 Tedham in, 62
- Horsell, boundary description of (956), 111–12
 church (chapel of Pyrford), 96–7, 129, 134, 135
Eceles hamme in, 111–12
 Mimbridge in, 111–12
 Parley Farm in, 111–12
 as part of Pyrford manor, 11, 32
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 42, 43
 Sidewood in, 42
 village, 58
- Horsley, tithe of, 148
- Horsley, East, church, 115, 117, 156
 chapel, 156
 manor, 32, 33, 115, 156
- Horsley, West, church, 116
 Lollesworth in, 62
 manor, 32, 33
 settlement, landscape etc., 38, 40
- Housecarl (Huscarle), Sir Thomas, 89
- Hugh the clerk (Banstead tenant), 84
- Hugh (Domesday tenant), 122
- hundreds, origins of, 12–24
 ‘private’, 113
- Hurtmore, T. de, 157
- Huscarle, *see* Housecarl
- byrst*, place-names in, 35, 36, 46, 51
- Ilchester, Richard de, bishop of Winchester, 147,
 152, 154, 197 n.41
- inclosure, of arable land, 88–9
 of waste, 40, 42–3, 48–55 *passim*, 84–5, 87
- Ine, king of Wessex, 8, 33
- ingas*, place-names in, 50, 56
- Iningefeld, *see* Yniggefeld
- Iorwerth, Book of, 24
- iugera*, land measured in, 71–2, 75–6
- Jelyng, Thomas (Leatherhead tenant), 79
- Jolliffe, J.E.A., views of, 12, 17, 21–4
- Jones, G.R.J., views of, 24–7
- Jop, Eudes le (Bandon tenant), 89
- Jutes, supposed characteristics of, 6, 12, 55
- Kelveden (Essex), 186 n.37
- Kent, control of over Surrey, 6, 8, 103
 controlled by Wessex, 8
 land-holding and farming in, 66, 70, 71, 75–6,
 81, 85, 89–90, 160, 193 n.111, 194 n.118
 parochial organisation of, 104, 110, 115, 198
 n.80, 210 n.122
 portion of probably lost to Surrey, 17–18
- settlement, landscape etc. in, 10, 44, 49, 51, 54,
 60
 territorial organisation of, 6–7, 12, 14, 17, 21–4,
 103
- Kingston upon Thames, coronations at, 8, 99
 council at (838), 20, 99
 hundred, 14, 17, 104, 113
 land-holding and farming, 69, 190 n.14
 manor (royal) (perhaps = *Freoricburna*), 14, 17,
 19, 20, 56, 99
 minster church, 94, 99–101, 104, 105, 106
 Norbiton in, 20, 69, 100
parochia of, 99–101, 107, 113, 155, 161
 site of, 182 n.46
 Surbiton in, 20, 69, 100, 191 n.40, 191 n.45
- Kingswood, 17, 27, 30, 48–9, 53, 64
- La-Charité-sur-Loire (mother church of Bermond-
 sey), 102
- Lacy, Ilbert de, 124
- Lambeth, Archbishop Baldwin’s college, 198 n.61
 land-holding and farming, 40, 72, 78–9, 81
 minster church, 94, 102, 104, 105
- land-market, 77–83
- Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, 115
- Laval, Hugh, 124
- Lay Subsidies, 35–9, 64
- leab*, place-names in, 35, 36, 46, 51
- Leatherhead, ‘Celtic’ fields, 45
 church, parish (originally church of Thorn-
 croft), 101, 122, 133, 135, 142, 153, 200 n.9;
see also below, minster church
 Ashted a chapel of, 101, 124, 150, 153
- Downs, 45, 46–7, 71
- field-boundaries, possibly Romano-British,
 29–30, 39–40, 45
- field- and farm-names, 46, 61–2, 71, 73, 76, 77,
 82, 186 n.46, 191 n.37
- glebe, 139
- land-holding and farming, 11, 30, 31, 46–7, 69,
 70–3, 76, 77–80, 81, 82, 83, 191 n.21, 191
 n.29, 191 n.37, 192 n.60, 193 n.77, 194 n.125
 manor (royal), 19, 20, 27, 101
 meaning of name, 20
 minster church, 19, 20, 45, 94, 101, 104, 105,
 108; *see also above*, parish church
- Pachensham Magna in, 40, 45, 56–8, 61–2, 71,
 101
 moated manor-house, 62
- Pachensham Parva in, 71, 72, 73, 80
- parish, composition of, 162
- settlement, landscape etc., 40, 44, 45, 46–7,
 61–2
- shire courts at, 9, 20

