

## DOMESDAY MORTLAKE

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Mortlake today is famous as the settlement on the southern or Surrey shore of the Thames that marks the Boat Race finishing line,<sup>1</sup> but this is only Mortlake the erst-while village and small ancient parish.<sup>2</sup> The archbishop of Canterbury's Domesday manor was far larger, extending over the whole contiguous block to the east: Barnes and Putney (and thus the whole of the Boat Race course) and Wimbledon. The archbishop lost the manor in 1536 but it survived into the twentieth century as a single unit, although for centuries more normally called Wimbledon.<sup>3</sup> Before discussing its problems between 1066 and 1086, I want to look at its preceding hundred or so years, using local detail to offer revisions of previously accepted chronologies concerning the manor, its Wealden outlier, and its hundred, all of which in turn have wider implications.

The Domesday entry for Mortlake names Putney as contributing 20s. in tolls, presumably either for a ferry across to Fulham or for other Thames-side landing rights, and refers to 8 hides held within Mortlake by the canons of St Paul's, whose own entry names this as Barnes; although Wimbledon is not mentioned, the reference to a church (on which more below) shows that it too was included.<sup>4</sup> Since such large blocks of land are usually taken to be early endowment, it has been influentially suggested that Domesday Mortlake was probably acquired by Canterbury in the seventh or eighth century.<sup>5</sup> This is, however, implausible, as Bishop Theodred of London in his will of 951 × 953 named demesne episcopal estates that included *Wunnemanedune* and *Sceon*, and *Wunnemanedune* is generally accepted as Wimbledon.<sup>6</sup> *Sceon* is definitely Sheen, and one of the purposes of this paper is to argue that

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to members of both the Battle Conference and the Locality and Region seminar, Institute of Historical Research, for discussion of versions of this paper; as well as those specifically mentioned below I also especially wish to thank Keith Bailey, Stephen Baxter, John Blair, Nicholas Brooks, Chris Lewis, Richard Mortimer, and Susan Reynolds for generous encouragement.

<sup>2</sup> Since Mortlake's chapel attained parochial status only in the 1860s (see below) it may not technically be an ancient parish, but it functioned as such.

<sup>3</sup> It was still 'in the possession of the current Earl Spencer' in 1912: *VCH Surr.* IV, 122.

<sup>4</sup> GDB 30b2, 34a1 (Surr. 2/3; 13/1). The Wimbledon reeve's *onus* for 1458–9 includes 30s. for the farm of the crossing (*de firma passagii*) at Putney, Lambeth Palace Library [hereafter LPL], ED 213.

<sup>5</sup> On the archive, F. R. H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury*, London 1966, chapter 1; for Mortlake as probably an early acquisition, Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, Leicester 1984, 101, 105–7, followed by, e.g., John Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, Stroud 1991, 25; Mary Frances Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Woodbridge 2007, 128; Richard Milward, *Wimbledon Past*, London 1998, 15; and idem, *A Parish Church since Domesday Book: St Mary's Wimbledon*, London, 1993, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Whitelock, *AS Wills*, 38–9; Margaret Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley*, Leicester 1979 [hereafter *ECTV*], nos. 329, 350; *The Place-Names of Surrey*, ed. J. E. B. Gower, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, Cambridge, 1934 [hereafter *PN Surrey*], 38, which, in detailing the possible letter-shift, notes that the will survives only in a fourteenth-century copy 'with a good deal of corruption of the tenth-century forms'; Pamela Taylor, 'The Endowment and Military Obligations of the See of London: A Reassessment of Three Sources', *ANS* 14, 1991, 287–312; eadem, 'Foundation and Endowment: St Paul's

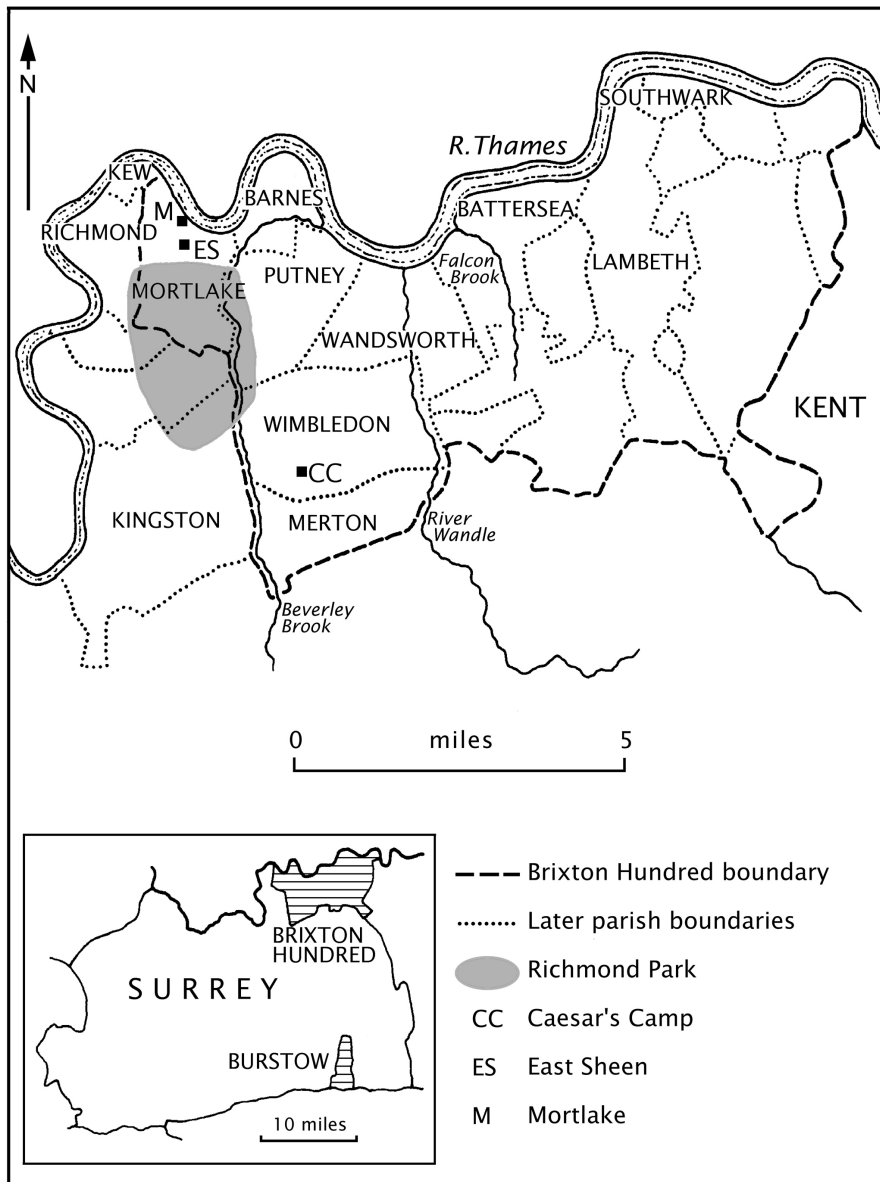


Figure 1. Domesday Mortlake in context.

this was East Sheen alias Mortlake, not, as usually thought, West Sheen alias Richmond, and that the combined St Paul's estates *c.* 950 are exactly the archbishop's Domesday manor. The see of London had almost certainly lost both Wimbledon and Sheen by *c.* 1000, when an apparently comprehensive list of St Paul's estates fails to include either.<sup>7</sup> It does, however, include Barnes, which as we have seen was held before 1066 within Mortlake by the canons of St Paul's.<sup>8</sup>

With no long centuries of Canterbury tenure, there are new avenues for exploration. The ones around St Paul's acquisition of the endowment cannot be examined here; briefly, the argument that large equals early still holds good, and the window is probably limited to the episcopate of Bishop Eorcenwald (675–93), which seems to have been the only time when Surrey was within the diocese of London.<sup>9</sup>

Even if Domesday Mortlake was effectively a single acquisition, it is clear from Figure 1 that it may have comprised at least two initially distinct units, Mortlake west of the Beverley brook, and Wimbledon and its components east of it.<sup>10</sup> Both need discussion, but in claiming that Domesday Mortlake equals Theodred's demesne estates of *Sceon* and *Wunnemannedune* plus the canons' Barnes, I start by arguing for Mortlake in the smaller sense as his *Sceon*. East Sheen is still prominently part of Mortlake (M and ES on Fig. 1 mark the two historic centres), but the assumption has always been that neighbouring Richmond, renamed by Henry VII, represents the area formerly known not only as West Sheen but also simply as Sheen.<sup>11</sup> Yet 'Sheen' could always stand for either East or West. Theodred's will is the earliest reference, but lists of later spellings, starting from one in 1130, show an increasing and entirely typical differentiation from the mid-thirteenth century into West and East Sheen, although equally typically both also continued to be referred to simply as Sheen.<sup>12</sup> West Sheen first appears in 1250, with further forms of Sheen for West Sheen down to 1480.<sup>13</sup> Mortlake aside, the evidence for East Sheen is the same. *The Place-Names of Surrey* has examples of 'East Sheen' from 1247 onwards, but

and the English Kingdoms, 604–1087', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604–2004*, ed. Derek Keene, Arthur Burns, and Andrew Saint, New Haven, CT, and London 2004, 5–16; Susan Kelly, *Charters of St Paul's London*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 10, Oxford 2004. No alternative identification has, as far as I know, ever been suggested.

<sup>7</sup> Kelly, *Charters of St Paul's*, no. 25 and pp. 97–100; see also Taylor, 'Endowment', 293–300 and 'Foundation and Endowment', 15.

<sup>8</sup> GDB 34a1 (Surr. 13/1), and see below.

<sup>9</sup> See further Taylor, 'Foundation and Endowment', especially 7, which also notes Kelly's reservations on the general equation. I shall argue in a forthcoming article that at least eastern Surrey must have been under Rochester when the dioceses were founded.

<sup>10</sup> Whether Wimbledon included Putney and Barnes is considered below. On the likelihood of parish or sub-parish units pre-dating even the earliest charter grants see Della Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: The Charter Evidence*, BAR British Series 95, 1981, 99–100.

<sup>11</sup> On West Sheen's renaming, *VCH Surr.* III, 533; for the assumption, Gelling, *ECTV*, no. 329: '*Sceon* (Sheen, now Richmond)'; Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, index: 'Sheen, see Richmond'; Taylor, 'Endowment', 297; eadem, 'Foundation and Endowment', 13; John Cloake, *Cottages and Common Fields of Richmond and Kew*, Chichester 2001, 1, following his *Palaces and Parks of Richmond and Kew*, Chichester 1995, 2. Only Keith Bailey and Susan Kelly have done slightly better: Bailey suggested that *Sceon* 'is either Richmond, or Mortlake, or both': 'The Anglo-Saxon Boundaries of Wandsworth: Some Comments', *Wandsworth Historian* 74, Autumn 2001, 15–20 at 16; Kelly indexes *Sceon* as 'Sheen, (East)', and refers to 'Wimbledon and East Sheen' as having belonged to the bishopric; but she also refers to *Sceon* as 'Sheen (later Richmond)', which is West Sheen, *Charters of St Paul's*, 93, 198.

<sup>12</sup> *PN Surrey*, 26, 65, and Cloake, *Cottages and Common Fields*, App. 1, p. 361 list the first appearances of variant spellings.

<sup>13</sup> Cloake, *Cottages and Common Fields*, App. 1, p. 361. The statement in *VCH Surr.* III, 533, published in 1911, that West Sheen was a later, separate hamlet within Richmond demolished in 1769, has simply been superseded.

manorial records include, for instance, the reeve's account for 1389–90 referring to land in 'Hamton et Schene', and in 1462 capital pledges 'de Mortlake et Shene'.<sup>14</sup>

Everything we know about the division of areas with the same name, as well as a glance at Figure 1, strongly suggests that Sheen was the name of a single district that was later divided: West Sheen became Richmond; East Sheen, in the reverse of the later position, was Mortlake.<sup>15</sup> The boundary was a brook which entered the Thames at Kingston creek, and a strip of meadow immediately south of the creek was known as Richmond mead and held by Kew parish (originally part of Richmond), an allocation that indicates the division of an earlier unit.<sup>16</sup> West Sheen was still at Domesday part of Kingston manor and always remained within Kingston hundred, whose natural boundary line has obviously been shifted westward to exclude East Sheen/Mortlake, but since hundreds were often adjusted to coincide with manors this provides no help in dating the division.<sup>17</sup>

Within Mortlake – the name of the manor and parish – East Sheen appears at first sight to be merely the hamlet, or at most the southern part of the parish, but this is definitely too restrictive.<sup>18</sup> The only medieval sub-manor, called East Sheen alias West Hall, had intermingled strips in the parish's northern fields and by the late seventeenth century the manor house was in today's North Sheen.<sup>19</sup> The view has been distorted by two major changes. The term North Sheen is a neologism, coined in the 1890s when the whole area up into the loop of the Thames was transferred from Mortlake to the newly created borough of Richmond.<sup>20</sup> Even more significantly, although the parish boundary was unaffected, over 732 acres, all from the southern end (by any standard part of East Sheen), were removed by Charles I in the

<sup>14</sup> *PN Surrey*, 26; LPL ED 1112 (Ham(p)ton is Roehampton, a hamlet within Putney); Northamptonshire Record Office, court roll 135, m. 2r., now the manor's earliest surviving court roll, is partly published in *Extracts from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Wimbledon*, no editor named, London, parts 1–2 1866, part 3 1869.

