

THE ANCIENT HUNDREDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

[BY A. MORLEY DAVIES, B.Sc., F.G.S.]

[This paper was originally published in the *Home Counties Magazine*, vol. vi., pp. 134-144 (April, 1904). It is now reprinted with corrections, for some of which the author is greatly indebted to the Hon. F. H. Baring. The section on the origin of the County was written in ignorance of Mr. Corbett's paper on the "Tribal Hidage" (*Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, n.s., vol. xiv., pp. 187-230), the conclusions of which cut at the root of some of the assumptions in that section. In preference to recasting the whole section, a postscript has been added dealing with some of the difficulties raised by Mr. Corbett's paper.]

It is well known that at the time of Domesday Book there were eighteen hundreds in Buckinghamshire, that the same hundreds appear, but grouped in threes, in the Hundred Rolls, and that at some later date each of these groups was consolidated into a single hundred, with one exception,—the group known as the Chiltern hundreds, which failed to coalesce,—so that the number of modern hundreds is eight. A careful study of Domesday Book will, however, teach us more than this.

The work of restoring the lost bounds of ancient hundreds from Domesday evidence is attended by the well-known difficulty that the hundredal names are often missing. In the case of Buckinghamshire this difficulty is greatly reduced by the fortunate fact, which has hitherto, I believe, escaped notice, that the *hundreds are always taken in a constant order*. We thus have a means by which to judge of the possibility of an omission at any given point, and in combination

with geographical and other considerations the possibility will often be converted into a probability, or even a certainty.

There are 185 hundredal headings in the Domesday Book for Bucks. Leaving aside the *Terra Regis*, whose arrangement does not follow the usual plan, there are *two* unquestionable omissions (viz. of the first hundred under a tenant-in-chief's name), and in addition I consider that there is a strong probability of *twelve* other omissions and of *one* actual mistake. This is certainly not above the average carelessness of the compilers of Domesday Book as tested by Mr. Round's researches. On the assumption of the above omissions¹ and single error I have prepared the accompanying map. The areas of the hundreds as shown there differ considerably from those given in Lipscomb's "History of Bucks," as the transfers from one hundred to another which he supposes to have taken place I regard as due to omission of hundredal names from Domesday Book. The only certain cases of post-Domesday transfers that I can find are that of Farnham Royal from Stoke to Burnham, which Lipscomb does not mention, and the converse change for Eton; and the latter may perhaps be better accounted for by an easy mistake in Domesday Book, as Mr. Baring suggests to me.

The following is the order in which the hundreds come: the modern grouping is indicated in the right-hand column:—

¹ The omissions are as follows, the two first being much more doubtful than the rest:—

D.B. i., 143 (b) 2—	"Elesberie Hund."	before	"Haltone,"	l. 12.
" 144 (a) 1—	"Elesberie Hund."	"	"Westone,"	l. 47.
" 145 (a) 1—	"Moleshov Hund."	"	"Brichella,"	l. 42.
" 147 (b) 1—	"Stodfald Hund."	"	"Lanport,"	l. 21.
" 147 (b) 2—	"Lamua Hund."	"	"Achecote,"	l. 25.
" 147 (b) 2—	"Sigelai Hund."	"	"Wlsiestone,"	l. 32.
" 148 (a) 2—	"Lamua Hund."	"	"Edestocha,"	l. 43.
" 148 (b) 2—	"Bonestov Hund."	"	"Tedlingham,"	l. 53.
" 150 (b) 1—	"Coteslai Hund."	"	"Cresselai,"	l. 40.
" 150 (b) 2—	"Moleshov Hund."	"	"Herulfmede,"	l. 50.
" 151 (a) 1—	"Dustenberg Hund."	"	"Berlaue,"	l. 20.
" 152 (a) 1—	"Dustenberg Hund."	"	"Estone,"	l. 8.

