# Examine the value of place-names as evidence for the history, landscape and language(s) of your chosen area.

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## Introduction

This corpus contains place-names from the central and eastern portion of Buckinghamshire. These place-names fossilize certain details about the historical background and landscape of the area, seeming to suggest that settlers included those of Pre-Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Saxon and Norman descent.

## The Settlers

*Pre-Anglo-Saxon*

In England, the earliest place- and river-names for which etymologies can be suggested are those of British origin; though Cameron acknowledges that some names may contain earlier elements, appearing to be neither Anglo-Saxon, nor Scandinavian, nor Celtic (1961: 33). Baker suggests that in such cases, the place-name refers to a topographical feature so prominent that they continue to be used past the time that the language that they preserve dies out. Furthermore, he suggests that for these place-names to have survived, OE speakers



The River Thame
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/erichardyuk/8481932809/in/set-72157624937191528/> [accessed 07/01/14)]



Wendover stream [taken on 26/12/13]

and the native population must have either lived side-by-side, or alternatively, further apart, but with prolonged contact, due to trade, for instance (2006: 138). One such river-name that fossilises a pre-Brittonic, or Brittonic element, is the River Thame, a name which alludes to its dark waters.

In contrast, Wendover, of Brittonic origin, means 'white waters', and presumably referred to the chalky streams that flow from the Chiltern Hills and through the settlement area. However, 'Wendover' only survives as a place-name in written documents; potentially signifying that the streams were less important than the locality through which they flowed (Baker, 2006: 159). However, it is also possible that the Anglo-Saxon settlers did not fully comprehend the Brittonic-speaking people and presumed them to be labelling the location, rather than the stream. Ekwall has tried to refute this argument, proposing that the earlier Anglo-Saxon settlers *did* understand, as *Wændofran*

preserves the Brittonic plural inflection (1928: 29-30).



View of Bow Brickhill [taken on 26/12/13]

To the north of the region, Brickhill translates as 'hill-hill'. It is a Brittonic/OE tautological hybrid and raises similar questions regarding comprehension. It seems plausible that the OE speakers believed *brig* to be a specific name, rather than the topographical feature itself. However, a second suggestion is that the toponyms were understood, and the Anglo-Saxons used them as simplex place-names. Nonetheless, at some later point, the meaning was forgotten and the tautological generic element *hill* was added (Baker, 2006: 159).

Such discussion raises the widely contested question of a surviving British population after the Anglo-Saxon conquest. Certainly, scholars in the past have reflected on the two instances of Walton in Buckinghamshire, proposing that they employed the specific element *weala*, a name given by the Anglo-Saxons to denote land inhabited by a surviving Brittonic group. However, one should note the absence of the medial -e- in the earliest forms of both Waltons. This -e- is usually observed when the origin is *weala*, suggesting that the origin of these examples, may instead be *weald* 'wood', or *weall* 'wall' (Ekwall, 1960: 430). Nonetheless, due to the nature of place-names, which are often recorded much later than their formation, one can never refute the possibility of a different origin.
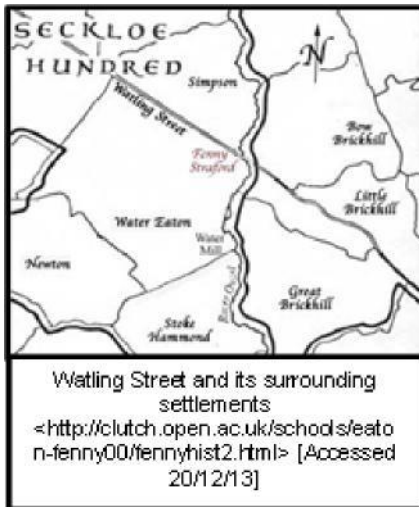


Watling Street and its surrounding settlements <http://clutch.open.ac.uk/schools/eaton-fenny00/fennyhist2.html> [Accessed 20/12/13]

It should perhaps not go unrecognised that both Waltons in the study area are situated by Romano-British sites (Mawer & Stenton, 1925: 39). Therefore, one could speculate that these sites may have shared a similar quality, such as a distinctive wall, thus giving a translation 'walled-farmstead'. Indeed, directly to the north of Walton is Bow Brickhill, thought to have been the probable site of the Roman town *Magiovinium*; archaeological discoveries made in the area seem to suggest this (Baker, 2006). Place-names certainly indicate that there was once Roman settlement in the area; Fenny Stratford receives the *strat-* part of its name from its situation on the Roman Road of Watling Street.

*The Anglo-Saxon Settlers*

What is strikingly evident is that the Anglo-Saxon stratum of names is dominant in this area. Indeed, Mills notes that it is in OE that the great majority of place-names (apart from those in Cornwall) were coined (Mills, 2011: xv). Due to the large body of names that arise in this period, they will later be addressed under sub-categories.

*Norman Influence*

Within the given area, one may consider at least three types of Norman influence following the 1066 conquest. Firstly, Norman scribes attached Medieval Latin affixes to some place-names: *Magna* and *Parua Brikehille* were recorded in 1198 and, similarly, Chenebelle Parva 1086 and Magna Kynebell c.1218. These Latinate elements were, however, later translated into the modern forms Great and Little.

Secondly, manorial affixes indicate the presence of Norman aristocracy and landowners, such as the *de Passelewe* family of Drayton Parslow, *Hamon*, descendant of the DB land holder of Stoke Hammond, and the affixation of Newton Longville, that signals its 12th century possession by the church of St Faith of Longueville in France. These villages were grouped in the north of the region, though a second grouping of Anglo-Norman affixes can be seen further south. The manors include those of the *de Turville, de Clinton* and *de Mandeville* families.

