

TURVILLE, RADENORE AND THE CHILTERN *FELD*

ARNOLD H. J. BAINES

*St. Alban's Abbey possessed a charter claiming that Turville was given to them by Ecgfrith, King of Mercia, in 796. The cartulary text is probably not genuine as it stands, but it is argued that its substance is acceptable. Watlington and Turville are proposed as a Middle Anglian enclave in Saxon territory, adjoining an area of British survival. The bounds of Worcester Abbey's estate of Radenore (identified with Pyrton, Pishill, Stonor and probably Warmscombe) are examined, in order to recover the early topography, and the term *feld* is explained as applying to the Chiltern plateau where it is not wooded.*

The Turville Charter of 796

Among the historians of Buckinghamshire, Browne Willis [1], Langley [2], Lipscomb [3] and the Victoria County History [4] had no doubt that Turville was granted by Ecgfrith, king of the Mercians, to St. Alban's Abbey, under the name *Thyrefeld*. In *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* [5], Mawer and Stenton declared the grant spurious, on the ground that the first element was the Old Danish *þýri* [6], and that the charter was dated 796, 'long before we could get a Danish name in an English place-name'. There was indeed some Scandinavian occupation in the central Chilterns, evidenced by the Abingdon Chronicle, by personal nomenclature both before and after the Norman Conquest and by the names Skirmett, (*scir-gemot*) and Fingest (*thing-hyrst*), both referring to a common court of a group of hundreds under Danish influence [7]. Yet their argument runs some risk of circularity; at p. 196 the identification of *þyrefeld* with Turville is said to make it clear that the first element is the Old Danish name, while in the Introduction (p. xvii) this name is used to support the existence of an Anglo-Scandinavian population whose speech could modify the initial consonants of Skirmett. Nevertheless the great authority of the first editors of the English Place-Name Society has been accepted, and it has sometimes been overlooked that in 1938 they retracted this derivation, stating in *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire* [8] that 'it is probable that

Turville has the same history' as Therfield, with the first element *þyrre* 'withered, dry'. In *English Place-Name Elements* (1956), Professor A. H. Smith countenanced both views, the former s.v. *feld* [9], the latter s.v. *þyrre* [10]. The choice is closely connected with two issues: the authenticity of the Turville St. Albans Charter and the significance of *feld* in early Chiltern place-names. There is good evidence that the meaning suggested by the name *Thyrefeld* is in fact generally applicable.

The purported text of Ecgfrith's grant is preserved in the 13th-century Cottonian MS. Nero D.i, where it is entered at fol. 149v and again at fol. 153v. This cartulary includes 15 pre-Conquest documents relating to the estates of St. Alban's Abbey, seven of them being entered twice. For ten of these it is the sole and for three the earliest authority, so that its reputation does not stand high. It is nevertheless supported by the fact that the original of one of them, the Oxhey charter [11], has survived in the Bodleian Library, and by the remarkable recovery of the Old English will of Æthelgifu [12], which has been edited by Professor Dorothy Whitelock for a magnificent private edition and which validates the Latin text of the same will found at fol. 152 in Nero D.i. Comments on the remaining thirteen, collected by Sawyer [13], range from 'spurious' to 'authentic'; five of them are not favourably regarded;

no. 912 is 'if spurious, a singularly clever imitation'; no. 220 is 'suspicious, not completely reliable'; three are accepted, and on three Sawyer records no comments. The view taken here is that all these charters are reliable in substance, but that the royal grants have been corrupted or expanded to support the Abbey's claim to immunities which the original donors did not intend to confer. The originals then disappeared.

The cartulary text of the Turville charter is as follows:

Ego ECGFRIDUS gratia Dei rex Merciorum. Anno dominice incarnationis septingentesimo nonagesimo sexto. indicione quarta. primo vero anno regni nostri; terram .x. manensium nomine FYREFELD cum terminis suis. domino meo Jhesu Christo et ejus precioso martyri ALBANO. liberaliter ac eternaliter cum consensu ac testimonio optimatum meorum in jus monasteriale pro anima mea et parentum meorum devotissime tribuo. et libenter concedo. Sitque predicta terra ab omni terrene servitutis jugo semper aliena. atque eadem libertate sit libera. qua cetera terre monasterii beati Albani conscripte atque concessa sunt. a glorioso Offani genitori meo.

Ego Ecgfridus rex hanc meam donationem cum signo crucis confirmare curabo

- +Ego Cynedryd [= Cynedryd] regina consensi
- +Ego Æpelheardus archiepiscopus consensi
- +Ego Unwona episcopus
- +Ego Weohþunus episcopus
- +Ego Beonna abbas
- +Ego Elfhun episcopus
- +Ego Brorda dux
- +Ego Uuigbertus dux
- +Ego Uuicga dux
- +Alhmundus dux
- +Ego Cupbertus dux

- +Ego Eobing dux
- +Forthred abbas
- +Ego Sighere filius Sig[heri]
- +Ego Esne dux
- +Ego Cydda dux
- +Ego Winbertus dux
- +Ego Heardbertus dux
- +Ego Brorda dux

Conscriptus est autem hic liber in loco qui dicitur Celchyth in sinodo publico.

The witness list appears to be chronologically consistent. Cynethryth was Offa's widow; Æthelheard was archbishop of Canterbury from 792 to 805; Unwona was bishop of Leicester, Weohthun bishop of Selsey and Elfhun (d.798) bishop of Dunwich. The bishops of London and Lindsey did not sign; the Chronicle texts (s.a. 794, for 796) say that they had left the country, but according to the northern recension Ceolwulf of Lindsey died in 796. There has been some confusion between *afaran* 'go out, depart' and *fordfaran* 'depart, die', or perhaps between *abiit* and *obiit*. Ecgfrith, Unwona, Beonna, Forthred (d.805), Wigbert, Alhmund, Cuthberht, Heardberht (d.807) and Brorda had attested Offa's grant of Winslow and other estates in 792 [14]. In that year the monastery of St. Albans had not been founded, and Offa's grant was made to St. Alban's church, a point ignored by whoever altered the date of the Winslow charter to 795. According to Matthew Paris [15] and William of Malmesbury [16], Offa told Higbert, Archbishop of Lichfield, of his vision of the first martyr of Britain, and announced his decision to establish a monastery in his honour at a synod or provincial council at *Celchyth* in 793. The first abbot was Willegoda, described as Offa's faithful minister. The claim that Offa secured for the Abbey freedom from all interference by ecclesiastics and laymen cannot be accepted; it is clear that the bishop was at least to be consulted on the choice of future abbots, and might make the appointment himself [17]. The exempt monastery belongs to the 11th century; a claim to complete immunity, even

from the invariable dues, was written into the Winslow charter then or later, and has undeservedly discredited that charter. The same claim is made in the clause 'Sitque predicta terra...' of the Turville grant; but the original may well have had a more modest clause granting to the Abbey the same liberties in Turville as it enjoyed on its other estates by virtue of Offa's grants. It would have been quite sufficient to say 'Atque predicta terra eadem libertate sit libera, qua cetera ...'

The new abbey church had been finished in 795, and Offa laid his charters on the high altar. There is no reason to doubt that such muniments existed; the question is how widely the existing texts depart from them. William Page [18], the general editor of the Victoria County Histories, thought that the cartulary texts of Offa's and Ecgrith's benefactions were probably forgeries, but that their contents as regards the territorial gifts were correct in substance. Page considered that 'the productive lands in England had been at this time granted out and settled, and there only remained the forests and marshes with which to endow any newly founded monastery'. (This leaves out heath and downland). 'Besides which, monks seem to have been the great settlers of unreclaimed land'. He instanced the clearance and settlement of the forests of Worcestershire by four abbeys, Worcester, Evesham, Pershore and Westminster, the reclamation of the Fens by Croylund and the forest clearances in Middlesex by Westminster Abbey. This would seem to imply that the *mansiones* or *manentes* of royal grants to monasteries at this period often represented potential rather than actual households; the hidage [19] quoted, if authentic, would then be the basis of future taxation rather than an immediate claim. The Chilterns were no doubt sparsely populated in the 8th century, but they were not a wilderness, and their prospective taxable capacity could be fairly estimated. Even in 1086 the Oxfordshire part of Ibstone is said not to have rendered geld or any other service to the king, though it had been assessed at two hides [20].