- swine-pastures of in Newdigate, 52
 as territorial centre, 18, 20, 22, 45
 Thorncroft in, 11, 30, 31, 46–8, 56–8, 71, 72,
 73, 78–80, 81, 83, 101
 town and market, 56–8
 Leatherhead (Leddrede), John and Nicholas de, 79
 Leddrede, *see* Leatherhead
leftsilver, payment of, 55
 Leghe, Richard atte (of Headley), 82–3
 Leigh, church, 126, 129, 135, 146
 land-holding, 74
 manor (Warene), 9
 Shellwood in, 27, 55
 swine-pastures of in Newdigate, 52
 Leith Hill, 2
 Lemmer, Thomas (Bandon tenant), 89
 Leofwine, brother of Earl Harold, 115
 Lesnes Abbey (Kent), 139
 Lewes (Sussex), 6, 9, 24
 Priory, Surrey properties of, 57–8, 101, 129,
 133, 135, 139, 142–54 *passim*, 157, 204 n.118
 lights (in parish church and in monastic cloister),
 land given to maintain, 139
 Limerick, Bishop Gilbert of, 139
 Limpsfield, church, 202 n.58
 land-holding, 78, 81
 Langhurst in, 51
 outliers in Kent, 17
 Lincolnshire, chapels in, 156
 land-holding in, 77
 Lingfield, Chartham in, 143
 church, 114, 122, 200 n.9
 Dry Hill (hill-fort), 19
 manor, 17, 22, 51, 181 n.21
 outliers in Kent, 17
 Prinkham in, 62
 settlement, landscape etc., 51, 53
 Sugham in, 62
 London, influence of on Surrey, 6, 8–9, 10, 40, 82,
 29, 150
 land near port of, 8, 30, 185 n.121
 St. Paul's Cathedral, 105, 124, 202 n.57
 London Basin, the, settlement, landscape, agri-
 culture etc. in, 2, 14, 38, 39–43, 58, 61–2, 66
 Lucy, Godfrey de, bishop of Winchester, 196 n.20
 Reynold de, 139, 139–40
 Lyminge (Kent), 8
 Lyre Abbey (Normandy), tithe in Bramley, 209
 n.69
 Maitland, F.W., views of, 33–4, 50
 Malden, church, 99–100, 133, 202 n.63, 208 n.57
Crosedon in, 70
 land-holding and farming, 11, 31, 70, 72, 76
 Malden, Eudes de, 99, 208 n.57
 Maleville, William le (Leatherhead tenant), 76, 192
 n.54
 Malling, South (Sussex), manor, 24–7, 75
 Manières, Tirel de, 146
 manor-houses, 134–5, 161
 manors, *see* estates
 Marini, Walter de (Horne tenant), 84
 markets, *see* towns
 Maubon, Sibil (Bandon tenant), 89
 Mauduit, Robert, 156
 Mauncel, John (of Croydon), 82
 meadow, apportionment of, 71, 184 n.119
Medeshamstede, *see* Peterborough
 Medway, River (Kent), 6
 Mercia, control of over Surrey, 7, 8, 103–4
 Mere Bank, 181 n.23
 Merrow, 18
 church, 126
 land-holding, 72, 78, 80, 81, 192 n.60
 Merstham, Alsted in, 62
 boundary description of (947), 11, 46, 51, 62
 church, 115
 manor, 32, 48, 115, 182 n.58
 meaning of name, 30
 moated site, 62
 Nethene Farm in, 46
 settlement, land-holding, farming etc., 46, 62,
 69
 swine-pastures of (Petridge, Lake, Thunder-
 field), 19, 22, 52
 Merton, church, 124, 202 n.58
 manor, 32, 182 n.58
 Priory, and its Surrey properties, 9, 48–9, 61,
 64, 99–101, 106, 124, 142, 152, 157–9
 settlement, landscape etc., 38
 Mickleham, Downs, 45, 46–7
 field-names, 69
 glebe, 140
 meaning of name, 45
 Polesden in, 129, 146, 149–50
 settlement, land-holding, farming etc., 44, 45,
 46–7, 69, 70
 tenements in dependent on Leatherhead, 46–7,
 52
 tithe in, 129, 143, 146, 149
 West Humble in, chapel, 128, 129, 134
 Middle Angles, 7
 Middle Saxons, Surrey possibly once attached to,
 7–8
 Middlesex, land-holding, settlement and agri-
 culture in, 10, 76
see also Middle Saxons
 Midland field-systems, 66, 89–90

