

MEDIEVAL KINGSEY AND TYTHROP

1086–1335

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The primary objective of this paper is to discuss the history of medieval Kingsey and Tythrop from Domesday Book in 1086 to the Hundred Rolls of 1255–1279 and the Lay Subsidies of 1327 and 1332. The latter provide a rare opportunity to look at changes in a local community over a very short time span, with information on livestock and crops during the period of agricultural decline between the medieval peak c.1300 and the onset of the Black Death pandemic in 1348–9. In order to put these tax returns in context, the contemporary Kingsey manor court rolls are briefly considered. A solution to the tenurial structure and open-field system of Kingsey-cum-Tythrop is also offered. As a prelude to the above, the wider medieval context of Kingsey and Tythrop and neighbouring Towersey is briefly examined, mainly in order to elucidate their complicated administrative history.

INTRODUCTION

Towersey and Kingsey lie south of Haddenham and west of Thame (Fig.1), in a slightly undulating landscape between 225 and 270ft OD. Kingsey covers 1,431 acres (of which 530 acres were in Tythrop [Oxfordshire]), and Towersey 1,380 acres. The underlying geology is principally Gault Clay, a Lower Cretaceous formation giving rise to clayey and loamy soils, occasionally prone to waterlogging, and more suited generally to pasture than arable farming, although the latter covered most of the area in medieval times.¹ Conversion from open-field arable to enclosed pastures began in the late-fifteenth century in Kingsey, but was not completed until the early-nineteenth century. Around 1900, there were 1,000 acres of permanent grass and 315 acres of arable in Kingsey. For Towersey the figures are 910 acres and 320 acres, respectively.² The principal crops in the early-twentieth century were wheat and beans at Kingsey and wheat, beans, barley and clover at Towersey.

Originally, the both parishes bore the unqualified Old English topographical name *ēg* ('island, raised ground in a marshy area'), rendered *Eia* in Latin and *Eye* in modern English. In this case, the sense is that of 'land partly surrounded by water, dry ground in a fen, well-watered land',³ reflecting the many watercourses flowing across the impermeable Gault.

The administrative history of Kingsey and Towersey is unusually complex. Until 1895, they

were largely in Buckinghamshire, with Tythrop forming a detached portion of Lewknor Hundred in Oxfordshire. It was not assigned to any parish in that Hundred, however, forming part of Kingsey ecclesiastically. In medieval times, Lewknor Hundred had many detached portions, some of which lay in Buckinghamshire. Several were part of Lewknor parish, and it is possible that Tythrop was in the pre-Conquest period (Fig. 2). Lewknor was held by Abingdon Abbey in 1066–86, although there is no indication as to when they acquired the estate, it was probably once in royal hands. Lewknor Hundred was one of four and a half hundreds attached to the royal centre of Benson in Domesday Book. Kingsey church was probably established in the late-eleventh or twelfth centuries. In 1895, Kingsey joined Tythrop in Oxfordshire, leaving Towersey almost cut off from Buckinghamshire. This anomaly was resolved in 1933–4 when Towersey and Kingsey changed shires, finally breaking up the unity of the original "Island" (see below). Until 1841, Towersey was a chapelry of Thame.⁴

A pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery dated to the 5th/6th century was discovered in Tythrop in 1859,⁵ although there is no evidence of settlement prior to Domesday Book. In the absence of any pre-Conquest sources, it is impossible know when and why the complex division of the "island" between shires and manors occurred. The two shires originated in the first decade of the eleventh century, and the alternative view that Buckinghamshire was created a century earlier seems unlikely.⁶ Thame

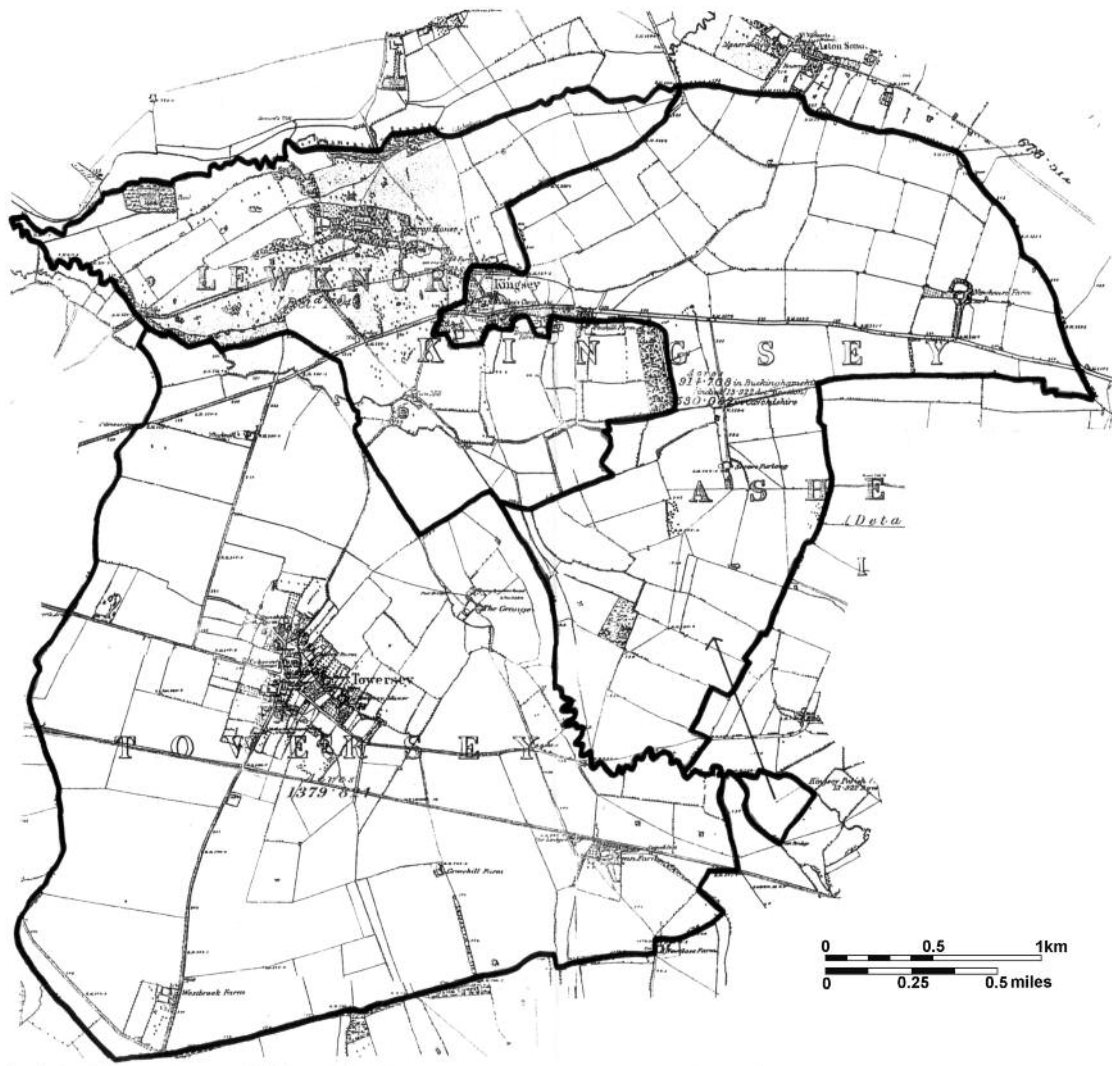


FIGURE 1 Kingsey, Tythrop and Towersey, c.1888
(source: 1st Edition Ordnance Survey 6" map)

was the site of a minster church and probably a royal estate centre (*villa regalis*) in the seventh century.⁷ Aylesbury and Quarrendon represent a similar pairing, making it possible that the division between shires followed an earlier boundary.

Domesday Book

Kingsey was a dependency of the royal estate at Brill and so is not mentioned in Domesday Book.⁸ It is impossible to ascertain the antiquity of this

link, although field-name evidence suggests that Kingsey was a permanent settlement with its own field system by 1066. In the medieval period, Kingsey, Towersey, Ilmer and Aston Sandford parishes together with Aston Mullins and Waldridge in Dinton formed a detached portion of Ixhill Hundred (occasionally on record as Brill Hundred), so the whole area may once have belonged to the King, with only Kingsey remaining in royal hands by 1066.