Offa died on 19 July 796 [21] and was succeeded by his son Ecgrith. Few princes have come to the throne with such high expectations. He had been consecrated king in his father's lifetime, but his sole reign lasted only 141 days, and his untimely death was regarded as a judgement on Mercia for Offa's cruelties [22]. According to Matthew Paris [23], Abbot Willegoda died within two months of Offa, apparently of mortification from not having ensured that their founder was buried in the new abbey church. The Pinesfield grant by Ecgrith [24] which precedes the Turville charter in MS. Nero D.i mentions Willegoda; presumably the former was engrossed before his death, the latter soon after.

The identity of *Thyrefeld* has been curiously mistaken. Birch [25] placed it at Therfield in Hertfordshire, ignoring the claims by Buckinghamshire historians. Page [26] stated that 'Thyrfelde [sic] has been identified with Therfield in Herts and Weston Turville in Bucks, but there is no evidence that St. Albans held lands at either of those places'. Sawyer [27] repeated the comment, although it would seem that Page had implicitly withdrawn it by accepting Grace Ellis's account of the manorial descent of Turville [28]. Mawer and Stenton [29] had pointed out that 'the Therfield identification in Birch is certainly wrong, as *þyrefeld* was a St. Alban's manor, as was Turville, while Therfield.... was a manor of Romsey Abbey'.

The forms closest to the original are *Thyrefeld* in an unpublished Merton College deed of c.1240 transcribed by W. H. Stevenson, *Thurefeld* 1329 and *Thyrrefeld* 1545; otherwise we have uniformly initial T through Norman influence. The form *Turville* which ultimately prevailed is clearly due to confusion with the Norman surname. The commonest medieval form is *Tirefeld*, which in the 13th century showed signs of developing to *Trefeld*; cf. *Tringeham* for Tyringham 1130, *Shrington* for Sherington 1278, with a similar Anglo-Norman tendency to shift the stress to the second syllable. Eventually, however, it

was the second syllable which was lost, giving *Tirfield* in 1422, *Turfeld* 1445 *et freq.* This development may be compared with that of *Therfield*, which is *Ɔerefeld* in 1060, *Derevelde* in Domesday, *Ferefeld* 1114–30, *Therefeld* 1161–77, *Terefeld(e)* 1197 *et freq.*, *Tharfelde* 1482. In both places the second element is occasionally *feud* in the 13th century, but not before or after; similar forms have been noted for *Beaconsfield*.

The Chiltern Feld

If the Turville charter is accepted as having an authentic basis, the Old Danish personal name must be rejected and we are left with the adjective *þyrre* 'dry, lacking water or moisture'. This is common to the Germanic languages, the oldest form being the Gothic *þaurusus* 'dry, withered'. The Paris Psalter [30] has *þornas þyre* for the thorns or brushwood of Psalm 117 (118) v.12; this shows that the *r* was not always geminated in Old English.

It remains to interpret *feld*. The primary sense of this element, which is found in all the West Germanic languages, was a plain; a stretch, usually an extensive stretch, of open land, as opposed to woodland, mountain or fen. The Afrikaans *veldt*, in the youngest Germanic tongue, is close to the original meaning. In Old English texts, *feld-land* is contrasted both with *wudu-land* and with *dun-land* [31], and there is an interesting list of contrasted types of country in the Ormulum, c.1200: *wude & feld & dale & dun*, 'forest and open country and valley and hill'. With the advance of settlement the *feld* was naturally used for pasture or tillage, but so long as it remained unenclosed the original sense was maintained. In the settlement period, a small fenced or hedged *feld* would have been a contradiction in terms. Thus the sense of *þyrefeld* would be 'tract of dry open country (level ground as opposed to woods or hills)'. This is totally inapplicable to the site of the present village of Turville, which nestles in a valley; its immediate surroundings are well wooded, and the valley gravel shows that it once stood on a

winterbourne, the upper reach of the Hamble brook, though because of the lowering of the water table under the London basin the springs now break out, even in very wet seasons, about a quarter of a mile below the village. But the name which fits the village so badly is wholly appropriate to Turville Heath and the commons north and south of it.

The Chiltern country 'is, in fact, a plateau, but it is so much cut up by steep-sided valleys that it is not often recognised as such... The soil on this plateau is often clayey or gravelly... and everywhere full of large flints. Another striking feature of the plateau is its dryness. There are ponds fed by rain, dew or mist, but few springs and hardly any streams' [32]. It is submitted that the Anglo-Saxon settlers recognised the Chiltern plateau, and that where it was not wooded, or when it was cleared, they called it *feld*.

Between the Turville and Stonor valleys the Upper Chalk is covered partly by Reading Beds (of mottled clay, sand and pebbles) and partly by clay-with-flints; in either case there are patches of overlying pebble gravel [33]. There is a chain of commons from North End through Turville Heath and Summer Heath to South End. It is suggested that the name *Thyrefeld* originally applied to this area, and was then given to a royal estate extending into the valleys and coterminous with the ancient parish of Turville. Its bounds (established before 796, if we accept *cum terminis suis*) are quite simple: the present county boundary to the west, sweeping round Stonor Park, along hedgebanks and then following dry valleys; the Wormsley-Turville valley bottom (Idlecombe) to the north-east, and another dry valley (Dolesden, Kimble Bottom) to the south-east, running up to Kimble Farm, a Mesolithic flint-working and occupational site. The county boundary is fully described from the Oxfordshire side in the great Worcester cartulary; but first it will be submitted that Turville originally belonged to a larger Oxfordshire land unit with a distinctive origin.

Turville and Watlington: an Anglian enclave?

The neighbourhood of Turville Heath is most unlikely to have been an area of primary Anglo-Saxon settlement, but it was common practice for an estate in the closely settled Icknield belt to have attached to it an area of woodland and waste in the high Chilterns, usually though not necessarily contiguous. It was obviously more convenient for such an area to be linked with the main settlement by a corridor in the same ownership, and the run of the boundaries suggests that the parish of Turville originally had this relationship with Watlington. They are connected by just such a corridor, which until 1815 was a single heathland, and which is traversed by the road from Watlington across Northend Common to Turville Heath and Summer Heath, a name which strongly suggests seasonal migration (transhumance). The link would have been administratively though not physically severed when the boundary which became the county boundary was drawn across it along a dry valley, now nameless, but called *Lavenoredene* c. 1270 [34]. The name *Lavenora*, Lafa's slope, is preserved in Launder's Farm; it is noteworthy that Watlington and Turville share its pond. After Turville was thus separated from Watlington (at latest, when it was granted to St. Albans) Watlington still had a substantial area of Chiltern woodland and of open ground along the escarpment; this eventually became the liberty of Greenfield, including Christmas Common [35]. This open land was much reduced shortly before 1272, when Watlington Park was enclosed by Richard, Earl of Cornwall; previously the freemen of the area (*de patria*) had enjoyed free hunting there, and some had had free common [36]. Until the enclosure of 1815 the remaining 'dry commons' of Watlington, amounting to 300 acres, were continuous with the Turville commons [37], but not with the commons of any other parish.

Watlington (*æt Wæclinctune*, *Wæcling tun*, *Huuæclingatune* in charter texts [38]) appears to be the 'tun of the Wælingas', the Middle Anglian 'people of *Wæcel' who were in possession of the old Roman city of Verulamium

in the 7th century. The name *Wælingaceaster* for that city is first evidenced in Bede [39], c.732, but the St. Albans traditions clearly imply that the settlers, though they spared the Protomartyr's shrine, were still pagans. Their tribal name is taken back to the 660's by the Mercian tribute list known as the Tribal Hidage [40]; the form *Unecung ga* (second *n* interlined) in the Harleian MS. is a mistranscription of *Uuecling-ga* (or perhaps *Uueclung-ga*). This emendation, which may be considered almost certain, was proposed by Cyril Hart [41], who however suggested that the Wælingas occupied the Vale, north of the Chilterns. It is impossible to accommodate the 4000 hides of the *Cilternsætan* between the Chiltern escarpment and the Thames, and the better view is that it was they who held most of the land under the Chilterns, with Aylesbury as their capital. There is room for the 1200 hides of the Wælingas further east, along Watling Street, between the St. Albans area and the Great Ouse. On this view Watlington was so called because there a group of settlers of this tribe, who had crossed the land of the *Cilternsætan*, succeeded in establishing themselves among strangers who were conscious of their separate identity [42].