As recognised in Newton Longville, Christian institutions often acquired land, and this trend is marked in affixation of Aston Abbots, indicating the manor that was held by the Abbotts of St Albans. In fact, the Church had held lands before the Norman Conquest. The late affixation of Monks Risborough documented the pre-Conquest possession by Christ Church, Canterbury (Mawer & Stenton, 1925: 171). The 'White Leaf Cross' that is cut into the chalk hill above the village seems to commemorate this possession. The neighbouring village of Princes Risborough seems to reference the same brushwood-covered hill, while its affix indicates a royal land holder, the 14th century 'Black Prince'.



White Leaf Hill of Risborough

<http://www.hows.org.uk/personal/hillfigs/whitelea/whitele.htm> [Accessed 28/12/13]

It has been argued that the French-speaking settlers had difficulty pronouncing some English place-names, like Linslade, and as such some changes in pronunciation were attributed to these Frenchmen (Mawer & Stenton, 1925: xviii). Indeed, some pronunciations naturally change over time; in the Middle English period, there was a widespread 'weakening' that affected pronunciation, typically to make articulation easier. It was via this process that the initial h was lost in the onset cluster /hl/ that is present in the 966 record Hlincgelad (Denison, 2011: 217). Furthermore, Middle English vowel simplification via reduction in unstressed syllables, such as the medial -e- that was intermittently present in records of Linslade (Hlincgelad, Linchelade) was also the probable cause of sound change (Daugherty & Seidenberg, 1992: 267). However, it is likely to have been the development of /tʃ/ to /s/ that Mawer and Stenton were discussing in relation to Linslade. Clark, however, would question this suggestion, acknowledging that while the French do not possess the sound /tʃ/ in their native lexical material, 'they seem to encompass the sound quite adequately when it occurs' (1995: 149). She also acknowledges that following the mid-13th century, in Anglo-Norman the later reflex of /tʃ/ was regularly /ʃ/ not /s/, which is the sound change that Linchelade underwent to become Linslade. Regardless, caution must be employed when discussing any such phenomenon; Clark did not intend to completely refute the impact of Anglo-Norman speakers on the pronunciation of English place-names, but merely suggested that such a reason was not adopted to explain *every* occurrence of an apparently aberrant development (1995: 150). One may propose that the change in pronunciation naturally occurred because the production of the alveolar fricative /s/ of Linslade required less manipulation of the jaw and lips to articulate in this medial position than the original palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/.

**The Dominant Anglo-Saxon Stratum**

Place-names reveal a great deal more about the people who settled on the land than their nationality. They are essentially descriptive labels and therefore indicate aspects of a

place that were considered important to the people who named them. This section will explore the landscape of the Anglo-Saxons in this area, seeking to draw some conclusions on what these people considered to be of importance.

*Personal Names*

Stenton notes that 'from the earliest times, personal names have played a great part in the creation of English place-names' (1970: 84). Indeed, a large portion of the place-names within the corpus contain personal names, denoting a historical association of a place with a particular figure. For instance, Aylesbury was 'the stronghold of *Ægel'. There are a number of known personal names that are referenced within these place-names: Bolla (Brickhill), Blæcca (Bletchley), Dunn(a) (Dinton), Dud(d)a or Dod(d)a (Dunton), Ūfa (Oving), and scholars entertain the possibility of others, such as Horsa (Horsenden), Picca (Pitchcott) Cwēna (Quainton) and Sula (Soulbury). However, some of the place-names of the given area are even more special, fossilising personal names that would otherwise have gone *unrecorded, such as *Weott (Waddesdon), *Myrsa (Mursley), *Hogg (Hoggeston), *Cubbel (Cublington) and potentially *Sandhere (Saunderton) and *Wiwa (Wing & Wingrave).

Place-names that contain a personal name followed by the *-ingas* suffix are likely to have been established in the earlier period of Anglo-Saxon settlement; Gelling calls this 'the colonizing phase' (1997: 112). This suffix seems to have been used to represent a group who 'depended on a common leader and lived together in a particular location or territory' (Lapidge, Blair & Scragg, 2013: 257). There are three instances of *-ingas* settlements within the corpus: Oving, Wing and Wingrave.

Place-names containing the *-ing* suffix suggest a more direct link between the person and location they describe. Within the given area there are three certain and one other potential instance of this suffix: Dinton, Dunton, Cublington and perhaps Quainton, if one is to accept the translation Cwēna+ing+tūn. In each case, it is likely that they would have resided in their respective estates. Indeed, the element arguably suggests some level of authority, or responsibility in the given area.



Saunderton
http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3
6952 [Accessed 02/01/14]

Some place-names are far harder to translate; one of the most disputed is Saunderton. Ekwall suggests the verb *sængan* is clearly apparent in *Santesdune* (1086) (1960: 405), though his reasoning is unknown, for the velar /g/ and alveolar /t/ are markedly different and thus this sound change would be significant. Watts suggests a combination of the elements *Sand-hrīs*, in the disputed first element, to give the translation 'sandy-brushwood-hill.' The phonology here is more consist with what one would expect if a name underwent change, for the /d/ and /t/ are a dental fricative pair, the only difference being that the first is voiced and the second, voiceless. It is also not uncommon for part of a word to be contracted, as would have had to have happened with the first part of *hrīs*. This definition appeals more, as you can see that the hill is covered with brushwood, something that is regionally appropriate and has given its neighbour the name 'Risborough'. The *sand* part meets more critique, as the EPNS note that 'Saunderton is on the chalk and local enquiry shows that there is no trace of those patches of sand which sometimes gets on top of chalk' (1967: 36). However, Gelling contradicts this, saying that Mr Head has located a spread of sand on Lodge Hill (1997: 171).