<sup>15</sup> On division see F. W. Maitland, 'The Surnames of English Villages', in *The Collected Papers of Frederic William Maitland*, ed. H. W. L. Fisher, Cambridge 1911, II, 84–95; R. A. Dodgshon, *The Origin of British Field Systems: An Interpretation*, London 1980, chapter 5.

<sup>16</sup> Charles Hailstone, *Alleyways of Mortlake and East Sheen*, Barnes & Mortlake Historical Society, 1983, 8, 36–7. Richmond mead is clearly shown on the 1838 Mortlake tithe map and accompanying schedule, and see D. Holly, 'Mortlake and the Tithe Survey', cyclostyle, 1982, 5. Photocopies of the map, schedule, and Holly's useful analysis are all in London Borough of Richmond Local Studies Library.

<sup>17</sup> On Brixton hundred see below; on the probable shifting of the Middlesex–Herts. boundary because of St Albans' endowment, Pamela Taylor, 'Boundaries and Margins: Barnet, Finchley and Totteridge', in *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies: Essays in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen*, ed. M. J. Franklin and Christopher Harper-Bill, Woodbridge 1995, 259–79, especially 272.

<sup>18</sup> The hamlet was centred on the junction of Sheen Lane and the Upper Richmond Road with a separate and probably later settlement on the higher land to the south: see R. C. Gill, *The Growth of East Sheen in the Victorian Era*, Barnes & Mortlake Historical Society Occasional Papers 7, 1992, 1, for the changes in usage on Lower and Upper East Sheen from the eighteenth century to 1919.

<sup>19</sup> *VCH Surr.* IV, 69–70; R. C. Gill, 'The Manor of East Sheen', *Barnes & Mortlake Historical Society Newsletter* 2, Christmas 1960. A visit to West Hall manor house in West Hall Road and its later damage by fire are described *ibid.*, 131, Dec. 1994, and 176, Mar. 2006. The manor's strips included some in North field near the church, in Clay Ends and in Mortlake town: Northants RO, Manor of Wimbledon Survey, 1617, fols 164–6, 277, 279; the manor house seems then to have been further south: *ibid.*, fol. 267.

<sup>20</sup> The municipal borough of Richmond was created in 1890 covering only the parish of St Mary Magdalen, Richmond, but was extended in 1892 to include the parishes of Kew, Petersham, and Mortlake. Under the Local Government Act of 1894 Mortlake was split, with 1,554 acres transferred to Barnes urban district and the remaining 329 acres forming the new parish of North Sheen and left in Richmond: Wikipedia entry for Richmond; see also Hailstone, *Alleyways*, 7.

1630s for his new Richmond park.<sup>21</sup> The park included not only former common and waste but also a large part of one of the four common fields, and it submerged the road system.<sup>22</sup> Since the 1838 tithe map (like others) stops at the boundary wall of the park, it makes the then-surviving strip systems seem far more directed towards Mortlake town than they originally were.<sup>23</sup> These factors have contributed to such misperceptions as the recent formulation of Mortlake as probably a planned settlement ‘facing its fields’.<sup>24</sup>

The name Mortlake was often used narrowly just for the town or riverside settlement. There is evidence of very early habitation here: an excavation revealed traces of prehistoric activity and of two buildings dated to *c.* AD 500, but then a complete gap until the late twelfth or thirteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Place-name experts, without a pre-Domesday form, have suggested ‘Morta’s stream’ or, more recently, ‘a small stream in which young salmon (*\*mort*) are found’.<sup>26</sup> They have also suggested that this was either the Beverley brook, which, as the map shows, is impossible, or ‘an arm’ of it ‘which once followed into the Thames where the original settlement grew up’.<sup>27</sup> This, too, is unlikely: the ditch that indeed bridged the gap, and provided the Mortlake–Barnes boundary, is too far east. The excavation referred to above is fractionally west of 6 o’clock on the Mortlake curve, the site of the archbishop’s palace slightly west again, and all the other archaeological evidence points to later settlement expansion eastward from there.<sup>28</sup> There was in fact another stream, which ran along the side of Sheen Lane and was therefore better placed to have provided the name.<sup>29</sup>

The point matters because it links the initially small settlement site and the palace.<sup>30</sup> It seems highly likely that in 1086 Mortlake as both name and place had only recently jumped in importance because the archbishops had built a riverside

<sup>21</sup> On Richmond park see especially Simon Thurley, ‘The Impact of Royal Landholdings on the County of Surrey, 1509–1649’, in *Aspects of Archaeology and History in Surrey*, ed. Jonathan Cotton, Glensy Crocker, and Audrey Graham, Surrey Archaeological Society, 2004, 155–68; R. C. Gill, *Richmond Park in the Seventeenth Century*, Barnes & Mortlake Historical Society Occasional Papers 4, 1990, and sources there cited.

<sup>22</sup> Traces of ridge and furrow are still visible. The lost landscape can be largely reconstructed from a 1634 plan of the proposed enclosure and the Northants RO Manor of Wimbledon Survey of 1617. The plan is best reproduced in Thurley, ‘Impact’; smaller reproductions include John Cloake, *Richmond Past*, London 1991, 18; Holly, ‘Mortlake and the Tithe Survey’, fig. 5. Gill, *Richmond Park*, maps the field names based on the 1617 survey. The Spencer archive has been split, with the awkward result that the manorial records are supposedly at Northants RO but maps are in the BL; the latter include a copy of the Putney part of the 1617 Survey and a nineteenth-century plan of ‘the bounds of Putney Parish as described in the Perambulation taken in 1617’, Althorp Papers, BL Add. MS 78153 A, Z, but there is nothing similar for the other constituent parts.

<sup>23</sup> Holly, ‘Mortlake and the Tithe Survey’, includes maps with field and shot names added from the detail in the tithe apportionment. The directional effect is coincidentally heightened because the strips survived in only two of the fields; for detail, including Fortie Field’s enclosure in 1670, see Hailstone, *Alleyways*.

<sup>24</sup> Dennis Turner, ‘Manors and Other Settlements’, in *Aspects of Archaeology and History in Surrey*, ed. Cotton and others, 133–46 at 136; the paper also underestimates the importance of soil type.

<sup>25</sup> Lorraine Darton, ‘Insights into the Development of Medieval and Post-Medieval Riverside Buildings at Mortlake’, *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 91, 2004, 231–61, on nos. 77–91 Mortlake High Street; the historical summary at p. 234 is unreliable.

<sup>26</sup> *PN Surrey*, 26; A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of London Place Names*, Oxford 2001. The dead lake still being peddled by Thames cruise ships is romantically Arthurian but linguistically impossible.

<sup>27</sup> *PN Surrey*, 26; letter from A. D. Mills published in *Barnes & Mortlake Historical Society Newsletter* 158, Sept. 2001.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Darton, ‘Mortlake’.

<sup>29</sup> It had been visible within living memory in 1983: Hailstone, *Alleyways*, 7.

<sup>30</sup> On the focus of alleyways on the waterside at Ship Lane see *ibid.*, 10, and map, 36–7.

residence there, and, well before any linguistic separation into East and West Sheen, it may be that the name Mortlake was preferred in order to enhance the distinction from royal Sheen.<sup>31</sup> Bishop Theodred must have had an estate centre, but if he or his predecessors wanted a residential manor away from the cathedral – a genuine ‘if’, as the date for this may have been slightly later – with Fulham to hand they did not need Mortlake.<sup>32</sup> For the archbishop, who always straddled the Wessex–Mercia divide and was a major political figure, the need may well have been felt early. In the mid-tenth century, though, with St Paul’s still holding Wimbledon and Sheen, the archbishop had no convenient endowment. Croydon, Hayes, and Harrow were all fairly distant and entirely inland.<sup>33</sup> Lambeth, directly opposite Westminster, was not acquired until 1197.<sup>34</sup> Exactly when the archbishops began to reside at Mortlake is unknown, but documents known to be dated there start from 1099.<sup>35</sup>

The desire for a riverside base may have been a factor in the archbishops’ acquisition of Sheen and Wimbledon, but at most it provides only a motive. When, in the half-century between Theodred’s death and *c.* 1000, might there have been an opportunity? There is no obvious moment of weakness in what we know about the bishops of London when the see might have lost out to Canterbury.<sup>36</sup> What follows is speculative but, as earlier with Eorcenwald, there was in the 950s a unique combination of circumstances: the division of the kingdom and then Dunstan’s promotion from London to Canterbury.

Eadwig became king in 955, but in 957 his brother Edgar succeeded to Mercia and the erstwhile kingdom of the English was divided along the Thames.<sup>37</sup> The

<sup>31</sup> For comparable name changes and choices in Domesday Book, see F. and C. Thorn, ‘The Writing of Great Domesday Book’, in *Domesday Book*, ed. Elizabeth Hallam and David Bates, Stroud 2001, 54.

<sup>32</sup> Fulham was acquired at the start of the eighth century. No pre-sixteenth-century buildings survive at Fulham Palace although its later medieval occupancy is well documented. The most detailed analysis of the complex is Warwick Rodwell, ‘Fulham Palace, London, SW6: Archaeological Appraisal and Plan’, cyclostyled report for London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham, 1988, 19; he suggests from the evidence of the moats that there was a residence from ‘the earlier part of the twelfth century’ which then moved to a grander thirteenth-century construction. The account of Geoffrey de Mandeville’s rush to Fulham in 1141, ‘where he took the bishop of London then lodging in his manor place’, which Rodwell and others accept implicitly, occurs only in Holinshed’s sixteenth-century *Chronicles*. The next major early crossing of the Thames to the west was between Brentford (also early St Paul’s endowment) and Kew, so only just beyond Mortlake but still less convenient than Fulham.

<sup>33</sup> On Canterbury’s early-ninth-century acquisition of Hayes and Harrow see Brooks, *Early History*, 132–41; Canterbury held Croydon by 870 × 889, *ibid.*, 151–2.

<sup>34</sup> Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, 195.

<sup>35</sup> *VCH Surr.* IV, 69, citing O. Manning and W. Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, London 1814, III, 303. The medieval collection of Archbishop Lanfranc’s letters did not include dating and signing clauses; see *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 44 for Lanfranc’s stay at Freckenham (Suff.) for a rest cure.

<sup>36</sup> The ranking of the bishop of London in charter witness lists dropped slightly but remained respectable, and well above the level before Theodred: Simon Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters*, Cambridge 1993; see also Dorothy Whitelock, ‘Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London’, Chambers Lecture 1974, 1975, reprinted with the same pagination in *eadem*, *From Bede to Alfred: Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Literature and History*, London 1980, chapter 4. Stephen Baxter, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God’s Property’, in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference 2002*, ed. Matthew Townsend, York 2004, 161–205, details Wulfstan’s interest in his episcopal estates at Worcester and York; Baxter’s silence on London simply reflects the absence of records.

<sup>37</sup> For the politics and the sources see Simon Keynes, ‘England, 900–1016’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, III: c. 900–c. 1024*, ed. Timothy Reuter, Cambridge 1999, 456–84, especially 476–80; N. P. Brooks, ‘The Career of St Dunstan’, in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, Woodbridge 1992, 1–23 at 18–21.



split proved short-lived, since at Eadwig's death in 959 the kingdoms were reunited under Edgar, but while it lasted it was absolute and ealdormen and bishops whose areas of office lay north of the Thames moved across to Edgar. They must have included the bishop of London, whose diocese had been divided between Wessex and Mercia since at least 825 when the West Saxons took control of Essex (but not Middlesex), and who had been far more active in the West Saxon than the Mercian court.<sup>38</sup> Surrey had almost certainly been transferred to the diocese of Winchester at the start of the eighth century, making St Paul's tenure of land there a long-standing anomaly, but perhaps the reorganization of the West Saxon dioceses in 909, and certainly the 957 divorce between Wessex and Mercia, must have focused attention on it.<sup>39</sup> Dunstan may have seen a heaven-sent opportunity.

Exiled by Eadwig, Dunstan was swiftly recalled in 957 by Edgar, who in short order made him bishop of both Worcester and London, and then in 959 also promoted him to Canterbury.<sup>40</sup> Replacements were installed in Worcester and London only in 961, thus ending the saint's flouting of canon law on both pluralism and translation, and Nicholas Brooks describes the triple plurality as 'a temporary expedient until men of whom he approved could be appointed'.<sup>41</sup> It is all too easy to imagine Dunstan making a similarly strategic decision to keep the Surrey estates of the bishopric of London, and explaining to his hapless protégé, Bishop Ælfstan, why they were so much more suitable for Canterbury.<sup>42</sup> There was a highly comparable case a century later, and it was probably only because of the land pleas that followed the Norman Conquest that Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester was able in 1070 to recover lands lost to York when Archbishop Ealdred was holding both sees in plurality in 1060–2.<sup>43</sup>

Dunstan's biographers were not interested in his skills in estate management, an area for which other sources are poor, but even if the sources were better, in the tenth century such a transfer might well have slipped below the radar.<sup>44</sup> The hypothesis also explains the canons' otherwise puzzling retention of Barnes.

<sup>38</sup> Simon Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. Mark A. S. Blackburn and David N. Dumville, Woodbridge 1998, 1–45 at 8 and note 27.