The inference that Watlington with Turville became a Middle Anglian enclave in the late 6th or early 7th century is reinforced by the name of the dry valley which separates both parishes from Stonor; this is *Englungadene* or *Englingadene*, the valley of *Engel's people, which 'like the name Englefield in Berkshire, seems to denote an Anglian stock in a primarily Saxon society' [43]. The connection postulated between Watlington and St. Albans could well have been remembered in the eighth century, and would help to explain why Turville was granted by a Mercian king to St. Alban's Abbey. Watlington itself remained in the hands of the Mercian crown until 887.

Englingadene is the boundary between this ancient royal estate and the probably still more ancient vill of Stonor, where, if anywhere in the Chilterns, there was

continuity through the settlement period. During the restoration of Stonor chapel in 1960, Roman bricks and tiles were found two feet below the level of the medieval floor, and Roman pottery has been found nearby [44]. At the time of the Turville grant, it is almost certain that Stonor and Pishill constituted the Chiltern portion of a land unit called *Readanora*, 'red slope' (of the Chiltern escarpment?). This name developed to *Radenore* in the thirteenth century, and it is convenient to use this form; it should then have become **Radnor*, and is so indexed in *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire*, but that form has not been found, (although *Radnore* occurs in 1367 [45]), and by the eleventh century the main part of the estate, under the Chiltern edge, was already being called *Peritun* (from *Pirigtun*, 'pear tree farm'), which developed to *Pyrton* [46], or, more precisely, *Pyrton below-the-hill*.

Forsberg [46a] identified the estate with the parishes of *Pyrton*, *Pishill* and *Stonor*, but he thought it must include the neck of *Watlington* which separates the first two.

The identification of this land unit rests on the bounds recited in a charter of 759 (emendable to 774) purporting to record a grant of 40 hides at *Readanoran* to St. Peter, Worcester, by *Offa* [47]. The grant was condemned by Sir Frank Stenton as a late tenth-century forgery [48], but he later quoted the charter with approval [49], and if a forgery it was probably fabricated to support a genuine donation. Worcester certainly owned this estate in 887, when *Æthelred*, ealdorman of the Mercians, acting with the consent of King *Alfred* and the Mercian council, gave eight hides at *Watlington* and six at *Brightwell* (*Baldwin*) to that community in right of their church *æt Readanoran* [50]. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the bounds; the addition of detailed bounds to an eighth-century charter which lacked them would have been quite legitimate.

There is a note in Heming II. 480: & at

pyrigitune offa cyng gebecte XLV hida mid þam aet fisces burnan & milrede bisceope betæhte on godes est, 'and at *Pyrton* King *Offa* booked (i. e. granted by charter) 45 hides with (the estate) at *Fisces burnan* and entrusted (them) to *Milred*, bishop (of the *Hwicce*) for God's favour'. The charter itself recites *Milred's* request for the 40 hides in *loco qui nuncupata Readanoran* and *Offa's* pious, almost mercenary motive (*quod cum his caducis mercanda esse eterna polorum regna*), but this memorandum seems to be the only record that a further 5 hides were granted at the same time. *Gebecan* (more often *gebocian*), 'grant by charter', is elsewhere linked with *betæcen*, 'deliver, put in trust'. In Matthew xxv, 14, 'tradidit illis bona sua' is translated 'betæhte hym hys æhte'. (*Wyclif*: 'betoke to hem his goodis').

The Bounds of Radenore: Stonor and Pyrton

In addition to the bounds recited in the grant attributed to *Offa*, there is another version in Heming's Cartulary [51], not attached to any charter. It was printed by *Thomas Hearne* in 1723, overlooked in the standard collections of *Kemble* and *Birch*, but catalogued by *Sawyer* among unattached boundaries. This version of the bounds, which may be dated c. 1070, makes it clear that the main estate and the Chiltern holding annexed to it were separate though almost adjacent [52]. The boundaries of the woodland holding (*þæs wudes gemeara*) were entered in a blank space, in the conventional repetitive form (from A to B, from B to C ...), beginning *and-land englungadene* but not quite closing the circuit; those of *Pyrton*, the main part of the estate (*þære.XL.hidaland gemæru*) were entered below in another hand, also of the eleventh century, without repetition, ending *on englingadene þær it ær uparas*. In contrast, the charter bounds represent a single sunwise perambulation of the whole estate, starting at the southernmost tip of *Pyrton*, just behind the escarpment, at the head of *Englingadene*, and following that valley transversely across the neck of land connecting *Watlington* and *Turville* where this is narrowest, only 250 yards

wide. This approximates to a node (a point where a boundary crosses itself), and one would expect the bounds of *Radenore* to begin and end here. There is an exact node in the bounds of Bernwood Forest as confirmed in 1298 [53], and Dr. Michael Reed has recently established that the perambulation began at that point [54], followed the smaller portion sunwise back to the same point, and then proceeded sunwise round the main portion of the forest, so that the node was visited three times.

The practice at *Radenore* seems to have been precisely the same, with a passage across the neck replacing the nodal point.

The two versions may conveniently be set alongside: the Stonor section is directly relevant to the bounds of Turville and of Buckinghamshire, but the texts also throw light on relations between the Watlington-Turville and *Radenore* estates in the settlement period, and on the meaning of *feld* in the Chilterns.

