ANGLO-SAXON GRANBOROUGH

KEITH BAILEY

In 1980, Arnold Baines devoted one his papers on Anglo-Saxon Buckinghamshire to the charter by which Offa of Mercia granted Winslow, Little Horwood and Granborough to St. Albans in 792.[1] The first part of the present paper examines in more detail some of the personalities involved in that transaction and also some of the unresolved issues around the estates involved. Next, the grant of Granborough to St Albans of the 1040s is discussed. The final section considers some wider issues of Granborough, its boundaries and relationship to neighbouring estates and hundred boundaries.

INTRODUCTION

In May 792 king Offa of Mercia and his son Ecgfrith granted thirty hides to St Albans: twelve hides at Winslow, three at *Scelfdune* or *Baldinigcotum*, ten at *Scuccanhlau* or *Fenntuun* with the wood called Horwood, and five at *Lygetune*.[2] The charter survives in many copies, none of them earlier than the thirteenth century. The scholarly consensus is that it is copied from a pre-conquest source, but is otherwise 'spurious'. This verdict may be rather harsh, however, as the following discussion hopes to show. With the exception of the as-yet unidentified *Lygetune*, the lands granted to St Albans formed a contiguous block representing the later parishes of Winslow, Granborough and Little Horwood.

Here is not the place to debate whether Offa's grant represents part of the foundation of St Albans abbey, as was later claimed, or whether it was made to a pre-existing minster. Given a history stretching back to the Roman period, and St Albans' continuing importance as a cult centre, some kind of re-ordering seems more likely. (Offa and Ecgfrith made similar grants to St Albans in Hertfordshire and Middlesex, in the 790s, totalling fifty-five hides. The abbot of St Albans is named in two of them as Willegod, an unusual name, perhaps of Northumbrian origin.[3])

Despite the question marks over its authenticity, the lengthy list of witnesses to the Winslow grant appears not to contain any names that do not fit a date of 792. Apart from the two royal donors, there are twenty-one witnesses to the grant. They comprise archbishop Hygeberht of Lichfield[4]; the bishops of Lindsey, Worcester and Leicester;

abbots Alhmund (or Ealhmund), Beonna, Wigmund and Forthred, and thirteen prominent laymen (one *patricius*, one *princeps* and eleven *duces*).[5] The charter was issued at *Ætberanforda* (*i.e.* Barford, probably the one south of Warwick). The other contemporary St Albans charters were both issued at synods held at Chelsea, in 793 and 796. Another grant, of lands around St Albans itself, probably dates from this period, although it was re-issued by Æthelred the Unready in 996, thirty years after the minster had been reformed as a Benedictine monastery.[6]

Given its antiquity and unique place in the history of the British church, St Albans was not especially well-endowed. Its estates were heavily concentrated in Hertfordshire, where it held 141 hides in 1066, about one-seventh of the county total. The remainder were in Buckinghamshire, at Granborough (5 hides), Winslow (15 hides) and Aston Abbots (10 hides). Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence for the acquisition of Aston. Only part of the parish was involved, the remainder comprised five small holdings named Burston, totalling five hides. This suggests a relatively recent grant, in the tenth or eleventh centuries, as a gift from a layman, similar to the re-grant of Granborough in the 1040s (see below).