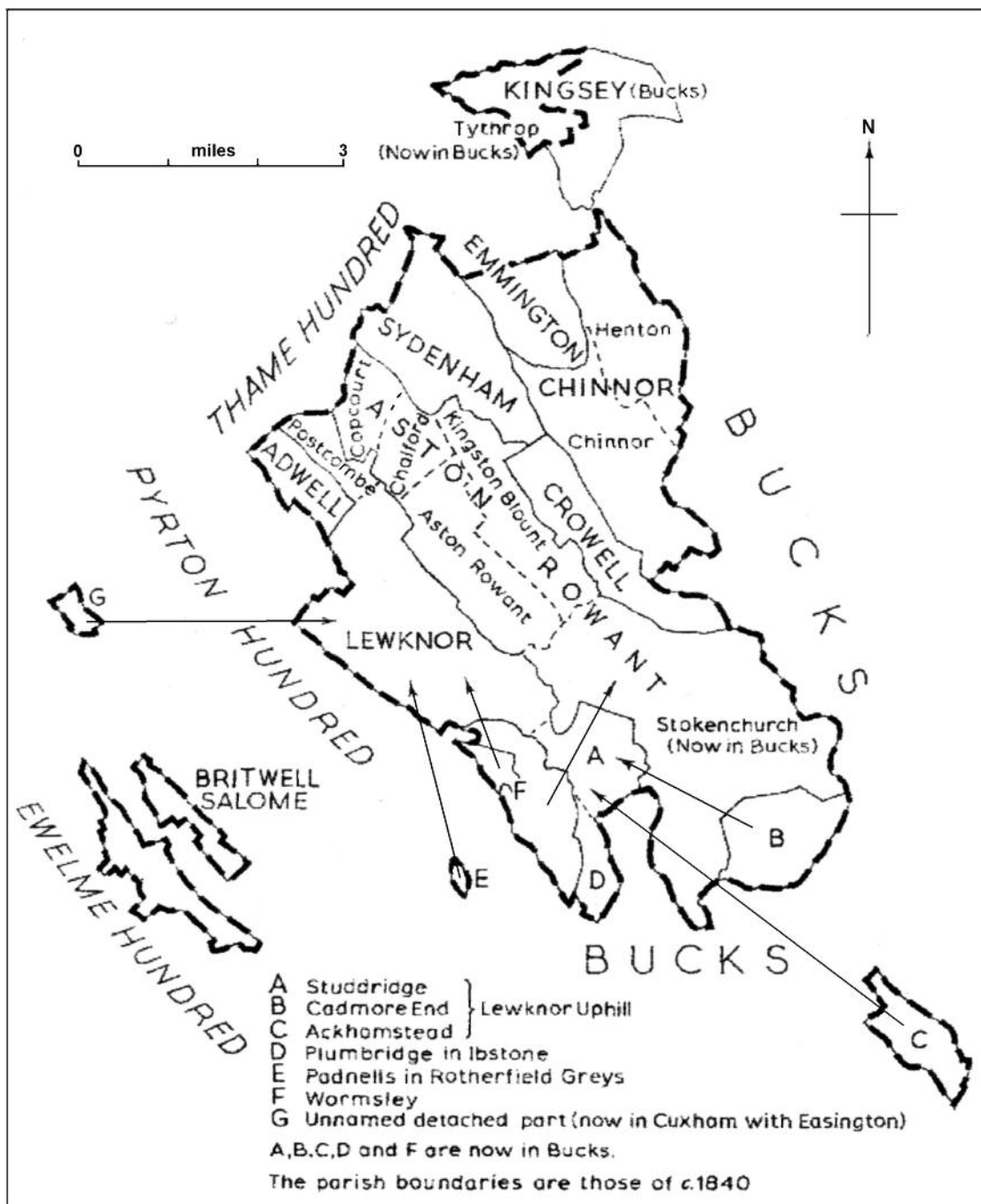


FIGURE 2 Lewknor Hundred (after VCH Oxford, vol. 8, 1)

The Domesday entry for *Eie* refers to Towersey.⁹ It was held by Nigel le Vast from the tenant-in-chief Nigel d'Aubigny, with an irregular assessment of nine hides one virgate. The "missing" seven virgates which made up the later medieval total of eleven hides was identified by Gerald Elvey with the unnamed holding in Ixhill Hundred held in 1066 by Sæwulf from Earl Ralph, and in 1086 by Alfred of Thame from Giles, brother of Ansculf.¹⁰ The two holdings had land for nine ploughs, with three on Nigel's demesne. There were five slaves and twelve villeins. Before 1066, *Eie* had been held by seven thegns, men of Edward the Confessor, possibly indicating a stage in the removal of direct royal ownership (see above). Each would have held around three virgates. The notional minimum holding for a "proper" thegn was five hides, however, so these men were probably superior tenant farmers, often called thegns in north-east Buckinghamshire and adjacent Bedfordshire, with holdings of around one hide.¹¹ All Nigel le Vast's other Domesday holdings, as sub-tenant of d'Aubigny, lay in Bedfordshire.¹² Two had been held by seven freemen each and one by ten freemen in 1066. As happened elsewhere, some or all of the Towersey "thegns" had probably been reduced in status to become villeins in 1086.

There are two entries for Tythrop (*Duchitorp*) in the Oxfordshire Domesday.¹³ The name derives from Old English *twī* and *þrop*, 'two or double hamlets/farms'.¹⁴ Each was assessed at two-and-a-half hides, together making a thegn's five-hide estate. Unfortunately, there is no indication of their pre-Conquest ownership. Both passed to Odo Bishop of Bayeux (William I's half-brother) after 1066. One was held by Wadard, which descended to the de la Rose family, the other by Ilbert Lacy, which passed to the earldom of Lincoln.¹⁵ In 1086, each hamlet had land for three ploughs. Ilbert had one in demesne and four villeins the other two, while Wadard had one in demesne, worked by two slaves, while two villeins had one, leaving capacity for one more. Each hamlet had ten acres of meadow.

As part of Brill, there is no Domesday hidage assessment for Kingsey. Later, 37% lay in Oxfordshire and 63% in Buckinghamshire (a ratio of 1:1.7). Around 1300 the ratio of virgate holdings is 1:1.65, while tax paid by the two vills in 1334 has a ratio of 1:1.8. The consistency of these disparate sources suggests a notional hidage for Kingsey

nine in 1066, giving a total of fourteen hides for the parish and of twenty-five hides for the whole "Island". (The much larger Brill estate had an extremely "beneficial" assessment of twenty hides in 1066.)

Manorial Developments

The VCH provides a full history of changes in ownership, and only developments between 1066 and c.1350 are considered here. After 1100, the two parishes were distinguished as *Eia Magna* [Kingsey] and *Eie Parva* [Towersey], later acquiring their more distinctive names, one from its earlier royal connection (first mentioned 1197), the other from the de Tours family (1237x40).¹⁶

Henry I (1100–1135) granted Kingsey to William de Bolebec as one knight's fee. It remained with the Bolebecs until 1304, when it was granted to Eleanor de Ewelme and her nephews Geoffrey and William Neyrnut. They were dead by 1316, but Eleanor survived until 1349, when Kingsey passed to Sir Robert Marny, whose family held it into the sixteenth century.

In 1279, William Wace held half of Tythrop for half a knight's fee from Robert son of Henry who held in turn from the Earl of Lincoln. The other was held from Robert Grimbaud in serjeanty by William of Saunderton through his wife, the daughter of Robert de la Rose. It was linked with the manor of Saunderton St. Mary until the 1460s.¹⁷ Medieval remains noted in the vicinity of Kingsey Mill suggest that one of the manorial centres may have been on a moated site hereabouts.¹⁸

By the mid-13th century Towersey was held by Ralph Pirot, and in 1337 by another Ralph. John de Tours, whose family gave the parish its name, was the sub-tenant c.1190. In 1337 Richard Towers granted the reversion of one-third of the estate to Thame Abbey, which received the remainder from Edmund de Berford at the same time. The Abbey retained Towersey until the Dissolution.¹⁹

Kingsey and Tythrop 1086–1300

Little detailed information is available for either place during this period. This is unfortunate, as this was a period of rapid population growth. The essentially fixed means of agricultural production and its outputs ensured that most of the land was given over to crops, based here on two great communally-farmed open fields.

