

“NEW” BUCKINGHAMSHIRE ANGLO-SAXON CHARTER BOUNDS I: RICKMANSWORTH & GREAT GADDESSEN

KEITH BAILEY

Like most counties in south-east Mercia, Buckinghamshire has a meagre tally of Anglo-Saxon charters, and even fewer with boundary clauses. These charters were treated in detail by Arnold Baines in the 1970s and 1980s, including elucidation of their bounds.¹ Michael Reed also offered solutions to the bounds in 1979.² Since then, a newly-discovered set of bounds for the St Albans Winslow-Little Horwood-Granborough estate has been discussed by Ted Bull and Julian Hunt and the present author in 1996–7.³ Apart from the eastern boundary of the Linslade charter of 966, abutting Leighton Buzzard, all these perambulations relate to estates lying wholly within Buckinghamshire. This paper examines two Hertfordshire charters relating to estates in Rickmansworth and Great Gaddesden and providing details of landmarks along several miles of the Buckinghamshire border. Both are from the same “lost” St. Albans cartulary as the new Winslow bounds.

INTRODUCTION

Places in Buckinghamshire feature in twenty-one Anglo-Saxon charters, wills and writs covering the period 795–1065, but only eight have boundary clauses: two each from pre-900, 901–50 and 951–1000, one post-1001 and one undated, probably late-tenth or eleventh century. This compares with Bedfordshire (2), Middlesex and Hertfordshire (16 and 15), virtually all of the latter from the recently-discovered St Albans cartulary. Compared with Oxfordshire (41) and Berkshire (94), these vital aids in our understanding the pre-conquest landscape are meagre indeed.⁴ Occasionally, we read of documents that had been lost in antiquity, with landowners obtaining a new title deed. For example, in 903 Edward the Elder, in conjunction with Æthelred and Æthelflæd the rulers of Mercia, replaced the charter for Monks Risborough which Æthelfrith *dux* (OE *ealdorman*) had lost in a fire.⁵ Monks Risborough also features in a lost tenth-century charter only known from its citation in a grant of 994–5.

Medieval monasteries and cathedrals were highly protective of their landed endowments,

hence the gathering of grants into cartularies. They were also prone to claiming estates to which their title was dubious or even downright spurious, manufacturing or doctoring charters from the Anglo-Saxon period, some clearly identifiable from errors of dating, names of donors and witnesses, others based on genuine documents that have not survived.

From time to time, hitherto lost or unknown documents are discovered which offer new charters and boundary clauses. One such is a cartulary in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels relating to the estates of St Albans Abbey.⁶ This provides bounds for several Hertfordshire estates, some with previously known charters, some of them crude forgeries purporting to show grants by Offa of Mercia in the 790s. These “new” charter bounds probably date from the later-tenth to early-eleventh century. Two lie in west Hertfordshire: *Pinnelesfeld* (Pinchfield or Pinesfield Farm in Rickmansworth [GR TQ033915]) and Great Gaddesden.⁷ The first abuts Denham, Chalfont St. Peter and Chenies for a distance of around 6.6 miles, while the latter adjoins the former Buckinghamshire “panhandle” in the Chilterns, originally portions

of Pitstone, Ivinghoe and Edlesborough parishes, lost to Hertfordshire in 1885–95.⁸ They shared a boundary of 2.9 miles with Great Gaddesden, separating the latter from Little Gaddesden.

One unanswerable question about all charter bounds is whether the non-linear features mentioned lay on one side of the boundary or the other? Also, where linear features are named after ‘the men’ of such-and-such a place, what was the view from the other side? Did the ‘men of Chalfont’ consider the line marking the shire boundary to be the ‘hedge of the men of Pinnelesfeld’?

THE PINNELESFELD BOUNDS

Shire boundaries in what had long been the south-east corner of Mercia were probably fixed in the early-tenth century, although their names are often recorded much later. The period c.880–920 saw territories assigned for maintaining and garrisoning the network of fortified places (OE *burh*) created by Alfred of Wessex, his successor Edward the Elder and his daughter Æthelflæd ‘Lady of the Mercians’, wife of ealdorman Æthelred. These strongpoints were both defences against Danish incursions and springboards for the subsequent re-conquest of the Danelaw. Most, but not all, became urban centres. Although little is known about the territorial arrangements in Buckinghamshire and its neighbours prior to the ninth century, there is evidence that they tended to follow the south-west to north-east axis of hills and vales.⁹ The new shire boundaries tended to ignore the grain of the landscape, and the extent to which they utilised previous secular and ecclesiastical boundaries is unclear. Neither are the reasons for long salients into neighbouring shires like those in the Tring and Ashridge areas understood.