<sup>39</sup> On the probable early-ninth-century transfer see Whitelock, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops', 11, followed by Kelly, *Charters of St Paul's*, 14–15. Most scholars have placed Surrey under Winchester in the 909 reorganization: F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn, Oxford 1971, 439; Brooks, *Early History*, 213; H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 550–1087*, London 1983, 159. Loyn in *The English Church, 940–1154*, Harlow 2000, 2, asserts without citing any evidence that Surrey remained under London.

<sup>40</sup> *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 63, 1874, 32–5; Keynes, 'England', 476–7; Brooks, 'Career of St Dunstan', 20–1.

<sup>41</sup> Brooks, 'Career of St Dunstan', 21.

<sup>42</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, 243–53, is judiciously balanced; most of the contributors to *St Dunstan* are notably cool toward their subject. Patrick Wormald described Brithelm, the archbishop replaced in 959, as 'elbowed out in a shameless *putsch* by Edgar and Dunstan': 'The Strange Affair of the Selsey Bishopric, 953–963', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser, Oxford 2001, 128–41 at 128. See also Nicola Robertson, 'Dunstan and Monastic Reform: Tenth-Century Fact or Twelfth-Century Fiction', *ANS* 28, 2005, 153–67, for a recent statement of the uncertainty of Dunstan's contribution to the reform movement.

<sup>43</sup> See George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure, 1066–1166*, Oxford 2007, 13–14.

<sup>44</sup> On Dunstan's contemporary biographer see Michael Lapidge, 'B. and the *Vita S. Dunstani*', in *St Dunstan*, ed. Ramsay and others, 247–59; some of his conclusions are prefigured in Brooks, *Early History*, 245–6. On the distinction between biography and hagiography, which updates *Memorials*, ed. Stubbs, see, e.g., Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307*, London 1974, 78–87. For the paucity of other sources, Brooks, *Early History*, 250–1.

Separation of the endowment between bishop and chapter was further advanced at St Paul's in 1086 than at any other English cathedral, and Theodred's will shows it already in place (although still mutable) *c.* 950.<sup>45</sup> Other cathedrals were slower, but the idea had very early roots, and Dunstan would have recognized the distinction.<sup>46</sup> The canons were therefore able to retain Barnes, probably originally their share of divided Wimbledon, but thenceforth held from the archbishop. The supposed charter of Æthelstan of 924 × 939 confirming all the canons' estates, which is still enjoying a worryingly long half-life as the title deed for Barnes, is a total post-Conquest forgery.<sup>47</sup>

The delay in turning to Wimbledon has been partly in order to draw a wider context within which to argue that Theodred's *Wunemannedune* included Putney and the residual rights in Barnes, and that this remained uninterruptedly the case thereafter. There are also a few supporting indicators to air before considering the boundary clause recorded in the eleventh century that provides the major piece of apparently contrary evidence. The obligations of Barnes to the main manor in later centuries in views of frankpledge and labour services are well documented, and it is at least interesting that Barnes held two parcels of land south of the Beverley brook.<sup>48</sup> There was also, as with Richmond mead in Mortlake, a division of meadow. The arable field-systems of Wimbledon, Putney, its hamlet of Roehampton, and Barnes were all separate, but yardlanders in Putney and Roehampton had shares in both Putney meadow on the Beverley brook and Westmead alias Lottmead on the Thames in Barnes.<sup>49</sup> It is plausible that these arrangements were either allowed to continue or put in place at the point when the canons' Barnes was divided from Wimbledon including Putney, and hard to see them happening without a unitary lordship. That the archbishops had demesne strips in the fields of Wimbledon and Mortlake but not in Putney or Roehampton might also indicate that Putney was always seen as part of a larger unit.<sup>50</sup>

There is another reference that I hope reflects an early link, and which is also of wider Domesday interest. A short rental for the whole manor compiled in 1632 includes a rent-charge from Barnes of 7s. 6d. from the Swan with Two Necks in Southwark.<sup>51</sup> This is truly odd. Barnes, although part of Mortlake, had always been

<sup>45</sup> Taylor, 'Endowment', 288–93; eadem, 'Foundation and Endowment', 13–14; Kelly, *Charters of St Paul's*, especially 91–8; see also, although he is not at his best on London, Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the Mensa Episcopalis*, Cambridge 1994.

<sup>46</sup> Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, Oxford 2006, 10, shows division of income in the papally controlled areas of late-fifth-century Italy.

<sup>47</sup> It is dismissed by Gelling, *ECTV*, no. 326; Kelly, *Charters of St Paul's*, no. 12; Taylor, 'Foundation and Endowment', 14–15; but cited by Maisie Brown, *Barnes & Mortlake Past*, London 1997, 12; Dorian Gerhold, *Putney and Roehampton Past*, London 1994, 13; Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture*, 129 note 27.

<sup>48</sup> For views of frankpledge see Northants RO, court roll 135, e.g. m. 2r., court held 3 May 1462; for labour services, *The Domesday of St Paul's*, ed. W. H. Hale, Camden Society 69, 1858, 103; for the chapter's acknowledgement of the relationship, *ibid.*, 145. For the land south of the brook, Dorian Gerhold, *Putney in 1636*, Wandsworth Historical Society 1994, 33. It would be interesting to know if these relate to the 'terris de putlewrth & aldeland & hetha' for which the township (*villata*) of Barnes owed an annual rent recorded in 1222: *Domesday of St Paul's*, ed. Hale, 103.

<sup>49</sup> The yardlanders were landholders with 15 acres; Wimbledon's also had access to meadows along the Wandle, which there provided the manor's eastern boundary. Westmead is still shown as a detached part of Putney on the OS 25 inches to the mile surveys of 1867 and 1893, both reproduced in The Godfrey Edition, London Sheet 85 (titled *Chiswick*). Dorian Gerhold, 'Putney Detached', *Wandsworth Historian* 31, Dec. 1981, 7–10.

<sup>50</sup> The location of the demesne lands can be traced from medieval manorial records but is most easily followed in the 1617 Wimbledon Manor survey in Northants RO.

<sup>51</sup> It is written on a leaf at the back of the 1617 survey.



held by the canons, and their tenure, unlike the archbishop's, had survived the Reformation. Odder still, the archbishop had lost his Southwark manor in 1538, and when the Crown sold Southwark to the City of London in 1550 all rents from his former properties there were specifically included.<sup>52</sup>

This would be amusing but irrelevant except that Mortlake's Domesday entry includes four messuages (*masurae*) in Southwark paying 27*d.*, and the Swan with Two Necks was on Borough High Street absolutely at the northern boundary between the archbishop's Great Liberty manor and the royal Guildable.<sup>53</sup> Both manors were post-Domesday developments, but the Guildable is presumed to equate to the original, possibly mid-ninth-century, fortified bridgehead settlement.<sup>54</sup> Domesday shows eleven Surrey manors with houses in Southwark, and none from any other county, and it has been assumed that this was related to supporting the settlement.<sup>55</sup> Ten of these eleven were held TRE by Harold, Harold's mother, or named men from King Edward, making Mortlake the only non-royal exception. The Swan with Two Necks might just possibly be on the site of one of Mortlake's four *masurae*, with the boundary marginally redrawn when the archbishop's post-Domesday manor developed. Less speculatively, it is hard to see such a rent-charge originating after the bishop of London had lost the rest of the manor, but, as with the meadowland, it could well represent a division of assets between bishop and chapter.

Another positive factor is Wimbledon's strength as an estate centre. Bipolarity is notable throughout the manorial records, and although Mortlake kept the palace, Wimbledon (in the current, parochial sense) had a substantial grange and extensive demesne land, and its reeve eventually became the main local manorial official.<sup>56</sup> The single manorial unit was long referred to, apparently indifferently, as either Mortlake or Wimbledon.<sup>57</sup> Such sources are later, but there is also one clear sign that at some stage before 1086 Wimbledon had been the more important centre. Domesday Mortlake included a church, and here later locational evidence is reliable. The 1181 survey of St Paul's estates indicates that while the church at Barnes was in the canons' lordship (*dominio*), 'the priest collects Peter's Pence and pays what he

<sup>52</sup> David Johnson, *Southwark and the City*, London 1969: for the exchange, 101; Appendix 1 gives a translation of the 1550 charter. A rent of 3*s.* from the Swan (clearly from other references the Swan with Two Necks) is second in the list of rents from former archbishopric possessions transferred to the City, *ibid.*, 396. Martha Carlin, to whom I am grateful, has suggested (personal communication) that the Court of Augmentations was less than efficient and that some rent-charges which should have been transferred may simply have stuck with their original beneficiaries, in this case Mortlake under its new lay owner.

<sup>53</sup> GDB 30b2 (Surr. 2/3). There are maps of the manors in Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, London 1996, and discussion of them *ibid.* and in Johnson, *Southwark and the City*.

<sup>54</sup> Exactly when the post-Roman London Bridge was rebuilt, thus producing the supporting bridgehead settlement, is unknown. Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, 8–12, thinks it was probably in the mid-ninth century and not, as others have suggested, the early tenth, and thus during a period of the prerequisite Mercia–Wessex alliance. See also Johnson, *Southwark and the City*, 5–7, written before the *wic*'s location west of the City was appreciated, and Tony Brown, 'After the Romans: Was there a Saxon Southwark?', in *Londinium and Beyond: Essays on Roman London and its Hinterland for Harvey Sheldon*, ed. John Clark and others, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 156, 2008, 54–8; on the underlying topography, Harvey Sheldon, 'Roman Southwark', in *London Under Ground*, ed. Ian Haynes, Harvey Sheldon, and Lesley Hannigan, Oxford 2000, 121–50.

<sup>55</sup> The other manors were Merton, Banstead, Battersea, Oxted, Walkingstead, Chivington, Blechingley, Walton on the Hill, Long Ditton, and Beddington.

<sup>56</sup> e.g. in 1236–7 the account of the bailiff and reeve of Wimbledon included expenses for repairs in Mortlake: LPL ED 1193. The eventual palatial manor houses at Wimbledon were entirely post-archiepiscopal.

<sup>57</sup> Contrary to earlier assumptions, this does not seem to be a chronological switch: *VCH Surr.* IV, 122 is wrong in asserting that the issue was Wimbledon's evolution into a separate manor rather than a grange of Mortlake.

collects at Wimbledon' – which almost certainly means at the church.<sup>58</sup> And, most importantly, in 1286 it is called a parish church (*ecclesia parochiali*).<sup>59</sup>

The papal taxation of 1291, listing churches (*ecclesie*) only at Wimbledon and Barnes, ignores chapels, which explains the omission of St Mary's Putney even though it is mentioned that same year in an indulgence issued by the bishop of Lincoln.<sup>60</sup> At Mortlake only in 1348 was the parson of Wimbledon granted land for a chapel and priest 'for the rest of the bodies and the saving of the souls of the tenants of Estschene and Mortelak who are very far distant from their parish church'.<sup>61</sup> A decree of 1658 turning both Putney and Mortlake into parish churches was stopped in 1660 and technically they remained chapels of Wimbledon until the 1860s.<sup>62</sup>

Against all these signs of linkage and continuity, boundaries attached to an eleventh-century copy of a diploma for Battersea, which other sources regularly state to have included Wandsworth, seemingly show the estate coming as far west as the Beverley brook (Table 1 and Fig. 1), and it has therefore been claimed that in the later tenth century Wandsworth also included the whole of Putney.<sup>63</sup> There are three references to Wandsworth in Domesday, two of them to manors that are obvious detachments.<sup>64</sup> The third reference, as with Putney courtesy of a toll contribution, is one of those that shows that Wandsworth was fundamentally within Battersea, a 72-hide manor held TRE by Earl Harold and since then – in fact in 1067 – given by the Conqueror to Westminster abbey.<sup>65</sup> This estate's originating diploma is Bishop Eorcenwald's late-seventh-century confirmation to Barking abbey, surviving in an eleventh-century copy in Westminster abbey's archive, of land described as 28 *manentes* in Battersea, 20 in Wassingham (a southern part of the later manor), and 20 *cassatae* 'on the west bank of the river whose name is *Hidaburna*'.<sup>66</sup> When Barking lost the endowment is unknown.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *Domesday of St Paul's*, ed. Hale, 151. There are other previously unremarked references in 1212 and 1263 to a church at Wimbledon, almost certainly specifically indicating the place not the manor: *Book of Fees*, I, 70; *The 1263 Surrey Eyre*, ed. Susan Mary Stewart, Surrey Record Society, series V, 40, 2006, no. 526.

<sup>59</sup> *VCH Surr.* IV, 124, citing BL Add. MS 6063, fol. 669, now superseded by *The Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279–92*, ed. F. N. Davis and others, Canterbury and York Society 64, 1969, I, 230.

<sup>60</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, Record Commission, 1802, 208. Burstow church is also listed (see below) but does not seem ever to have had any link to Wimbledon. The indulgence was granted to anyone praying for the soul of William Share, who was buried there: *Register of Bishop Sutton*, ed. Rosalind Hill, Lincoln Record Society 48, 1954, III, 145. I have been unable to discover anything more about Share, or why the bishop of Lincoln was involved; the reference eluded *VCH Surr.* IV, 83. Reports from a local dig in the 1970s suggesting that the earliest fabric might be late-eleventh-century, unpublished but cited in Gerhold, *Putney and Roehampton Past*, 17, and Keith Bailey, 'Medieval Putney: A Planned Village?', *Wandsworth Historian* 51, Winter 1986/7, 1–8 at 2, may be over-optimistic: Dorian Gerhold, personal communication.