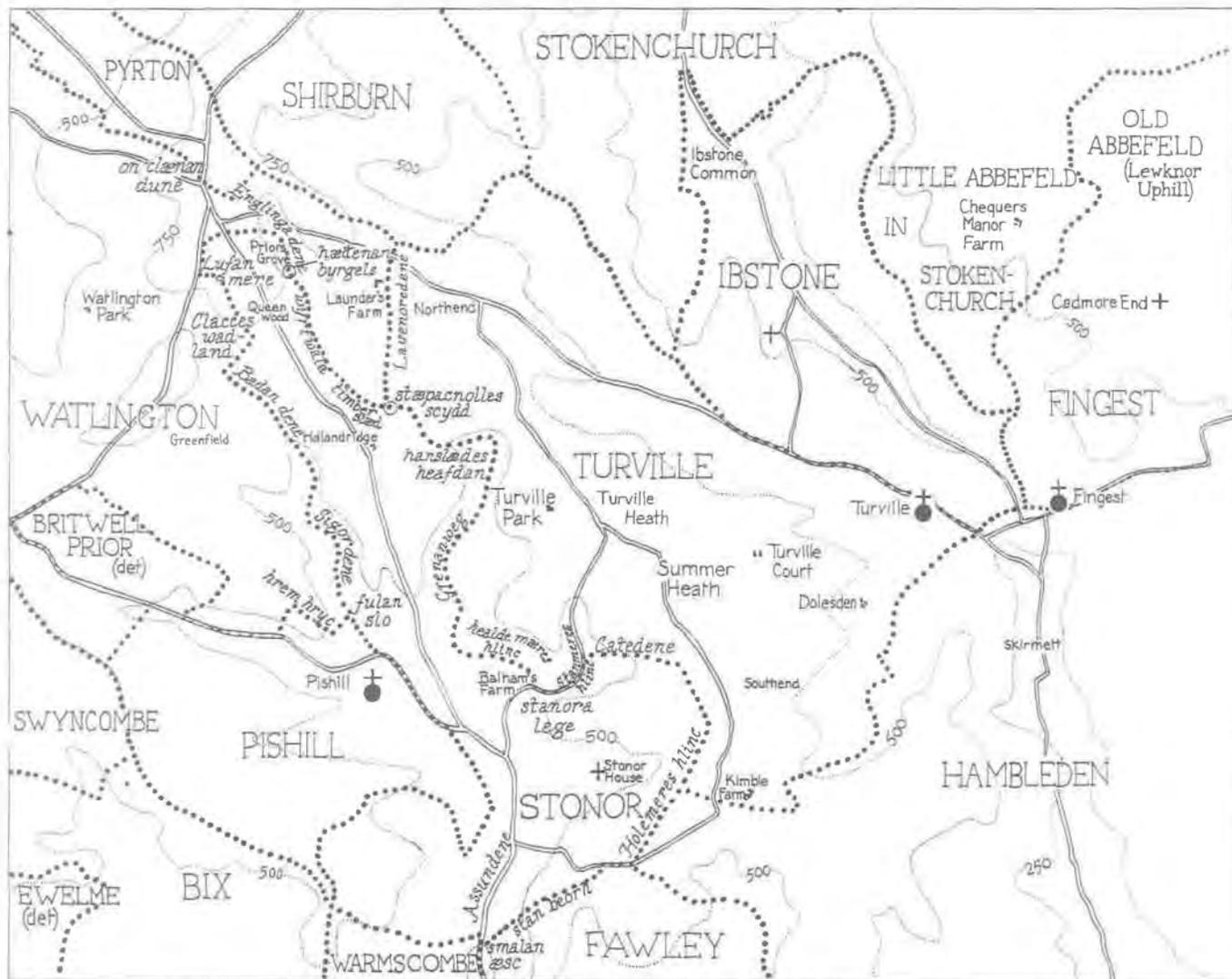
The bounds compared

Charter bounds: Heming II. 444
(*Cott. Tib. A. xiii, fol. 194.b*)
Hic sunt termini prefati ruris:

- (i) And lang englunga dene
- (ii) swa wæter wile yrnan
- (iii) in hæþenan byrigels
- (iv) a be wyrtwalan
- (v) in barfodslæd
- (vi) and swa on timber slæd
- (vii) in stæpacnolles scydd
- (viii) on hanslædes heafdan
- (ix) þ̄ innan grenan weg
- (x) þ̄anon innan healde mæres hline
- (xi) in stanora lege
- (xii) þ̄ in stanmeres hline
- (xiii) on catedenes heafdan
- (xiv) þ̄ in holemeres hline
- (xv) innan stanbeorh
- (xvi) & swa in smalan æsc
- (xvii) in þ̄oñ mapul tre
- (xviii) on west healf assundene
from þ̄am mapoltre
- (xix) in edles pyt
- (xx) þ̄ in dragmæres hline
- (xxi) swa in ruga wic

Unattached bounds: Heming I. 71-2
(*Cott. Tib. A. xiii, fol. 32b, 33*)
+þ̄is syndan þ̄æs wudes gemeara
into readan oran
[i. pirit (= *id est* piritun) *interlined above* readan
oran. *In the margin*, To peritun]

& lang englungadene
ealswa wæterwile yrnan
innan þ̄æne hæþenan byrigels
of þ̄an hæðenan byrigels
bewyrt walan
innan barvot sæd & of barfot sæde
innan tibersæd & of timbersæde
innan steapan cnolles scydd [55]
& of steapan cnolles scydd [55a]
on hanslædes hæfdan & of hanslædes heafdan
[*interlined*]
innan grenanweg & of þ̄am grenanweg [56]
innan heal ðæmæres hline & of þ̄am hline
innan stanoran lege & of stan oran lege
inan stan meres hline & of stanmeres hline
on cadedenes [57] heafdan
& of cadenes heafdan
on holemeres hline & of holemereshline [58]
inan stan beorh & of stan beorhge
innan þ̄ænes malan æsc
of þ̄ons malan æsc sce [57]
innan þ̄one mapel dre
on westhalfe asumedene [60]
of þ̄an mapel dre
in e(d)les pyrte [*pitte interlined*] [61]
innan dragemereshline & of dragemereshline
innan ruganwic & of ruganwic



Turville and Pishill-with-Stonor, with the 10th-century bounds of the latter.

- (xxii) in deopan ham steale
- (xxiii) on hrem hryc
- (xxiv) þ̄ in þ̄one fulan slo
- (xxv) to sigordene
- (xxvi) swa in badan dene
- (xxvii) in clacces wad lond
- (xxviii) and swa into lufan mere

(xxix) þ̄ær ut on þ̄æne feld

- (xxx)
- (xxxi) on grottes graf
- (xxxii) þ̄ in ceorla pytte
- (xxxiii) to þ̄ære fleotan
- (xxxiv) þ̄ on cawan þ̄orn
- (xxxv) on þ̄on hæð
- (xxxvi) on hweolriðig
- (xxxvii) swa on mor pyt
- (xxxviii) on sænet hylle
- (xxxvix) in hroppan broc
- (xl) a be broce
- (xli) on þ̄a ealdan dic
- (xlii) þ̄ on crypsan hylle
- (xliii) on scyttan mere
- (xliv) þ̄ on scyttan dune
- (xlv) swa on smalan broc
- (xlvi) to cnihta bryge
- (xlvii) & swa to winecalea
- (xlviii) on þ̄æne hæþena byregels
- (xlix) in colnaran
- (l)

From the late 10th century onwards the colloquial and literary forms of Old English were tending to diverge, and the charter forms seem closer to what the surveyor would actually have written in his field-notes. The Pyrton section of the unattached bounds in Heming I appears to have been sub-edited in the scriptorium at Worcester to produce a text more fit for Bishop Wulfstan's scrutiny. Thus, *hweol* 'wheel' is amended to *hweohol* (xxxvi); *sent* (xxxviii) is replaced by the more literary *sænet* (for *sanget* 'land cleared by burning', as so much was in this area); *a be broce* 'ever by the brook' is weakened to *and lang broces* (xl); *crypsan* becomes *cryppsan* (xlii), the dialectal *colnaran* is corrected to *colnoran* (xlix), and þ̄

- innan depanhamsteal [62]
- on hremryrc & of hremhrycce
- on þene fulanslostand aþapel dere ofer [63]
- innan sigerdene & of sigerdene
- innan badandene
- on clacces wadland & of clacces wadlande
- into lufe mere

[lufanmere *interlined*]
þ̄ærut on þ̄ænefeld;

Dis synd þ̄ære .XL. hida land gemæru
of claces wadlande

- on clænandune
- on grottes graf
- & swa into ceorla pytte
- to þ̄ære fleotan
- & swa on cawan þ̄orn
- on þ̄one hæþ
- on hweohol riþi
- & swa on morpytt
- on sænet hylle
- in roppan broc
- and lang broces
- on þ̄a ealdan dic
- & swa on cryppsan hylle
- on scyttan mere
- & swa on scyttandune
- & swa on smalan broc
- on cnihta bricce
- & swa to winecalea
- oþ̄æ ne [64] hæþenan byrigels
- in colnoran
- & swa on englingadene [65] þ̄ær hit ær uparas.

for þ̄æt 'then, after that' at critical points of the boundary is systematically replaced by the connective *and swa*. In the woodland section of the bounds little reliance can be placed on the forms in Heming I, since the text has been badly copied and inadequately checked, and the repetitive form, somewhat mechanically adopted, is 'and of A innan B; and of B innan C ...' until the scribe became tired. Nevertheless we owe to this text the insertion about the single apple-tree standing over the foul slough (xxiv), probably a marginal note made by the original surveyor which has been retrieved by Margaret Gelling's emendation (see note 63).

At first sight it is remarkable that the

bounds should start abruptly 'Andlang englungadene...' At what point in that valley are we to begin? There is one point which needs no further definition: the head of the valley, scoured out by melting water over permafrost during the short hot summers at the end of the last Ice Age. The valley begins on the plateau at a height of 775 feet, just to the east of the southern tip of Pyrton (grid reference 717 933). This location is not clear from the Ordnance maps, but on the ground no further specification is required, even though this part of the *feld* has been cut up into the closes which we call 'fields'. The incipient valley runs across the former common, part of the great Watlington Heath; it soon meets the woodlands and rapidly deepens, cutting into the Upper Chalk. One has to go (*eal*)*swa wæterwile yran* (ii) '(just) as the springs run' (in a very wet season, but more frequently in the 10th century).