- minsters, *see* churches; monasteries
- Mitcham, Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, 7
- Batsworth in, 62
 - Bukingrave* in, 146
 - chapel, 156
 - church, 139, 140, 143, 146
 - field-names, 85
 - glebe, 139
 - land and tithe, 146, 147, 149–50
 - parishioners of, 146, 148
 - settlement, land-holding, farming etc., 38, 60, 70, 85, 193 n.112
 - Southwark Priory houses in, 146, 148
 - Whitford in, 38, 146, 147, 149–50
 - Wibtrichescrofte* in, 146
- moated sites, 54, 61–4, 135, 140–2
- Mole, River, 6, 7, 55
- early crossing of at Leatherhead, 20
- Molesey, manor of, 30
- Molesey, East, church, as chapel of Kingston, 99–101, 104
- Molesey, West, church, as chapel of Walton-on-Thames, 110, 113, 119
- monasteries, foundation, patronage and estates of, *see* Chertsey Abbey; Lewes Priory; Merton Priory; Newark Priory; Southwark Priory; Westminster Abbey
- monks, involvement of in pastoral work, 107, 114–15, 126–9, 199 n.101
- Montibus, Wulfgar de (tenant near Abinger), 83
- Morden, 38, 72
- church, 129
- Mortlake, 14, 38
- church, as chapel of Wimbledon, 113, 114–15
 - manor, 25, 30, 35, 113, 114–15
- Moryn, Eudes (Bandon tenant), 89
- Mowbray, Nigel de, 146
- Newark Priory, foundation and land-holding of, 84, 95–7, 106
- Newdigate, 52, 83
- church, 52, 129, 135, 137, 146, 187 n.89
 - as dependency of Reigate or Leigh, 52, 129
 - field- and farm-names, 52
 - glebe and parsonage, 142
 - manor (Warene), 9
 - swine-pastures in, 52
- Newington, church (= Walworth), 115
- land-holding, 88
 - Walworth in, 115
- Norman Conquest, effects of on Surrey, 9
- Nort', Reynold (Hambleton tenant), 85
- Northampton, Anglo-Saxon settlement in, 65,
- 77
- North Downs Trackways, 6, 178 n.7
- Noxgaga* (unidentified tribe), 8, 179 n.28
- Nutfield, Ham in, 32
- manor, 32
 - settlement, landscape etc., 38, 50, 53, 54
 - Widiborn* in, 54
- Nutshambles (*Motschameles*), linear earthwork, 21
- Ockham, church, 202 n.64
- Common, *Fullingadic* on, 14
- Ockley, glebe, 139
- Offa, king of Mercia, 8, 20, 95
- Obtgaga* (unidentified tribe), 8, 179 n.28
- Oil de Larrun, Robert, 148
- Osweald, thegn, 31, 119, 124
- Oswearde, thegn, 115
- Osyth, St., 7
- Other, Walter fitz, 148, 149
- Ow, *see* Eu
- Oxford, Merton College, manors of in Surrey, 10, 11
- see also* Farleigh, Leatherhead (Thorncroft), Malden
- Oxted, church, 115
- settlement, landscape etc., 54, 66, 191 n.21
- pagan cult centres, Anglo-Saxon, 19–20, 25, 50, 111, 115
- Paling-*, place-name element, 6
- Pappeworth*, *see* Send
- parishes, local, 105–8, 148–59, 161–2
- minster, 91–108, 153, 160, 161
- parishioners, corporate gift by, 146, 148
- parks, 9, 55
- parsonages, 134–42
- pasture and pastoral farming, 10, 14, 30, 45–6, 49, 70–1, 82, 160–1, 184 n.118, 194 n.125
- see also* transhumance
- Payn, Robert (of Bandon), 82
- Paynel, Fulk, 147
- pensions, paid for churches, 157–9
- Peperharow, 98
- Peter, William fitz, 195 n.150
- Peterborough (*Medesbamstede*) (Northants.), minster and abbey, 95, 102, 104
- land-holding on estates of, 83
- Petersham, church, as chapel of Kingston, 99–100, 107, 114, 201 n.40
- land-holding, 71, 72
- Picot (Domesday tenant), 122
- pigs, droving and keeping of, 10, 49–55 *passim*, 52, 54–5, 71
- Pippbrook, the, 55