<sup>61</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1348–50, 88. Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, 127, made a rare slip in noting Wimbledon church as a dependency of Mortlake, rather than vice versa. Irene J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, London 1933, I, 63 note 6 seems to suggest that a 1270s list gives Wimbledon with chapels at Mortlake and Putney; even if this is accurate the fact remains that Mortlake was only a chapel.

<sup>62</sup> *VCH Surr.* IV, 83.

<sup>63</sup> Keith Bailey, 'Battersea in the Dark Ages', *Wandsworth Historian* 3, 1971, 1–8 at 4; idem, 'The Anglo-Saxon Boundaries of Wandsworth', 16. His argument was accepted by Blair, who mapped it thus in *Early Medieval Surrey*, 26.

<sup>64</sup> GDB 34a1, 35b2–36a1 (*Surr.* 9/1; 21/3); below.

<sup>65</sup> GDB 32a2 (*Surr.* 6/1); *Regesta: William I*, nos. 290–1, 307, 324.

<sup>66</sup> S 1248; facsimile in John George Taylor, *Our Lady of Bateyse: The Story of Battersea Church and Parish told from Original Sources*, Chelsea 1925, plate 2a; *ibid.*, 13–14 demonstrates the location of Wassingham; C. R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, Leicester 1966 [hereafter *ECEE*], 135–41.

<sup>67</sup> For a summary on Barking abbey, whose various oddities still await a satisfactory explanation, see

The first local tripwire is the *Hidaburna*. This was the Old English name of today's Falcon brook, which runs into the Thames well east of the Battersea–Wandsworth boundary; however, in a gratuitous twist, the Old English name of the Wandle, running in parallel up through the middle of Wandsworth, was *Hlida-burna*. The latter name evolved into the Lodeburn by the thirteenth century before changing to the Wandle (a back-formation from Wandsworth) in the sixteenth.<sup>68</sup> The *Hidaburna* became the Falcon brook only in the eighteenth.<sup>69</sup> By the late Middle Ages a scribe recopying Merton's boundary wrote 'Hidebourne' for what has to be the Wandle, but given that Eorcenwald's diploma primarily covers Battersea, and the extant copy is eleventh-century, local historians have surely been right in thinking that when the various scribes wrote *Hidaburna* they were accurately referring to the Falcon brook.<sup>70</sup> Cyril Hart, however, simply stated that the *Hidaburna* was the Wandle, and has proved influential among academics.<sup>71</sup> Again the distinction matters: within rough orders of magnitude a 20-hide block west of the Falcon brook would comfortably accommodate, then as later, the western part of Battersea proper plus Wandsworth, but 20 hides west of the Wandle would probably go well beyond the later parish boundary. That said, in local historians' attempts at locating the bounds, treating hides as exact, eternally fixed quantities has been another tripwire.<sup>72</sup>

The seventh-century ur-charter for Battersea now commands authoritative support, but its relationship to its detailed, and therefore later, boundary clauses remains unclear.<sup>73</sup> Both sets of bounds are typical of tenth-century originals, though they survive only in copies of the mid- or late eleventh century and the mid-twelfth respectively (Table 1); even apart from the specific detail, since the later copy (B)

Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, Aldershot 2000, II, 28–33. David N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival*, Woodbridge 1992, especially 33, 50, underlines the difficulties in assuming that it was necessarily among the estates removed for anti-Viking defence by the West Saxon crown: Robin Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *EHR* 100, 1985, 247–65.

<sup>68</sup> *PN Surrey*, 4, 7; A. Bonner, 'Surrey Place-Names', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 37, 1924–5, 117–43 at 131–3; Eilert Ekwall, *English River-Names*, Oxford 1928, 432.

<sup>69</sup> *PN Surrey*, 4; Taylor, *Our Lady of Baterseye*, 15; Bonner, 'Surrey Place-Names', 129–31.

<sup>70</sup> Merton: S 747; *PN Surrey*, 25; Gelling, *ECTV*, no. 332. Taylor, *Our Lady of Baterseye*, 14–15; Bonner, 'Surrey Place-Names', 129–30. Bailey, 'Battersea in the Dark Ages', 3. *Regesta: William I*, no. 324, a twelfth-century supposed copy of a confirmation to Westminster abbey by the Conqueror, lists (at p. 950) Battersea's appendages (all discussed in Taylor, *Our Lady of Baterseye*, 11–13 and appendix): 'Hyse et Rygedune, et Wassingeham et Gyvefeld ... cum beruwico sibi subiacente Wendleswurthae nominato. Predictarum videlicet hidarum numerus minor in occidentali parte fluminis qui Hideburna dicitur, maior vero in occidentali computatur.' Professor Bates does not comment on the obvious scribal error duplicating 'west'; I am grateful to Dr Patricia Croot for confirming that it is in the original MS, Westminster Abbey Muniments [hereafter WAM], XXVI.

<sup>71</sup> Hart, *ECEE*, 139; he is followed unquestioningly by Gelling, *ECTV*, no. 313; Heather Edwards, *Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, BAR British Series 198, 1988, 308; S 1248.

<sup>72</sup> On the rationale behind the Conqueror's reductions in hidage assessments, especially pronounced across Surrey, including Mortlake, see Sally Harvey, 'Taxation and the Economy', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt, Woodbridge 1987, 249–64.

<sup>73</sup> After Taylor, *Our Lady of Baterseye*, Hart, *ECEE*, chapter 8, especially 135–41, gave the first authoritative support for the charter's authenticity, explaining its apparently impossible witness list as a combination of the witnesses to Eorcenwald's original diploma, given under West Saxon supremacy, and those to a slightly later (693 × 704) Mercian reconfirmation. This support was amplified by Patrick Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence*, Jarrow Lecture 1984, who spelt out the likelihood of an Eorcenwald-related group of charters. Of the four witnesses whom Hart was unable to identify, Eadgar probably belongs in the second group as bishop-elect of Lindsey: Edwards, *Charters*, 306.

**Table 1** The boundary clauses of the Battersea and Wandsworth charters

Unless otherwise stated, A uses *into/of* and B uses *to/fram* to link the points on the boundary (omitted here); B continues with the bounds of Penge (Kent). Word-division follows that in the manuscripts. The numbers are inserted for ease of reference.

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
<i>S 1248</i>	<i>S 645</i>
<i>(supposedly 677/693; single sheet in hand of second half of eleventh century)</i>	<i>(supposedly 957; single sheet in hand of mid-twelfth century)</i>
Badricesege & Þendlesþurðe	Batriceseie
(1) heah yfre	(1) hegefre
(2) ceokan ege	
(4) gryddeles elrene	(3) gætensheale
(5) smalan ac	(4) gryndelessyllen
(6) rys mere	(6) russemere
(7) leoddebeorge	
(8) uckebyrge	(9) bælgensham
(10) bernneardes byriels	(10) bernardesbyrieles
(11) blacan mor	(11) blachemore
(12) middan hlida burnan	
(13) gibbe felde	
(14) andlang [‘along’] blaca dic	(15) coppedeðorne
	(16) bæncesbyri
(17) into beferiþi	(17) bæueriðe
	(18) ‘as far as a man can throw with a blade ( <i>bille</i> ) and a freeman with five barleycorns’
(19) andlang stræte	
(20) andlang fugel riðie	(20) fugeleriðe ‘then northwards’
(21) tæmese ‘as far as mid stream’	(21) tæmese ‘at mid stream’

is shorter, it is likely to come from an earlier original.<sup>74</sup> Proceeding clockwise, they start and end together and coincide at six other points, including the last two before A reaches the middle of the *Hlidaburna* (12), on any reckoning the Wandle. It is here that I start.<sup>75</sup> A then heads via Gibb field and the Black ditch (14) to the *beferiþi*, or beaver stream (17); B does not mention the Wandle but also arrives, via a pollarded

<sup>74</sup> Both can now be found most authoritatively at [www.langscape.org.uk/descriptions/glossed/L\\_1248\\_000.html](http://www.langscape.org.uk/descriptions/glossed/L_1248_000.html) and [/L\\_645.3\\_000.html](http://www.langscape.org.uk/descriptions/glossed/L_645.3_000.html) respectively. On dating in general see Della Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, Leicester 1998, chapter 5; Susan D. Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas: A Palaeography*, Woodbridge 2006, 402.

<sup>75</sup> There are varying interpretations of the bounds thus far (Taylor, *Our Lady of Baterseye; Wandsworth Historian, passim*, especially articles by Keith Bailey and Graham Gower), but the regular name overlap seems to me to prevent much actual divergence: Pamela Taylor ‘Wandsworth, Putney and Wimbledon: The Battersea Bounds West of the Wandle’, *Wandsworth Historian* 89, Spring 2010, 6–11.

thorn bush (15) and *bænces byri* (16), at the *bæueriðe* (17). Both then go towards the bird stream (*fugel riðie* or *fugeleriðe*), with A more specifically bridging via a 'street' (19), and both then go along the bird stream, with B specifying that this is northwards, to join the Thames (21).<sup>76</sup>

No stream could run far along the key part of the later boundary (Fig. 1), which rapidly crosses a watershed, and the obvious guess that the *beferipi* is the Beverley brook is made effectively certain by the identification of B's *bænces byri* (16) as Caesar's Camp, the prominent Iron Age fort on Wimbledon common known in the sixteenth century as Bensbury.<sup>77</sup> This is one of the reasons why the beaver and bird streams (17 and 20) cannot be 'branches and meanderings of the lower Wandle'.<sup>78</sup> A, instead of heading straight across to Caesar's Camp, turns north up the Wandle before turning west, perhaps at the current spot. Keith Bailey has argued that its black ditch (14) was deliberately dug right across to the Beverley, and that both versions then left the brook at the Upper Richmond Road, the provenly Roman *stræt* which they followed eastward to the Putney–Barnes boundary, where he posits a vanished stream as the *fugel riðie*.<sup>79</sup> This last is necessary for his claim for an undivided Putney, but such a stream, even if it existed, could only have flowed north to rejoin the Beverley brook, and a more likely description would stay with the *stræt* to the enduring Putney–Wandsworth boundary, the stream later known as the Putney gutter.<sup>80</sup> Another candidate for the *stræt* might be today's A3 (Kingston Road), which also provides a direct connection from the Beverley brook to the Putney gutter, and also divides Putney.<sup>81</sup>

The southern edge of the whole Wimbledon block seems securely fixed, since bounds dated 957 for Merton, the next unit south, ran *est bi wimbedounyngemerke* ('east along the Wimbledon boundary') from the Beverley to the Wandle, and this suggests that, then as later, and entirely unsurprisingly, the line was running along the old-established Coombe Lane/Kingston Road, which connects from Roman

<sup>76</sup> The distance along the *bæueriðe* in B (18) is presumably garbled and has defied elucidation. Barley seeds (not corns) were the basis of both weight and linear measurement in the ancient and medieval worlds; three barley seeds laid on the thumb provided the Anglo-Saxon inch: R. D. Connor, *The Weights and Measures of England*, HMSO 1987, 4–5; Neil Middleton, 'The Weights and Measures and Coinage Reforms of Offa and Charlemagne', IHR Early Medieval Seminar paper, June 2009, and forthcoming.

<sup>77</sup> *PN Surrey*, 12–13, 39, citing William Camden. Sue Hamilton and John Manley, 'Hillforts, Monumentality and Place: A Chronological and Topographical Review of First Millennium BC Hillforts in South-East England', *European Journal of Archaeology* 4, 2001, 7–42. The fort was far more impressive before it became in the nineteenth century a feature on a golf course: Milward, *Wimbledon Past*, 10.

<sup>78</sup> John Taylor, in making the claim for the Wandle, noted the equation between *bænces byri* and Bensbury but only to say that the place was 'possibly where the Wimbledon and Wandsworth boundary first approaches the Wandle': *Our Lady of Baterseye*, 14–15.

<sup>79</sup> Keith Bailey, 'Some Observations on the Boundary between the Parishes of Wandsworth and Wimbledon', *Wandsworth Historian* 35, Dec. 1982, 1–4; see also his other articles: 'Battersea in the Dark Ages', *ibid.*, 3, 1971, 1–8; 'The Anglo-Saxon Boundaries of Wandsworth', *ibid.*, 74, Autumn 2001, 15–20. *Stræt* was normally, but not exclusively, applied to a paved, i.e. Roman, road: see, e.g., *Stratmann's Middle English Dictionary*, ed. H. Bradley, 1891; the Upper Richmond Road ran between field divisions in Mortlake called Street Furlong Shot and Above Street Shot: see the Mortlake tithe map with names added from accompanying survey in Holly, 'Mortlake and the Tithe Survey', Fig. 1. On Roman routes through Surrey see David Bird, *Roman Surrey*, Stroud 2004, Chapter 4.

<sup>80</sup> The Putney gutter was also suggested by Dennis Haselgrove, 'Saxon Putney: A View from Across the River', *Wandsworth Historian* 40, Mar. 1984, 22–3. 'Gutter' is Middle English. Both the Beverley brook and Putney gutter are named only as 'the common sewer' in the Manor of Wimbledon Survey of 1617, and the latter as 'The sewer ditch partinge puttney parish and Wannsworth' on Lane's 1636 map, cf. Gerhold, *Putney in 1636*.