The heathen burial-place (*hæthenan byrgels*, iii) was probably at the south-east corner of Prior's Grove (721 927) where a bridle-road comes in from the west and a footpath from the farm which represents *Lavenora*. This is in effect a cross-roads on the boundary, the right place for burying someone who died out of the communion of the Church – under foot of men, and not in the township, though not outside it. There is surely a presumption that any *hæthenan byrgels* in charter bounds is of this character; very few can be identified with burials of the pagan period. There is another quite close by, in the Pyrton bounds of this very charter; but neither can be used to support the view that there was 6th century Anglo-Saxon settlement in the immediate neighbourhood, though this is likely enough on other grounds.

We proceed *a be wyrtwalan* (iv) *in barfot slæd* (v), 'ever along the woodland verge' (the standardised version omits the *a* 'aye') 'in the barefoot slade' (recalling some penitential ritual?) For some 500 yards we follow the perimeter track of Queen Wood, with the hedgebank on the right. The meaning of *wyrtwala* has been discussed in connection

with the bounds of Olney [66]; it appears to be a distinct form of woodland edge, with a forester's track and a bank. Although fairly common as a descriptive term in 10th-century bounds, this element has not given rise to any place-names. The 1922 six-inch map shows the hedgebank as far as 723 923, and hereabouts the valley becomes *timber slæd* (vi), where the estate obtained its building materials, no doubt invoking a way of necessity across the Watlington-Turville corridor and then using Knightsbridge Lane, which together with Hollandridge and Assenden is the axis along which *Radenore* came into being. We should not expect timber cutting for the chief settlement any further into the Chilterns, because it would have involved a long haul up to the crest [67]. The use of the more distant woodlands was for swine-pasture, just as the heaths were used for other farm animals driven along the trackways across the scarp.

One of the specialised dialect meanings of *slade* (from *slæd*) is 'a broad strip of greensward between two woods, generally in a valley' but here the wood and the fields are interchanged. The bridle-road still follows the bottom of the valley, but the wood has narrowed, with fields on the slopes on either side.

The *timber slæd* extends to *steapancnolles scydd* (vii), 'the shed on or near the steep knoll' [68]. A convenient site for a woodman's shed or a swineherd's hovel would be at or near the junction of *Englingadene* and *Lavenoredene* at 727 918, the triple boundary of Watlington, Turville and Stonor. The next section (now Coachway Bottom) reaches the Middle Chalk and brings us *on hanslædes heafdan* (viii), 'to the head (upper end) of the high slade' [69]. The dative plural *heafdum* (*heafdan* in late West Saxon) sometimes has singular meaning; the best known examples are *his lices heafdum* in the *Dream of the Rood* and *ðone stan ðe æt his heafdum læg* (referring to Jacob's pillow) in King Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*. There is a similar usage in Old Norse (*at hoffom*) and in Old High German (*zi houbiton*). It may have arisen from a false analogy with *fofum*, 'at the

feet' in the sense 'at the foot', or may be a relic of an old locative singular. Two more dry combes join the main valley from the plateau on the Turville side; the first contains a belt of woodland along the valley bottom, and the second has traces of one, but the points where they meet the county boundary are their feet, not their heads. The 'high slade' is probably a section of the main valley, 'high' in relation to the settlements in the Stonor valley, though lower than the 'timber slade'; but if that was reserved for the use of Pyrton, the Stonor folk would not have gone beyond the head of their own slade. At 735 916 we are past all these features and the valley turns sharp right *þ(æt) innan grenan weg* (ix), soon leaving the woods. In charter bounds *þ* frequently means 'after that'; here it may reflect the resumption of proceedings after a halt, and in the Heming I texts it is systematically replaced, apparently to avoid an express reference to time. A description of two distinct boundaries replaces the record of an actual perambulation round both of them.

The 'greenway' continues south for about a mile, with Turville Park, the manor house of Turville St. Albans, on the left, until at 733 901 the boundary at last leaves the track at Picked Close and swerves out of the valley, climbing thence (*þanon*) eastwards along an old hedgebank. *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire* translates (*innan*) *healde mæres hline* (x) as 'old boundary hill', but *heald* is on record as meaning 'sloping, inclined, bent' and the sense required here is 'along the inclined boundary bank'. The *hline* or lynch runs over the shoulder of the hill and then descends to the woods at Balham's Farm (738 898). Tengstrand [70] emends the text to *Healdemere* and translates this as 'the sloping pool'. There is probably no distinction in these texts between *meres hline* and *mæres hline* [71], and Tengstrand prefers *mere* 'pool' to *mære* 'boundary' in all cases; but there do not appear to be any dewponds or the like on the relevant sections of the boundary, and up to this point the surveyor has preferred to define the bounds of the woodland estate in terms of linear features (*denu*,

wyrtwala, slæd, weg). *Mæres hline* in the sense of 'boundary bank' continues the same practice [72].

Stanora(n) lege (xi) may be 'wood on the stony slope' but is more likely to mean 'wood belonging to Stonor'. The boundary of the estates, parishes and counties next runs up the curving side valley until this sub-divides at 742 900; it then follows the right-hand valley in *stanmeres hline* (xii) which probably means 'stony boundary bank' rather than 'stone pool hill' [73]. The name of this combe, now called The Leaf, would seem to have been *catdene* 'valley of the (wild) cat' and the boundary runs to its head: in this case *heafdan* (xiii) must certainly be taken as singular in meaning. The name Dean is now confined to the left-hand valley running up to Turville Heath.

The next section, *holemeres hline* (xiv), probably 'hollow boundary lynch' [74] appears to cover the whole of the boundary behind Stonor Park from 749 900 to 746 883, the triple boundary of Stonor, Hambleden and Fawley. There is a kink at 749 891 where Turville is left behind. From 751 896 there is a boundary path following the 625 ft. contour; the boundary is just on the Reading Beds which gave rise to the *feld*. It then plunges steeply down the stony hillside (*innan stan beorh* (xv); once again *stan* is more or less adjectival) between old quarries into the main valley, *assundene* (xviii), later Assenden, now misspelt Assendon, probably 'the valley of the ass' carrying burdens between *Radenore* and the Thames at Henley. The valley road is now the county boundary, and the points where the *Radenore* boundary enters and leaves it were marked by trees, respectively a 'small ash' (xvi, opposite what is now an old gravel pit) and a 'maple on the west side of Assenden' (xvii, xviii). For many centuries Assenden or Upper Assenden was the name of the township and Stonor that of the manor, but in 1896 the township ceased to be a detached hamlet of Pyrton and became civil parish, taking the name of Stonor [75]. It was united with Pishill in 1922 [76], and in 1931 Pishill-with-Stonor absorbed the

detached part of Watlington called Warmcombe [77]. These changes would appear to have restored the Anglo-Saxon boundaries of the woodland estate of *Radenore*.

The next bound, *edles pyt* (xix), was probably a cess-pit or addle-hole, perhaps receiving the drainage of a farmyard; **edel* is a likely variant of *adel(a)* 'filth', which glosses *cloaca*, the possessive referring to that which the pit receives or contains, rather than to a hypothetical owner unfortunate enough to be called **Ed(d)el* [78]. The boundary separating the Chiltern portion of *Radenore* on the right from Bix, Swyncombe and the detached woodlands of Britwell Prior on the left must be left to the historians of Oxfordshire [79], but the last section from *deopan hamsteal* (xxii; *deop* 'far down') northwards is relevant to our concerns. A magnificent boundary hedge climbs from Pishill Bottom to *hrem hryc* 'raven ridge' (xxiii) at 721 904. The 'foul slough' with the solitary apple tree (xxiv) is at 725 903 in the next combe, *sigor dene* 'victory valley' (xxv) which may imply that relations between Watlington and *Radenore* were not always peaceful. Possibly the Britons of the Stonor valley placed themselves under the protection of the latter when threatened by the former, so that Watlington secured only the unoccupied plateau. Thus the two estates took the form of a great chiasma, intercrossing at the head of *Englingadene* (i, xlix-l).