There is one further suggestion, which is arguably the most logical, and that is '*Sandhere's-dūn*' (Mawer & Stenton, 1925: 193). The difficulty here is that there is no evidence of an English example of the dithematic personal name *Sandhere*. Moreover, the

prototheme *Sand-* does not seem to have been employed in OE personal nomenclature. What is interesting, however, is that *Sand*-names are common on the continent, including such examples as *Sandheri*. Thus, there are two possibilities if this argument is to be considered: that it could be an uncommon record of an OE name, or that the land was acquired by an immigrant from the continent (Mawer & Stenton, 1925: xix). The reason for favouring this as an explanation is the existence of what appears to be a genitive singular *-es* following the dithematic name Sandhere, denoting a sense of belonging. This would certainly not be the first place-name of this type within the area; Hoggeston, which is further to the north, was first recorded as Hochestone, also retaining the medial genitive singular inflection on the monothematic name Hogg*.

*Settlement*

There are several names that denote especially interesting features regarding settlement within the Anglo-Saxon period. The first is Quainton, for it does not matter which translation you accept; either way, the place-name demonstrates a rare instance of a woman holding land in the area. Hulcott is of a rather different nature, though it is arguably as interesting, for the place-name seems to criticise the appearance of the 'hovel-like' cottages in the area. The cottages seem to be something of a marked obscurity in the landscape, perhaps of a peasant population, though clearly these are speculations. The third is Pitchcott, which shares the same generic element and may translate as 'Cottages of *Pīcca*'. Indeed, if this is the correct translation, it raises the question of whether this is the very same *Pīcel* (the diminutive form of *Pīc*) of *Pichelsthorne* (Pitstone), located on the Eastern border.

Furthermore, the place-names of the area reveal a few other details regarding the historic, artificial landscape of the area. Aylesbury, Bierton and Soulbury each signify the presence of a fortification in the area. It is curious that each holds a position that is very close, if not *on*, the easterly border. One may deduce from this that there was an Easterly threat to the Saxons of this area and that the fortifications were built to defend the area should any invasion occur.

*Administration*

Within the place-names of the corpus, evidence of an organised society is evident. Place-names such as Stone seem to record one of the many meeting places within the area. It was presumably marked by the presence of some prominent stones, though no one has been able to locate the site within the current landscape. This location would have been the meeting point of the Stone Hundred, though Mawer and Stenton also accept the possibility of stones being used as some kind of boundary marker (1925: 165). Indeed, soon after the Anglo-Saxons arrived, they implemented the Germanic hundred system and created administrative boundaries. One such instance of a place-name that seems to make reference to these boundaries is Halton, with the fitting translation, 'farmstead in a nook or corner of land'. Mawer and Stenton discuss the possibility of this being a reference to its geographic location in 'a sandy track on the side of the Chiltern Hills' (1925:162); however, this definition seemed problematic upon visiting the site, for this was not a distinguishing feature of that village and such a view of the Chilterns is visible from locations outside of Halton. Instead, one may propose that the element *halh*, nook, relates instead to its administrative boundaries. Indeed, Halton falls within a detached part of the Stone Hundred, its surrounding boundaries being places within the Aylesbury Hundred.

*Religion*

When the Anglo-Saxons arrived, they brought with them their own pagan traditions, though they did later convert to Christianity. Religion was evidently important to the Anglo-

Saxons and place-names have gone some way in preserving their traditions and beliefs. Scholars have speculated about the nature of Wing and Wingrave, suggesting that the place-names may translate as '(grove of) the devotees of a heathen temple'. Slightly to the South-east of this location, Whitchurch records the existence of an early Christian place of worship.
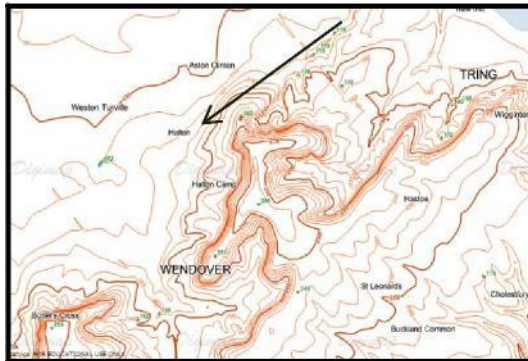


**Halton**
**OS Digi Map (Accessed 02/01/14)**



**Halton**
**Mawer & Stenton, 1925: Map of the Hundreds**

*Farming and Labour*

The Germanic hundred system that the Saxons introduced to the area required each hundred to have enough land (a hundred fields) to sustain a hundred households (Hagger 2012:46). Indeed, one only needs to look at the place-names within the area to realise the importance of farming for the Anglo-Saxon settlers. The large number of *-tun* names is certainly suggestive of an area that was heavily dependent on farming. Bierton was the 'farmstead near the stronghold', a reference to the fortification in the neighbouring town of Aylesbury. The farmstead at Drayton Parslow has a specific element that suggests that the sloped landscape was used for dragging down loads. Furthermore, Hoggeston was likely a pig farm; Harwick, a farm for livestock; and Ellesborough, a hill where asses were pastured. Other such evidence of farming in the given area comes from names such as Quarrendon, which denotes a mill on a hill. The Anglo-Saxons were clearly not new to farming, and recognised that some sites were more suitable than others. One such requirement was the presence of water.