The mistake is:

D. B. i., 151, (b) 2—"Muselai Hund." l. 12 instead of "Stodfald Hund."

1. Staines *	. . .	} Three hundreds of Aylesbury.
2. Elesberie *	. . .	
3. Riseberg	. . .	
4. Stoches	. . .	} Chiltern hundreds.
5. Burneham	. . .	
6. Dustenberg	. . .	
7. Ticheshale	. . .	} Three hundreds of Ashendon.
8. Essedene	. . .	
9. Votesdone	. . .	
10. Coteslai	. . .	} Cottesloe hundred.
11. Erlai	. . .	
12. Mursalai	. . .	
13. Stodfald	. . .	} Three hundreds of Buckingham.
14. Rovelai	. . .	
15. Lamva	. . .	
16. Sigelai	. . .	} Three hundreds of Newport.
17. Bonestov	. . .	
18. Molesoveslav	. . .	

The reader who turns to Domesday Book to verify this order will soon come upon an apparent exception: the hundred of Mursalai or Muselai (Mursley) sometimes comes out of its place, at the very end of the list. A little further examination shows that this is a clerical blunder. The copyist has hopelessly mixed up two hundreds—Nos. 12 and 18 on the list. He begins by writing the latter down correctly as *Molesoveslav*, but at the next entry he blunders into *Moslei*. Presently he recovers so far as to write *Moleslor*; but after that he appears to confuse this hundred with the other, and calls it variously *Moisselai*, *Moslai*, *Mosleie* or *Moselai*. But by applying the test of position in the series we can to a great extent sift these entries away from those belonging to Mursley hundred, which moreover is always spelled with an *u*, not an *o*. Thus the apparent exception actually confirms the rule, and shows the copyist to have been arranging his entries in a definite order even when he failed to realize it.

MEANING OF THE ORDER OF SEQUENCE.

This last consideration plainly shows that the order existed in the returns from which Domesday Book was

* Possibly the order of these first two should be reversed.

compiled, for the clerk who could not distinguish Moulsoe from Mursley cannot be allowed the credit of it. Although Buckinghamshire seems to be the only county in which such a constant order is maintained, Mr. Round has shown¹ that in the case of Cambridgeshire a regular order, on a geographical basis, is found in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* and the *Inquisitio Eliensis*. It may be added that the same order occurs, though much obscured by repetitions and inversions, in Domesday Book itself. Of other counties, Bedfordshire makes the nearest approach to a constant order, and Huntingdon and Hertfordshire come next.

It will be noted in the first place that the arrangement of the Buckinghamshire hundreds is such that every three hundreds that were eventually amalgamated are contiguous. This suggests that the grouping in threes was already established at the time of Domesday Book, and the suggestion finds strong confirmation when we consider the order from a geographical point of view. Taking the hundreds by threes, we see that they begin with the three hundreds of Aylesbury, and proceed first southward to the Chiltern hundreds, and then northward in a zigzag, ending with the three hundreds of Newport in the extreme north-east. But if we take the hundreds separately the order becomes very confused geographically. For instance, both in the three hundreds of Aylesbury and in the three hundreds of Cottesloe, it is the middle member of the group that is taken first, and those on either side follow. This is incomprehensible unless we consider the groups and not the hundreds as the units. So again, in any sort of geographical arrangement of the hundreds ending in the north, Bonestov would necessarily be the very last; whereas it is the last but one. The conclusion seems plain, that *the grouping of the hundreds in threes was already in force in 1086.*

Was this grouping as old as the hundreds themselves? Probably not. We get a hint of some earlier associations of hundreds which did not recognize the threes in the following entry relating to Stoches (Stoke Man-

1 "Feudal England," pp. 119-20.

deville):—"From the eight hundreds which lie in the circuit of Aylesbury each sokeman who has one hide or more renders a sum of annona to this church."² This seems to point to a custom dating not only from before the grouping in threes, but perhaps even before the construction of the shire, for (unless the term "*in circuitu de*" has a special technical meaning) we can hardly exclude the hundred of Tring in Herts from the list of eight hundreds around Aylesbury.

It is natural to inquire why the three hundreds of Aylesbury should come first, seeing that they lie in the centre of the county. I suggest as a possible explanation that the superiority of Aylesbury over Buckingham as the site for county business was already apparent, and that the inquest for Buckinghamshire was held at the royal manor of Aylesbury. This feature in the order of the hundreds tends, as far as it goes, to confirm Prof. Maitland's view that only one inquest was held for each county,¹ rather than Mr. Round's,² that the commissioners made a circuit of the hundreds. In the latter case it seems more likely that they would have started with the Chiltern hundreds.

THE NAMES OF THE DOMESDAY HUNDREDS.