ABBOT ALCHMUND AND *LYGETUNE*

There is no consensus about the identification of *Æt Lygetune* mentioned in the charter of 792. Arnold Baines suggested that it might represent Swanbourne or Mursley, depending upon the extent of the other components of the Winslow estate.[7] Mawer and Stenton, writing in 1926, confidently
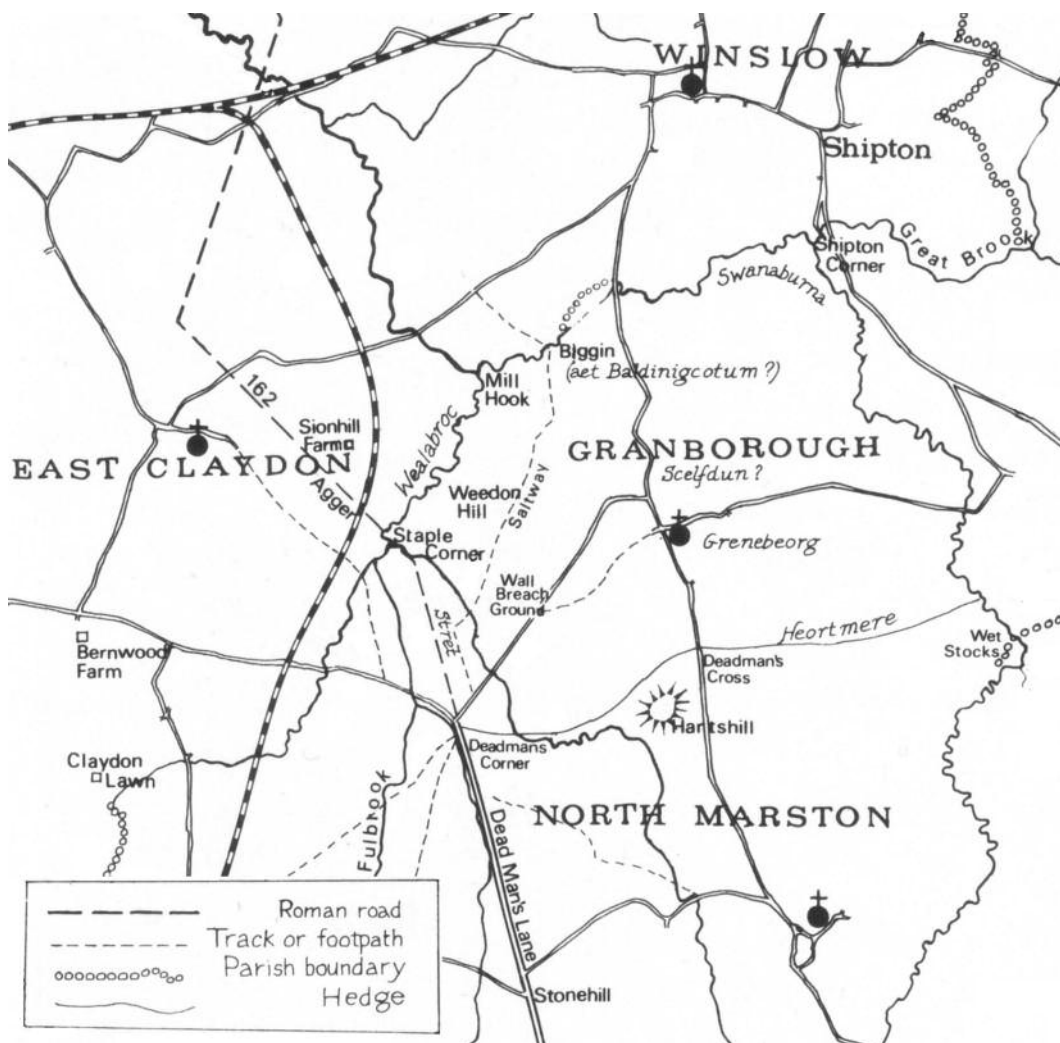
FIGURE 1 Granborough, showing the principal Anglo-Saxon landscape

identified it as the oldest reference to Luton.[8] Subsequent forms of the latter include *Lygtun* (*c*.925) and *Ligtun* (*c*.1050), while nearby Limbury appears as *Lygeanburg* (*c*.899), respectively the farm/village and fort on the river Lea. The river-name has spellings *Lygean* and *Lygan* from the 9th-10th centuries, probably derived from an Indo-European root meaning 'bright' (*cf*. Welsh *Lleu*).[9]

Lygetune was recorded as being transferred from Alchmund to St Albans. He had been forced to relinquish the five hides as payment for evading an expedition (*expedicionem subterfugiens mihi*

reconciliacionis gratia dabat). Eighth-century Mercian kings were prone to restrict the liberties enjoyed by religious houses, such as freedom from building fortifications, and to require them to make a contribution to military campaigns from their often extensive estates. Offa had waged campaigns on the Welsh frontier and against lesser Anglo-Saxon kingdoms such as Kent and East Anglia for many years. Little attention is paid to these in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a West Saxon compila-tion, although it does mention the beheading of the East Anglian king Æthelberht in 792; he was later

revered as a saint. Perhaps that was the context for Alchmund's 'subterfuge'. There is no suggestion that he was the head of an otherwise unknown monastery at Luton, whose church appears in Domesday Book as a well-endowed minster, assessed at five hides valued at 60 shillings per annum, including 20s from the church and 10s from a mill. Like St Albans, Luton preserved its huge parish, typical of old minsters, into the medieval period. St Albans held no land in Bedfordshire in 1066, so if *Lygetune* is to be identified with Luton, it had been lost during the ensuing three centuries, which included two phases of disruption involving the Vikings, as well as the demise of Mercia as a separate kingdom.