In April 1197, a court case involving Herbert de Bolebec, lord of Kingsey, refers to one-third of the knight's fee being claimed as dower by Richente de Lorinton. It appears to have been normal to grant the lord's wife one third of the manor in dower, as another example occurs in 1298 (see below) Richente was given a rent of 16/- together with three acres of meadow under *Greneherst* and one acre lately held by Fulk son of Coloman. Two other tenants, William son of Odo and John Blund, are mentioned.²⁰

In 1268, the current lord of Kingsey, Herbert Bolebek, died, and the subsequent *inquisition post mortem*, held at Aylesbury on Wednesday 29 August 1268, throws a little light on the manor.²¹ The jurors were mainly local men, almost half from Towersey, with good local knowledge but not tenants of the Bolebecs. Herbert was succeeded by his brother Gilbert. Kingsey is confirmed as being held in chief from the King as one knight's fee. There were two ploughs in demesne. The value of the estate was £12/1/9, while the proceeds of customs (principally payments by the tenants in lieu of services in kind) came to £6/16/11. Also mentioned is a plough worked by John de Waleys on the manor of [Great] Kimble. This holding was half a knight's fee worth 50/-. The Waleys figure prominently in fourteenth-century Kingsey.

The first detailed evidence is provided by the *Close Rolls* of 15 February 1298. Agnes, the widow of Gilbert de Bolebec, was assigned a part of the manor in dower, provided that she did not marry without the King's licence.²² Her grant comprised a mixture of property, land and rents.

This represents one-third of the manor, so it is possible to estimate the extent and value of the whole *c.*1300, coinciding approximately with the high water-mark of medieval population and agricultural activity. The demesne consisted of 160 acres of arable, eighteen acres of meadow and four acres of pasture. The two demesne ploughs mentioned in 1268 each therefore worked eighty acres. The watermill, valued at 10/- per annum, was actually in Oxfordshire, and no doubt served the Tythrops as well. The rents from free tenants total 26/4 (two marks in contemporary currency). This group had largely developed since the eleventh century and was characterised by low rents and minimal labour obligations. The customary tenants were the principal peasant cultivators, equivalent to the villeins of Domesday Book. They owed quite

TABLE 1 Kingsey 1298: Partial Valuation

<i>Item</i>	<i>Total</i>
½ chief messuage	2/2½
53 acres+1 rood arable @ 6d/acre	26/8
6 acres meadow @12d/acre	6/-
1 acre+1½ rood pasture @ 8d/acre	10½d
½ watermill	3/4
Free tenants' rents [1]	8/9¼
Customary tenants' rents	19/4
Cottars' rents	1/4
7 autumn boon-works	7/0¾
½ gift of manor	2/8½
½ pleas & perquisites	n/a
1 ac. wood in Lt. Kimble	2d
Total	78/6

Note: [1] plus a clove of gillyflower – a common item of rent in kind at this time.

high rents for their holdings, which ranged from half-virgates to two/three virgates, and also performed labour services on the demesne such as ploughing, reaping and weeding, although by 1300 many of these had been commuted to money payments. Customary rents totalled 58/- in 1298, plus 29/4 for boon works and other services, 37% of the manorial total. Cottars were smallholders, with an acre or two, who provided wage labour on the demesne and for the wealthier tenants. Their rents total 4/-. By analogy with Tythrop in 1279, Kingsey probably had two-four free tenants, and a similar number of cottars.

The Hundred Rolls: 1254–1280

The Hundred Rolls of 1254–5 were an attempt by Henry III to identify the holdings and obligations of manorial lords, and to check abuses. The transfer of the advowson of Kingsey from the King and Herbert de Bolebec to the prior and convent of Rochester is recorded, a connection which has lasted to the present. At Towersey (*Turesheye*) Richard de Tours held the service of one knight's fee from Ralph Pirot. Murial de Weston held seven virgates by socage from Robert de Wansi for 20/-. They owed 22/- hidage (eleven hides at 2/-), and 5/- for view of frankpledge.²³ The first Hundred Roll of Edward I (1273–4) records the grant of King Henry senior (1st) to William de Bolbec of *Kingeshey*, formerly belonging to the manor of Brill and worth £15 per annum.²⁴

Tythrop appears in the much more detailed Hundred Rolls of 1279–80. Unfortunately, these provide no information for this part of Buckinghamshire.²⁵ Tythrop still contained two fully-fledged manors.

William Wace and William of Saunderton were both sub-tenants of higher lords, the successors of Domesday's Ilbert de Lacy and Wadard. The six villeins and two slaves recorded in 1086 had increased five villeins, nine cottars and five free

tenants in 1279. Half of the virgates were in demesne, compared with 40% of ploughs at work in 1086. Each manor had two virgates in villeinage. Five virgates were held by free tenants, and while some of the ten cottagers held one or two acres of land, others were landless.

Both hamlets have disappeared since the thirteenth century, one swallowed up by the grounds of Tythrop House, the other absorbed into farmland. This raises three fundamental questions. First,

TABLE 2 Tythrop in the 1279–80 Hundred Rolls

<i>Name</i>	<i>Tenure</i>	<i>Holding</i>	<i>Note</i>
Wace, William	D	3.5v; 4 ac. mdw	half hamlet
John, William son of	V	1v	
Doyly, Robert	V	0.5v	with Thorekil
Thorekil, William	V	0.5v	with Doyly
Adam, Emma dau of	C	1 cott	
Doyly, Robert	C	1 cott	
Richard, William son of	C	1 cott+2 ac.	
Wytemey, William	C	1 cott	
Bachiler, Jordan le	F	0.5v	
Henry, Nicholas son of	F	7 ac.	
Nicholas, Ralph son of	F	3 ac.	
Richard, William son of	F	3v	
Roger, William son of	F	1 mess+4 ac.	
Juliana, widow	Scutage	1 mess+3 ac.	
SUB-TOTALS		D 3½v+4a; V 2v; C 4+2a; F 3½v+17a+2mess	
TOTAL		9v+23a; 2 cott/2 mess	
Saunderton, William de	D	5v+4 ac. mdw	half hamlet
Paulin, Simon	V	1v	
Paulin, Walter	V	1v	
Clement, William	C	1 cott	
Saunderton, Stephen de	C	1 cott+1.5 ac.	
Swyth, Milo	C	1 cott+1.5 ac.	
Stephen, Matilda dau of	C	1 cott+1 ac.	
Wyte, Agnes le	C	1 cott+1.5 ac.	
Wyte, David le	C	1 cott+1 ac.	
Passelewe, Walter	F	1v	
SUB-TOTAL		D 5v+4a; V 2v; C 6+6½a; F 1v	
TOTAL		8v+10½a; 6 cott	
GRAND TOTAL		D 8½v+8a; V 4v; C 10+8½a; F 4½v+17a/2mess. 17v+33½a; 10 cott/2 mess	

Note: D demesne; V villein; C cottager; F free tenant

where were the two Tythrops? Secondly, was their farmland separate from or integrated with that of Kingsey? Thirdly were the two demesnes (also that of Kingsey) held in severalty, or were they part of the open-field system[s]?

With regard to the first of these questions, Peter Gulland has carried out fieldwork in the area, and kindly supplied me with his conclusions on the location of the various settlements.²⁶ One hamlet lay at NGR SP743071 (Fig. 3), about 300 yards ENE of Tythrop House, while the other lay at SP 740066, in a group of fields called Burcroft (OE *burh, croft*, ‘enclosure containing a fort’, although in this case it is probably with reference to a lightly-fortified estate centre or manorial complex).²⁷ Traces of a

holloway and house platforms survive at the latter. The two sites lie about 700 yards apart. Medieval Kingsey lay to the east of the present village, on what later became the village green, centered at SP750067. The church was located just west of the green, surrounded to the north, west and south by Tythrop land, and thus central for all three settlements in the parish of Kingsey. The questions about field systems and demesnes are dealt later in the paper.