Of the eighteen names, eight are identical with names of townships which they respectively contain, and these lie almost entirely in the southern half of the county, only one of them (Mursley) lying entirely to the north of Akeman Street. The other ten, of which eight lie north of that Roman way, have names which are now almost entirely lost. In four cases the name ends with *lai* (Coteslai, Erlai, Rovelai, Sigelai), a termination which also occurs in the names of townships, *e.g.* Cresselai, Weneslai, Bledelai. In all these cases the *lai* doubtless represents the Old English *hláu*. The two last names, in fact, occur in early charters as *Uvines haru*³ and *Bleddanhlaew*⁴ respectively, and

² D. B. i., 143 (*b*) 2.

¹ Maitland, "Domesday Book and Beyond," p. 11.

² Round, "Feudal England," p. 120.

³ Kemble, "Codex Dipl." i., 195 (No. 162). The termination should doubtless be *hlau*, and is so given by Kemble in his index. This charter is marked by him as a possible forgery.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii., 359 (No. 721).

nearly all occur in later times with the ending *low*, or *law*. Thus the Hundred Rolls give us *Cotteslowe* (modern *Cottesloe*), *Kolowe*, and *Segelowe*, while we still have *Creslow*, *Winslow*, and *Bledlow*.

On the other hand, *lai* also seems to stand for *lea*. Thus *Muselai*, *Cerdeslai*, *Stiuelai*, *Senelai*, and *Cicelai* have now become *Mursley*, *Chearsley*, *Stewkley*, *Shenley*, and *Chicheley*.⁵ *Erlai* may perhaps belong to this series, as it appears in the Hundred Rolls as *Erle*.

In at least three cases, then, the hundred takes its name from a *hláu*, that is, a tumulus which was the gathering place of the men of the hundred. In neither of these cases can one point to a particular tumulus as the probable one, though tumuli are not rare. In one case only, *Cottesloe*, the name has survived, not only as the name of a modern triple hundred, but also in the names of two farms—North and South *Cottesloe*—which may perhaps mark the approximate site of the old open-air hundred court, but I know of no tumulus near them now.

It is possible that the hundred of *Moulsoe* (Melsho in the Hundred Rolls) also drew its original name from a *hláu*, and not simply from the township of *Moulsoe*, for although the Domesday clerk was evidently confusing it with *Mursley*, he has written *Molesoveslav* once.

Of the other hundredal names not identical with township names *Dvstenberg* has survived as *Desborough*, and the site known as *Desborough Castle* may mark the original meeting-place. *Ticheshele* appears in the Hundred Rolls as *Hickeshulle*, and is probably identifiable, as suggested by *Lipscomb*, with *Ixhill* in *Oakley* parish. The disappearance of the initial *t* is strange from a phonetic point of view, but it may be matched by the case of *Ticheham* in the *Middlesex Domesday Book*, if that is correctly identified as the modern *Ickenham*. *Bonestov* perhaps persists in *Bunsty*, a farm in a detached part of the parish of *Lathbury*, though this is more directly derivable from *Bonistey Park* mentioned in the Hundred Rolls.

⁵ This is not altogether a safe inference, for *Cwichelms hlaew* (*A.-S. Chron.*, 1006) has become *Cuckhamsley*, though this is sometimes spelled *Cuckhamslow*.

The name *Stodfald* (stud-fold, or enclosure for horses) again points to an open-air hundred-court. It recurs as a hundred-name in Wiltshire and Northamptonshire; while there is a village called Stotfold in Bedfordshire. *Lamva* is a puzzling name, but I cannot find the slightest ground for Lipscomb's assertion that it is properly *La Merse*. In the Hundred Rolls it appears as *La Mewe*, but this treatment of the first syllable as though it were the French definite article, though a natural enough mistake, is contrary to all probability.

THE ORIGIN OF THE COUNTY OF BUCKS.

It is generally agreed that the hundreds, and especially those that do not take their name from some constituent township, are of very ancient origin, dating probably back to the original Teutonic settlement of the country. It is also agreed that the shires which take their name from the "county town" are of tenth-century date, and represent the area from which the necessary garrison for the "burg" or burghs was to be drawn. From these postulates it seems a necessary corollary that *the tenth-century shire was constituted by the union of pre-existing hundreds*, though in individual cases convenience may have necessitated some alteration in the extent of marginal hundreds.