The boundary between Buckinghamshire and Middlesex follows one or other of the braided streams of the Colne upstream as far as the Denham-Harefield area, where it swings north-west as far as the Chess valley, rather than following the Colne and Chess. The land west of the Colne comprises part of Rickmansworth parish, bounded east and north by the Colne and Chess, and by Old Shire Lane. The five-hide *Pinnelesfeld* estate was allegedly granted by king Offa to abbot Willegod and St. Albans in 796.¹⁰ *Pinnelesfeld* is not in Domesday Book, having been subsumed into Rickmansworth (15 hides).

The charter bounds include the later medieval town centre, however, and Rīcmær’s enclosure or farm (OE *worþ*) may postdate the charter bounds.¹¹ *Pinnelesfeld* combines a personal name with OE *feld* ‘open country, in contrast to woodland’.¹² As is customary, the perambulation of the bounds starts in the north-east and proceeds clockwise.

Ærest of hæmed forða andlang colan ea oþ hit cymeþ on bradan pol, swa þær swifta burna utsceat þæt on grændeles were, beneoþan grændeles were þæt uprihte on þæt fule sloch uel mærtines sol, þonon rihte on heah wic, suðewearde bufan nættuc deene þe ligeð ut on stan dæne swa ofer þæt wæter gefeal þæt on cealcfunt inga gemær hagan up andlang hagan þær niðer stan dæne swa to þæm readan sole þæt up on blerian oran swa be hagan ofer buntan hricg þæt in greefes stoc of þæm stocce on þæne læfrihtan nættuc of þam nættucce on þære haran þorn æt netel hamstede on pihltles burnan

This may be translated as follows (Fig. 1):

First from ‘matrimony’ ford [1] along the river Colne until it reaches the broad pool [2] where the swift stream shoots out [3] then to Grendel’s weir [4], beneath the weir direct to the foul boggy area or Martin’s slough [5] then direct to the high farm [6] southwards above ‘nattock’ valley [7] that lies out in stony valley [8] so over the waterfall [9] to the boundary hedge of the men of Chalfont [10] up along the hedge to lower stony valley [11] and so to the red slough [12] then up on the bare (?) slope [13] so by the hedge over Bunta’s ridge [14] to the stump by the copse or pit [15] from the stump to the reedy wet-place [16] from the nattock to the grey thorn at Nettle-hampstead [17] [then] along Pihltles Burn [18]

The first nine points lie along the Colne, a landscape completely transformed by gravel extraction since the nineteenth century, with many features drowned beneath the resultant lakes. The Colne is divided into multiple streams, reflecting its low gradient, and the boundary followed a sinuous course, giving rise to the substantial number of boundary points.

1. The perambulation commences at or near the confluence of the Chess and Colne, which flow close together for some distance just south-east of Rickmansworth before joining. The ford may have been located where both rivers (and the Grand