**Topographical Features**
*Water*

Places within the given area are frequently named for their proximity to water, demonstrating the important relationship that the Anglo-Saxons had with the land. One has already mentioned the white waters of Wendover, and the River Ouzel, which flows through Fenny Stratford, giving the land a marshy quality. Marshland is also reflected in North and Fleet Marston, with the latter reflecting its point on the stream. It is not surprising that the villages of Marston contain the *–tūn* element farm, as they make prime spots for raising livestock. One further example of water is Hartwell, which indicates the presence of a spring or stream.



**Linslade**
<http://www.bedfordshire.gov.uk/CommunityAndLiving/ArchivesAndRecordOffice/CommunityArchives/Linslade/TheCommunityOfLinsladeInGeneral.aspx>
[Accessed 03/01/14]

In the examples thus far, the denotation of water seems to have been for the purpose of marking good settlement areas. Linslade, however, seems to issue more of a warning should anyone wish to cross the River Ouzel at this location. Reed reflects on the advantage of such place-names, as they provide details regarding the 'way in which the communication
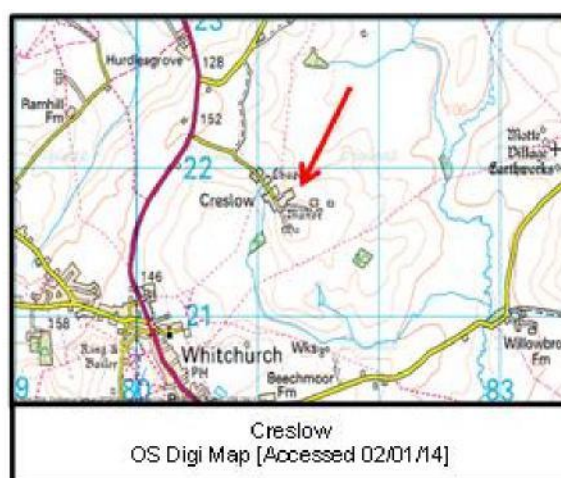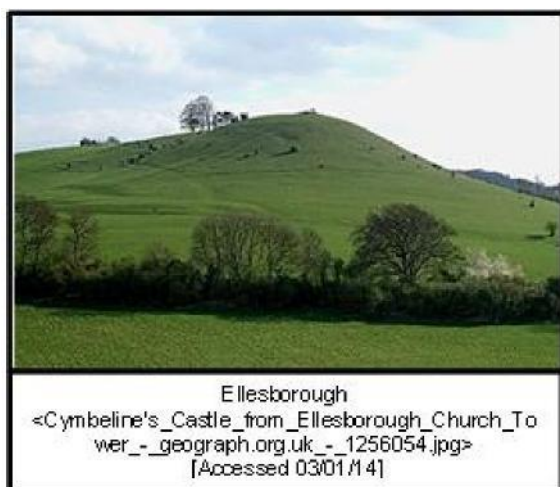
network was furnished by the English'. He compares Linslade with Fenny Stratford, noting that *ford* denotes a river crossing made by foot, for instance some kind of bridge (1993: 102). This certainly goes some way in reflecting how valuable place-names were for the Anglo-Saxons.

*Woodland*

      One of the more common categories that Anglo-Saxon place-names describe is that of woodland, thus suggesting that it was one of the most important topographical features. Forests are an obvious geographical marker, though only if it is not an especially common feature elsewhere in the landscape. Furthermore, the Anglo-Saxons could have sourced wood at such locations; however, one must also acknowledge, given the evident importance of farming in the Anglo-Saxon period, that forests also occupy a space that prevents farming in that area. As such, it is interesting then that there are three instances of *lēah*, a term that Gelling suggests was, at a later point, most associated with clearings (1984: 198). This sense of the word is especially likely where personal names are attached to the location in such cases as Bletchley and Mursley, for it suggests that the area was habitative. Furthermore, 'clearing' is a given translation in the instance of 'Stewkley', as the specific element tells us that it is tree stumps, and not trees that we would have found in that location.

*Hills*

      Hills have long shaped the landscape of the given area, as they are largely unchangeable, and it is for this reason that Gelling has maintained that topographical features (and not habitative features) should be considered the earliest layer of settlement names (1984: 6). Indeed, hills seemed to serve as points of reference to the Anglo-Saxons, who had a very extensive vocabulary to hills or rising ground. The *dūn* element, as recorded in Waddesdon, tends to denote flat-topped hills that are suitable for village-sites (Gelling, 1984: 142). In the image one can just about see the existence of a hill fitting Gelling's description.



Waddesdon
<http://www.petes-walks.co.uk/Swan's%20Way/swy_day_5/swy_day_5.htm> [Accessed 03/01/14]



Ellesborough
<Cymbeline's_Castle_from_Ellesborough_Church_Tower_-_geograph.org.uk_-_1256054.jpg>
[Accessed 03/01/14]



Creslow
OS Digi Map [Accessed 02/01/14]

      In Ellesborough, it is the distinctively shaped beacon that gives the settlement its name. The place-name contains the specific element *beorg*, which signifies a barrow-shaped

hill; one would propose that Ellesborough beacon is a beautiful example of this (Gelling, 1984: 127).