This conclusion gives us the clue to the strangeness of the boundaries of such a county as Bucks, which a glance at the map will reveal. Why should the county extend beyond the Ouse in the north-west and north-east, and stop short at the Ouse in between? Why should Hertfordshire send a long tongue almost into the centre of the county? It is needless to say that no administrator with a map before him would draw such lines, for Edward the Elder and his successors had no maps. It is more to the point to say that no such lines would be taken as the military frontier of a kingdom; nor would they ever be drawn on the ground by anyone who was delimiting *areas* for any purpose. The fact is that the shire did not originate as an *area* at all, but as an *organization*. Leaving out of account forest-land and some other extra-hundredal areas, we may say that the area of a shire was the

sum of the areas of its constituent hundreds, as these were the sums of the areas of their constituent townships. So, too, the boundary of the shire, where it was not part of an ancient frontier, was simply made up of parts of the boundaries of its marginal townships.

If we take this point of view, and refer to the map of the hundreds, the two questions asked above must be altered to these: Why was Clailei hundred attributed to Northampton, while Stodfald and Bonestov were given to Buckingham? Why was Trevnge attached to Hertford, and Erlai to Buckingham? And the only answer is, Why should they not have been? Given that so many hides are wanted for the fortress of Buckingham, so many for Northampton, so many for Hertford, and so on, some such anomalies in the distribution will be inevitable, especially as what the distributor will have in his mind are not hundredal *areas*, but the sites of hundred moots.

This leads us on to the interesting question of "detached parts," of which Buckinghamshire supplies some instructive instances.

THE ORIGIN OF DETACHED PARTS.

The accepted explanation of the curious "discreteness" of our ancient counties and hundreds is clearly stated by Pollock and Maitland in their "History of English Law":—

It seems certain that many of these anomalies are due to very ancient causes; possibly in a few cases they take us back to the days of inter-tribal warfare; more probably they illustrate the connexion between property and jurisdiction. The lord of a hundred in one had an estate lying in another shire; he obliged all his men to attend his hundred court (2nd ed., p. 533).

A "detached part" of a hundred is commoner than a "detached part" of a county; some hundreds have from a remote time been exceedingly discrete (pp. 556-7).

Let us consider the most obvious case of a detached part of Buckinghamshire—Caversfield, now a villageless parish whose church tower still retains the deeply-

splayed windows that were new at the time of Domesday Book. It was then, and has remained, a detached part of the hundred of Rovelai. That hundred had no one lord. Caversfield in the Conqueror's time belonged to William de Warene, who had only one other manor in the county, and that in a different hundred. In the Confessor's time it was held by Edward, Earl Tostig's man, and he could sell it." This Edward held no other land in this hundred, nor in the rest of the county, unless he be the nameless "man of Earl Tostig" who held two hides at Weston Turville.¹ Clearly the case of Caversfield is not one of "the connexion of property and jurisdiction."*

The suggested alternative that such a "detached part" as Caversfield may be due to "inter-tribal warfare" is a difficult one to discuss. In the case of kingdoms such as East Anglia, Essex, or Kent, the result of warfare has been to leave their boundaries well defined and extremely free from detached parts; while discreteness reaches its maximum in those Mercian shires whose formation in the tenth century was brought about with probably little or no regard for older tribal boundaries. One would imagine that peaceable anarchy (if such a term is permissible) rather than organized warfare was the likely cause of discreteness. Maritime warfare gives us "detached parts," such as Gibraltar; but the tendency of inland warfare is sure to obliterate them.

That detached parts of hundreds should be commoner than detached parts of counties is no matter for surprise, since many of the former will disappear as hundreds coalesce into counties. Thus Rovelai has, besides Caversfield, another detached part, comprising Beachampton and Thornton; Votesdone is split into two almost equal halves; so is Riseberg; Ticheshele has a large detached part separated by a part of Oxfordshire; and Erlai has Draitone (Drayton Beau-

¹ I make this statement on the strength of an index to the land-holders' T.R.E. which I have prepared.

* The case of St. Alban's is interesting. In Domesday Book, the Abbot holds nearly the whole of one hundred in Herts, with scattered manors in other hundreds, and three in Bucks. The Herts manors later became consolidated into one hundred, but those in Bucks never became part of Herts.

champ) separated from its main part by the Tring hundred of Hertfordshire. In none of these cases can we find a lord with a hundred court and outlying estates. The explanation must be sought farther back.