- Pirbright, church, as chapel of Woking, 95–7, 196 n.24
 settlement, landscape etc., 43
- Pirbright, Peter de, 196 n.24
- Poling (Sussex), 6
- Pollesdene*, 17, 129, 146, 149–50
- Pont de l'Arche, William de, 198 n.56
- Pontoise, John of, bishop of Winchester, 110
- Prat, Godwin, 48
- Prato, Saïld de (Hambleton tenant), 84
- priests, of minster churches, 92, 101–2, 103, 106, 199 n.99
 of local churches, 109–10, 152, 153, 154, 157–9
 royal, controlling minsters, 105–6
- Punsherst family, 46, 83
- purprestures, *see* assarts
- Pusa (abbot of Peterborough), 95
- Putney, 14, 25
 church, as chapel of Wimbledon, 113, 129, 206 n.171
 settlement, land-holding etc., 38, 58, 69, 72, 77, 190 n.12
- Putte, Reynold de la (Hooley tenant), 76
- Puttenden, Gilbert de, 139, 146
- Puttenham, 60
 church, 126, 128, 133
 Shoelands in, 28
- Pychard, Nicholas, 43
- Pyrford, boundary description of (956), 111–12
 church, 96–7, 128, 129
 in forest, 9
 land-holding, 72, 87, 192 n.60, 194 n.117
 manor, 32, 182 n.60, 183 n.80
Petingle in, 42
 settlement, landscape etc. in, 38, 42–3
le Swer' in, 43
 timber production, 10, 42
see also Horsell
- Quarrendon (Bucks.), 7
- Ralph (Domesday tenant), 122
- Reading and Thanet Beds, the, 2, 43–5, 66
- Reādingas* (tribe of Reading, Berks.), 7, 8, 14, 22
- reeve service, 75
- Regenbald (royal clerk), 105
- regularity of small-holdings, 73, 75–7
- Reigate, burial near, 201 n.28
 castle (Warenne *caput*), 9
 castle chapel, 146
 church, 113, 126, 133, 146
 Earlswood Common in, 17
 glebe, 201 n.29
 Hooley in (?), 76
 hundred, 14, 17, 51, 104–5
- Linkfield in, 17, 51
 land, 146
 manor (royal and Warenne), 9, 14, 17, 26–7, 33
 pasture, 71
 Redhill Common in, 17
 reeve and beadle service at, 75
 swine-pastures of in Newdigate, 52
 tithe, 143, 148, 149
 town, 9, 17, 56, 189 n.135
 vicarage, 201 n.28, 208 n.46
 Wray Common and Lane in, 306
- Repton (Derbs.), minster, 104
- Richard I, king, 9, 48–9
- Richard fitz Gilbert, *see* Clare
- Richer, Gilbert fitz (Domesday tenant), 98
- Richmond (Sheen), church, as chapel of Kingston, 99–100
- Robert, prior of Merton, 48
- Robert, Sewal son of, 146
- Rochester Cathedral Priory, 102
- Roger, priest of Stoke, 106
- Rokesle, Walter (of London), 82, 89
- Romano-British sites and field-systems, 6, 29–30, 39–40, 111
 tiles, used in churches, 126
- Ros, Anschetil de, 124
- Rotherhithe, church, 129
- Rottingdean (Sussex), Balsdean chapel, 206 n.162
- Round, J.H., views of, 11, 49
- round towers, 204 n.108
- Rouen, Laurence de, 124, 139
 family, 126, 146, 150
- Rubius, John (Bandon tenant), 89
- Rude, William de la, 42
- St. Martha's, *see* Chilworth
- Salisbury, bishops of, 56
 Dean and Chapter, Godalming a prebend of, 98, 154
- Salisbury, Edward of, 122
 John of, 152
- Sampson, Master, rector of St. Olave's Southwark, 210 n.124
- Sanderstead, 17, 45, 84, 181 n.21, 181 n.23
 church, 114, 200 n.9
Hadfeld in, 84
 Selsdon in, 17
- Sandon Hospital, 185 n.134
 -*scēat*, place-names in, 35, 37, 42
- Scot, John (Leatherhead tenant), 79
- sculpture, Anglo-Saxon, 92, 97, 99, 113, 119
- Seale, Binton in, 25, 26
 church, as chapel of Farnham, 133
 font, 155