<sup>81</sup> This perhaps closer to the line drawn by Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 26. The date of this stretch of the Kingston Road is uncertain.



Stane Street through to Kingston.<sup>82</sup> The boundary also ran along the southern edge of Wimbledon's narrow belt of arable fields, and this is relevant: the arable fields of Wimbledon, Putney, and Wandsworth all skirted the extensive high plateau which, with Caesar's Camp towards its south-western end, rears between the valleys of the Wandle and the Beverley, and even today largely survives as a block of rough common.

The hitherto unnoted point about the Battersea bounds is that from the Wandle onwards they are mainly concerned with this infertile area. Perhaps the description of the circuit was changed from the B version to the A version because the lord of Wimbledon had taken in some of the narrow fertile strip between the Wandle and the plateau, and/or what became Wandsworth's South field had been created. First referred to in 1247 (along with North field), South field certainly extended to the current boundary by the fifteenth century, and it might equate to A's *gibbe felde* (13), since *feld*, although not necessarily originally associated with arable, became so, and was always used in contrast to rougher land.<sup>83</sup>

Fixed boundaries across commons were often late: Putney and Barnes intercommoned until the late sixteenth century; the parishioners of Battersea and Clapham were disputing their shares of Clapham common in the eighteenth; the line across the common between Putney and Wimbledon was settled only in 1846; and a nineteenth-century remapping of Putney's 1617 bounds noted an area on the common 'incroached by Wandsworth parish at several times'.<sup>84</sup> To assume that matters were more fixed in the early Middle Ages, especially with an extensive but since-vanished ditch, and then became unfixed again, is surely wrong. Nor is Wimbledon likely ever to have been deprived of virtually all its common. All parties were intercommoning, and if we had bounds for Wimbledon they too would be claiming the same area.

Recognizing that the Battersea bounds include an area of intercommoning across to the Beverley brook, rather than indicating exclusive control, allows Wimbledon/Putney/Barnes a continuous unitary history. It also permits Wandsworth a corresponding simplification, removing the need to argue that the estate granted in the seventh century to Barking and then in 1067 to Westminster was entirely east of the Wandle, but that a large area west of the river, comprising Putney and the other two Wandsworth manors, had been added and lost in between – to which the monks, in true Westminster fashion, had nevertheless forged a title.<sup>85</sup> None of this is necessary. The strips of Battersea/Wandsworth, Down and Dunsford, were mixed in the common fields, itself an argument for a unitary origin, and their separation by 1066 would not therefore have impacted on the overall external boundary along South field.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup> S 747; *PN Surrey*, 38; the copy is fifteenth-century. On *-gemære* names showing pre-existing, interlocking units see Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands*, 99.

<sup>83</sup> Dorian Gerhold, *Wandsworth Past*, London 1998, 15; Margaret Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, London 1984, 236. Bailey, 'Some Observations', simply puts *gibbe felde* as pasture south of the boundary line.

<sup>84</sup> Dorian Gerhold, personal communication; Manning and Bray, *Surrey*, III, 359; Milward, *Wimbledon Past*, 14; BL Add. MS 78153 Z; Diana Gunasena, 'Some Further Observations on Putney's Boundaries', *Wandsworth Historian* 41, June 1984, 19–24. For eighteenth-century disputes see E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, London 1991; on intercommoning and late boundary demarcation on 'rough grazing, moorland or heathland', Hooke, *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands*, 111; Hooke, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, 76–9.

<sup>85</sup> Bailey, 'Anglo-Saxon Boundaries of Wandsworth', 16.

<sup>86</sup> The other two Wandsworth manors in Domesday were Saint-Wandrille's 1 hide held TRE by Swein from the king, GDB 34a1 (Surr. 9/1); and William fitz Ansculf's 12 hides, GDB 35b2–36a1 (Surr. 21/3). The latter has usually been assumed to represent a solid block but it had been held TRE by six sokemen,



The documents themselves also support this interpretation. Westminster abbey is justly famous for forgery, particularly in the second quarter of the twelfth century, but the Eorcenwald diploma and its boundary clauses do not fit the necessary moulds.<sup>87</sup> The diploma is written in a hand datable to early in the second half of the eleventh century, and was presumably therefore soon copied from a title deed received along with the estate in 1067.<sup>88</sup> There is no sign of later tampering until a fifteenth-century monk decided to strengthen his abbey's title by erasing the names of both donor and recipient and placing more suitable alternatives on the dorse.<sup>89</sup> As both a non-royal grant and one which, although originating from a bishop of London, concerned an estate outside the post-Conquest diocese within which Westminster itself still lay, Eorcenwald's diploma was probably unattractive in the quest for improving immunities.<sup>90</sup>

As for the bounds, the A set is written between the two witness lists of the charter in an approximately contemporary hand from early in the second half of the eleventh century, while B is at the foot of, and probably coincident with, a mid-twelfth-century copy of a 957 charter for Lothersley (*Lotheresleage*) in Hendon, Middlesex, an entirely unrelated Westminster estate.<sup>91</sup> The A version may have been already attached to the diploma received with the estate in 1067, and/or its incorporation may have been one of the reasons for making the new copy. The abbey will certainly have hastened to check the area concerned, and if both sets of bounds were attached, or free-floating, will have chosen the more relevant one.<sup>92</sup> This is another mark of both reality and honesty, since it was the discarded B version which, as well as providing the bounds of the ongoing attachment at Penge, laid claim to the larger area of Wimbledon.<sup>93</sup>

Attention to local detail also requires some wider revisions. Despite such abundant common and woodland, which included a demesne grove at Wimbledon and, probably from the 1270s, a park at Roehampton, the manor had a Wealden outlier at Burstow, in Reigate hundred on Surrey's southern edge.<sup>94</sup> Burstow has been seen as an example of a common feature, a distant *denn* added at an early time to supply

who were not a consortium. On the intermingling of strips see Rita Ensing, 'Dunsford Manor and the Brodrick Family in Wandsworth, Parts 1–2', *Wandsworth Historian* 42, Sept. 1984, 15–22; and 44, Mar. 1985, 8–14; 'Some Field and Place Names of Wandsworth', *ibid.*, 53, Winter 1987, 10–19; and 'The River Wandle in 1633', *ibid.*, 65, Winter 1992, 8–12.

<sup>87</sup> For an analysis of earlier as well as twelfth-century activity see Julia Crick, 'St Albans, Westminster and Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', *ANS* 25, 2002, 65–83.

<sup>88</sup> WAM, I; S 1248. I am very grateful to Dr Peter Stokes for advice on the dating of the diploma and both sets of bounds. Taylor, *Our Lady of Baterseye*, plate 2, provides facsimiles of both.

<sup>89</sup> Taylor, *Our Lady of Baterseye*, 2–3; Hart, *ECEE*, 137–8.

<sup>90</sup> Crick's examples in 'St Albans and Westminster' are all royal.

<sup>91</sup> WAM, IV; S 645. For Lothersley see David Sullivan, *The Westminster Corridor*, London 1994; Crick, 'St Albans, Westminster', 75–6.

<sup>92</sup> Hooke, *Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, 90–1, describes the riding of a disputed boundary in the early eleventh century.

<sup>93</sup> The A version incorporated in the diploma must be the set referred to in one of Westminster's somewhat dubious twelfth-century *pancartes*: Battersea with its berewick of Wandsworth 'et cum omnibus territoriis et appenditiis suis que ad illud pertinent, secundum antiquos diu servatos confinium terminos': *Regesta: William I*, no. 290 at p. 876; for the location of the other named areas of Battersea see Taylor, *Our Lady of Baterseye*, 11–13.

<sup>94</sup> Both grove and park feature in the highly intermittent account rolls, within which the latter first features with payment of 27*s.* from pasture in *parco de Hampt* in 1273–4: BL Add. Charter 29794. It was also sometimes called Mortlake Park and is not to be confused with the post-medieval park in Roehampton, on which see Gerhold, *Putney and Roehampton Past*, 25–7; 'Where was Putney Park?', *Wandsworth Historian* 25, Dec. 1979, 1–4; and 'The Site of Early Roehampton', *Wandsworth Historian* 27, July 1980, 8–10.

the woodland and pasture necessary for the self-sufficiency of the mother estate, and developing by the late Anglo-Saxon period into a permanent settlement whose distance from and decreasing importance to the centre made it ripe for subinfeudation.<sup>95</sup> And it is true that by c. 1150 Peter of Burstow (*de Buresto*) was one of the archbishop's knights, while a string of later references shows that his family's fee was in Burstow and attached to Wimbledon.<sup>96</sup>

Nevertheless the attachment is in many ways anomalous. First, the knight's fee only ever covered part of the parish of Burstow and the archbishops retained a direct interest in the rest, including views of frankpledge and payments from various lands.<sup>97</sup> Most obviously, by 1205 they had created a park, which remained a regular source of wood and of profits from sales of wood and grazing.<sup>98</sup> The link survived the joint transfer to the Crown in 1536 and was severed only in 1590.<sup>99</sup> But while the archbishops clearly valued the woodland, it remains doubtful that it was ever essential, and Burstow itself was much more than a seasonal grazing area. The name means 'assembly place at a stronghold', with the element *stow* ('assembly') almost certainly pre-Conquest.<sup>100</sup> The *burh* would presumably pre-date the *stow*, and is noteworthy. The Weald is demonstrably not an area of Iron Age or Saxon forts or barrows, and (admittedly patchy) archaeological surveys never mention Burstow.<sup>101</sup> John Blair suggests that it may have been 'a former religious centre used for assemblies at some time in the Saxon period'.<sup>102</sup> It was also by the mid-eleventh century a centre of Wealden iron production.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>95</sup> K. P. Witney, *The Jutish Forest: A Study of the Weald of Kent from 450 to 1380*, London 1976. For a recent summary of the debate on multiple estates, with particular reference to Kent, see Stuart Brookes, *Economic and Social Change in Anglo-Saxon Kent, AD 400–900: Landscape, Communities and Exchange*, BAR British Series 431, 2007. For the extension of the argument to Surrey and Sussex, and specifically to Burstow, Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, especially 49–54.

<sup>96</sup> *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. David C. Douglas, London 1944, 3, 99, 105; Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, 383–4. On the Burstow family see also *The 1235 Surrey Eyre*, ed. C. A. F. Meekings, Surrey Record Society, series V, 31–2 and 37, 1979–2002. Because of the manor's later bipolarity this does not constitute evidence that the original attachment had been specifically to Wimbledon.

<sup>97</sup> Northants RO, court roll 135, m. 4r., 4 Aug. 1462, the earliest surviving Wimbledon/Mortlake court roll, includes view of frankpledge for Burstow for the three tithings of Northborowe, Middelborowe, and Southborowe. The suggestion in *VCH Surr.* III, 179, that this same division in a court roll for 1542 reflects new settlement within part of the former park area made under the archbishops' secular successor as lord of Wimbledon and Burstow, is therefore wrong. For payments from land in Burstow, LPL ED 1193 (1236–7); for a reference to John of Burstow's half fee there, LPL ED 1112 (1389–90); for relief and fidelity from Reginald Totyng's freehold there, Northants RO, court roll 135, m. 1 (1462).

<sup>98</sup> Land in Burstow 'lying to the south of the park of H., archbishop of Canterbury' is mentioned in BL Add. Ch. 7620, where 'H.' must be Hubert Walter (d. 1205); *VCH Surr.* III, 178. There is a useful map which shows the park area at the north of the parish in D. J. Turner, 'A Moated Site near Burstow Rectory', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 63, 1966, 51–65 at 62. The earliest parker's account is for 1236–7: LPL ED 1193. In the later Middle Ages the parks of both Burstow and Roehampton were reserved from the farms of the demesnes and their parkers continued to account directly, e.g. LPL ED 1112–14 (1389–90, 1390–1); LPL ED 289 (1425–6); LPL ED 213 (1458–9).

<sup>99</sup> *VCH Surr.* III, 178–9.

<sup>100</sup> 'One can safely suppose this an Anglo-Saxon name rather than a post-Conquest one': John McNeal Dodgson, 'The Place Name Burstow', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 63, 1966, 65.

<sup>101</sup> Mark Gardiner, 'The Archaeology of the Weald: A Survey and Review', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 128, 1990, 33–53; Hamilton and Manley, 'Hillforts'.

<sup>102</sup> Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 20; James Campbell, 'Some Considerations on Religion in Early England', in *Collectanea Antiqua: Essays in Memory of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes*, ed. Martin Henig and Tyler Jo Smith, BAR International Series 1673, 2007, 67–73 at 69–70.

<sup>103</sup> Jeremy S. Hodkinson, 'Iron Production in Surrey', in *Aspects of Archaeology and History in Surrey*, ed. Cotton and others, 233–44, especially 236–7.