The 1279 Hundred Roll provides details of services owed by villeins and cottagers. On the Wace manor, the rent due for each villein virgate was 2/6, in addition to which the tenant was obliged to perform the following relatively light services:

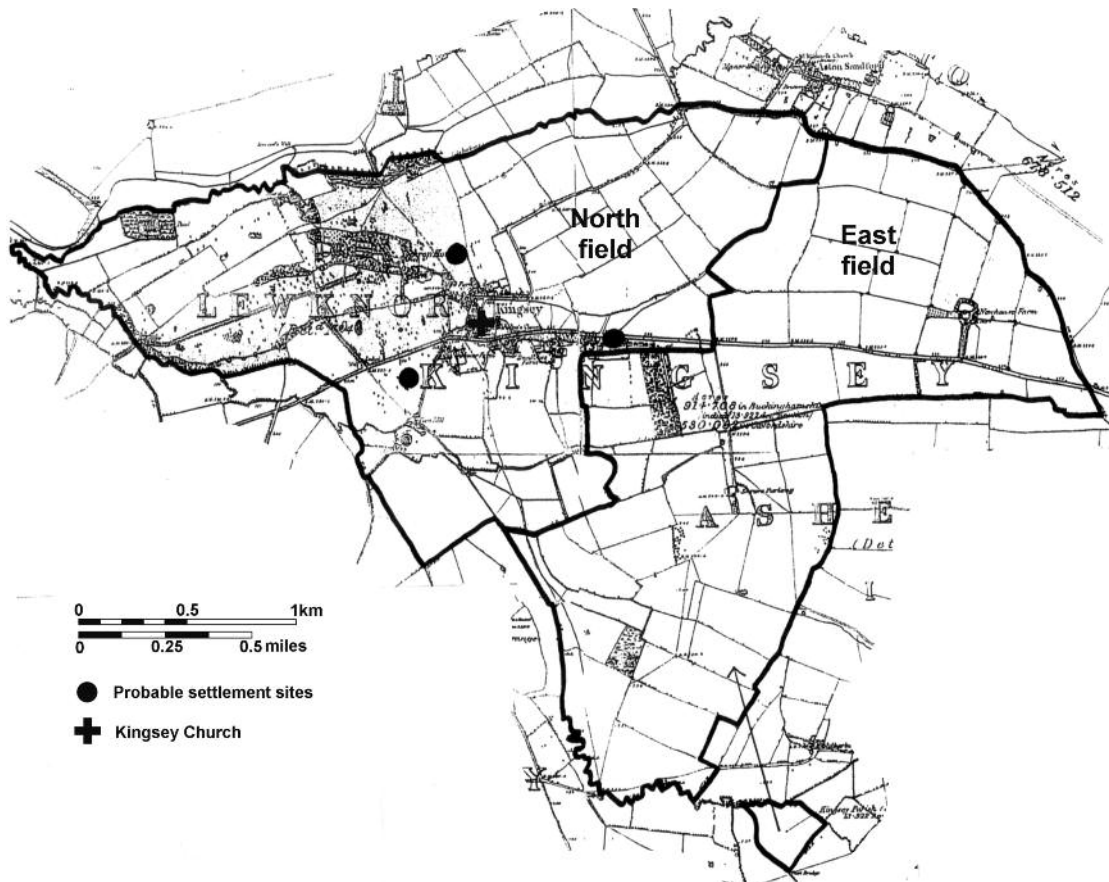


FIGURE 3 Medieval Kingsey: Settlements and Open Fields

Weeding/hoeing [the demesne] for one day with one man with meal provided by the lord, or weeding for half a day without food, at the lord's choice

Reaping in harvest for three days for one pasty per day at the lord's custom and evening drink.

The cottagers paid twelve pence per annum for a dwelling and two acres, but owed varying services. These included weeding, reaping and stacking hay, with either one or two men. Food was often supplied by the lord of the manor. All the villeins and cottars had to lift the lord's hay in Fiffacre, without food. Even the free tenants owed some labour services. William son of Richard (also listed as a cottager, although that was almost certainly occupied by unnamed sub-tenants) held three virgates (seventy-two acres), but still owed one day's reaping in the harvest with his whole family at *bedripp* (reaping at the lord's bidding), with the exception of his wife when nursing and his shepherd. Jordan le Bachiler rented half a virgate for 2/- Nicholas son of Henry seven acres for 7d, and Ralph son of Nicholas 3½ acres for 2d. William son of Roger held one messuage and four acres, paying 2/- per annum. Least fortunate was the widow Juliana, who not only paid 4/6 per annum for a messuage and three acres, but also 20/- scutage (shield tax), representing the commutation of military service obligations to a cash payment. This no doubt relates to the half a knight's fee for which the manor was held.

The other Tythrop was held by William of Saunderton through his wife's inheritance from her father Robert de la Rose. It was a sub-tenancy under Robert Grimbaud in serjeanty (a form of feudal render conditional on performing a service for the king), and rendered 10/- for twenty-four weeks' guard duty at Dover Castle. A rent of 20/-, was still being paid to Dover Castle in 1450.²⁸ There were five demesne virgates, more than 60% of the total. As in 1086, two virgates were held in villeinage. Walter and Simon Paulin paid 4/- and one goose per virgate, plus eight pence for guarding Dover Castle. They had to provide one man for one day to carry wood in their own horse and cart, with food from the lord, and also hay and corn in the same way. They had to reap in harvest for one day with one man, food provided. Walter Paulin was in charge of the harvesters or reapers of the lord, with food from the lord. He gave the lord

a gift at the Nativity consisting of four white loaves, four gallons of ale, one cock and three hens, and he and all his family had to dine with the lord.

There were six cottagers. Agnes la Wyte, Milo Smyth and Stephen of Saunderton each held a cottage and three half-acres. Agnes had to reap for three days at harvest-time with one man, with food from the lord, and owed one cock and two hens and feasted with the lord. Milo Smyth had to weed for one day and weed and lift hay with one man, fed by the lord, and reaped like Agnes. The same works were owed by Stephen of Saunderton, who paid 3/-, and Matilda, daughter of Stephen, who paid 2/- for a cottage and one acre. David le Wyte held a cottage and one acre, but paid only 12d. He performed the same works as Milo, and in addition had to wash the sheep, lift a pitchfork and uproot flax. William Clement had a cottage with no land and owed the same services as David. Walter Passelewe (Parslow) was the only free tenant here, with one virgate, for which he paid 4/- plus eight pence for guarding at Dover.

In total, there were seventeen virgates and twenty-acres of land in the two Tythrops. Seven tenants held one virgate or more. Each hamlet probably had a manorial complex, with a total of eight dwellings for virgate-holders, two messuages and ten cottages. Unfortunately, the population of Tythrop cannot be calculated from these data, as tenants' dependants and landless men are not recorded. In 1334 the wealth assessment before tax for Tythrop was £25/2/6. At Kingsey, sixteen individuals were worth £36/9/6, which would give ten or eleven taxpayers in Tythrop, which equates with the eleven principal owners and tenants in 1279, although the precise relationship of population between Tythrop and Kingsey is complicated by the fact that some tenants held land in both, albeit within a single field system.

The Lay Subsidies of 1327 and 1332

A series of major agricultural crises occurred in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, including outbreaks of animal disease and poor harvests caused by persistent wet weather in the 1310s.²⁹ These events caused famine in some years and led the population to begin its decline from a medieval peak around 1300, although it is impossible to tell what the local effects may have been.

Fortunately, another of Edward I's tax-raising innovations has left detailed records of those wealthy

enough to be liable for tax in Kingsey. The Lay Subsidy was devised as a way of raising revenue to fund Edward's expensive wars in Scotland and Wales in the 1290s, as the yield from the ancient land-based hidage was static or declining. The new tax was on movable wealth, principally livestock and crops, as well as items such as carts and cooking pots. The tools of trade were customarily exempt, as were food in the larder, ploughs, small carts, rakes etc., in the case of agricultural tenants. Manorial lords paid no tax on demesne equipment. The crops and livestock referred to in the tax returns discussed below are therefore those surplus to basic needs.³⁰ The proportion of tax varied, for example one-twentieth in 1327 and one-fifteenth in 1332. Originally assessed each time a subsidy was required, from the mid-1330s, the amount for each vill was fixed, and then apportioned locally among those who qualified

(with goods worth 10/- or more), thereby fossilising the yield until new taxes were devised in the sixteenth century, although reductions were sometimes granted. In the early years of the Lay Subsidy occasional detailed lists of taxpayers survive, some merely with the money due, others with complete lists of goods.