Badan dene 'Bada's valley' (xxvi) can be taken to run up from 723 909 to 715 921, and *clacces wadland* (xxvii) is to the north of this and west of Queen Wood, at a height of over 700 ft. There may well have been a noun **clacc* 'hilltop', giving the sense 'woad-land on the hilltop' with genitive construction; but usage in related languages suggests that **clacc* should mean 'peak', and the top of the Chilterns is decidedly flat. Hence it seems better to take *Clacc* as a personal name, from Norse *Klakk*; he could have grown woad in the high

Chilterns at any time after the treaty of Tidingford (906) which seems to have ended the rigid separation of English from Danish Mercia established by Alfred and Guthrum. Woad grows well when sward is first broken up, and Clacc probably resorted to paring and burning; this is said to be good practice where the sward is rough, as it destroys grubs more effectively than ploughing [80]. He chose a site where the Upper Chalk is overlaid by clay-with-flints. *Wad* is often combined with words meaning 'hill' (*hyll*, *beorg*, *dun*).

The boundary proceeds *into lufan mere* (xxviii), 'Lufa's pool' perhaps represented by a tiny pond at 716 927. Once again the importance of watering-places is reflected in the pool being shared between two vills. At 714 927 the boundary turns north, almost on the height of land, along a bank some yards east of the present Chiltern ridgeway road. (If *mere* were taken as *mære*, this could be 'Lufa's boundary'). Before Watlington Park was hedged in the 13th century [81] there must have been a fine prospect of open and fairly level grassland. After struggling for so long through woods and lanes, over a 'strong and clayish' woad-field and perhaps literally into the pool (this is the only *into* in these bounds) the surveyor and his companions emerge *þærut on þæne feld* (xxix) 'thereout into the open country' [82]. Their starting-point was on the edge of the *feld*, and now they return to it before beginning the circuit of Pyrton, which has been fully described in *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire*.

The opening clause of the unattached Pyrton bounds, *of clacces wadlande on clænan-dune* (xxx) *on grottes graf* (xxxi), seems to be a doublet of *in clacces wadland ... þær ut on þæne feld on grottes graf* in the charter bounds, leaving out Lufa's pool. Possibly these go back to alternative drafts by the original surveyor, since this is the one part of the route where *feld* and *dun* are both applicable. The land around Christmas Common is level enough to be called *feld*, but it is also on the

edge of the escarpment down which the boundary is about to plunge; hence *on clænan dune* 'on the clean down'. *Clæne* implies grass rather than heath or fern; thus Clanfield in Bampton hundred is *clæne feld*, open country free from thorns, fern, thistles and noxious weeds. The Chiltern downland would not long have retained this character unless grazed by sheep. The cattle from the villages under the hill went further into the *feld*; the pigs found pasture in the woods.

The charter bounds lack the final clause *and swa on englingadene fæc hit ær uparas* (1) 'and so to *Englingadene* where it (the boundary or the valley?) previously arose'. Perhaps this was too obvious to be included in the surveyor's original record, but when the text was edited the words were added for completeness. There are at least three analogous endings fairly close to this in time and place:

Witney 969 (Birch no. 1230, Sawyer no. 775): *eft on hnut clif ðær hit ær aras*.

Arncott 983 (Kemble no. 1279, Sawyer no. 843): *to ðan ealdan slæpe [ð]ær hit ær ongan*.

Little Haseley 1002 (Kemble no. 1296, Sawyer no. 902): *eft andlang roppan broces ðæt hit cimð on roppan ford ðær hit ær onfeng*.

The survival of variant texts of the *Radenore* bounds illustrates how a record made in the field could be redacted in the scriptorium, perhaps many years later; how a good text can be obscured by careless copying; and how 10th century topography, and even earlier conditions in the settlement period, can be retrieved.

Turville Village

The parish church and village of Turville are on the extreme edge of the parish; in fact the north side of the village street, with over half the houses, was until recently in the parish of Ibstone, and the old bed of the stream is still the Parliamentary boundary. It looks as if the settlement was established on a boundary

already too well determined to be readily changed; it may indeed go back far beyond the coming of the English, to the earliest settled farming in the high Chilterns. Turville village green and the adjoining churchyard may have originated as a convenient meeting-place for farmers from the whole valley and the heathland on both sides of it; and a mootstow may have been needed on the boundary of the privileged Turville estate. Another indication that something rather odd has happened is that Domesday Book [83] does not mention Turville by that name, but records the 5 hides held by Turbert before the Conquest and by Nigel Daubeney (Nigel de Albingi) afterwards by the name *Tilleberie* [84]. Mawer and Stenton considered that 'the scribe must have got hold of the wrong name. One cannot but think that somehow or other he has got it confused with the not very distant Tilbury of Tilbury Wood' [85]. On the contrary, if the name *Thyrefeld* did not originally relate to the brookside site in the valley, one can suggest that the village in fact originated as Tilla's *burh*, and that the district name was transferred to it in the 12th century when the incongruity of meaning was no longer apparent. The adjective *thyr(r)e* does not seem to have survived into early Middle English, though of course its cognates *thirst* and *thirsty* have remained in use.

Langley [86] said that Ecgrith's grant of 'Therfield' (i.e. Turville) 'included the rectory, which was very early appropriated'. In fact there seems to be no evidence of a parish church at Turville before the 12th century. Niel de Marston (or de Turville) gave it to St. Alban's Abbey [87], the gift being confirmed by Henry II, by Richard I in 1198 and by Edward I in 1301 [88]. The vicarage had been ordained by 1218 [89].

The *Tilleberie* entry in Domesday accounts for only 5 of the 10 hides assigned to *Thyrefeld*; it appears that the Turville St. Albans holding or claim was omitted. Yet there was land for 11 ploughs, of which 10 were there. There is no mention of meadow, and the woodland would

feed only 20 swine. On balance this does not seem to be a description of the whole parish. What probably happened is that St. Albans lost the estate during the Danish wars or the troubles which followed Edgar's death, and recovered only half of it – not the better half – leaving the new village to Tilla's successors. The resulting two manors are represented today by Turville Park, the manor house of Turville St. Albans, and Turville Court, nearer the church and village.

Abbefeld

North of Turville, Ibstone stands on a narrow ridge separating the Wormsley-Turville valley from another combe, now dry, running up from Fingest almost to Stokenchurch. There is a small capping of Reading Beds, pebble gravel and clay-with-flints, but the resulting Ibstone Common is too small to be called *feld*. To the north-east is a much larger section of the plateau, lying between the Fingest valley and the former headwaters of the Wye. The same deposits are found overlying the Upper Chalk, and there are still extensive commons at Cadmore End, Wheeler End, Bolter End (a Mesolithic site), Lane End (Ditchfield Common) and Moor End. What is said by Sheahan of the first-named is true of all: 'water is scarce here' [90]. Probably the clearance of the forest cover and the resulting degradation of the soil of the heathlands goes back to Neolithic times, and on these infertile soils forest clearance is all but irreversible. The whole tract therefore qualified for the name *feld*, and there is good evidence that in the settlement period it was *Æbbanfeld* 'Æbba's open country'. The name *Æbba* is not found after the 9th century, but English settlement on the high moors had probably begun by then. In an important article in 1949, Dr. A. Morley Davies [91] identified 'Abefeld' with a detached part of the parish of Lewknor [92]. Since then Mary Lobel and Hester Jenkins have collected other references in the *Victoria County History of Oxfordshire*, [93] some of which make it clear that the name had a wider application. The Lewknor portion, which is on the largest spread of pebble gravel in the

Chilterns, is called *Old Abbefeld* in 1284 [94]; it was probably the primary settlement on the waste, needing no clearance.

According to the Abingdon Chronicle, *Abbefeld* was held by that Abbey before the Danish invasions, but was lost to the Danes and not recovered until c.1106, when Nigel d'Oilly granted it to the Abbey [95]. This has to be reconciled with the statement in the same Chronicle that the Danish thegn Novitovi (presumably the Tovi who held part of Ibstone before the Conquest) restored Lewknor and its members to Abingdon, one of the members being the detached part which Morley Davies identified as 'Abefeld'. The solution is that the grant in c.1106 related, not to land in Lewknor, but to other land, which when held by the de Scaccario family became Chequers or Little Abbefeld in Stokenchurch [96]. Indeed it seems likely that the Abbey derived its title to all the moorlands round Cadmore End from this grant. The estate called Moor was in the uplands in or near *Abbefeld* [97], and the name Moorcourt survives as that of the trust estate for the Codrington library at All Souls College. The county boundary must have been well defined (it is no doubt Cada's *mære*, though in Cadmore End the second element has been replaced by *mor*) but the intermixture of holdings led to disputes over pasture rights on what were then the Oxfordshire moors [98] until the agreement of 1254 by which the Abbot's men of *Abbefeld* and of Plumbridge in Ibstone were to have common pasture on the lord of Aston's moor of *Abbefeld* (was this Great Abbefeld?).