- Send, *Aldebury* in (site of Newark Priory), 95
 church, 95–7
 manor, 182 n.58
 Papercourt in (*Pappeworth*), 62, 95
 poor quality of land in, 40
 Ripley chapel (hospital?), 95–7
 Serder, Radulf le (Bandon tenant), 88
 settlements, dispersed, 44–8, 62–5
 nucleated, 55–62, 65, 135, 161
 Shalford, East, church (= Alfold), 122, 149
 glebe, 201 n.29
 house in Guildford, 56
 manor, 26, 53, 122, 183 n.89
 settlement, landscape etc., 53
 tithe, 143, 148, 149
 Shalford, West, church, 113, 119, 155, 203 n.86
 manor, 25, 26
 share-holding, as a basis for smallholdings, 73,
 75–7, 161
 Sheen, *see* Richmond
 Shere, boundary bank (?*Fullingadic*), 14
 church, 113
 Felday (hill-fort), 19
 glebe, 201 n.29
 Gomshall in, 53, 184 n.90
 Holmbury Hill (hill-fort), 16, 19, 45
 manor, 25–6, 113
 settlement, landscape etc., 53, 194 n.139
 tithe, 143, 149
 shire court, location of, 9, 20
 Sigar (Wandsworth tenant), 60
 Slovene, Mabel atte (Leatherhead tenant), 79
 smallholdings, 66–90, 139
see also fields; tenure; virgates
 Soaper, Peter and Thomas (Bandon tenants), 89
 Sonning, *see* *Sunningas*
 South Saxons, 7, 8
 Southwark, 8, 9, 10, 56
 chapel, 156
 churches (St. Olave, St. Margaret, St. George),
 124, 143, 146, 156, 157, 197 n.50, 208 n.56
 minster church, 19, 94, 101–2, 104, 105, 106,
 107; *see also below*, Priory
 mint, 56
 Priory (St. Mary Overy), and its Surrey proper-
 ties, 9, 69, 71, 101–2, 124, 129, 133, 139–56
passim, 159, 204 n.118, 208 n.66
 Roman, 6
 tithe and rent, 146
 waterway (St. Mary Overy Dock), 19, 21, 94,
 101
Westrate in, 146
 Staines (Middlesex), *regio* of, 8, 40
 Stane Street, 6, 30, 45, 48
 Stephen, count of Mortain, later king, 143, 146, 149
 Steyning (Sussex), as territorial centre, 22
 Stoke d'Abernon, church, 111, 113, 116, 117, 135,
 136
 manor, 40
 Oxshott in, 40, 71
 pasture in, 71
 Roman building (as site for church), 111
 settlement, landscape etc., 44
 Stoke-by-Clare Priory (Suffolk), 196 n.24
 Stoke-by-Guildford, church (? minster), 94, 97,
 104, 105, 106, 143
 clergy of, 106
 deanery of, 106
 in Guildford Park, 9
 manor (royal), 9, 19, 21
 Stoke Poges (Bucks.), church, 147
 Stoke, Hugh de, 147
 Stone-by-Faversham (Kent), Roman building used
 as church, 111
 Streatham, 40
 chapel, 202 n.63
 tithe, 146, 149
 strip-parishes, origins of, 33–4, 161
 Sturry (Kent), 8
 subinfeudation, economic effects of, 31, 53–4, 124–6
 'summer-house', Wealden tenants obliged to
 build, 55
 sun-division, as method of partitioning land, 85
Sunningas (tribe of Sonning, Berks.), 7, 8, 14, 22
 Surrey, Earls of, *see* Warenne
 Sussex, Anglo-Saxon settlement in, 6–7
 controlled by Wessex, 8
 ecclesiastical organisation of, 104, 105, 129, 143
 settlement, farming, landscape etc. in, 10, 45,
 51, 54, 70, 74, 187 n.70, 188 n.107, 188
 n.112, 192 n.58, 192 n.61, 192 n.62
 territorial organisation of, 9, 17, 21–4
see also South Saxons
 Sutton, church, 114, 135, 201 n.40
 glebe, 140
 swine-pastures of (Thunderfield), 19, 52
 village, 58
 Sutton-at-Hone (Kent), lathe of, 103
 Swein, brother of Earl Harold, 115
 Swein, Richard son of (Sanderstead tenant), 84
 Tandridge, church (= Tillingdown), 119, 203 n.85
 field-names, 84
 hundred, 17, 51
 land-holding in, 84
 manor, 32
 Moat Farm (*Iningefeld* in), 62, 157
 chapel at, 157