Abbot Alchmund was a regular witness of charters issued by the Mercian kings Offa, Ecgfrith and Coenwulf between 786 and 805, including several issued at synods held at Chelsea and *Clofesho*.[10] It was unusual for abbots to appear as witnesses, suggesting that Alchmund was the head of an important church. He regularly appears with fellow-abbots Beonna, Forthred and Wigmund, and less often Utel. Beonna was abbot of *Medeshamstede* (later Peterborough), while Utel became bishop of Hereford (793x801). The death of Forthred is, unusually, noted in one version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 805.[11]

The proceedings of the synod of *Clofesho* in 803 reveal that Alchmund, Beonna, Forthred and Wigmund were all from the diocese of Leicester, established on a permanent basis in 737 as the see for the Middle Angles. It covered a vast area, reaching from Leicester to the Thames and Northamptonshire to Ely, including what became Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire.[12] The see was relocated to Dorchester 869x888 in the aftermath of the Danish wars, and thence to Lincoln after the Norman Conquest.[13] The four abbots attended *Clofesho* in 803 with their bishop Werenberht, and are all described as priest and abbot. They were previously in the entourage of bishop Unwona (781x803). Witness lists show that they were often the only abbots in attendance, underlining their special role. Alchmund was in attendance at councils or synods at Chelsea [789], Barford [792], London [793], *Clofesho* [793x6, 803] and Tamworth [799].

Although Alchmund, Beonna, Forthred and Wigmund were probably the heads of major minsters, the dearth of information about the Mercian church means that it is idle to speculate which they were. Luton may have been within the orbit of Alchmund's principal church. Bedford minster, allegedly founded by Offa and selected by him as his burial place, was possibly a house for women, since his queen, Cyneðryð, was said to have been abbess at there after his death in 796. Later medieval chroniclers of St Albans said that the king had died at Offley in northern Hertfordshire and been taken for burial at a chapel next to the river Ouse at Bedford, later destroyed in a flood. Many minsters had a series of churches, so this tale is not entirely far-fetched. Certainly Offley derives from OE *Offan leah*, 'Offa's clearing or wood'. Perhaps Offa or his family had some connection with this part of Middle Anglia.[14] Other major centres in Leicester diocese around 800 include Breedon-on-the-Hill and Crowland. There is no early documentary evidence about Aylesbury minster, though its entitlement to dues over a wide area in 1086 indicates a continuing role as a mother-church.[15] Whatever the reality, it seems that Alchmund's status and role in his see and the wider Mercian realm was not adversely affected by his avoidance of military obligations.

THE WINSLOW ESTATE OF 792

Arnold Baines' paper provides a full discussion of Offa's charter. Consistent with its date, there is no detailed boundary clause, merely a list of four key features relating to the boundary of Granborough in the text. The subsequent discovery of a detailed tenth-century boundary perambulation of all three parishes was discussed in detail by Ted Bull and Julian Hunt in 1996, with some comments by the present author in 1997.[16] Unfortunately there is no associated charter concerning the estate, although it seems that all of the original grant was still held by St Albans. Baines suggested that the re-foundation of St Albans as a Benedictine monastery might provide a context for the restatement of its boundaries.[17] However, he dated that event as 948, whereas the actual date is *c*.970.[18] (The subsequent loss of Granborough is considered below.)

The thirty boundary features discussed and elucidated by Messrs Bull and Hunt are a typical mixture of natural and man-made features, many still identifiable in the present-day landscape. This boundary perambulation provides no indication of

the location and nature of any settlements within the three parishes, and how these might relate to the places named in Offa's grant. Although there are some references to arable and meadow land, showing that agriculture reached the estate boundary in places, they do not refer unequivocally to features associated with open-field farming. Later, Winslow, Shipton, Little Horwood and Granborough each had open-field systems.[19]