The conclusion is that *Abbefeld* was the name given to a great expanse of heathland including the detached part of Lewknor but extending at least into Stokenchurch and Aston Rowant. It did not become a parish or manor, and the last reference so far noted is in 1428 [99]. The name was then still trisyllabic; no doubt it would have developed to **Abfield*, which is given as the modern form in *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire*, but this form has not been found. The place of

Abbefeld as a member of Lewknor is taken in the 15th century by Cadmore End, which became one of the townships summoned to the three-weekly hundred court held at Lewknor [100].

The scattered moorland farms had their own chapel at Ackhampstead, a smaller detached part of Lewknor, which seems to have been an unnamed half-hide of waste in the King's hands in 1086 [101]. Lewknor itself appears to have had no church in 1146, when Pope Eugenius III confirmed Abingdon in possession; its parish church was probably built soon after by Ansgar, a clerk of Lewknor who obtained Ackhampstead by a good bargain with Abbot Ingulf [102], and may also have founded the Moor Chapel. During the 13th century mass was said there every Sunday; it was licensed for all sacraments, and in 1686, as the church of St. Mary le Moor, it had its own churchwardens [103]. It was dismantled in 1849 and replaced in 1851 by a church of the same dedication more conveniently situated at Cadmore End, the old materials being used [104]. The ecclesiastical parish which was then constituted could well have been called Abfield, but that name had been completely forgotten, and the name chosen was Lewknor Uphill [105]; this has not survived in usage, since the change in the county boundary in 1896 brought the whole area into Buckinghamshire.

Other Feld-names in the Chiltern Hills

Most of the other South Bucks names including the element *feld* are minor place-names of later origin, when the word had changed its meaning. Beaconsfield (*beacnesfeld*) could be fairly early; the plateau here consists of Reading Beds overlying the chalk and themselves overlaid by glacial gravels with Bunter pebbles. The 'beacon' could well have been some landmark on the waste, a kind of land-lighthouse to guide travellers. However, the name is not recorded until the 12th century, so that its relevance to the sense of *feld* in the settlement period is uncertain.

In the Oxfordshire Chilterns, Rotherfield, *Redrefeld* in Domesday, is 'open land grazed by cattle (*hryðer*)', a large expanse of plateau gravel. In Binfield (Heath), recorded from 1176, the first element is probably *beonet* 'bent grass'; alternatively, it may possibly be *Beonan feld* 'Beona's feld' in Birch no. 1123 (Sawyer no. 722), dated 963. In any case that name provides an analogue to *Abbefeld*. Nuffield, formerly Tuffield, is on record from c.1180; the first element may be *hoh* 'hill-spur' (Ekwall) or *toh* 'tough' (Smith). Nuffield church stands on a cap of the Reading Beds, and the common is a heath on clay-with-flints. No other names with second element *feld* appear to be evidenced before the late 13th century.

In Hertfordshire there are four *feld*-names evidenced in Domesday or earlier. Therfield has already been discussed, the dry open country being Therfield Heath. Hatfield is *Haethfelth* in Bede, *on Hæðfelda* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle s.a.680; the elements *hæð* and *feld* are combined, but in the Chilterns they must have been almost synonymous; Wycombe Heath before its 19th century enclosure was a large tract of waste which could equally have been called *feld*. The charter which precedes the Turville grant in the cartulary relates to 5 hides at *Pinnelesfeld*; the name survives as Pinesfield in Rickmansworth, though Sawyer gives the bad 18th-century form Pinchfield; the later forms would suggest Pinna, of which Pinnel would be a diminutive. Bramfield is a parish and Domesday manor; the usual medieval form is *Brant(e)feld(e)*, and the meaning 'steep open land' implies some shift in the sense of *feld*; it no longer denoted a large area. In the Vale of Aylesbury it came to mean the common field, but in the Chilterns any parcel of arable land was a field; the term was rarely applied to permanent grassland until well into the 19th century. The word which *sermone barbarico* had meant a wide open space of uncultivated land such as Turville Heath, or rather the Watlington Heath of which it formed part, has come to mean a close of cultivated or at least improved farmland.

REFERENCES

1. Browne Willis, MSS in Bodleian Library, cited by T. Langley, *Hist. & Antiq. of the Hundred of Desborough* (1797) p. 384.
2. Langley, *op. cit.*, who doubted whether Willis was right in considering the St. Albans holding the chief manor of Turville.
3. G. Lipscomb, *Hist. & Antiq. of the County of Buckingham* (1847) iii. 629.
4. *V. C. H. Buckinghamshire* (1925) iii. 103, citing Cott. MS. Nero Dvii, fol. 4b; i. fol. 148b; Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.) vi. 10.
5. A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire*, (Cambridge, 1925) 196.
6. Bjorkman, *Nordische Personennamen* 164.
7. Mawer and Stenton, *op. cit.* 176, 180, 183 and Introd. xvii.
8. J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire* (Cambridge, 1938) 166.
9. A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements I* (Cambridge, 1956) 168.
10. A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements II* (Cambridge, 1956) 223.
11. Bodleian, Eng. hist. a.2, no. VII; N. Price, *The Charter of Oxhey* (1897); P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (R. Hist. Soc. 1968), no. 916.
12. Sawyer, *op. cit.* no. 1497.
13. Sawyer, nos. 136, 138, 151, 150, 888, 912, 900, 220, 1235, 1425, 1532, 1517, 1228.
14. Sawyer, no. 138.
15. Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, i. 356.
16. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Ser.) 316.
17. Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maji.* 358; *V. C. H. Hertfordshire* (1914) iv. 368n. 21.
18. *V. C. H. Herts* (1914) iv. 367
19. The identity of the manse with the hide is implied by the will of King Æthelwulf ('decem hidis vel mansionibus' (v. l. manentibus)); *V. C. H. Herts* iv. 368n. 14.
20. Dom. Bk. fol. 160b.
21. A. S. Chron. (D), 'on.iiii. k. Agst'. The date in the E-text is wrong. The A-text has no date and gives the year as 794; this misled Langley and Lipscomb.
22. C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1899) ii. 63; *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, ed. Jaffé and Wattenbach, 350, 353.
23. *Gesta Abbat. Mon. S. Albani* (Rolls Ser.) i. 7.
24. Sawyer, no. 151.
25. W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 281.
26. *V. C. H. Herts* iv. 368 n. 13.
27. Sawyer, *op. cit.* p. 109.
28. *V. C. H. Bucks* (1925) iii. 103.
29. Mawer and Stenton, *op. cit.* 196.
30. *Liber Psalmorum ... e cod. MS. in Bibl. Regis Parisiensi*, ed. B. Thorpe (1835).
31. Cockayne, *Narratiunculae* 20. 10 and references in Bosworth-Toller *A.S. Dict.*
32. A. Morley Davies, *Buckinghamshire* (Cambridge, 1912) 17, 18.
33. Geological Survey, sheet 254 (drift).
34. M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire* (1953) i. 96, citing an Oseney deed.
35. The seventeenth-century parish records of Watlington indicate that Greenfield then had a separate overseer and was separately rated.
36. *V. C. H. Oxfordshire* (1964) viii. 222.
37. 49 Geo. III c. 128 (a private Act)
38. Gelling, *op. cit.* i. 94.
39. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* I, c. 7.
40. Birch, *op. cit.* no. 297; R. H. Hodgkin, *Hist. Anglo-Saxons* (3rd edn., 1952) ii. 389 and plate 53 (photograph of Harleian MS. 3271 fol. 6v)
41. *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser. xxi (1971) 133-157.
42. Their neighbours may have been the Hendrica of the Tribal Hidage, emendable to Hindringas 'the people dwelling behind' the Chiltern range, as seen from the lower Thames valley.
43. Gelling, *op. cit.* i, p. xix.