Gelling gives a similar translation of *hlaw* to *beorg*, suggesting that both frequently denote tumuli (1984: 127; 162) With further inspection Gelling also suggests that *hlaw* hills may reveal themselves to be those with a 'smoothly rounded profile' (1984: 162). One single instance of *hlaw* (Creslow) occurs in the corpus. The hill to which this seems to refer is notably small and not significantly steep, but nonetheless an irregularity in the landscape and therefore also a topographical point of reference.
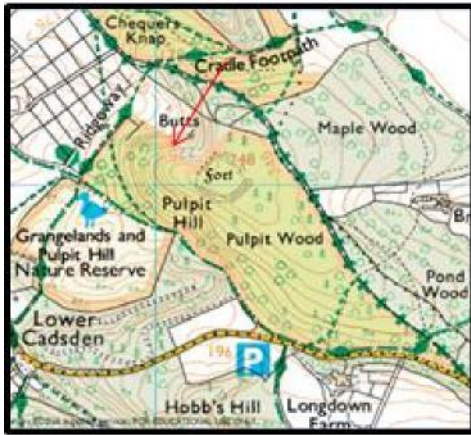


A further hill profile is proposed in the place-name Kimble. Scholars suggest that the name should translate as 'bell-shaped', which one may deduce would have a fairly wide bottom, a somewhat steep gradient, with a silhouette that became steadily narrower, until it eventually reaches a small flat peak. The contour lines of Pulpit Hill on the map demonstrate something of this sort. Certainly, one may observe a wide bottom and flat narrower top. The map also notes the presence of an old hill fort positioned atop the hill. It does not need too much deduction to infer that this hill probably served as a beacon or watchtower for the people in the area.

There are some instances of place-names within the corpus that have, however, not been recorded with consistency, such as Horsenden, whose ending varies between -*don* and -*den*, therefore making translation a difficult task. Mills speculates that this could either be an instance of a *dūn* element, or *denu*, which Gelling (1984: 97) suggests is generally of a long and sinuous valley, with two moderately steep sides and a gentle gradient along most of their length. One could argue that that neither definition is wholly appropriate. The Chiltern Hills



Horsenden
OS Digi Map [Accessed 02/01/14]

dominate the southern horizon in Horsenden, but to the north, the view is of flat terrain. Indeed, Horsenden is geographically located on the flat, within the Risborough Gap. This



Horsenden
Cole In. Gelling, 1984:122
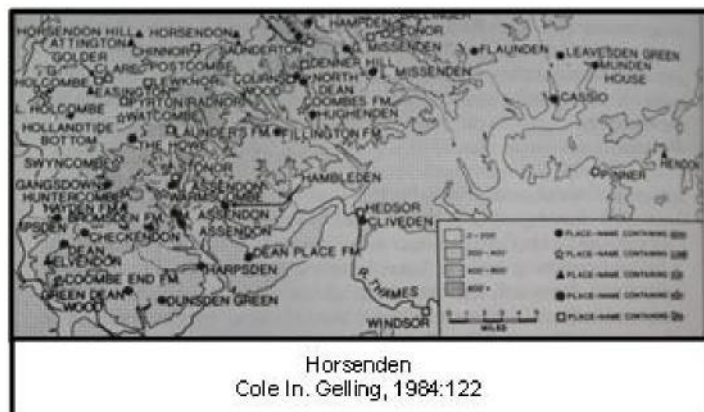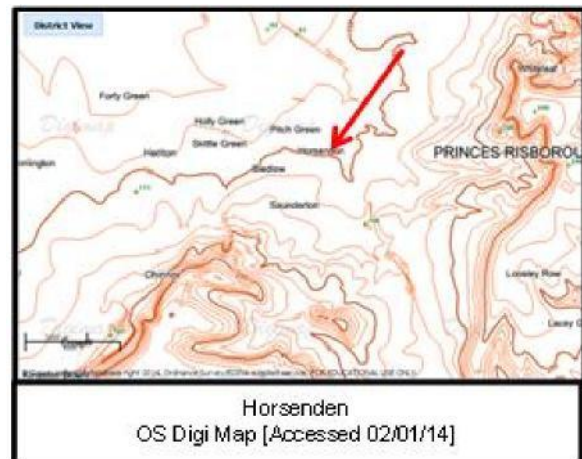
geographic location does not seem to be consistent with the definition of -*denu*. Horsenden is also not located upon a flat-topped hill (*dūn*). Though, Cole has still proposed that this should be the accepted translation of the final element. Her reasoning for this is, however, a mystery and one may propose that she has overlooked geographical evidence within Horsenden in order to make this claim.

Mawer and Stenton note Harman's suggestion that the geographical situation of Horsenden suggests that -*den* best suits the village (1925: 19), though it is unsure whether

they are demonstrating his preference of the *den* ending to denote valley, or if he is indeed proposing that the often overlooked element, *-denn* OE 'woodland pasture, especially for swine' should be considered (Gelling, 1984: 234). Gelling notes the frequent confusion between this element and *denu* (1984: 234), and considering that no earlier record exists, it does not seem unlikely that this confusion may have arisen in the case of Horsenden. Indeed, it would be especially fitting as a translation if the specific element of the place-name was also taken to be 'horses' (Gelling, 1984: 144), rather than the monothematic name, *Horsa*, that is often accepted by scholars. This would thus give the translation, 'woodland where horses were pastured'. In the given area, this seems like a good fit, for it relates to the evident trend of farming, and the use of the land is not dissimilar to Ellesborough, situated a couple of villages to the east, where asses were pastured.