Need we, however, expect to find any general explanation? Is it necessary to assume that there is anything anomalous about a discrete hundred? On the one hand, need we suppose that where a group of settlers agree to meet according to ancestral custom at the same hundred moot, the lands of those settlers must necessarily form a concrete area on a map? On the other hand, need we suppose that the hundreds of the eleventh century retained the exact extent they had in the days of original settlement? May they not have been comparatively fluid, especially in early times? Can we deny the possibility of an offended township seceding to another hundred, without anyone having the power to say it nay? Or can we lay down any rule as to the loyalty of newly-formed settlements to their parental township and hundred? Certainly, the growth of organization of the shires, and especially the method of raising such a tax as the danegeld, must have tended to put an end to the fluidity here suggested, but we have some centuries of barbarism and anarchy before the advent of these checks.

In this connection it is interesting to note that adjacent townships of the same name (which, as Prof. Maitland points out, are probably the result of a process of fission) are not always in the same hundred. Thus, in Domesday Book we find two townships named Senelai—one in Sigelai hundred, the other in Muselai: and on the nineteenth century Ordnance map we find a parish of Shenley with two constituent parts, Church End in Newport hundred (which has absorbed Sigelai) and Brook End in Cottesloe (which has absorbed Muselai). Again, we find a Linforde (presumably Great Linford) in Sigelai, and another (presumably Little Linford) in Bonestov. Yet again, Lelinchestane (Lillingstone Dayrell) appears in Bucks, and Lillingestan (Lillingstone Lovell) in Oxon. These facts seem to give some little support to the notion of hundredal fluidity. In the second case, however, the river Ouse intervenes.

MAP OF THE ANCIENT HUNDREDS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, ACCORDING TO DOMESDAY BOOK.

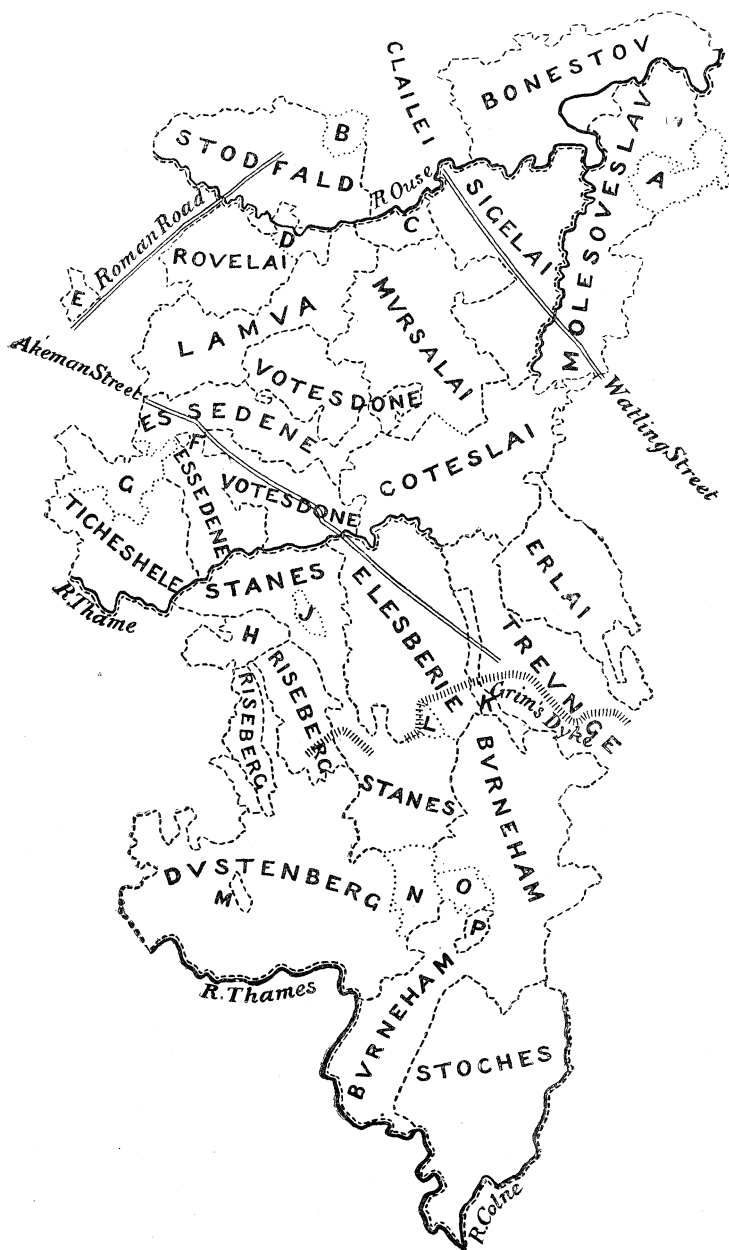
Scale 8 miles to the inch.