Perhaps Burstow was attached to Wimbledon because of one of these other assets, and perhaps the association of the two places was late. The putative religious centre is unlikely, since the church eventually founded at Burstow was the only element without any connection to the main manor.<sup>104</sup> More interestingly, various outliers in an iron-bearing area of the Sussex Weald were evidently removed in the late Anglo-Saxon period from their previous Sussex centres, rearranged, and handed to Countess Goda, although they were not formally attached to her manor of Lambeth.<sup>105</sup> Increasing numbers of other tenth- or eleventh-century attachments made for administrative rather than economic reasons are now being recognized, although for this the archbishop could more conveniently have chosen one of his Sussex centres.<sup>106</sup>

Burstow is unmentioned in Domesday, but attachments seldom are and the knights' fees which might have generated a reference had not yet all been created.<sup>107</sup> The first documentary reference to Burstow is in the *Domesday Monachorum* around 1100.<sup>108</sup> After various detailed entries concerning Kentish estates, this moves (Table 2) to a summary of renders, first from some of Canterbury's estates in Kent, then from all those in Surrey and Middlesex (note the surprising pairing of Mortlake and Hayes), and finally from all those in Sussex.<sup>109</sup> Burstow is the only one with a bald total (£8) and, although its placement makes geographic sense, here, as in Domesday, attachments would normally be included within the main manor. Blair states it had been farmed for £8 'to a family which quickly adopted the surname of de Burstow' and that subinfeudation 'firmly divorced it from a federative estate economy', but as we have seen the latter is untrue, and the source of the £8 is not in fact stated. Far from marking the end of Burstow's attachment to Mortlake/Wimbledon, this entry could even pre-date it.

Uncertainty about the attachment carries wider significance, since Blair also used Wealden links in his reconstruction of early administrative units in Surrey, especially the *regiones* that seem to have evolved, either directly or through division, into the later hundreds.<sup>110</sup> In his accompanying map, the arrow linking Burstow to Wimbledon is by some way the longest in the county, and the only one flying right over the North Downs to connect any estate in Brixton hundred with anywhere

<sup>104</sup> Blair was undecided whether the church, whose earliest fabric seems to date to *c.* 1100, had been built by the archbishops in the mid-eleventh century, before the subinfeudation, 'to serve the growing population of a Wealden outlier', or by Peter of Burstow thereafter; certainly the patronage was confirmed to Lewes priory before 1121 but reverted to the archbishops at some point between the mid-twelfth and late fourteenth century: John Blair, 'The Surrey Endowments of Lewes Priory before 1200', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 72, 1980, 97–126. The absence of any Wimbledon connection and doubt about that 'growing population' both point to Peter.

<sup>105</sup> I am grateful to Chris Lewis for this information. There is no sign of iron among Burstow's later renders.

<sup>106</sup> For similarly questionable late attachments from woodland along the Middlesex-Herts. border and in Wores. and Leics. see Taylor, 'Boundaries and Margins', especially 263 and note 26; Chris Currie, personal communication, has added late attachments in Berkshire. On the Sussex manors, Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*.

<sup>107</sup> On the fees, Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, chapter 3. The small ones within Wimbledon proper were also apparently post-Domesday.

<sup>108</sup> *Domesday Monachorum*, ed. Douglas, 3.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 99. Because *Buresto* is entered between the two Sussex manors of Tarring and Pagham, Douglas noted it as unidentified, and in *Domesday Book: Sussex*, ed. John Morris, Chichester 1976, the note to entry 2/9 has it as an outlier of Tarring. But the evidence of linkage to Wimbledon is overwhelmingly strong, as also noted in F. R. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', in *The Surrey Domesday: Introduction and Translation*, Aleto Historical Editions, London 1989, 18–24 at 23 note 8.

<sup>110</sup> Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 14–19.

**Table 2** Payments from selected Canterbury estates

<i>Place</i>	<i>Farm</i>	<i>To archbishop</i>	<i>Gablum</i>	<i>Constumes</i>
<b>Surrey and Middlesex</b>				
Croydon	£30	40s.	34s. 7d.	
	+ 20s. <i>de quodam theine</i>			
Mortlake and Hayes	£56	40s.	74s. 3d.	
Harrow	£54	20s.	67s.	
		+ 30 pigs		
<b>Sussex</b>				
Malling	£100	30s.	£10 19s.	£4 14s.
Tarring	£18			
Burstow		[£8 from unidentified source]		
Pagham	£80		£8	60s.
Lavant	£18		35s.	24s.
Tangmere	£10			
	+ 1 oz gold			
	+ 40s. for Oismellin's 2 hides			

*Source: The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. David C. Douglas, London 1944, 99

in the Weald. Nevertheless it is cited, albeit tentatively, as a sign that the whole hundred had once had similar links.<sup>111</sup> Even without Burstow's oddities, though, this would be highly questionable. In a hundred that also included such continuing large units as Lambeth and Battersea, the loss of all other such presumed linkages with the Weald would be surprising. And any economic imperative is again far from obvious; today's south London commons are the shrunken remnants of a very large belt of land suitable only for wood or pasture.

Brixton is one of the many hundreds for which Domesday provides the earliest reference, and it highlights the serious and under-recognized divergence between those scholars, normally historians, who emphasize governance from a central *tun*, and place-name experts and archaeologists who stress the marginal locations of many hundred names and meeting-places.<sup>112</sup> All might agree that there were major developments in the hundred's role from the early or mid-tenth century, but such

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 17. The parochial links shown from Barnes and Putney into Wimbledon are because this was a contiguous manor and, in the case of Putney, parish; there should presumably therefore be a similar line from Mortlake. The map in K. P. Witney, *The Kingdom of Kent*, Chichester 1982, 59, is misleading in its placement of the marker for Wallington hundred. Even if Brixton hundred was initially within Wallington it need not have shared the arrangements of areas further south.

<sup>112</sup> Historians emphasizing centrality have included H. M. Cam, notably in 'Manerium cum Hundredo', *EHR* 47, 1932, 353–76, and 'The "Private" Hundred before the Norman Conquest', in *Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. C. Davies, London 1957, 50–60, reprinted in her *Law-Finders and Law-Makers*, London 1962, 59–70; Peter Sawyer, 'The Royal *Tun* in Pre-Conquest England', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. Patrick Wormald, Donald Bullough, and Roger Collins, Oxford 1983, 273–99. It is also implicit in much of the work spearheaded by James Campbell and Patrick Wormald that emphasizes both the efficiency and the agencies of the Anglo-Saxon state. In the other corner, see particularly Aliko Pantos, 'On the Edge of Things: The Boundary Location of Anglo-Saxon Assembly Sites', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 12, 2003, 38–49, and 'The Location and Form of Assembly Places: Some "Moot Points"',

evidence as there is does not appear to show any major transfer of meeting places.<sup>113</sup> Work is urgently needed on a synthesis that explains both the transmission of continuous, top-down administration and the functions of the hundredal meetings, which would in any case presumably have been too large to be held in towns.

Blair adds minsters into the centralized model, proposing them across Surrey in the 'medieval centres of hundred jurisdiction and the settlements bearing the hundred names', with no hundred containing more than one 'except Brixton, where Southwark may well have been a post-Danish successor to Bermondsey rather than co-existing with it'.<sup>114</sup> There is, however, no sign that Bermondsey, Southwark, or indeed anywhere else was ever Brixton's central place, and instead the hundred exactly matches the alternative model.<sup>115</sup> Brixton's stone, possibly a Roman milestone, stood near the top of Brixton Hill and today's A24, at the boundary of three manors and on poor soil unattractive to arable or settlement.<sup>116</sup> There is no reason to equate the eponymous, and surely earlier, Brixton with the TRE Surrey landholder(s) of that name recorded in Domesday.<sup>117</sup> Nothing in the estate pattern suggests that this was an early *regio*, and it is most likely to have become a separate hundred in the mid-tenth century.<sup>118</sup> Its similarities to the equally artificial Middlesex hundreds, most obviously Ossulstone, are interesting: all are royal hundreds without a key royal manor; all are assessed at far more than 100 hides; and all thus contrive to contain large ecclesiastical estates that in less sensitive areas might well have been hundreds 'born private'.<sup>119</sup> And this widens the ripples still further: even easternmost Surrey

in *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, ed. Aliko Pantos and Sarah Semple, Dublin 2004, 155–80; Margaret Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester 1992, 142–5.

<sup>113</sup> On hundredal development see H. R. Loyn, 'The Hundred in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries', in *British Government and Administration: Studies presented to S. B. Chrimes*, ed. H. Hearder and H. R. Loyn, Cardiff 1974, 1–15.

<sup>114</sup> Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 104. Minsters in royal *tūns* were noted simultaneously in Sawyer, 'Royal Tun', 277–8. Southwark's renaissance was in any case too late for an early minster.

<sup>115</sup> Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', 23–4, says that 'Brixton may have been presided over by Bermondsey or Merton'; on Bermondsey see also John Blair, 'The Minsters of the Thames', in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair and Brian Golding, Oxford 1996, 5–28; idem, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 103–4.

<sup>116</sup> Graham Gower, 'The Meeting Place of Brixton Hundred', *Wandsworth Historian* 67, Spring 1995, 17–25. The manors and parishes were Lambeth, Clapham, and Streatham Leigham. Brixton as a settlement is entirely post-medieval, cf. *VCH Surr.* IV, 1–2, 44; Alan Piper, *A History of Brixton*, Brixton Society, 1996. Thorn, in merely saying that Brixton 'lay in Lambeth', misses this point and Brixton's location on a boundary, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', 23–4.

<sup>117</sup> *PN Surrey*, 23; Gower, 'Brixton Hundred', 24. The name Brixton also occurs in DB in Cornwall, Devon, Hants, Kent, Notts., Somerset, and Wilts. The three Surrey estates had all been held from King Edward TRE: 3 hides in Hatcham in Brixton hundred, which passed to the bishop of Lisieux; and 14 hides in Godalming hundred and 10 hides in Woking hundred, both of which passed to Walter fitz Other, GDB 31b1, 36a1, 36a2 (*Surr.* 5/10; 22/1, 5).

<sup>118</sup> Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey*, 17, suggested that the whole easternmost block of Surrey 'extending from the Thames to the Sussex border' was 'a lost archiepiscopal estate centred on Croydon, formed out of the [Kent-Surrey] border lathe in the mid-Saxon period, a block which later fragmented and left only Croydon in the archbishop's hands'. This is also the unit mapped in Witney, *Kingdom of Kent*, 59. It does not diminish the likelihood of a large early unit to query whether archiepiscopal Croydon rather than royal Wallington is likely to have been its centre.

<sup>119</sup> Loyn's comments on hundred sizes fit neither Surrey nor Middlesex, 'The Hundred', 2. Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes', 23, computes Brixton hundred in 1066 at 282¾ hides and remarks on the contrast between the extreme irregularity of its hidage and those of its two southern neighbours (Wallington at 378 and Tandridge at 210¼) and the extreme hidage regularity of the three hundreds to the immediate west. The hidages are far from proportional to the sizes of the units concerned. On the area immediately north of the Thames, Taylor, 'Endowment', 301–3, questions the universal pattern suggested by Cam, whose phrase concerning hundreds 'born private' occurs in "'Private' Hundred', 55. It is unclear

**Table 3** Lanfranc's alleged recoveries

<i>Place</i>	<i>Hides TRE</i>	<i>Holder TRE</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<b>Circuit I</b>			
17 estates in Kent			
Mortlake (Surr.)	80	(not given)	GDB 30b2 (Surr. 2/3)
<b>Not in DB</b>			
<i>monasterium</i> of St Mary, London			
<b>Circuit III</b>			
Harrow (Mdx)	100	Earl Leofwine	GDB 127a1 (Mdx 2/2)
Hayes (Mdx)	59	Archbishop Stigand	GDB 127a1 (Mdx 2/1)
Risborough (Bucks.)	30	Asgar the staller	GDB 143b2 (Bucks. 2/3)
Halton (Bucks.)	5	Earl Leofwine	GDB 143b2 (Bucks. 2/2)
<b>Circuit IV</b>			
Newington (Oxon.)	15	the church	GDB 155a1 (Oxon. 2/1)
<b>Circuit VII</b>			
Freckenham (Suff.)	10 carucates	Orthi, thegn of Harold	LDB 381a (Suff. 20/1)
Stisted (Essex)	½	Holy Trinity, as a manor	LDB 8a (Essex 2/3)
Little Stambridge (Essex)	1	Holy Trinity, as a manor	LDB 8b (Essex 2/9)

Both versions of the list have these places in the same order, except that Stisted is above Freckenham in C and below it in the obituary; only C has Stambridge; counties are given in both lists.

*Source:* John Le Patourel, 'The Reports of the Trial on Penenden Heath', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt and others, Oxford 1948, 15–26 at 25–6

had long been within Wessex, but Brixton fails to fit any generalization contrasting older and more organic West Saxon hundreds with newer tenth-century impositions across Mercia.<sup>120</sup>

Mortlake's ability to be a stone in the pond, or grit in the oyster, continues into the Conquest period, where the Domesday entry indicates trouble, but only at the fishery, which had been held by Harold TRE and Stigand TRW.<sup>121</sup> Any mention of previous tenure is rare in Lanfranc's returns, and the main entry starts typically, offering only 'Ipse Archiepiscopus tenet' and the implication of uninterrupted enjoyment. However, although Mortlake was not among the few estates specifically regained through the trial at Penenden Heath, it features in the two twelfth-century

whether the intermediate stage of organization revealed in the ordinances of the London Peace Guild of the 930s (VI Æthelstan) included Surrey: Taylor, 'Boundaries and Margins', 277–8.