**Conclusion**

One must conclude that place-names provide a wealth of knowledge regarding the history and landscape of the given area. Admittedly, one cannot always establish *everything* from place-names, and sometimes they do cause some confusion and controversy. However, via a process of visiting the site and cross-referencing data against other historical sources, it is possible to minimise the element of doubt and level of speculation employed

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**Appendix**
All entries taken from A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of British Place Names* (2011), unless otherwise indicated.

**Aston Abbots** Bucks.
*Estone*1086 DB, 1200 Cur, 1227 *Ass*, 1237-40 Fees 1450; *Aston* 1242 Fees 878, 1247 *Ass*; *Aston Abbatis* 1262 *Ass*
'East farm' (...) of the Abbey of St Alban's, to whom it belonged in DB. OE *ēast* + *ton.* Distinguishing affix: Lat. Abbatis (of the abbot) (Mawer & Stenton, 1925: 76)

**Aston Clinton** Bucks.
A common name, usually 'eastern farmstead or estate', OE *ēast* + *ton*; examples include: Aston Clinton Bucks. *Estone* 1086 (*DB*), *Aston Clinton* 1237–40. Manorial affix from the *de Clinton* family, here in the late 12th cent.

**Aylesbury** Bucks.
*Ægelesburg* late 9th cent., *Eilesberia* 1086 (*DB*). 'Stronghold of a man called *Ægel'. OE pers. name + *burh* (dative *byrig*).

**Bierton** Bucks.
*Bortone* 1086 (*DB*). 'Farmstead near the stronghold'. OE *byrh-ton.*

**Bletchley** Bucks.
*Blechelai* 12th cent. 'Woodland clearing of a man called Blæcca'. OE pers. name + *lēah.*

**Brickhill, Little, Great, Bow** Bucks.
(Milt. K.), Brickhill**,** Great (Bucks.) & Brickhill**,** Little (Milt. K.) *Brichelle* 1086 (*DB*), *Bolle Brichulle*, *Magna Brikehille*, *Parua Brichull* 1198. 'Hill called *Brig'. Celtic **brig* 'hill-top' + explanatory OE *hyll*. Distinguishing affixes from OE pers. name *Bolla* (no doubt an early tenant), Latin *magna* 'great' and *parva* 'little'.

**Creslow** Bucks.
*Cresselai* 1086 DB; *Kerselawe* 1175 P, 1279, 1327, 1375 Pat

Creslow stands at the head of a well-watered valley (...). It may be suggested therefore that the name is OE *cærsehlaw,* 'cress hill'. (Mawer & Stenton: 1925: 77)

**Cublington** Bucks.
*Coblincote* [*sic*] 1086 (*DB*), *Cubelintone* 12th cent. 'Estate associated with a man called *Cubbel'. OE pers. name + *-ing-* + *ton* (with alternative *cot* 'cottage' in the Domesday spelling).

**Dinton** Bucks.
'estate associated with a man called Dunn(a)', OE pers. name + *-ing-* + *ton*: Dinton Bucks. *Danitone* [*sic*] 1086 (*DB*), *Duninton* 1208.

**Drayton Parslow** Bucks.
a common place name, 'farmstead at or near a portage or slope used for dragging down loads', or 'farmstead where drays or sledges are used', OE *dræg* + *ton*; examples include:

Drayton Parslow Bucks. *Draitone* 1086 (*DB*), *Drayton Passelewe* 1254. Manorial affix from the *Passelewe* family, here in the 11th cent.

**Dunton** Bucks.
*Dodintone* 1086 (*DB*). 'Estate associated with a man called Dud(d)a or Dod(d)a'. OE pers. name + *-ing-* + *tūn*.

**Ellesborough** Bucks.
*Esenberge* [*sic*] 1086 (*DB*), *Eselbergh* 1195. Probably 'hill where asses are pastured'. OE *esol* + *beorg*.

**Halton** Bucks.
A common name, usually 'farmstead in a nook or corner of land', OE *halh* + *tūn*: Halton Bucks. *Healtun* c.1033,*Haltone* 1086 (*DB*).

**Hardwick** Bucks.
A common name, 'herd farm, farm for livestock', OE *heorde-wīc*: Hardwick Bucks. *Harduich* 1086 (*DB*). 'Herd farm'.

**Hartwell** Bucks.
'Spring or stream frequented by harts or stags'. OE *heorot* + *wella*.

**Hoggeston** Bucks.
*Hochestone* [*sic*] 1086 (*DB*), Hoggeston 1200. 'Farmstead of a man called *Hogg'. OE pers. name + *tūn*.