This map is based upon the index-map to the original six-inch Ordnance Survey map of Bucks.

REFERENCES.

- A Astwood and North Crawley, not named in Bucks D.B.
- B Lillingestan (Lillingstone Lovell), a detached part of Oxon.
- C Ternitone (Thornton) and Becentone (Beachampton, forming a detached part of Rovelai.
- D Buckingham with Bourton, extra-hundredal.
- E Cavrefelle (Caversfield), a detached part of Rovelai and of the shire.
- F A detached part of Tichesehele.
- G Brvnhelle (Brill, here assumed to include Boarstall), apparently extra-hundredal.
- H Eie (Kingsey and Towersey), Estone (Aston Sandford), and Waldruge (Waldridge), forming a detached part of Tichesehele.
- J Liberty of Moreton, a detached part of Desborough, at least in modern times.
- K Draitone (Drayton Beauchamp), here assumed to include Hawridge and Cholesbury), a detached part of Erlai.
- L Lee, not named in D.B., unless it be Lede, in which case it is a detached part of Dvstenberg.
- M Ackhamstead, a detached part of Oxon.
- N Penn, not named in D.B.
- O Coleshill, a detached part of Herts, at least in modern times.
- P Seer Green, a detached part of Farnham Royal (in modern times), and therefore possibly of Stoches hundred.

ERRATUM.—The area partially enclosed by N, O, and P, and extending thence across Burnham hundred to Stoches hundred, being the area of Beaconsfield, which is not named in Domesday Book, should have been outlined by a dotted line. Burnham hundred would then appear broken into two portions.



RELATION OF HUNDREDS TO PHYSICAL FEATURES.

It is interesting to inquire how far the physical features of the land act as hundredal boundaries. Taking the rivers first, we find the Thames everywhere forming a hundredal boundary, while the Ouse does so almost completely. Among tributaries, the Ousel, Thame, and Colne form boundaries, but the Wye, Chess, and Misbourne do not.

The most striking physical feature of Buckinghamshire, however, is the Chiltern escarpment, which divides the county into two parts, whose striking dissimilarity in all the constituent elements of scenery must strike every observant traveller. To the north-west lies the great clay-bottomed plain, where for mile after mile the pastures with their plough-rippled surface repeat with almost wearisome monotony the story of past agricultural revolutions, and where every old cottage roof is thatched. To the south-east is the beech-wooded Chiltern plateau, deeply scored by valleys which are either dry or occupied by inappropriately small streams, and descending by terraces to the Thames. Here we look in vain for signs of ancient plough-land turned to grass, and tiles take the place of thatch on the cottage roofs.

This natural barrier of the Chiltern edge must at one time have been a political boundary also, for an earthwork known as Grim's Dyke follows it across much of the county and on into Hertfordshire. This earthwork, having its rampart to the north-west and ditch to the south-east, must have been constructed by the dwellers in the plain as a defence against the people of the Chiltern forests. It is sometimes spoken of as the boundary of Mercia. Yet, strange to say, Grim's Dyke for by far the greater part of its course forms the boundary neither of hundred nor parish. As everywhere in England along the escarpment of the chalk, the village nuclei lie in a line along its base, and the township boundaries cross it at right angles in long, straight parallel lines, so as to give to each township a share in each kind of soil. Consequently the hundreds of this region similarly tend to set themselves athwart the Chiltern escarpment, but they all extend a varying

distance south-east of Grim's Dyke. Sometimes these extensions are mere extensions of the individual townships, but in the case of Stanes hundred we see it widening out to include the Missendens, and we may well ask, What was the reason that the men of Missenden tramped over the hills to Stone (if indeed that was the meeting-place of the hundred) when the way to Aylesbury or Desborough lay so much easier to them? Was it loyalty of a new settlement to its parental hundred?