- moated site, 62
 Priory, 157, 198 n.74
 swine-pasture in, 52
 Tillingdown in, 119
 Tandridge, Alwin de, 146
 Tannere, Nicholas and William le (Leatherhead tenants), 79
 Tatsfield, church, 124, 133
 glebe, 140
 settlement, landscape etc., 38
 tenure, free and unfree, 10–11, 75–6, 79–83, 89–90
 territorial organisation, 6–8, 12–24, 160
 Thames Valley, Anglo-Saxon settlement in, 6–7, 8, 40
 minsters in, 94
 Thatcham (Berks.), minster church, 91–2
 Thorpe, 25, 26, 43, 183 n.79
 church, 107, 129, 206 n.157
Thunresfelda, see Horley
 Thursley, church, 111, 115, 119, 122, 125, 200
 n.9, 202 n.60
 font, 155
 manor, 98
 village, 58
 Tillingbourne, the, 55
 timber, production of, 10, 42–3
 Timbermonger, Robert, of Addington, 179 n.57
 tithes, 97, 101, 139, 143–6, 148–50
 collector of, 148
 Titsey, 17, 51
 Bradsted in, 194 n.128
 church, 119
 Toddenham (Glos.), cotmen at, 192 n.69
 Tofi, thegn, 119
 Tolworth, 61, 62, 100, 191 n.45
 Tolworth, Peter de, 99–101, 143, 154, 208 n.57
 Tooting, church, 114, 122, 146, 201 n.40, 201
 n.45, 204 n.108, 204 n.110
 land and tithe, 143, 146, 208–9 n.66
 manor, 184 n.99
 towns, origins of in Surrey, 9, 56–8
 townships, origins of, 24–30, 160–1
 trackways, 6
 transhumance, droving of stock, and the formation
 of dennis, 6, 10, 14–17, 19–20, 21–2, 30, 50–5
 passim
 Tribal Hidage, the, 8
 Trigold, Thomas (Bandon tenant), 89
 Turbert (servant of Merton Priory), 48–9
 Turtel, Reynold (Alfold tenant), 74