**Horsenden** Bucks.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Horsedene, Horsedune* | 1086 DB |
| *Horsendon* | 1175 P |
| *Horsindone* | 1221 WellsR |

The suffix varies between *–don* and *–den* from the earliest times onwards. From the 14th cent. *–don* forms prevail and the *–den* form now in use is quite modern. (...) OE *Horsan-dun* or *denu,* Horsa's hill or valley.' OE pers.name + OE *–dun* or denu. (Mawer & Stenton: 1925:169)

**Hulcott** Bucks.
*Hoccote* 1200, *Hulecote* 1228. Probably 'hovel-like cottages'. OE *hulu* + *cot*.

Also:
The first element is either OE *hulu,* 'hull, husk,' used in ME of a 'hovel,' or the derivative OE *hulc,* with the same sense. The compound *hulu-cot(u)* or *hulc-cotu* was presumably used to describe some hovel-like cottages. (Mawer & Stenton: 1925:152)

**Kimble, Little, Great** Bucks.
*Chenebelle* 1086 (*DB*). 'Royal bell-shaped hill'. OE *cyne-* + *belle*.

Also:
*Cynebellinga gemære* 903 BCS; *Chenebelle, Chenebelle Parva* 1086 DB; *Magna Kynebell* c.1218 WellsL

Lat. Parva/ Magna – Small/Big or Great (Mawer & Stenton: 1925:163)

**Linslade** Bucks
*Hlincgelad* 966, *Lincelada* 1086 (*DB*). 'Difficult river-crossing by a terrace way'. OE *hlinc + gelād*.

Also:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Hlincgelad* | 966 (12th) BCS | |
| *Lincelada* | 1086 DB | |
| *Linchelad(e)* | 1178 P | |
| *Linslad* | 1245 Gross | |
| *Lynchlad* | 1251 Ch | |
| *Lynchelad'* | 1276 Ipm | |
| *Lyncelade* | 1277 Fine | |
| *Linselade* | 1302 Ipm | |
| *Linchlade* | 1425 IpmR | (Mawer & Stenton: 1925: 79-80) |

**Marston, Fleet, North**
Marston: A common name, 'farmstead in or by a marsh', OE *mersc + tūn*; Fleet: '(place at) the stream, pool, or creek', OE *flēot*;

North: as affix.

Also:
North Marston:
*Merstone* 1086 DB; *Normerstone* 1233 WellsR; *Nordhmerston* 1237-40 Fees 1448

'Marsh-farm' *v. mersc, tun. North* in relation to Fleet Marston. (Mawer & Stenton: 1925: 107)

Fleet Marston:
*Merstone* 1086 DB; *Fletemerstone 1223 WellsR*; *Fflet Marson* 1670 *Terr* (Mawer & Stenton: 1925:136)

**Mursley** Bucks.
*Muselai* [*sic*] 1086 (*DB*), *Murselai* 12th cent. Probably 'woodland clearing of a man called *Myrsa*'. OE pers. name + *lēah*.

**Newton Longville** Bucks.
A very common name, 'the new farmstead, estate, or village', OE *nīwe + tūn*; examples include**:** Newton Longville Bucks. *Nevtone* 1086 (*DB*), *Newenton Longevile* 1254. Affix from its possession by the church of St Faith of Longueville in France from the mid-12th cent.

**Oving** Bucks.
'(settlement of) the family or followers of a man called Ūfa', OE pers. name *-ingas*: Oving Bucks. *Olvonge* [*sic*] 1086 (*DB*), *Vuinges* 12th cent.

**Pitchcott** Bucks.

*Pichecote* 1176. 'Cottage or shed where pitch is made or stored'. OE *pic + cot.*

Alternatively:
'Cottage(s) of *Picca.*' (Mawer & Stenton: 1925:136)

**Quainton** Bucks.
*Chentone* [sic] 1086 (DB). *Quentona* 1167. *'The queen's farmstead or estate'.* OE *cwēn + tūn.*

Alternatively:
We must then take the original form of this name to be *Cwēningtun,* an ingtun formation from a pers. Name *Cwēna,* used as a pet-form for one of the OE feminine names in *Cwēn-.* This stem remained in use long after the Conquest, and *Quenild* (OE *Quēnhild*) was one of the commonest feminine names in the 12th century Danelaw. Quainton and Quinton (GI) are interesting as additions to the brief list of place-names in which a feminine personal name was originally followed by the element *ing.* (Mawer & Stenton: 1925: 108)

Alternatively:
Queen, Old English *cwēn,* is rare in place-names, but may well be the first element of Quainton (Bk) (...) In such cases, however, it is difficult to distinguish *cwēn* from Old English *cwene* "woman". (Cameron, 1961: 136)

**Quarrendon** Bucks.
*Querendone* 1086 DB; *Cuerendon* 1189 P

OE *cweorn-dūn,* 'mill-hill,' *v. cweorn.* The reference here must be to a mill rather than a millstone for such could never have been quarried here (Harman).
(Mawer & Stenton: 1925: 107)

**Risborough, Princes, Monks** Bucks.
*Hrisanbyrge* 903, *Riseberge* 1086 (*DB*). 'Hill(s) where brushwood grows'. OE *\*hrīsen + beorg*. Manorial affixes from early possession by the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury and by the Black Prince.

**Saunderton** Bucks.
*Santesdune* 1086 (*DB*), *Santredon* 1196. OE *dūn* 'hill' with an uncertain first element.

Alternatively:
All the medieval forms of the name *Saunderton* suggest derivation from an original form *Sandheres-dūn.* (Scandinavian personal name + dūn) (Mawer & Stenton: 1925:xix)

Alternatively:
The first el. of these is very likely OE *\*sængde trēo* 'burnt tree, tree blasted by lightening'. OE *sengan* (*sængan*) means 'to singe, burn'. The names would mean 'hill and LĒAH with a blasted tree'. (Ekwall, 160:405)

Alternatively:
OE p.n. *\*Sand*-hrīs < sand 'sand' and hrīs 'brushwood', + dūn 'hill'**.** Another possibility is OE sanden 'sandy' + **dūn** 'hill'.          (Watts, 2004:528)

**Soulbury** Bucks.
*Soleberie* 1086 (*DB*). 'Stronghold by a gully'. OE *sulh* + *burh* (dative *byrig*).

Alternatively:
'Sula's burh' – Sula's fortification

**Stewkley** Bucks.
*Stiuelai* [*sic*] 1086 (*DB*), *Stiuecelea* 1182. 'Woodland clearing with tree-stumps'. OE \**styfic* + *lēah*.