In the late-eighth century, local settlement still comprised smaller, scattered clusters, hamlets and farms rather than villages. The names *Scuccanhlau* or *Fenntuun* and the wood called *Horwudu* refer to the later Little Horwood. The woodland, part of Whaddon Chase, obviously overlapped the boundary. Fenton or Venton survived as a field-name into the medieval period and beyond, and was located east of the later village. Shucklow Warren (now Warren Farm) lay in the north-east corner of the parish. It is not clear from the Latin of the charter, however, whether these were two separate settlements or alternative names for the same place. The same ambiguity is true of the wording used in the case of what became Granborough: *Scelfdune siue Baldinigcotum*. This may be translated as 'Hill with flat area' (OE *scelf, dun*) on the one hand and Beald or Bealda's cottages (on the other)'. There is a 'shelf' on the northern flank of the 'Green Hill' at about 105-110m OD, which may have been the site of the cottages. OE *cot* is generally used for secondary or minor settlements, though it occasionally appears in a parish-name, as in nearby Pitchcott.[20] Neither of the eighth-century names reappears, however, and by the 1040s the area had acquired its modern name, *Grenebeorge*.

Offa's charter makes no mention of any settlements within the later parish of Winslow (*Wine's mound* or *hill*), although the long-lived division between Winslow and Shipton (*sheep farm*), each with its own field system strongly suggests that there were at least two settlements in 792. The field-name *Demoreham/Damerham* within the Winslow portion may indicate a further Anglo-Saxon settlement (OE *hām*), although it could equally contain OE *hamm* 'meadow, especially by a stream'. The first element may be OE *dōmera* ('of the judges'; *cf.* Damerham, Hants., although it is difficult to envisage what the context might have been).[21]

LATE ANGLO-SAXON GRANBOROUGH

We have seen that the names applied to Granborough had changed between 792 and 1040. (The 10th-century perambulation names no settlement in the area). Winslow and Little Horwood remained with St Albans, the latter silently subsumed in the former by Domesday Book, with a reduction in their geld liability from 22 hides to fifteen. Granborough has its own entry in Domesday Book, with an assessment of five hides, usually regarded as the minimum holding for a thegn, an *increase* of two hides. Domesday Book offers no clue that this state of affairs was of recent origin. Between 1042 and 1049, however, Ægelwin Niger had granted five hides at Granborough to St Albans, along with estates at Redbourn, (Abbot's) Langley and *Ðwangtune* (later Fawn Wood, now within St Albans suburbia: NGR TL164067), with the consent of Edward the Confessor.[22]

Like abbot Alchmund, Ægelwin (a late-Old English form of ÆÞelwine, becoming Ailwin/ Aylwin in post-conquest times) is unlikely to have had any direct connection with north Buckinghamshire. His by-name is the Latin equivalent of OE *blæc*, presumably relating to his hair colour or complexion. Ægelwin Niger held a minor estate in Huntingdonshire in 1066, and was a benefactor of the Fenland abbey of Ramsey, though this was disputed by his kinsman Ælfric son of Wihtgar, who founded of a college of secular canons at Clare in Suffolk 1044x1065.[23] This places Ægelwin Niger in an East Anglian milieu.[24]

None of this explains how and when St Albans had lost part of its Winslow estate to a layman. Little is known about the local impact of the two periods of Viking warfare and settlement, one in the late-ninth century, the other between the 990s and 1016, followed by a series of Scandinavian kings until 1042, just before Ægelwin's grant to St Albans. Whether the change of name since 792 is indicative of any reorganisation of the local landscape from one of scattered farms and hamlets, such as Bealda's cottages, to one with a central village surrounded by open fields is also impossible to tell.

The detailed boundary perambulation of the Winslow estate, perhaps of the mid-tenth century, shows that Granborough was still an integral part of St Albans' holdings. The fact that Granborough is located in Waddesdon rather than Mursley

Hundred, may provide a clue. Although the name Buckinghamshire is not recorded before about 1010, most of its territory was assigned to the defence of the two *burhs* built by Edward the Elder to protect the Ouse crossing at Buckingham a century earlier.[25] None of the county's eighteen hundreds is recorded before Domesday Book, though they too probably came into existence in the tenth century. Whether the hundreds perpetuated earlier territorial units is debatable, as is the extent to which they ever contained exactly one hundred hides. The 'Triple Hundreds' of Buckinghamshire are not on record until the 13th-14th centuries, although the ordering of hundreds in Domesday Book almost always follows that of these groupings.[26]

The placing of Granborough in Waddesdon Hundred might indicate that it had already been separated from the rest of the Winslow estate when the hundredal system was formalised. It is difficult to see why St Albans would agree to such a separation, certainly the medieval manorial court at Winslow took no cognisance of the hundred boundary.