<sup>120</sup> Loyn, *Governance of Anglo-Saxon England*, 137, names 'Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Surrey, the heart of historic Wessex'. It is notable that east and west Kent, also long subsumed within Wessex, retained contrasting hundredal patterns, with the larger west Kent hundreds closer to those of nearby counties: Andrew Reynolds, 'Assembly Sites and the Emergence of Supra-Local Communities in Early Kent', IHR Early Medieval Seminar paper, Apr. 2009.

<sup>121</sup> GDB 30b2 (Surr. 2/3).



lists of the estates that Lanfranc recovered (Table 3).<sup>122</sup> There are therefore interesting issues here: and although Kent was clearly at the heart of Lanfranc's concerns, an extra-Kentish viewpoint has its uses. By checking the non-Kentish estates in the recoveries lists against their entries in the more helpful Domesday circuits that insisted on TRE detail, and then by analysing Lanfranc's returns across circuits, it is possible to argue that, wherever he could, and with a degree of royal collusion, Lanfranc was deliberately suppressing all reference to his predecessor Stigand. This ties well with George Garnett's suggestion that Lanfranc's *damnatio memoriae* of Stigand provided the template for William's evolved treatment of Harold – whose *damnatio* is more obviously witnessed in Domesday Book.<sup>123</sup> New contributions can also be made to the debates concerning both Stigand's actual behaviour and the degree of influence that some high-profile individuals had on the formulation of their Domesday returns.

The validity of the two lists of Lanfranc's recoveries has normally been accepted, but without much non-Kentish analysis.<sup>124</sup> The lists survive in closely related versions, both containing in virtually the same order the same seventeen estates in Kent, followed by another nine or ten, with the only real difference the inclusion or otherwise of Stamburgh. The two external checks – the *c.* 1100 section of the *Domesday Monachorum* and Domesday Book – are mainly supportive, but the former provides detail only for Kent. In Domesday Book, the Kentish estates and Mortlake are in Circuit I, where Lanfranc normally ignores TRE tenures, and 'St Mary' in London is uncheckable.<sup>125</sup> Of the remaining eight estates, Domesday confirms five as recoveries: Harrow and Halton had both been held TRE by Earl Leofwine, and Risborough by Asgar the staller;<sup>126</sup> details of the recovery of Freckenham for Rochester are given, and Little Stamburgh looks like a Ralph Baynard grab.<sup>127</sup> But for Stisted there is no indication of any problem, and Newington 'was and is the church's':<sup>128</sup> so thus far five recoveries and two not.

The eighth estate, Hayes, which was long-established endowment, had been held TRE by 'Archbishop Stigand'.<sup>129</sup> The information is given only because this is rigorous Circuit III, where Lanfranc had no definitely uncontested estates with which to compare formulae, but in contrast to previous authorities, who have

<sup>122</sup> J. Le Patourel, 'The Reports of the Trial on Penenden Heath', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt and others, Oxford 1948, 15–26, especially 19, 24–6, and references there cited; David R. Bates, 'Land Pleas of William I's Reign: Penenden Heath Revisited', *BIHR* 51, 1978, 1–19. Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, 42 note 1, notes that the obituary was further copied with minor alterations into the thirteenth-century LPL MS 1212. See also Richard Eales, 'Introduction', in *The Kent Domesday: Introduction and Translation*, Alecto Historical Editions, London 1992, 1–49 at 44–6. The reference in *VCH Surr.* IV, 124 (on the advowson of Wimbledon), to 'the church of "Murtelac" which was seized by Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, but was restored to Lanfranc in 1070', is unfootnoted but seems to be based on this documentation alone, and perhaps on William A. Bartlett, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Wimbledon, Surrey*, 1865, reprinted Wakefield 1971, 12–15, which asserts without citing any specific evidence that Mortlake 'was one of the many estates belonging to Canterbury, which were seized by Odo'.

<sup>123</sup> George Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda: Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066', *TRHS* 5th series 36, 1986, 91–116; idem, *Conquered England*, chapter 1.

<sup>124</sup> The fullest treatment is in Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, 40–7.

<sup>125</sup> For the probability that it was St Mary le Bow see B. W. Kissan, 'The Earliest Mention of Bow Church', *London & Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions* new series 7, 1937, 436–44.

<sup>126</sup> GDB 127a1 (Mdx 2/2); 143b2 (Bucks. 2/2–3).

<sup>127</sup> LDB 381a (Suff. 20/1); 8b (Essex 2/9).

<sup>128</sup> LDB 8a (Essex 2/3); GDB 155a1 (Oxon. 2/1).

<sup>129</sup> GDB 127a1 (Mdx 2/1); Hayes was a ninth-century acquisition: Brooks, *Early History*, chapter 7.

thought that whatever his sins Stigand did not appropriate his official endowment, I suspect that uninterrupted official tenure would have received a *fuit et est* ('was and is'), as it does for the demesne manors of the bishop of London in the following Middlesex breve, and as it does in Lanfranc's Circuit IV Newington.<sup>130</sup> The suspicion is strengthened by noting that in the following Oxfordshire breve, that of the bishop of Winchester (Stigand's other successor), the bishop distinguishes between Witney, held TRE by 'Archbishop Stigand', and Adderbury, which 'was and is the church's' (*De ecclesia fuit et est*).<sup>131</sup> If Hayes was appropriated by Stigand its inclusion in the recoveries lists is legitimate, although a very easy gain for Lanfranc. Mortlake, though, remains ambiguous, since Stigand's TRW tenure of the fishery replaced Harold's, and might therefore be indicating legitimacy against a potential royal claim.

The problem therefore again reverts to the shortage of TRE tenurial description in Lanfranc's Circuit I returns, something which merits a closer look. In all the five counties of the circuit – Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire – the TRE tenure of estates now held by lay incomers below the king is, as one would expect, normally given. For the king's estates it is routinely absent in Kent but supplied in the other four. Odo of Bayeux had held lands in Kent and Surrey, and their TRE details are given.<sup>132</sup> On the purely ecclesiastical side, Lanfranc held estates in only three of the five counties. In Kent no TRE tenure is supplied apart from a couple of names of his predecessor's tenants on what were now *terrae militum*.<sup>133</sup> This *omertà* extends, unsurprisingly, to the lands of the archbishop's monks and of the bishop of Rochester, except at Stoke, a Penenden recovery.<sup>134</sup> For the other ecclesiastical lords, St Martin's at Dover has the TRE tenures on almost all the estates in its first section but not the second;<sup>135</sup> Battle abbey's sole entry is silent, as, again unsurprisingly, are almost all of St Augustine's thirty; the abbot of Ghent, however, has no difficulty in saying that he holds Lewisham of the king, and had held it of King Edward.<sup>136</sup>

In Surrey the returns for the bishops of Winchester and Exeter give TRE tenure; Westminster's are mixed; Chertsey's, although mixed, give details of recent changes; and of the seven lesser ecclesiastical landholders three give TRE tenure, three do not, and St Paul's at Barnes, its only estate, omits the tenure but says that before as now gold was paid within Mortlake.<sup>137</sup> In Sussex the bishop of Chichester ignores TRE tenures in the same way as Lanfranc, but all the other six ecclesiastical lords are as scrupulous as the lay ones in giving them.<sup>138</sup> This is also predominantly true of ecclesiastical returns in Hampshire and Berkshire, the other two counties of the circuit.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Stepney and Fulham, GDB 127a2 (Mdx 3/1, 12). Mary Frances Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle', *ANS* 16, 1993, 199–219 at 211–12, finds the evidence perhaps deliberately obscure but judges that Stigand did not appropriate estates from his own bishoprics; Brooks, *Early History*, 309, suspects 'indifference and neglect, not any wilful usurpation of the properties of the metropolitan see'.

<sup>131</sup> GDB 155a1 (Oxon. 3/1–2).

<sup>132</sup> GDB Kent landholder 5; Surr. landholder 5.

<sup>133</sup> Land held by knights of the archbishop at Brasted and Ulcombe, GDB 4a1 (Kent 2/31–2).

<sup>134</sup> GDB Kent landholders 3–4; Stoke, GDB 5b2 (Kent 4/16); Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, 37–8.

<sup>135</sup> GDB 1b1–2, 2a1 (Kent M/1–16; P/1–20).

<sup>136</sup> GDB Kent landholders 6–8.

<sup>137</sup> GDB Surr. landholders 3–4, 6, 8–14. Barnes, GDB 34a1 (Surr. 13/1).

<sup>138</sup> GDB Suss. landholders 2–8.

<sup>139</sup> GDB Hants landholders 2–17; Berks landholders 2–16.

Stephen Baxter has drawn renewed attention to the importance of variations in Domesday diplomatic in helping to reveal individual input.<sup>140</sup> Circuit I is obviously odd: even the hundredal sequence between returns varies, and in Kent the positioning of information about the TRE holder suddenly changes part way through Odo's breve.<sup>141</sup> Nevertheless it has a sufficient degree of circuit consistency to highlight Lanfranc's egregious disregard of the question 'quis tenuit eam TRE, quis modo tenet' ('who held it TRE, who holds it now?'), according to the *Inquisitio Eliensis* among the questions put at the Domesday inquest.<sup>142</sup> No single set of articles was used in all the shires, but the necessity of establishing TRE tenures was absolutely basic, and the analysis of the Circuit I returns presented above shows that answers to this particular question were generally provided.

Why then, at least in loosely controlled Circuit I – which, coincidentally or not, was where Lanfranc's greatest strength lay – was the archbishop so successfully coy? Like all William's bishops, Lanfranc was an adept operator in the (to us) secular sphere.<sup>143</sup> Part of the general *quid pro quo* was success in regaining lost estates, an achievement unthinkable without royal support.<sup>144</sup> Lanfranc's bonds to the king were particularly close and, having applied his excellent legal mind to delegitimizing his own immediate predecessor, Stigand, he may well have developed the same strategy for William *vis-à-vis* Harold.<sup>145</sup> Certainly when Domesday Book was being compiled William and Lanfranc were the two people most affected by inconvenient facts concerning the Godwinesons, their archiepiscopal crony Stigand, and the by now disgraced Odo of Bayeux.<sup>146</sup> How far the king was involved with the detail of the Domesday process is an open question. Certainly there are plenty of signs of fudging of tenures which might be problematic for him: William the Conqueror's *antecessores* are, as we have seen, omitted in Kent, his half-brother Odo's disgrace goes unmentioned, and Earl Godwine and his sons are at best disingenuously treated. Harold had been earl of Wessex, but it seems to have been Leofwine's earldom over Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire that had passed to Odo until 1072, when for the decade until his own downfall his activities as earl were restricted to Kent.<sup>147</sup> Some of Lanfranc's claims against

<sup>140</sup> Stephen Baxter, 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book*, ed. Hallam and Bates, 73–102.

<sup>141</sup> The positioning changes from the end of the entry to near the beginning at GDB 11b2 (Kent 5/220–21). The oddity of the Kentish lathes makes exact comparison with other counties difficult; for the normally orderly sequence of hundreds, and the belief that deviations are both rare and reflective of written presentments to the commissioners, see David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book*, Oxford 2000, 142–3. See also P. H. Sawyer, 'The "Original Returns" in Domesday Book', *EHR* 70, 1955, 177–97, especially 180.

<sup>142</sup> *IE*, 97. On Kent within Circuit I, Eales, 'Introduction', 3.

<sup>143</sup> H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Lanfranc', *ODNB*; Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford 1978; Frank Barlow, 'A View of Archbishop Lanfranc', *JEH* 16, 1965, 163–77; H. R. Loyn, 'William's Bishops: Some Further Thoughts', *ANS* 10, 1987, 226–32.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. *Regesta: William I*, no. 129. For recoveries by Worcester and Ely and the involvement of both the king and Lanfranc, Garnett, *Conquered England*, 13–17. On the likelihood that recoveries were part of the bargaining around the establishment of knights' fees, Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1166*, Oxford 1986, 23, 29–35; Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, Cambridge 1991, 181.

<sup>145</sup> Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda', and *Conquered England*, chapter 1.

<sup>146</sup> On Stigand in relation to the Godwinesons, see Eales, 'Introduction', 40–3; Brooks, *Early History*, 306; Frank Barlow, *The Godwins*, London 2002, 91.

<sup>147</sup> C. P. Lewis, 'The Early Earls of Norman England', *ANS* 13, 1990, 207–23, especially 216–18, 221; Barlow, *Godwins*, especially 59; Leofwine 'was given southeastern England, the shires round the mouth of the Thames'; Harmer, *AS Writs*, 567, was dubious about the writs supporting Leofwine's earldom in

Odo within Kent may in fact have been for former comital lands that had never belonged to the see.<sup>148</sup>

King William shared Lanfranc's embarrassment over Stigand. Moreover, from neither the king's nor his Domesday officials' perspective did the archbishop's clouding much matter – often a factor in the degree of scrutiny of the returns.<sup>149</sup> Lanfranc's oily letter to 'S', apparently in respect of S's activities as a commissioner in East Anglia, shows the archbishop fully *au fait* with the process, and with ways of easing it; and even his statement that all his church's lands were entirely *de victu monachorum* somehow overlooked Stambridge.<sup>150</sup> If Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, in Baxter's phrase, 'succeeded in cooking the Domesday books', Lanfranc, especially in Circuit I, managed equally carefully to fudge them.<sup>151</sup>

There are a couple of other relevant points. First, with values given at three times – TRE, when acquired, and now – that middle *quando recepit*, or *postea*, covers a range of meanings as well as dates, but presumably on the archbishopric estates denotes either when Lanfranc received the temporalities or when he later recovered an estate.<sup>152</sup> Secondly, in the thrill of uncovering *laenland* it is possible to underplay the loss of whole estates, particularly given the inability of Archbishops Eadsige and Stigand to withstand the Godwinesons.<sup>153</sup> Some of Lanfranc's recoveries were of parts of manors, but many absolutely were not. For Mortlake some uncertainty remains, but there is no evidence that anything more than the fishery was involved.