**Stoke Hammond** Bucks.
A very common name, from OE *stoc* 'outlying farmstead or hamlet, secondary settlement'

Also:
*Stoches* 1086 DB; *Stokes Hamund* 1242 Fees 883

v. stoc. Derives its name from *Hamon* son of Mainfelin, a 12th cent. Descendant of the DB holder of the manor.        (Mawer & Stenton: 1925:25)

**Stoke Mandeville** Bucks.
A very common name, from OE *stoc* 'outlying farmstead or hamlet, secondary settlement'; examples include: Stoke Mandeville Bucks. *Stoches* 1086 (*DB*), Stoke Mandeville 1284. Manorial affix from the *Mandeville* family who held the manor in the 13th cent.

**Stone** Bucks.
'place at the stone or stones', OE *stān*; examples include: Stone Bucks. *Stanes* 1086 (*DB*).

**Stratford, Fenny** Bucks.
'ford on a Roman road', OE *stræ t* + *ford*; examples include: Fenny Milt. K. *Fenni Stratford* 1252. Affix is OE *fennig* 'marshy'.

Also:
*Fenni Stratford* 1252 Ch; *Fenny Stretford* 1338 Pat (Mawer & Stenton: 1925:26)

**Thame, River** Bucks-Oxon.
*Thame Oxon. Tame* c.1000-1086 (DB). (The town is) names from the River Thame, a Celtic or pre-Celtic river name'. From the same root as the Thames (Gl-Ess/K) of which it is a tributary:

*Thames (GI-Ess/K): Tamesis* 51 BC. An ancient river-name, possibly from a Celtic root \**tam-* 'dark' or rather from a pre-Celtic root \**tā-* 'melt, flow turbidly'. Thame (Bucks.–Oxon.) is from the same root and probably has a similar meaning.

**Waddesdon** Bucks.
*Votesdone* 1086 (*DB*). 'Hill of a man called \*Weott'. OE pers. name + *don*.

**Walton** Bucks.
A common name, often 'farmstead or village of the Britons', from OE *walh* (genitive plural *wala*) + *ton;* (...) however several Waltons have a different origin

Walton nr. Milton Keynes

*Waldone* c.1218 WellsR; *Walton(e)* c.1225 WellsR

*Weala + ton* 'Welsh/British farm/settlement'. This is probably the derivation though the forms in Hugo de Wells suggest the possibility of weald + tūn 'farmstead in a forest'. (Mawer & Stenton: 1925:39)

Walton nr. Aylesbury

*Walton* 1237-40 Fees 1448]*Walton near Ayllesbury* 1339 Cl

**Wendover** Bucks.
*Wændofran c.*970, *Wendoure* 1086 (*DB*). Originally the name of the stream here, a Celtic river-name meaning 'white waters'.

**Weston Turville** Bucks.
A very common place name, 'west farmstead or village', i.e. one to the west of another settlement, OE *west + ton*; examples include: Weston Turville Bucks. *Westone* 1086 (*DB*), *Westone Turvile* 1302. Manorial affix from the *de Turvile* family, here in the 12th cent.

**Whitchurch** Bucks.
'white church', i.e., probably 'stone-built church', OE *hwīt + cirice*

Also:
*Wicherce* 1086 DB; *Hwitchirche* 1185 Rot Dom

**Wing & Wingrave** Bucks.
*Weowungum* 966–75, *Witehunge* [*sic*] 1086 (*DB*). Possibly '(settlement of) the family or followers of a man called *Wiwa', OE pers. name + *-ingas* (dative plural *-ingum*).

Alternatively '(settlement of) the dwellers at, or devotees of, a heathen temple', OE *wig, wēoh + -ingas*.

*Withungrave* [*sic*] 1086 (*DB*), *Wiungraua* 1163. Possibly 'grove of the family or followers of a man called *Wiwa', OE pers. name + *-inga- + grāf*. Alternatively 'grove of the dwellers at, or devotees of, a heathen temple', OE *wig, wēoh + -inga- + grāf*.

## Abbreviations

(Mawer & Stenton: 1925: xxvii-xxx)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ass* | Assize Rolls |
| Cur | *Curia Regis Rolls.* |
| DB | Domesday Book (with refs. To VCH ed. For BUCKS) |
| Fees | Book of Fees, 2 vols., 1922-3 |
| FF | Feet of Fines. |
| FineR | *Excerpta e rotulis finium,* 2 vols. 1835-6 |
| Ipm | Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem |
| Miss | Missenden Cartulary (Harl. 3688) |
| Ogilby | Ogilby, *Itinerarium Anglicanum,* 1675 |
| P | Pipe Roll (Pipe Roll Society's eds.) |
| Pat | *Calandar of Patent Rolls.* |
| Rot Dom | *Rotuli de Dominabus* (Pipe Roll Soc.), 1913 |
| *Terr* | Terriers, derived from Oxf. Archd. Papers, Bucks (Bodleian). |
| VCH | *Victoria County History of Buckinghamshire,* 2 vols, 1905-8 |
| WellsR | *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles* (Lincoln Rec. Soc. 3 vols.) 1912-14 |