Unecungga (unidentified tribe), 8

Valor Ecclesiasticus, data for glebes, 139–42

 vicars and vicarages, 157–9
 Vikings, destruction by, 49, 94, 103, 105
 villages, see settlements, nucleated
 vills, royal, see estates
 Vintner (Vinton), Ralph the, 10, 146
 virgates, 54–5, 71–83, 140

 Wales, territorial organisation of, 24
 Walkingstead, see Godstone
 Wallington, Anglo-Saxon settlement, 56
 chapel, 103
 hundred, 14, 17, 20
 land-holding and farming, 70, 82, 146
 manor (royal), 14, 19, 20, 25, 32, 33
 outliers in Kent, 17
 as territorial centre, 18, 20, 103
 Walter, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, 54
 Walton-on-the-Hill, castle, 9
 church, 126, 135, 137, 150
 font, 126, 155
 land-holding, 82
 swine-pasture of in Horley, 52
 Walton-on-Thames, barrows, 18
 church, 113, 115, 122, 201 n.34
 Fullingadic near, 14
 St. George's Hill (hill-fort), 14, 19, 21
 settlement, landscape etc., 43
 Walton Bridge, 18
 Walworth, see Newington
 Wanborough, 43
 church, 96–7, 196 n.26, 202 n.58
 Wandle, River, 6, 7
 Wandsworth, church, 129, 159
 Cleiputte in, 60
 field-names, 69, 85, 190 n.12
 land-holding, 72, 81, 85
 manor, 25, 26
 meaning of name, 62
 settlement, landscape etc., 60, 69, 191 n.29
 Warrene, barony of, 9, 17, 52, 56, 71, 124, 126,
 143, 149
 Earls of Surrey:
 William I, 9, 143
 William II, 102, 129, 143, 146
 William III, 129, 143, 148
 William IV, 143
 Hamelin, 129, 146
 Isabel, countess, 139, 143
 Warlingham, 45, 58
 church, 116, 208 n.56
 Warmington (Northants.), 198 n.63
 Wateville, Robert de, 122, 124, 148
 William de, 208 n.56
 family, 126