Kingsey has detailed assessments for 1327 and 1332, which not only reveal changes in livestock and crops, but in those liable for tax. The taxpayers in the two years are listed below, together with the value of their assets and tax payable. The subtaxers were local men who acted as local assessors, having the necessary knowledge to value the movables of all those not exempt, although equally they were in a good position to do their neighbours a good turn by under-valuing or turning a blind eye. Michaelmas was the usual time for valuations,

TABLE 3 Kingsey Taxpayers 1327 & 1332

Name	1327		Name	1332	
	Total Sh.	1/20th Sh.		Total Sh.	1/15th Sh.
Aldefeld, Thomas de	56.25	2.81	Aldefelde, Thomas de	48.00	2.55
Chaunterel, John	28.33	1.42	Bateman, William	30.67	1.63
Colyns, Elena	27.00	1.35	Chaunterel, John	25.00	1.67
Colyns, John son of Elena	20.00	1.00	Elote, John	25.33	1.35
Ewelme, Eleanor de	176.67	8.83	Ewelme, Eleanor de	206.00	10.98
Eye, Stephen de	46.67	3.33	Godlake, Allicia	52.00	2.78
Fulkes, William	33.33	1.67	Godlake, Richard	75.00	5.00
Geydlac, John	60.00	3.00	Howes, Matilda	22.50	1.20
Horcharde, Thomas atte	45.00	2.25	Orchyerd, Thomas de	20.00	1.07
Kyng, John	20.00	1.00	Ralph, Gilbert son of	40.67	2.17
Pat, Hugh	30.00	1.50	Ravenyng, John	33.00	1.75
Revenynge, John	40.00	2.00	Thursteyn, Matilda	23.33	1.25
Sam..., Christopher de	50.00	2.50	Tony, Cristina	38.67	2.58
Thursteyn, Matilda	28.33	1.42	Uptone, Richard de	40.00	2.13
Tony, William	33.50	1.67	Walys, Miriel	26.67	1.43
Unwyne, William	30.00	1.50	Wynd, Walter	22.67	1.25
Opton, Richard de	64.67	3.23	Total – 16	729.50	38.92
Waleys, John	33.67	1.69			
Wynd, Walter	25.00	1.25			
Total – 19	848.42	43.42			
Subtaxers			Subtaxers		
Tony, John			Tony, John		
Unwyne, William			Rolves Gilbert		

Note: The name of Christopher de Sam... is illegible in the MS, it may represent Saunderton (medieval spelling often Saunredone), a family with Kingsey/Tythrop connections.

when the harvest was done and values could be readily ascertained. Those with less than ten shillings' worth of property were exempt, and it is unlikely that the details in the tax returns represent the whole wealth of those liable to pay the Subsidy.

Apart from the decrease in the number of taxpayers, the most notable feature is the significant turnover of names. Six of those named in 1327 have gone by 1332, with four new names appearing. John Geydlac [sic] was replaced by Allicia and Richard Godlake. Surnames were generally fixed by this time, Gilbert son of Ralph being the only exception. The topographical surnames are all more or less local. Upton is three miles from Kingsey, while the old field (Aldefelde), Eye and the orchard are local names from within the parish. There are no occupational surnames. There were three female taxpayers (16%) in 1327 and six (37%) in 1332, most probably the widows or daughters of tenants. The jurors in the *Nonarum Inquisitiones* of 1341 were John de Uptone, John Godlak, John Colyn, Henry Dyge, John Chambreleyn and Edmund Rolves, indicating a continuing turnover of tenants.³¹

The lady of the manor accounted for 21% of total wealth in 1327 and 28% in 1332, although this conceals a 16% increase in her assessment and a reduction of 14% in the overall total. There were also significant changes in the ranking and wealth of those who appear in both years. For example, Richard of Upton fell from second to sixth and was apparently worth one-third less in 1332, while Thomas atte Orchard lost more than half his worth and fell from sixth to last position. By contrast the Godlake family's worth had increased almost 80%.

Is it possible to use these data to glean some idea of the size of holdings in fourteenth-century Kingsey? There was a clear hierarchy of wealth, and setting aside problems of under-assessment and evasion, it seems probable that in a purely agrarian community such as this, this represents a hierarchy of landholding. There are clear groupings within the list of movable values (excluding Eleanor de Ewelme):

<i>Wealth</i>	<i>1327</i>	<i>1332</i>
20–30/-	8	7
30–40/-	4	4
>40/-	6	4

Medieval tenants frequently had half-, one- and two-virgate holdings, as shown by the Tythrop Hundred Rolls, and the three wealth bands may represent 0.5-1, 1-2 and 2+ virgate tenancies, respectively, making about twenty-two tenant virgates and seven of demesne in total. Based on a virgate size of twenty-four acres, there were 528 acres of tenant land and 168 acres of demesne (cf. 160 acres of demesne arable in 1298). The total of about 695 acres of arable represents 75% of the area of Kingsey. However, there was a single field system in the parish, giving a total of forty-seven virgates, equivalent to 1,128 acres of arable land, 79% of the parish. This leaves about three hundred acres for substantial areas of meadow and pasture along the numerous watercourses. There is little evidence for woodland or its clearance in medieval Kingsey, although the Breach furlong-name in East Field shows that some had been broken-up for arable.³² The high level of arable exploitation is not uncommon in medieval Buckinghamshire, where the absence of significant technological change forced the expansion of ploughing to meet the demands of a growing population. The open-field strips often reached the parish boundary.

The Lay Subsidy lists provide invaluable information on local livestock and crops. Table 4 summarises the data on livestock, and Table 5 those for crops and miscellaneous assets.

Although the total declined by 8%, the average remained about ten animals per individual. There were, however, significant changes in the types of livestock. The number of draught animals changed little, but the demesne stock tripled while many tenants apparently lost all of theirs. It is unclear whether horses or oxen were used to pull the local ploughs at this time. If the "beasts" that were held singly by most tenants were horses, then the former seems likely, since there would not have been enough oxen to provide teams of eight, or even four, for each plough. Horses were used in teams of between two and four, depending upon the soil conditions there is also some evidence of mixed horse-ox teams.³³ Fifteen or eighteen beasts could therefore have powered five or six ploughs. The change on the demesne from oxen to beasts may indicate that the process of conversion was coming to an end in the 1320s. The stock of cows and calves, pigs and sheep was unchanged. In 1327 all the sheep were hoggets or yearlings, and probably also in 1332. There was a substantial sheep flock,

TABLE 4 Livestock in Kingsey, 1327 and 1332

<i>A: 1327</i>								
	<i>Beast</i>	<i>Steer</i>	<i>Ox</i>	<i>Cow+</i>	<i>Horse</i>	<i>Pig</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Total</i>
Ewelle, Eleanor de		3	3	1	2ct		20hog	29
Opton, Richard de	1	2		2h		1	20hog	26
Geydlac, John	1	1	1			2		5
Aldefeld, Thomas de	1	1		1		1	20hog	24
Sam..., Christopher de								0
Eye, Stephen de						4?	40hog	44
Horcharde, Thomas atte	1	1		1/1h		1		5
Revenynge, John	1	1		1/1h		1		5
Waleys, John	1	1		1/1h				4
Tony, William	1	1		1				3
Fulkes, William	1	1						2
Unwyne, William	1	1		1/1h				4
Pat, Hugh	1	1		1		1		4
Thursteyn, Matilda	1	1						2
Chaunterel, John	1	1		1		1	6hog	10
Colyns, Elena	1			1				2
Wynd, Walter	1	1		1		1		4
Colyns, John s of Elena	1			1				2
Kyng, John				1/1h				2
TOTAL	15	17	4	13/7h	2ct	13?	106hog	177
<i>B: 1332</i>								
Ewelme, Eleanor de	6	4		2	3ct		40	55
Godlake, Richard				1		1	40	42
Godlake, Allicia	2			1		1		4
Aldefelde, Thomas de	2	1				2	10	15
Ralph, Gilbert son of	1			1		1	15	18
Uptone, Richard de	1			1		2		4
Tony, Cristina	1			1		1		3
Ravenyng, John	1	1		1		1		4
Bateman, William				1/1cf		1		3
Walys, Miriel	1			1cf				2
Elote, John	1			1		1		3
Chaunterel, John				1		1		2
Thursteyn, Matilda	1			1		1		3
Wynd, Walter		1				1		2
Howes, Matilda		1						1
Orchyerd, Thomas de	1	1						2
TOTAL	18	9		12/2cf	3ct	14	105	163

Note: Beast in this context usually represents a draught animal; in some areas in the singular it denotes a horse, in the plural, oxen (OED); steer is a young ox, often castrated; h = heifer; cf = calf; Hog/hogget is a yearling sheep, before its first shearing.

which grazed and fertilised the substantial fallow land made available each year by crop rotation in the open fields. Only Eleanor of Ewelme possessed cart horses, although several tenants owned carts

(see below). In 1327, all of Stephen de Eye's wealth lay in sheep, making him one of the wealthier tenants. Otherwise, it was unusual for tenants to have sheep. The demesne flock apparently doubled