43. Gelling, *op. cit.* i, p.xix.
44. *V. C. H. Oxon.* viii, 157.
45. P.R.O., CP/40/429/424.
46. (to) *Pirigtune* 987 Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, no. 661; *To peritun*, marginal note (11th century) in Cott. Tiberius A xiii, fol. 32b.
- 46a. R. Forsberg, *Nomina Germanica 9: A Contribution to a Dictionary of Old English Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1950) App. A., p. 201.
47. Birch, no. 216; Sawyer, no. 104.
48. F. M. Stenton, *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxxiii, 449n.
49. F. M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955) 74 n.1.
50. Birch, no. 547; Sawyer, no. 217.
51. *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1723) I. 71–2.
52. Cf. Birch, no. 682 (Sawyer, no. 411) in which a south-eastern extension of Farnborough (Berks), connected to the main area by a narrow strip, is surveyed as a separate area of woodland.
53. *V. C. H. Bucks.* ii, 132.
54. Working paper circulated at B. A. S. perambulation of Bernwood Forest on 8 August 1981.
55. Hearne reads 'steapancolles seyð'.
- 55a. Hearne reads 'seydde'.
56. Gelling reads or emends to 'grenanwege'.
57. *de* interlined; thus read by E. Tengstrand, *A Contribution to the Study of Genitival Composition in Old English Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1940) 214. Hearne read the letters above the line as *er*.
58. The scribe has forgotten to supply the correct inflexion.
59. Emend to *innan þæne smalan æsc, of þon smalan æsce*.
60. Hearne reads *ansumen dene*.
61. Hearne reads *me les wyrte* (for *pyrte*) with *witce* (for *pitce*) interlined. These readings are possible, but it seems better to credit the scribe with sense rather than nonsense. Tengstrand, *op. cit.* 48 n. 1, reads *wyrte* for *pyrte*; he could see part of the missing *d* in *e(d)les*.
62. The scribe has forgotten to insert & of *deopanhamsteale*.
63. Emend to *on þone fulan slo, stand aň apel dre ofer*. (cf. M. Gelling, *op. cit.* i. 88 n.5, which is to be preferred to the suggestion in the text); *aň* is to be taken as *ane*, since *dre* (for *tre(ow)* 'tree') is neuter. As *an* is declined weak, it probably means 'alone' not simply 'one'. Hence the translation is 'into the foul slough, above which stands a solitary apple tree'.
64. Emend to *on þæne*.
65. Hearne reads *eglingadene*.
66. A. H. J. Baines, 'The Olney Charter of 979', *Recs. Bucks* (1979) xxi, 154–184, at p. 174.
67. F. Emery, *The Oxfordshire Landscape* (1974) 66.
68. Tengstrand, *op. cit.*, 269. 'Shed' is not likely to be a common element in place-names, but it might occur if the shed were isolated and prominent, and may explain Denshott in Surrey, *Duneschedde* in 1241.
69. Tengstrand, *op. cit.*, 217.
70. Tengstrand, *op. cit.*, 234.
71. Confusion between *mere* and *mære* is less likely to occur in earlier charters. Thus in the Wotton Underwood grant of 845 (Sawyer no. 204), written in the local vernacular, the long vowel $\bar{æ}$ is consistently spelt $\bar{æ}$, so that *Eanburge mere* must be taken as 'Eanburh's pool'.
72. *Mære* and *hline* survive in local usage; in 1714 a half acre was described as 'lying on lynchies between two meer balks' (*V. C. H. Oxon*, viii, 229 n. 58, citing Bodleian MS. Rolls Oxon. 110).
73. Tengstrand, *op. cit.* 235, takes *stanmere* as 'the stony pool'.
74. Tengstrand, *op. cit.*, 235, renders *holemere* as 'the hollow, i.e. deeply excavated, pool'. There is no indication of such a pool, and on our hypothesis

- the surveyor is still using linear features to define the boundary.
75. Co. Oxon. Confirmation Order (1896) Loc. Govt. Bd. 34646.
 76. Co. Oxon. Confirmation Order (1922) Min. of Health 67810.
 77. *V. C. H. Oxon.* viii. 131.
Warmscombe appears in the 1279 Hundred Rolls as a hamlet of Watlington: *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Comm.) ii. 812–9. In 1662 it had only three houses.
 78. Tengstrand, *op. cit.*, citing H. Middendorff, *Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch* (Halle, 1902) 43; R. E. Zachrisson, *Studia Neophilologica* vi, 157.
 79. In *Saxon Oxfordshire* (1933), 43–52, Dr. G. B. Grundy identified the southern part of *Radenore* with Pishill, Stonor and Warmscombe. He thought that the estate included Watlington, perhaps Swyncombe and even Shirburn, but not Pyrton. Dr. W. O. Hassall, however, pointed out in *Oxoniensa* xix (1954), 89, that this was invalidated by the gloss *id est pirit* in Heming I, and by the Pyrton estate maps then recently deposited in the Bodleian Library. The suggestions in *V. C. H. Oxon.* viii, 131, 139 are *prima facie* unacceptable, as involving an anti-clockwise perambulation. The division of Pishill into two manors looks like an eleventh-century arrangement. Identification of charter bounds is difficult in a forested area, where many bounds are descriptions rather than formal place-names, and the rate of survival of minor place names is low. Dr. Grundy considered that 'the extensive woodland of the Chilterns of modern times has been to at least a large extent artificially created', but this is inconsistent with the heading in Heming I, and with much other evidence.
Dragmæres hlinc is discussed at length by Tengstrand, *op. cit.* 231–4, but inconclusively. Taking *mæres hlinc* as 'boundary bank' and the first element as **dragu* 'a place where something is drawn' the likely sense is 'the boundary lynch along which timber is dragged (into the Stonor Valley)'. *Rugan wic* probably refers to farm-buildings on rough grazing.
 80. J. C. Loudon, *Encycl. Agric.*, 8th edn., 920–1.
 81. *Earldom of Cornwall Accounts*, Cam. Soc., 3rd ser. xvi. 87.
 82. There is an analogue in a charter of 996 (Kemble no. 1292, Sawyer no. 887) relating to *Bysingtun land*, another Oxfordshire estate with detached woodland: *ðanon on hageweg ut on ðæne feld; and swa þwyres ofer fernfeld* '... out into the *feld*, and so athwart (transversely) over the fern-covered *feld*'.
 83. D. B. fol. 151b.
 84. Identification from feudal evidence by J. H. Round in *V. C. H. Bucks* i. 268 n. 4. Langley, following Browne Willis, had identified *Tilleberie* with Brand's Fee in Hughenden (*Hist. Antiq. Hundred of Desborough*, 295).
 85. Mawer and Stenton, *op. cit.*, 196.
 86. Langley, *op. cit.*, 196.
 86. Langley, *op. cit.*, 384.
 87. Cott. MS. Nero D vii, fol. 95.
 88. *V. C. H. Bucks* iii. 105 n. 29; Chart. R. 29 Edw. I m. 4 recites the earlier charters.
 89. Gibbons, *Liber Antiquus*, 17.
 90. J. J. Sheahan, *Hist. and Topog. of Buckinghamshire*, (1862) 884.
 91. A. Morley Davies, 'Abefeld and Ackhamstead: Two Lost Places', *Records of Bucks.* (1949) xv. 166–177.
 92. Lewknor det. no. 2: O.S. 25-inch map li.2, no. 2.
 93. *V. C. H. Oxon.* viii. 100–104, 107, 109.
 94. *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii. 317, 348.
 95. *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.) ii. 110, 288, 309.
 96. *V. C. H. Oxon.* viii. 104.
 97. *V. C. H. Oxon.* viii. 101–2; cf. *V. C. H. Bucks* iii. 68.
 98. *Cal. Pat. R.* 1225–32, 222.

99. *Feudal Aids* ii. 193.
100. *V. C. H. Oxon.* viii. 5 n. 41.
101. Suggestion by H. E. Salter;
V. C. H. Oxon. i. 401.
102. *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon* ii. 115–16.
103. *V. C. H. Oxon.* viii. 111 n. 52.
104. Sheahan, *op. cit.*, 884.
105. Kelly's Directories for 1928 and 1931 call the ecclesiastical parish Cadmore End with Lewknor-Up-Hill and note that the baptismal register was taken over from the old church of St. Mary le Moor.