The triple hundred of Ashendon comprised Ashendon, Waddesdon and Ixhill Hundreds, with a total assessment was 324½ hides in 1066 (302½ excluding the detached portion of Aston Sandford, Ilmer and Towersey-Kingsey). Ixhill Hundred is centred on the royal estate of Brill/Oakley, but the other hundreds present a confused picture, with the inverted L-shape of Ashendon Hundred separating two blocks of Waddesdon. The latter includes East and Middle Claydon, while Steeple Claydon is in Lamua Hundred. That the situation was confusing to contemporaries in 1086 is shown by the fact that all the holdings called *Merstone* are rubricated under Waddesdon Hundred, whereas later sources place North Marston in Ashendon.

ANGLO-SAXON GRANBOROUGH –
THE WIDER CONTEXT

This section considers first the notably straight two-mile boundary between Granborough and North Marston, which was apparently fixed by 792, when it features as *Heortmere* (OE *heort, gemære*), 'the boundary of the hart'. Such boundaries may reflect the division of a larger entity. Nowadays this line, which is remarkably level at 94-98m OD (308-321ft), does not follow any track, merely a hedge-line between the fields of the two enclosed parishes (North Marston 1778; Granborough 1796).[27] In the tenth-century perambulation *Heortmere* is replaced by a series of boundary points.[28] The eastern segment from the Swanbourne boundary to the Granborough-North Marston road is *ðære stræt,* 'the [paved] road'. This OE term often, but not exclusively, denotes erstwhile Roman roads.[29] In 1599, the whole of the boundary appears to be part of a continuous route from Fulbrook to Swanbourne and beyond.[30] In the latter it is named Aylesbury Way. Until enclosure, the area north of this track was Granborough Common, with meadowland adjacent to the boundary stream – Nost [East] Mead.[31] The tenth-century *stræt* did not apparently continue beyond the Granborough-North-Marston-Oving road, which is still known as Portway, an OE term denoting a route to a market centre, in this case either Aylesbury or Buckingham.

The perambulation continues *Þanon on heort hyll* 'then to hart hill', a small dome-like feature just south of the boundary in North Marston, recorded as *Herthulle* in the 1260s. We then proceed *angerihte west to stapelum*, 'directly west to the columns or pillars', before turning north along *hean stræt,* 'high street', the Roman road from Fleet Marston. OE *stapol* (dative plural *stapelum),* 'pillar or column [of wood or stone]' occurs in place-names (e.g. Dunstable, Barnstaple).[32] Messrs Bull and Hunt suggest that this feature may have been the site of a gallows, citing the later name Deadman's Corner.[33] Gallows were often sited on routeways at boundaries. However, although OE *stapol* can have the sense 'raised platform', this is only in compounds denoting some kind of building or structure like a bridge. It is not recorded in the sense of 'gallows', for which the OE terms are *wearg[treow]* and *galga*.[34] The small green this point is the meeting place of no fewer than nine existing or former tracks.[35] The 'pillars' may have marked a meeting-place at this nodal point, which is, however, on the hundred boundary. The field-name Deadman's Ground is adjacent in the corner of North Marston.[36] The two names may relate to a burial feature of unknown date, possibly a barrow. Since these often occur on boundaries, and can be used as meeting places or gallows-sites, either explanation could be valid.[37] Although not named in the tenth-century perambulation, the 1599 map names point where it leaves the Roman

road at the Granborough/Hogshaw/East Claydon boundary point as Stable Corner, evidently another example of OE *stapol*.

North Marston and Granborough were clearly separated from at least the late eighth century, but is there any evidence that they once formed part of a larger entity? Their western boundaries follow the Roman road, while the eastern boundaries are marked by streams, both without significant breaks. The six Domesday holdings named *Merstone* probably included Fleet and North Marston and Pitchcott. The latter is first recorded in 1176, and may to be identified with Miles Crispin's Domesday holding of *Merstone*, whose sub-tenant Seric had held the land in 1066.[38] The name 'Pica's cot' is of a type suggestive of subordinate settlement, compare *Baldinigcotum* of 792, an early name for Granborough.[39]

Merstone, 'farm or village by a marsh', fits the topography of Fleet rather than North Marston. It lies on Roman Akeman Street close to the Thame. There was occupation here throughout the Roman period.[40] It is impossible to know what the territorial organisation was in the post-Roman British and subsequent Anglo-Saxon eras. The name Oving (**Ufingas*, 'Ufa's people'), now restricted to a small parish, would have referred to a wider area in the period *c*.600–800, possibly including the Marstons, Pitchcott and Granborough, and maybe Quarrendon. The latter was reputedly the site of a Mercian royal centre (*villa regia*).[41] The superimposition of the hundredal system in the tenth century has obscured earlier territorial arrangements, and the territory of the *Ufingas* may have extended eastwards to include parts of what became Cottesloe Hundred, as well as further south and west.