- Waverley Abbey, 9, 142
- Weald, the, and Greensand Belt, settlement, landscape, agriculture etc. in, 2, 6–7, 10–11, 14, 17, 19–20, 22–4, 25–7, 33, 35, 38, 39, 49–55, 55, 58, 60, 66, 70, 73–4, 83–5, 86–7, 104–5, 113, 122, 126, 139–40, 160
- weorb*, place-names in, 46, 62
- Wessex, control of over Surrey, 6, 8–9
territorial organisation of, 22
- Westerham (Kent), Squerryes hill-fort in, 19
- West Midlands, territorial organisation in, 27–8, 29, 31–3
- Westminster Abbey, properties of in Surrey, 11, 42–3, 72, 76, 81, 87, 129, 159, 202 n.57
- Weston, William de, 156
- Wey, River, 6, 7, 9, 10, 56
- Weybridge, Anglo-Saxon settlement, 56
Brooklands in, 185 n.10
church, 96–7, 129, 135, 196 n.26
Fullingadic near, 7, 14
Huneuualdesham in, 25, 26, 180 n.12
manor, 26
- White (Albus, Wyte), Richard le (Farleigh tenant), 80
Robert (Fetcham tenant), 148
- Whitford, John de, 146, 149
Richard de, 146, 147
family, 148
- William I, king, 9
- William II, king, 102
- William (royal clerk), 94, 105
- William (tenant of Merton Priory), 48
- Wilmington (Sussex), 27
- Wimbleton, barrows at, 18
Bensbury (hill-fort) in, 180 n.14
boundary of, 14
Caesar's Camp (hill-fort), 19
church, 113
Common, 18
dependencies of, 17, 53–4, 181 n.17
Domesday data for, 38
land-holding and farming, 75, 195 n.50
manor, 17, 25, 26
- Winchester, bishops of, *see* Giffard; Blois; Ilchester; Lucy; Pontoise
bishopric, manors of in Surrey, 20, 25, 69, 92
diocese of, 9, 107–8
Hyde Abbey, manors of in Surrey, 51, 114, 202 n.57
- Windlesham, church, as chapel of Woking, 95–7, 107, 133
as dependency of Woking, 14, 26, 27, 95
Fullingadic near, 14
settlement, landscape etc., 40, 43, 58, 60, 64, 95
- Windsor Forest and Bagshot Sands area, settlement, landscape, agriculture etc. in, 9–10, 38, 39–43, 58, 66, 87
- Wisley, 14, 194 n.149
church, 119
- Witley, church, 115, 125, 133, 155, 202 n.60
manor, 98
Oxenford farm in, 71
pasture in, 71
settlement, landscape etc., 53
- Woccingas* (tribe), 14
- Woking, Apers in, 62
Brookwood in, 9, 42
hundred, 10, 14, 20, 40–3, 58, 61, 104, 182 n.65
manor (royal), 9, 14, 19, 20–1, 27, 42
Mayford in, 43
minster church, 8, 21, 92, 94, 95–7, 103–4, 105, 106, 107
parochia of, 95–7, 107, 161
settlement, landscape etc., 38, 42, 43, 84
Sutton in, 38, 43, 143, 149
as territorial centre, 18, 21, 22, 24
- Woldingham, 40, 45, 58
- Wonersh, 25, 26, 51
church, as chapel of Shalford, 118, 119, 122
font, 155
le Longebam in, 194 n.132
- Woodcote, Baldric de la, 86
Geoffrey de la, 84, 86
Luke de la, 49
- woodlands, economy of, 10, 40, 42–3, 49–55
passim, 79
see also Weald
- Woodmansterne, church, 116, 133, 139, 146, 154
glebe, 139, 140
land, 146
swine-pasture of in Horley, 52
- Worplesdon, 43
- Wotton, church, 113, 133, 200 n.9, 201 n.30, 202 n.58
hundred, 17, 20, 51, 104–5
Oakwood in, chapel, 132, 133, 157
- Wulfhere, king of Mercia, 7, 94
- Wulfmær (royal clerk), 92, 105
- Wulfric (tenant of Merton Priory), 48
- Wyte, *see* White
- Yniggefild (Iningefeld), Jordan de, 157
- Yorkshire, destitute Surrey tenant flees to, 40
land-holding in, 85
- Young (Yungge), Richard le (Farleigh tenant), 80
- Yungge, *see* Young

EARLY MEDIEVAL SURREY

Landholding, Church and Settlement before 1300

This is a study of institutions and the economy in Surrey during the early and central Middle Ages. The many themes discussed here have seen much research in the last twenty years: the manorial structure, agrarian growth, field-systems, parish churches and the parochial system. But the more they are examined, the more the hidden problems emerge and the less adequate the old generalizations seem. Only very detailed local studies such as this will tell us what was really happening. The author ensures that each institution is set against its historical context and aims to show how systems of lordship, tenure, agriculture, ecclesiastical jurisdiction and pastoral care changed together and affected each other. In so doing he provides much more than a local study, for these are the details that form the essential core of our understanding of institutions and practices that still affect Britain today.

John Blair is a Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford.

£25.00

ISBN 0-86299-780-1



9 780862 997809