One conclusion at least our map seems to justify: that the region in the centre of South Bucks was still very incompletely settled at the time of Domesday Book, for it is here that we find the largest number of modern villages unmentioned.¹

If the ideas expressed in this essay are right, we have a method by which it may be possible to carry much farther that investigation of the early settlement of England begun by Green in his "Making of England." That method is the reconstitution of the Domesday hundreds, and the study of them without regard to the boundaries of the tenth-century shires.

POSTSCRIPT.—The view expressed in this paper, that Buckinghamshire (like other counties of the same type) is an artificial aggregate of pre-existing hundreds, is in sharp conflict with some of the conclusions in Mr. J. W. Corbett's paper on the "Tribal Hidage" (*Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, new series, vol. xiv., pp. 187-230). Mr. Corbett gives weighty reasons for the view that the ancient document to which Prof. Maitland has given this name records a system of artificial hidation for taxation purposes, dating from the time of Northumbrian supremacy in the seventh century; he further shows certain remarkable coincidences between the numbers of hundred hides attributed to various tribes (in the parts of England least disturbed by later conquests) and the number of hundreds in the Domesday counties which he suggests as covering the same areas.

¹ This would have been still more obvious had not the outline of Beaconsfield (not named in Domesday Book) been inadvertently omitted from the map.

Thus, the 18 hundreds of Buckinghamshire with the 22 of Oxfordshire would answer to the 4,000 hides of the Cilternsætna; while the counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, and Huntingdonshire collectively answer to "Hendrica." On the other hand, Northamptonshire, with its 30 hundreds, would answer to five tribes credited with 600 hides each. On this interpretation the boundaries of the midland counties would be in large measure ancient tribal boundaries; while the hundreds would be artificial sub-divisions forced on the tribes by the need of distributing the taxation levied by an external power.

Confining criticism to Buckinghamshire and its neighbours, it seems easier to admit the second than the first of these two corollaries. It is difficult to believe that the name Cilternsætna can have been applied to settlers on the banks of the Ouse, while it was not given to the settlers in the Hertfordshire part of the Chilterns; and still more difficult to believe that the Cilternstæna should have occupied two compact areas on the north side of the Ouse, each of convenient size to be counted as a hundred, while just allowing room for a sixth part of the Arosætna between them (cf. map of hundreds). A much more serious difficulty is presented by the adjoining counties of Middlesex and Hertfordshire. In order to equate the Tribal Hidage with Domesday hundreds, these counties are united with Bedford and Huntingdon as "Hendrica." But we know from Bede that London was the metropolis of the East Saxons in the seventh century—at least in 604-616 and 674, though there is an absence of mention of it in connection with Cedd's mission, c. 653—and the original diocese of London includes the whole of Middlesex and a part of Hertfordshire. It has been usual to regard the diocese as identical with the East Saxon kingdom, and this view, very reasonable in itself, is strongly confirmed by the nature of the boundary. One has only to compare the smoothness of the diocesan boundary running through Herts with the complex interdigitation of the boundary between Herts and Bucks to realize the much greater likelihood of the former

being a tribal boundary than the latter.* But if the $5\frac{1}{2}$ hundreds of Middlesex and some 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ hundreds from Herts are to be included in the 7,000 hides of the "East Sexena," then the total for "Hendrica" will run short, and the whole scheme of equating is endangered.

Mr. Corbett's very valuable paper does not, therefore, shake me in my view that counties of the Buckinghamshire type were probably formed by the union of pre-existing hundreds.—A. M. D.

* Makers of historical maps have done their best to conceal this fact. Thus the Oxford *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe* makes the "East Seaxe" occupy the whole of Herts (Map 16), while the ancient Diocese of London is elsewhere (Map 19) drawn as including the special jurisdiction of St. Alban, which was taken out of the Diocese of Lincoln. In Green's "Making of England," the whole of Hertfordshire is shown as East Saxon, and though a foot-note admits this to be incorrect, it has led to the attributing of the fall of Verulamium to the East Saxons.