CONCLUSION

This paper has examined, if not resolved, some of the questions surrounding the Winslow estate of St Albans abbey and also of Granborough in the Anglo-Saxon period. Despite possessing what are by Buckinghamshire standards relatively abundant contemporary sources, much of what has been said inevitably contains a large element of conjecture, albeit based on these and other sources relating to the places and personalities involved between the eighth and eleventh centuries. The discussion has touched upon wider issues of administrative and

ecclesiastical history, for example the nature of early territories and of minster churches and their relationship with kings and churchmen. These are large topics demanding further research, however, to which the author hopes to return.

REFERENCES

1. A.H.J. Baines, 'The Winslow Charter of 792 and the boundaries of Granborough' *Recs Bucks* **22** (1980), 1–18.
2. M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Leicester, 1979), no.141 for a discussion of the charter's authenticity; P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters, an Annotated List and Bibliography* (1968; hereafter S), no. 138; W. de G. Birch (ed.), *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol.1 (1885; hereafter CS), no.264 for the text
3. For other grants to St Albans see Gelling (n.2), nos.162–164, 177, 178; there were also sundry bequests to St. Albans of land and livestock by the noblewoman Æthelgifu in her will of 980x990 (Gelling no.171). Willegod is named in B267/280, S136/151; there seems to be no good reason to consider him to be 'legendary', as W.G. Searle did in his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897), 498.
4. Lichfield was raised to the status of an archbishopric at Offa's request in 786, it only lasted until 803.
5. See A.T. Thacker, 'Some Terms for Noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England, c.650–900', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology & History* 2 (1981), 201–36.
6. M. Gelling (n.2), no.173
7. On *Lygetune* see Baines (n.1), 16; E.J. Bull & J. Hunt, 'Rewalking the Tenth-Century Perambulation of Winslow Manor', *Recs Bucks* **38** (1996), 90–108 at 94–6.
8. A. Mawer & F.M. Stenton, *The Place-names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire* (1926), 156.
9. Mawer & Stenton (n.8), 8, 154–5; E. Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th ed., Oxford 1960), 291.
10. B255,257/S131, 130 (Chelsea, 789), B264/S138 (Barford, 792), B265/S132 (London, 793), B272-4/S139, 146 (Clofesho, 793x6), B289/S153 (?, 798), B293/S155 (Tamworth, 799), 309–12 (Clofesho, 803).
11. For Beonna B271/S1412, G.N. Garmonsway (ed. & trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

(1953), 53 (777); for Utel as bishop of Hereford S. Keynes, 'Episcopal Succession in Anglo-Saxon England', in E.B. Fryde *et al*. (eds.) *Handbook of British Chronology* (3rd ed., 1986), 217; for Forthred, Garmonsway, 58. Abbot Alchmund is clearly not the man who became bishop of Winchester *c*.803; they both attended the synod of *Clofesho* in that year.

12. D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), 148, 158, 161.

13. S. Keynes (n.11), 218, 215.

14. Burial story: J.A. Giles (trans.), *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History* vol.1 (1849), 166, and H.R. Luard (ed.), *Chronica Majora* [of Matthew Paris] Rolls Series 7 vols. 1872ff, vol.1, 363–2. Offley: J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer & F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire* (1938), 19. Bedford minster: J. Haslam, 'The ecclesiastical topography of early medieval Bedford, *Beds. Archaeology* **17** (1986), 41–50.

15. Domesday Book (DB), I fol. 143d.

16. E. Bull & J. Hunt (n.7); K.A. Bailey, 'The boundaries of Winslow – some comments', *Recs Bucks* **39** (1997), 63–66.

17. E.J. Bull & J. Hunt (n.7), 90

18. D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke & V. London (eds.), *The Heads of Religious Houses in England & Wales 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1972), 64–5; H.T. Riley (ed.), [Matthew Paris] *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, 3 vols. Rolls Series (1867–9).