TABLE 5 Crops & Other Goods at Kingsey, 1327 & 1332

<i>A: 1327</i>								
	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Beans</i>	<i>Pulse</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Hay</i> ²	<i>Vessel</i>	<i>Cart</i>
	Q	Q	Q	Q	Q	D	D	D
Ewelle, Eleanor de	6	6		8	20	15	36	24
Opton, Richard de	2	3		2	7	24	36	
Geydlac, John ¹	3	4		2	9	40	48	11
Aldefeld, Thomas de	2	2		2	6	24	24	7
Sam..., Christopher de	8	6		4	18	72		
Eye, Stephen de					0			
Horcharde, Thomas atte	2	3		2	7	36	40	12
Revenynge, John	2	3		1	6	24		12
Waleys, John	1	1		2	4	24	4	8
Tony, William	2	3		1	6	24	30	
Fulkes, William	2	4		2	8	24	3	
Unwyne, William	1	2		1	4	24	12	
Pat, Hugh	1	2		1	4	18	22	
Thursteyn, Matilda	2	4		2	8	36	12	
Chaunterel, John	4	1		1	6	10		
Colyns, Elena		6	2		8			
Wynd, Walter	1	1		1	3	24		
Colyns, John s of Elena	1	2		1	4	12		
Kyng, John	1	2		1	4	16		
TOTAL	41	55	2	34	132	447	267	74
Drage, Oats, Peas=nil								
<i>B: 1332</i>								
Ewelme, Eleanor de	8	8		8	24	72		24
Godlake, Richard	1	4	1		6	40	60	
Godlake, Allicia		4	2		6	24		
Aldefelde, Thomas de	2	2.5	2		6.5	36		8
Ralph, Gilbert son of	1.5	1	1		3.5	24		8
Uptone, Richard de	2	1	1		4	48	64	12
Tony, Cristina	2	4	2		8	24		
Ravenyng, John	0.5	2		1	3.5	24		
Bateman, William	3	3			6	12		
Walys, Miriel	2	2		2	6	24		8
Elote, John	1	2		1	4	12		
Chaunterel, John	2	2		1	5	8		
Thursteyn, Matilda	1	2			3	24		
Wynd, Walter	2	2	2		6			
Howes, Matilda	1	2	2		5	26		
Orcherd, Thomas de	1	1	1		3	20		8
TOTAL	30	42.5	14	13	99.5	418	124	68
Drage, Maslin, Oats, Peas=nil								

Note: Q=quarters (may be either a measure of volume or of weight, if the latter 1 qtr is 28lbs.), D=pence; 1 John Geydlac also had a "chamber" worth 80d.; 2 Hay and fodder

over the period, while the Godlake family went from owning none in 1327 to forty five years later.

The basic arable two-year rotation here was wheat and barley, the former winter-sown as the leading crop in a rotation because of its high nitrogen demand, and the latter spring-sown.³⁴ They account for 73% of surplus grain in both years, although there was a reduction in the total of 25% between 1327 and 1332. Beans and pulses, important both for the peasant diet and as a source of nitrogen to maintain soil fertility accounted for 27% surplus crops; they also decreased by 25% over the period.³⁵ Such reductions may have had a variety of causes, including poor harvests, lower yields and higher seed requirements for the next season's sowing. Oats, rye and crop mixtures such as dredge (oats and barley) and maslin (wheat and rye) were not apparently grown at Kingsey, whose soils were quite heavy and water-retentive.

Hay/fodder is assessed in terms of value, and the total remained fairly constant over this period. "Vessels, etc." represent basic household goods such as cooking pots and utensils. There is no indication here as to whether they were of wood or brass. Carts were a scarce asset, with only six, of which the most valuable was that of the lady of the manor (24 pence), which had two cart horses to pull it. Some the cheapest may have been hand-carts, or evidence of "creative accounting". Quite what John Godlake's "chamber" was in 1327 is difficult to guess. It seems disproportionately valuable, and his successors in 1332 seem not to own one. Perhaps the subtaxers were "persuaded" not to list it!

In 1327, wheat was valued at 3/- per quarter and barley at 2/-, while beans and pulses were 2/6 and 2/- respectively. These figures are in line with other Buckinghamshire villis in that year. By 1332, values had risen but become less varied: 3/4 per quarter for wheat, 3/- for barley, beans and pulse. A sample of twelve villis in that year (including Kingsey), gives average values of 3/5, for wheat and 2/11 for barley and beans/peas.

Livestock values were more variable, reflecting age and condition, especially among cattle. In 1327 the values were: cart horses 10/-, beasts 3/4 [+1 at 6/8], oxen 10/- and 20/-, steers 3/ to 6/8 [9], cows 6/8, heifers 3/- [+1 at 6/], hoggets 1/-, pigs 1/- to 1/8. In 1332 values were similar, but as with crops more uniform, apart from pigs, whose value almost doubled: cart horses 10/-, beasts 3/4, cows 6/8,

steers 5/-, calves 2/-, pigs 2/- and hoggets 1/-. Livestock represented a considerable proportion of tenants' wealth, 49% of the total in 1327 and 55% in 1332. However, the division of wealth between livestock and crops/miscellaneous assets of the eleven individuals who appear in both years was far from constant. In 1327 60% of their wealth was livestock, but in 1332 only 50%. In part this reflects rising crop prices, while livestock remained constant. Thus, Eleanor of Ewelme's livestock was worth £6.33 in 1327 (72%) and £6.17 in 1332 (60%), albeit concealing the doubling in size of her sheep flock. Richard of Upton's livestock fell dramatically from £2.18 to £0.70, whereas the Godlake family's assorted animals increased from £1.20 to £3.27, largely the result of having no sheep in 1327 and forty in 1332..

Kingsey Court Rolls

Court rolls for the manor of Kingsey survive for various years from the late-1310s onwards.³⁶ They are generally in poor condition, but do yield a many of tenants' names which may be compared with those in the Lay Subsidies. An analysis of those for 1317–1324 shows that the principal concern of the courts was the transfer of land between individuals, some of whom were probably not resident in Kingsey. In addition, there are the usual fines for assorted offences against the by-laws which governed the local community. It appears that the manorial court did not concern itself with the day-to-day management of the open fields. Given that there was only a single two-field system for the whole parish of Kingsey, shared between the tenants of three separate manors, two Hundreds and two counties, it is probable that some body of tenants convened to regulate the farming year, leaving no records.³⁷ The Lay Subsidy records suggest that the two enormous open fields, each covering more than five hundred acres, were subdivided for cropping, with groups of furlongs assigned to cereals, legumes or fallow, and not necessarily on a two-yearly rotation. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for the crop data discussed above, which provide evidence of winter- and spring-sown cereals, as well as of annual crops of beans/peas/pulses. Allowing 50% of the arable to lie fallow at a time of growing population was clearly not an option in the period c1100–c1300. It is unclear why a three-field system was not adopted, although this may reflect

Kingsey's anomalous location in two shires.

The court rolls reveal that there were many more individuals/family groups than appear as taxpayers in 1327/1332. The considerable turnover of those liable for tax is borne out by the court rolls, which also demonstrate that there were many households too poor to qualify for the tax threshold of ten shillings-worth of movables. Some who held land in Tythrop are also mentioned. In addition, given the emphasis on land transactions, many individuals are named who appear not to have lived locally, merely acquiring and disposing of land in Kingsey.

In excess of 120 individuals are named in the court rolls (Appendices 1 and 2). They share seventy-four different surnames, only three of them of the older style of X son of Y. There is clearly a core of local families, comprising a significant proportion of taxpayers in 1327/1332. The principal surname-groups between c.1315 and 1335 are: Colyn, Aldefelde, Orchard, Waleys, T[h]ony, Godlake, Thursteyn, Unwin and Upton. There were two [de] Bolebeks in the 1320s, even though the family had ceded control of the manor in 1304. A few "Tythrop" names appear in the Kingsey court rolls, although none were taxpayers at the latter, with the possible exception of Christopher de Saunderton. They include John Doyly, Thomas and Isabella Passelewe [Parslow], Johanna Paulyn, Hugo the Smith, Agnes Wace and members of the [de] Saunderton family.