In the Domesday entry the fishery is within a separate sub-section, started on a new line and detailing non-agricultural income.<sup>154</sup> Interestingly, it comes in two parts: first we have Lanfranc's return that Earl Harold had the fishery 'in Mortlake' TRE and Stigand for a long time (*diu*, in fact less than four years) TRW;<sup>155</sup> then others, presumably hundred jurors, 'say that Harold constructed it illegally TRE in the land of Kingston and the land of St Paul'.<sup>156</sup> It was always possible for any

Kent and Surrey, and is followed by Ann Williams in 'Leafwine', *ODNB*; Ann Williams, 'The King's Nephew: The Family, Career and Connections of Ralph, Earl of Hereford', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth, and Janet L. Nelson, Woodbridge 1989, 327–43.

<sup>148</sup> A point made at the Battle Conference in 2009 by both Ann Williams and David Bates.

<sup>149</sup> For the lax treatment of Count Eustace's returns see Pamela Taylor, 'Ingelric, Count Eustace and the Foundation of St Martin-Le-Grand', *ANS* 24, 2001, 215–37 at 226–7, 229.

<sup>150</sup> *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 56: 'you have assured me of your friendship and whenever the occasion offered you have always been ready to prove it in practice. Now once more I pray and beseech you ... to act as effectively on our behalf in the present business as the opportunity to do so is given you from on high.' The next statement, 'I have no demesne land; all the lands of our church in those parts are entirely given over to providing food for the monks', fails to mention that the hide in Little Stambridge, albeit perhaps unwillingly, was allocated for knight service: LDB8b (Essex 2/9); cf. Du Boulay, *Lordship of Canterbury*, 81–2.

<sup>151</sup> Baxter, 'Representation of Lordship', 74. Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand', 209 note 70, notes the possibility that Stigand had expropriated official estates and that 'the ambiguity itself is perhaps meaningful'.

<sup>152</sup> On *postea*, Eales, 'Introduction', 43; Lucy Marten, 'The Impact of Rebellion on Little Domesday', *ANS* 27, 2004, 132–50; and on some of its uncertainties, Taylor, 'Ingelric', 226–7.

<sup>153</sup> On *laenland* and other vulnerable tenures, Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest*, Woodbridge 1995, chapter 6; Robin Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*, Cambridge 1998, 56–62. On the archbishops' weakness, Brooks, *Early History*, 300–10; Eales, 'Introduction', 41; Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 80–1, where she also stresses the loss of whole estates, allegedly for defence.

<sup>154</sup> GDB 30b2–31a1 (Surr. 2/3).

<sup>155</sup> At an unlikely maximum Stigand could have held the fishery from the date of the battle of Hastings, 14 Oct. 1066, to that of his deposition at Easter 1070.

<sup>156</sup> 'et tamen dicunt quod Heraldus vi construxit eam TRE in terra de Chingestune et in terra Sancti Pauli'. For a tabular analysis of terms for illegal seizure in DB see the subject index in Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law*. She divides 'through force' into against wishes (5 entries), secretly (1),

manorial adjunct to be outside the place through which it was accounted, and it is physically impossible for anything to have been within both Mortlake and either the manor or hundred of Kingston.<sup>157</sup> The likelihood has to be that it was actually within Mortlake: it seems improbable that Stigand would otherwise have managed to hold it TRW, and more probable that Harold could have imposed it on Stigand's foreshore than on King Edward's.<sup>158</sup> The royal breve for Surrey normally gives the TRE holder, whether *de firma Regis E*, Queen Edith, or Harold; Kingston was *de firma Regis E*, and although one of its three fisheries was yielding no dues, there is no cross-reference.<sup>159</sup> St Paul's in general escaped Godwineson encroachments and the lands of both the bishop and canons, along with the bishop's half weir, on the Middlesex, Circuit III, shore, are said to have remained throughout *in dominio*; Barnes, in which no fishery is mentioned, shares Mortlake's pre-Conquest ambiguity.<sup>160</sup>

Those who have pondered the fishery's location have variously claimed it for Richmond mead, Mortlake proper, Barnes, and Putney. The first was Kingston's meadow incursion, discussed above, but both meadow and foreshore were thereby removed from Mortlake, and the fishery is also made to stretch right across the Thames to St Paul's land on the Middlesex shore, which is very unlikely.<sup>161</sup> The second claim jumps from Mortlake's proposed name derivation, 'stream for young salmon', but there is no necessary link between the surely pre-existing name and Harold's construction.<sup>162</sup> The argument for Barnes derives from the phrase 'in the land of St Paul' but ignores the coupled 'and in the land of Kingston'.<sup>163</sup> For Putney,

violence (1), and force (22, including Mortlake). In the real Domesday world it is doubtful if physical force was necessarily required: 'illegally' seems the better translation.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. the hide in Battersea which the reeve had removed to Chertsey: 'quae prefectus villae huius propter inimicitiam quadam ab isto manerio abstulit et misit in Certesi', GDB 32a2 (Surr. 6/1).

<sup>158</sup> Manning and Bray, *Surrey*, III, 302, describe salmon due annually to the lord from the local fishermen 'for liberty to fish and land and pitch their nets in the soil and shoar of the Lord, for the soil of the river to low-water mark belongs to the Lord of the Manor'. They cite only 'The Court Rolls of Wimbledon' but such ownership is of course to be expected.

<sup>159</sup> Kingston: GDB 30b1 (Surr. 1/8); Harold had also held Bermondsey and Merton in Brixton hundred, and Gomshall: GDB 30a2, 30b1 (Surrey 1/4–5, 11).

<sup>160</sup> GDB Mdx landholder 3; Barnes, GDB 34a1 (Surr. 13/1).

<sup>161</sup> Cloake, *Palaces and Parks*, 3, 10, and *Cottages and Common Fields*, 29–30. F. S. Thacker, *The Thames Highway, II: A History of Locks and Weirs*, London 1920, is among those who doubt if fish weirs ever 'occupied the whole navigable way from bank to bank'. Cloake also refers to Merton abbey's weirs 'at Mortlake and Brentford' but this seems to be a misunderstanding stretching back through Manning and Bray, *Surrey*, III, 302, to Thomas Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 1744, reprinted with additions Cambridge 1787, unpaginated, Surrey XIII Merton, where Tanner cites Placita de Banco, 27 Henry III Trinity rot. 2 [1243]: 'pro piscaria in aqua de Thames a Brainford ad Mortlake'. For reliable histories of the fisheries both at Brentford, including the bishop of London's half weir (the other half was in Isleworth), and at Sutton (in the canons' Chiswick) see *VCH Mdx*, VII, 135–6, 82. From the sources there cited it is clear that although Merton's Brentford fishery was sometimes accounted as Surrey it did not in fact extend there. See also the final concord of 1234 between the prior of Merton and dean and chapter of St Paul's, in which it is clear that 'Mortlake' is only being used directionally to distinguish between the Brentford aits: 'quartam partem gurgiti predicto propinquorem insule ulterioris versus Mortelake', Marion Gibbs, *Early Charters of St Paul's Cathedral*, Camden 3rd series 58, 1939, no. 325; for the identification of Sutton and Chiswick as the canons' 5 hides within Domesday Fulham, GDB 127b2 (Mdx 3/14), *ibid.*, p. xxiii.

<sup>162</sup> Mills, *Dictionary of London Place Names*; see above. The *magnum stagnum* found close to the palace in later manorial records was a standard, fairly static fishpond; for repairs of its embankments and of the boat used within it see e.g. LP ED 1113–14; for fishponds in general, *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*, ed. M. Aston, 2 vols, BAR British Series 182, 1988.

<sup>163</sup> Dorian Gerhold assumed that from the wording the fishery 'was clearly not in Putney – "St Paul's land" probably means Barnes', *Wandsworth Historian* 36, Mar. 1983, 10. He has, however, in 'Putney



Domesday's inconsistent punctuation means that *de villa putelei* might be governing both the toll and the fishery, although the intervening 'and' sign probably means that it is not; the possibility certainly underscores the consequences of decisions about punctuation in the translations.<sup>164</sup> The final demesne fishery, whose last lease expired in 1786 and whose rent long remained payable in salmon, was definitely in Putney, but this does not warrant the assumption that it was Harold's.<sup>165</sup>

Foreshore explorations have identified the remains of three sets of posts within the manor that suggest the usual V-shaped fish traps, two on the eastern side of Barnes and a substantial one at Putney, where one row of posts was at least 32 metres long, but radiocarbon dating makes them all far earlier than Harold. When two posts from each were tested, the date ranges for Putney were AD 410–620 and 420–640, for the earlier Barnes pair 560–810 and 430–670, and for the later 660–890 and 670–950. The entrances to both the Barnes traps faced upstream, which suggests they were primarily designed for the autumn eel rush, while the Putney trap faced downstream and was more probably aimed at salmon.<sup>166</sup> This could perhaps have been the later demesne fishery, but where would that leave Harold?

The verb *constructere* is not generally used in Domesday Book and might suggest something grander than ordinary traps.<sup>167</sup> Could it be that although the noun is *piscaria* not *gurges* (weir), Harold had either built a major new structure or so enlarged the Putney fishery that the Domesday jurors thought it able to diminish the number of salmon reaching the upstream fisheries at royal Kingston and, depending on whether or not it was at Putney and how literal the jurors were being, anywhere in Barnes or along St Paul's northern shore?<sup>168</sup> But even if Stigand had appropriated it TRW, which is unproven, would he not also in some sense have reclaimed it for the see? No wonder Lanfranc preferred silence.

Detached', 7, corrected Keith Bailey's assertion in 'Putney in the Dark Ages', *London Archaeologist*, Winter 1968, 18, that it equalled Putney Detached, the meadow in Barnes mentioned above.

<sup>164</sup> The Phillimore edition, whose ground rules are spelt out in the unpaginated Introduction common to each volume, creates in Mortlake (Surr. 5/28) a semi-colon after the Southwark rents but gives full stops after Putney's toll and then again after the fishery's non-existent dues, thus making Putney and the fishery entirely distinct. For a comparable punctuation difficulty in William I's confirmation to St Martin-Le-Grand see Taylor, 'Ingelric', 219. One could also use the GDB punctuation to argue that both the Putney toll and the fishery were connected to Southwark, but on all other criteria this seems unlikely. I am grateful for discussion with Chris Lewis and Ann Williams.

<sup>165</sup> Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London, I: Surrey*, London 1792, 426, under Putney, says that the lord of the manor had a fishery there 'at the time of the Conquest; before which time it had been established at Mortlake by Earl Harold', and describes the money rent for the Putney fishery and its predecessor rent in salmon. Manning and Bray, *Surrey*, III, 287, follow Lysons closely, amending the start to 'before which Earl Harold had it at Mortlake' and adding that the last lease expired in 1786. Bartlett, *Wimbledon*, 22–3, cites Lysons but seems closer to Manning and Bray; his equally questionable formulation runs 'We have also seen from Domesday Book, that the lord of the manor enjoyed a fishery here at the time of the Conquest, before which time it had been established at Mortlake, by Earl Harold'.

<sup>166</sup> On the construction of fisheries and longevity of the techniques see *Medieval Fish*, ed. Aston, *passim*. I am also grateful to Hiro Tsurushima for discussion. On the local traps, for Barnes, Robert Cowie and Deyman Eastmond, 'An Archaeological Survey of the Foreshore in the Borough of Richmond upon Thames, parts 1–2', *London Archaeologist* 8, 1997, 87–93, 115–21, especially 119; for both Barnes and Putney, *Early and Middle Saxon Rural Settlement in the London Region*, ed. Robert Cowie and Lyn Blackman, Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 41, 2008, 115–23.

<sup>167</sup> The Phillimore translation of *vi construxit* (Surr. 2/3) is 'established by force'. For reservations about 'force' for *vi* see above; its use here may also have encouraged the surely questionable choice of 'established'.

<sup>168</sup> In protecting its Brentford fishery, Merton priory certainly took the view that any other fishery in the vicinity infringed its rights: see above.



In summary, focusing on a single Domesday manor has levered open some wider areas. I have argued that Domesday Mortlake had been held until the 950s in its entirety by St Paul's, not Canterbury, that the transfer probably occurred under the pluralist Dunstan, and that it was only thereafter that Mortlake, because of the importance to the archbishop of establishing a Thames-side residence, became the centre of the newly combined manor, replacing Sheen as the main local name and Wimbledon as the more important centre. I have also shown that Burstow was not a standard *denn* attachment and that one should probably look to the tenth or eleventh century rather than the remote past both for this arrangement and for the configuration of Brixton hundred. And although local detail has failed to yield a definitive answer to the issues around Harold at Mortlake, it has helped to highlight Lanfranc's manipulation of the Domesday inquest.