19. D. Noy (ed.), *Winslow Manor Court Books, pt.I 1327–1377, pt.II 1423–1460* Bucks. Rec. Soc. 35/36 (2011).

20. K.A. Bailey, 'Place-names in *–cot*: the Buckinghamshire Evidence', *English Place-Name Soc. Journal* **31** (1998–9), 77–90.

21. A.H. Smith, *The Place-Name Elements* vol.1 (1956), 134.

22. Gelling (n.2), no.180; S1228.

23. C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), no.110.

24. For Ramsey Abbey see Hart (n.23), Chap. IX, and Knowles et al. (n.18), 61–2. The co-founder of Ramsey was another ÆÞelwine (d.992), whose by-name was *Amicus Dei*, the son of ÆÞelstan 'Half-King', both ealdormen of East Anglia, see C.R. Hart, *The Danelaw* (1992), chap. 21. Some medieval sources attribute tenth-century grants to Ramsey to ÆÞelwine

Niger; there may have been some family link between them.

25. A.H.J. Baines, 'The Danish wars and the establishment of the Borough and County of Buckingham', *Recs Bucks* **26** (1984), 11–27; *ibid.*, 'The development of the borough of Buckingham, 914–1086', *Recs Bucks* **27** (1984), 53–64.

26. Victoria County History of Buckingham (VCH), vols. 2-4 (1908–27) *passim*; however Helen Cam, *Liberties & Communities in Medieval England* (1942), 94 n.3 mentions the possibility that they relate to pre-conquest levies for supplying and manning warships.

27. A. Baines (n.1), 6.

28. E. Bull & J. Hunt (n.7), 92, 97–8.

29. A. Smith (n.21), vol. 2, 161–2. By comparison with other charter bounds of the period, one might have expected OE *weg* or *pæð* in this context.

30. Salden Estate Map of Sir John Fortescue's property (1599), original lost, copy in R.A. Croft & D. Mynard, *The Changing Landscape of Milton Keynes* Bucks. Arch. Soc. Monograph **5** (1993), L11.

31. T. Jefferys, *Map of the County of Buckinghamshire* (1770), reprinted by Bucks. Arch. Soc. (2000). Field-names from unpublished database held by author.

32. A. Smith (n.21), vol. 2, 146.

33. E. Bull & J. Hunt (n.7), 98. Neither of the locations on the Roman road containing OE *stapol* are likely to have been Roman milestones, as neither seems to be an exact number of Roman miles from either end of the Fleet Marston-Lillingstone road (Margary 162).

34. A. Smith (n.21), vol. 1, 192l vol. 2, 247–8. Smith says that *galga* is mainly used in northern England. Gallows Ground in Swanbourne lies next the Aylesbury-Buckingham road.

35. A. Baines (n.1), 11 and map.

36. Field-name database. Dead Man's Cross in 1599 lay close to the 'kink' in the Granborough-N. Marston boundary (see n.30).

37. D. Bonney, 'Early Boundaries and Estates in Southern England', in P.H. Sawyer (ed.) *English Medieval Settlement* (1979), 41–51.

38. VCH Bucks., vol.4 (1927), 89.

39. K. Bailey (n.20).

40. Notes/articles on Fleet Marston in *Recs Bucks*, **24** (1982); **38** (1996) 244–5 – discovery of

Roman coffin; **39** (1997) 155–62 – pewter hoard at Putlowes Farm. See also records on-line at *Unlocking Buckinghamshire's Past*, https// ubp.buckscc.gov.uk accessed 10 June 2013.

41. P. Everson, 'Peasants, Peers and Graziers: The Landscape of Quarrendon, Buckinghamshire', *Recs Bucks* **41** (2001), 1–46, esp. 10. For further discussion of seventh-century Quarrendon in relation to St. Osyth and her family, possibly Mercian sub-kings, see C. Hohler, 'St. Osyth and Aylesbury', *Recs Bucks* **18** (1966), 61–72; R.P. Hagerty, 'The Buckinghamshire Saints Reconsidered. 2: St. Osyth & St. Edith of Aylesbury', *Recs Bucks* **29** (1987), 125–32; K.A. Bailey, 'Osyth, Frithuwold and Aylesbury', *Recs Bucks* **31**, 37–48.