The core Kingsey families holding one or more virgates are mentioned above. The fluidity of the local land market, and the operation of inheritance in which daughters/widows from these families married newcomers, no doubt accounts for taxpayers who were apparently not previously connected with Kingsey: Stephen de Eye, William Fulkes, and Christopher de Saunderton(?) in 1327 and John Elote and Matilda Howes in 1332. The Saundertons may have been the only family with significant holdings in both Kingsey and Tythrop. Christopher probably held two virgates in Kingsey, although he had no recorded livestock, all his wealth being in the form of crops (eighteen quarters, second only to Eleanor of Ewelme), while his stock of hay and fodder was by far the largest. Animal resources for his Kingsey holding could have been drawn from the demesne at Tythrop.

An interesting vignette in the court rolls is provided by Henry le Rutherherde, mentioned in

connection with eleven beasts in 1322–3. While we are all familiar with shepherds and swineherds, and to a lesser extent, cowherds, a rotherherd is altogether more unusual. It derives from OE *hryðer heorde*, 'cattle herd', on record from about AD1000. Henry had charge of most of the manor's draught animals, which may have been in the process of changing over from oxen to horses at this time (see above).

Kingsey & Tythrop: One Field System or Two?

Given that virtually all of the land at Tythrop was apparently under the plough in 1086, it is difficult to see how any additional acreage was created unless it lay in the Buckinghamshire part of Kingsey. We have seen that there were around twenty-nine virgates in Kingsey, of which six or seven lay in demesne. This compares with seventeen or eighteen virgates (8½ in demesne) in Tythrop. No arable land is recorded as having gone out of cultivation at Kingsey prior to 1341.³⁸

Prima facie, one might expect that the degree of administrative and settlement separation between the two villis would have led them to possess discrete open-field systems, extending to around six hundred acres at Kingsey and four hundred at Tythrop. Unfortunately, the pre-fourteenth century sources are generally not detailed enough to provide clues as to the number and location of the open fields. It is not until the reign of Richard II (1377–99), fifty years after the period which forms the main focus of this discussion that two documents provide clear evidence on this subject, and also that of the size of the local virgate.

In October 1385, the then lord of Kingsey, Sir Robert de Marny, granted a messuage, twelve acres of land and one acre of meadow to Hugh Milleward.³⁹ The arable comprised twelve parcels in *le Northfeld* and six in *Estfeld*, indicating half-acre and one-acre strips, respectively. The adjacent tenants' names are recorded in each case. Millward's land mainly adjoined that of Mulsham (eight), Boone (five), Godelak and Chakendon (four each). Godelak provides a connection with the Lay Subsidy of 1327–32 and the court rolls, while Matilda de Moulsham appears quite often in the latter. Although it is not explicit, this grant is almost certainly of a half-virgate. A virgate size of twenty-four acres places Kingsey in the middle of the county's range of twelve to forty acres.

This invaluable document therefore reveals that

Kingsey had a two-field system and that even as late as 1385 strips were allocated in a regular way in the various furlongs. This arrangement of common fields is believed to date from their creation, possibly in the 10th–11th centuries, with rearrangement into three fields coming later when pressure on the arable led to the need to reduce the fallow from 50% to 33% in any given year.⁴⁰ Many parishes retained two fields, however, and may have responded to increased demand from a growing population by arranging their rotations by groups of furlongs, retaining the fields names as topographical reference points. In this way, fallow could be reduced, and crops others than grain could be grown. It appears that a three- or even a four-year rotation based on furlongs was being used at Kingsey c.1330, and is hardly likely to have been an innovation at that late date.

Virtually all of the furlong names listed in 1385 are of Old English origin, even though many are difficult to interpret fully in the absence of a series of spellings. The same is true of other names in fourteenth-century sources. Some survived the upheavals of fifteenth-century and later enclosure, and can be located on the ground, giving a broad idea of the division between the North and East Fields (Fig. 3).

A deed of March 1387 finally answers the key question of One Field System or Two?⁴¹ It refers to one acre of arable in Tythrop, of which half is in *Estfeld in le Doune* and half in *Northfeld at Dodurhull*. The parties involved include members of the Colyn and Thony families, active in Kingsey for many years. Both furlong names appear in the 1385 grant to Hugh Milleward, which means that they were divided between tenants of both Tythrop and Kingsey. The parish therefore contained only one, two-field system of open fields.

Assuming that the virgate size was twenty-four acres, and that the two Tythrop manors contained eighteen virgates and Kingsey manor thirty-one or thirty two, the total arable area would have been roundly 1,200 acres, giving the East and North Fields six hundred acres apiece. The demesne accounted for about 360 acres (30%), and most seems likely to have lain in the open fields, intermixed with the tenants' strips. It appears, therefore, that the parish of Kingsey was a unified whole in agricultural, as well as ecclesiastical terms, making the administrative division between counties even harder to explain.

Conclusion

Although medieval sources for any parish are scattered and generally limited in scope, it is nevertheless possible to piece together a picture of the way in which the local landscape was organised and exploited. In this respect Kingsey is fairly typical. What distinguishes it is the highly unusual division of the parish between three manors and two counties, both of which predate the Norman Conquest and persisted until the complete disappearance of "ordinary" settlement in Tythrop when the whole area was enclosed and incorporated into the estate around Tythrop House, a process which probably began in the late-fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. Kingsey too experienced a substantial amount of enclosure at a time when sheep farming was seen as a much more profitable alternative to the age-old arable economy based on communal open-field cultivation.

Cardinal Wolsey's so-called *Domesday of Inclosures* of 1517–18 collected data for selected counties where significant amounts of land had been enclosed, houses destroyed and tenants evicted in the period since 1485.⁴² Thomas Boller or Buller was the agent of change in Kingsey. At that time the manor was still in the hands of the Marny family, so Boller must have been their lessee or agent – he held a lease of the rectory in 1490 and 1517.⁴³ First, he converted a messuage and 146 acres of demesne in February 1490, which had traditionally been held in diverse parcels (i.e. open fields). The messuage was demolished and the land enclosed for pasture, putting one plough and nine labourers out of work. In November 1496, Boller converted a further one hundred acres to pasture, putting another plough and nine labourers out of work.⁴⁴ These enclosures represent about one-quarter of the area of Kingsey, and probably all of the demesne. Given that this had been open-field land beforehand, this would have required a considerable amount of exchange of strips with other tenants in order to achieve blocks suitable for enclosure. At the time of the 1524 Lay Subsidy assessment, Thomas Boller was by far the wealthiest individual in Kingsey, assessed at £40, more than the rest of the community put together.⁴⁵ Two years earlier, the Muster Certificate Book gives Sir Henry Marny lands and tenements worth £35 and Boller goods worth £28/6/8 but land worth only 6/8. In this case it was the more valuable source of income that counted, so Boller must have been

running a very large flock on his enclosures. (By then, Richard Ravening represented the only direct link with the world of the 1320s and 1330s.)

It is impossible to tell what proportion of the total population of pre-Black Death Kingsey and Tythrop appears in the records of Lay Subsidy and Hundred Rolls. The court rolls of the former reveal many family members of those paying tax in 1327 and 1332, some wives and sons, others perhaps of collateral branches who may have worked as wage labourers on the virgates of their wealthier kinsmen (and women). By the time of the next relatively detailed listings in 1522–24, the population was probably well on the way to recovering its pre-plague level. Nineteen individuals are listed in the Muster Certificate and eighteen in the 1524 Subsidy, broadly comparable with the number of taxpayers *c.*1330, although the poorer labouring classes are still excluded.

Medieval Kingsey and Tythrop were apparently cultivated up to the maximum possible by 1300, as is evidenced by the ridge-and-furrow seen on aerial photographs, notable in the east of the parish. Unfortunately, we shall never know precisely how, when or why the “Island” was divided up in the way that it was, especially as together the whole unit is only equivalent to one average-sized parish of about 2,600 acres.

Despite these complexities, Kingsey parish contained three separate communities, but only field system and one church. Given the link between Kingsey and the royal estate at Brill in the late-eleventh century, it probably lay originally in the minster parish of Oakley, and always remained in Ixhill Hundred. St. Nicholas’ church was valued at £6/13/4 in 1291, typical of many ordinary parish churches.⁴⁶ It probably dates from the great wave of parochial church foundations by manorial lords in the period *c.*1050–1150. There is no medieval work in the present building. St. Catherine’s church at Towersey has a thirteenth-century chancel, but may have been founded as a chapel-of-ease to Thame well before that time.

This paper presents the results of research to date on the history of Kingsey and its neighbours. Further work on the manorial records, and on late- and post-medieval sources should throw more light on some of the questions posed but not fully answered here.

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 Bucks. HER. Buckinghamshire Historic Environment Record, Archaeological Section, County Hall.
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 6. J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Oxford & Stroud, 1994), 102–5; M. Reed, *The Buckinghamshire Landscape* (1979), 77–79; A.H.J Baines, ‘The Danish wars and the establishment of the Borough and County of Buckingham’, *Recs. Bucks.* **26** (1984), 11–27.
 7. Blair, *op. cit.*, 49–50. 61, 67.
 8. DB i, fol. 143c; VCH Bucks. 4, 64. Kingsey was part of a detached portion of Ixhill Hundred, centred on Brill, although there is no recorded link between the latter and Towersey, Aston Sandford and Ilmer.
 9. DB i, fol. 151c
 10. DB i, fol. 152c; G.R. Elvey, ‘Buckinghamshire in 1086’, *Recs. Bucks.* **16/5** (1960), 342–362.
 11. K.A. Bailey, ‘*Vendere Potuit*: He Could Sell, to coin a Domesday phrase’, *Recs. Bucks.* **40** (1998–2000), at 78, 79 and references therein.
 12. DB i, fol. 214b.
 13. DB i, fol. 155d.
 14. M. Gelling & D.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire* (vol I, 1953), 112; A.H. Smith,

- Elements*, vol.2 199. Tythrop appears to be the only example of “double” being linked to a habitative element, although unfortunately the name gives no clue as to the date it was coined, nor whether the homesteads were contemporary.
15. VCH Bucks. vol.4, 66.
 16. For the development of the name Kingsey see Gelling & Stenton, *op. cit.*, 111, and for Towesey see A. Mawer & F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* (1925). 128–9; also VCH Bucks. vol.4. 105–6.
 17. VCH Bucks. vol.4, 66–67.
 18. Bucks HER 1606, possible moat and building located at SP 7400 0630, close to the site of Kingsey Mill. The remains lie in Chantry Close, although there seems to be no historical evidence for a chapel in the vicinity.
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 33. B.M.S Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 2000), 122, 190, 359.
 34. *Ibid.*, 218, 222.
 35. *Ibid.*, 228–30.
 36. The National Archives, SC155/15-18.
 37. A similar situation existed at Wandsworth (Surrey), where a single parish contained three manors, several sub-manors and only one field system that was regulated by a body of tenants.
 38. *Nonarum Inquisitiones (1341)*, 339.
 39. *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* (Court of Chancery) (vol. 6, 1915), C.6090.
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 42. L.S. Leadam, *The Domesday of Inclosures* (2 vols., 1897), vol.1, 208.; analysis in vol.2, 570–639 *passim*.
 43. VCH Bucks., vol.4, 68.
 44. Leadam, *op. cit.*, vol.1, 207.
 45. A.C. Chibnall (ed.), *The Certificate of Musters for Buckinghamshire in 1522* Bucks Rec. Soc. 17 (1973), 156–7; *Subsidy Roll for the County of Buckingham anno 1524* Bucks Rec. Soc. 8 (1950), 39.
 46. *Taxation Ecclesiastica (1291)* Record Commissioners (1802), 34.

APPENDIX 1

Surname Groups from Kingsey Court Rolls 1317–24

	Σ	<i>People</i>		
Colyn	22	8	Bledelawe, de	2 1
Thony	16	6	Boler/Boker	2 1
Aldefelde	15	3	Church?? ate	2 1
Orcherd ate	12	2	Cleydone	2 1
Thursteyn	12	3	Pat	2 2
Chaunterel	11	1	Taylur	2 1
Reuenynge	11	4	Thame de	2 1
Romeyn	11	3	Vel le	2 2
Waleys	11	5	Baset?	1 1
Cornmongere le	9	3	Broun?	1 1
Chamberleyne	7	3	Caley?	1 1
<i>Passelewe</i>	7	2	Canon	1 1
Upton de	7	3	Corn.ay de	1 1
Webbe le	7	2	Day	1 1
Bateman	6	2	Demoke	1 1
Smith	6	3	Doyly	1 1
Bolebak [de]	5	2	Ffelk...	1 1
William son of	5	1	Fissere le	1 1
Godlake	4	4 or 5	Gilebert	1 1
Osbern	4	2	Hadenham	1 1
<i>Paulin</i>	4	3	Hergando	1 1
Rolf	4	1	Hertwelle de	1 1
Unwyne	4	3	Hobbes	1 1
Wylles	4	1	Johan	1 1
Lambard	3	1	Kingsey	1 1
Longe [le]	3	1	Kyng	1 1
Lucas	3	2	Leye atte	1 1
Molesham de	3	1	Messenger	1 1
Parage	3	1	Miller	1 1
Ralph son of	3	1	Reeve le	1 1
Russel	3	1	Reginald son of	1 1
<i>Saunredone</i>	3	2	Shepherd le	1 1
Weylond	3	2	Somenour le	1 1
Willesone	3	2	Symond?	1 1
			Toft	1 1
			Wace	1 1
			Total	276 122/123

Notes: Names in **bold** paid the Lay Subsidy in either/both of 1327 and 1332; names in *italics* held land at Tythrop in 1279.

APPENDIX 2

Personal Names from the Kingsey Court Rolls 1317–1324

<i>Name</i>	<i>Occs.</i>	<i>Tax</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Occs.</i>	<i>Tax</i>
Aldefelde, Matilda de	1		Ralph, Gilbert son of	3	1332
Aldefelde, Roger de	3		Ravenyng, William	1	
Aldefelde, Thomas de	11	1327/32	Reuenyng, John	8	1327/32
Bateman, William	5	1332	Reuenyng, Roger s John	1	
Beneman?, John	1		Reuenyng, Thomas	1	
Bolebak, Roger [de]	4		Rolf, Gilbert	4	
Bolebek, X de	1		Romeyn, Geoffrey	2	
Chamberleyn, John	5		Romeyn, Johanna w John	1	
Chamberleyn, Robert	1		Romeyn, John	8	
Chamberleyn, Wm le	1		Rutherherde, Henry le	1	
Chaunterel, John	11	1327/32	Sam..., Christopher de	X	1327
Colyn, Elena	3	1327	<i>Saunredone, lady of</i>	1	
Colyn, Hugh	1		<i>Saunterdon, Johanna de</i>	1	
Colyn, John	8		<i>Saunterdon, John de</i>	1	
Colyn, John s Elena	X	1327	<i>Smyt, Hugo le</i>	2	
Colyn, John s John	2		Smith, John	2	
Colyn, John s Richd	1		Thony, Cristina wife John	1	1332
Colyn, Robert	6		Thony, John	4	
Colyn, Thomas	1		Thony, Margaret	1	
Cornmongere, Isabella le	1		Thony, Roger	1	
Cornmongere, John le	6		Thony, Walter	1	
Cornmongere, John s John	1		Thony, William	8	1327
Elote, John	X	1332	Thursteyn, Henry	2	
Eye, Stephen de	X	1327	Thursteyn, Matilda	X	1327/32
Fulkes, William	X	1327	Thursteyn, William	10	
Geydlac, John	X	1327	Unwyne, Johanna	3	
Godlak, Richard	1		Unwyne, X	1	
Godlake, Allicia	X	1332	Unwyne, William	X	1327
Godlake, Richard	X	1332	Uptone, Michael de	1	
Gouldac, Thomas	2		Uptone, Richard de	1	1327/32
Goutlac, X	1		Uptone, Thomas de	5	
Howes, Matilda	X	1332	Wace, Agnes	1	
Kyng, John	1	1327	Waleys, Alicia	1	
Mo[u]lesham, Matilda de	3		Waleys, John	2	1327
Orcharde, Roger ate	2		Waleys, Michael le	4	
Orcherd, Thomas ate	10	1327/32	Waleys, Miriel	X	1332
Osebern, John	3		Waleys, Thomas	4	
Osebern, Thomas	1		Webbe, Henry le	2	
<i>Passelewe, Isabella</i>	1		Webbe, Thomas le	5	
<i>Passelewe, Thomas</i>	6		William, Hugo s of	5	
Pat, Hugh	X	1327	Wylles, Hugo	4	
Pat, Elena	1				
Pat, John	1				
<i>Paulyn. Johanna</i>	2				
Paulyn, John	1				
Paulyn, Matilda	1				

Notes:1. Occs. denotes the number of references to the individual concerned in the legible portions of the court rolls.

2. Tax records the year[s] in which that individual paid the Lay Subsidy.

3. X=no mention in court rolls, but paid tax.

4. Names in *italics* held land in Tythrop in 1279.