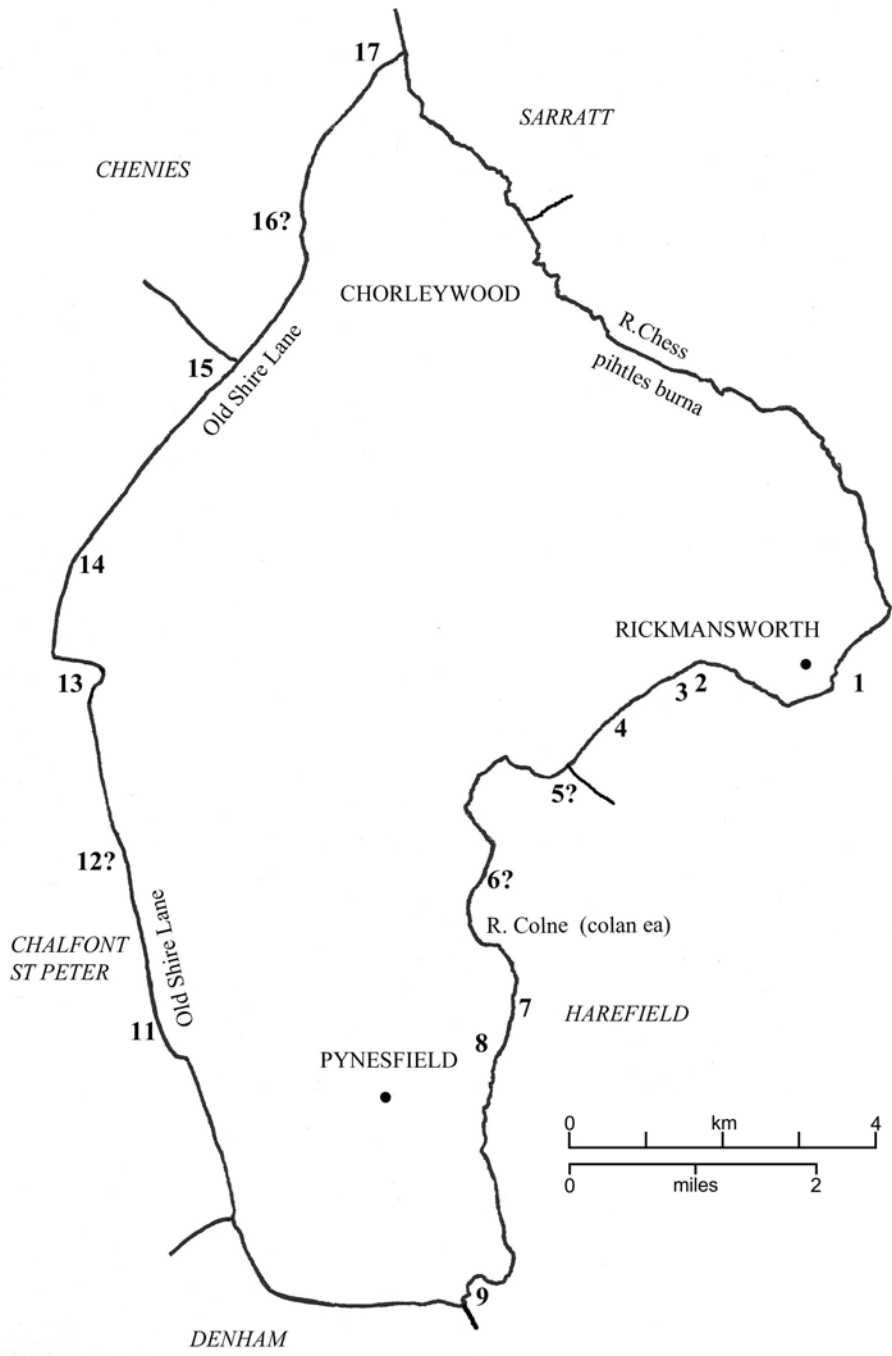


FIGURE 1 Tenth-Century Boundary of [either/both of] the Pinnelesfeld/Pynesfield Estate

Union Canal) are now bridged by Church Street (TQ062940). OE *hāmed* occurs rarely in place-names. The word means connexion, including matrimony, but not apparently in the sense of joining two places.¹³ The name therefore means something like ‘matrimony or liaison [lovers’?] ford’.

2/3. The bounds follow the Colne to the ‘broad pool’ at c.TQ055942. The pool is fed by the ‘fast-flowing burn’, a name suggesting a steeply-graded valley. That descending from the centre of Harefield looks to be the best candidate. The confluence is now lost under a lake.

4. ‘Grendel’s weir’ (OE *wer*, ‘weir, river dam, fishing enclosure’) takes its name from the monster in the *Beowulf* epic, whose abode was in the depths of a lake. He also appears in the charter bounds of Barnet and Hendon.¹⁴ This point may have been around TQ050940.

5. Below the weir, the boundary runs directly to the ‘foul mire’, otherwise known as ‘Martin’s slough or wallowing place’. The name Martin is on record in England by the later-tenth century, about the time of this perambulation. Alternatively, but less likely, the name may derive from OE [*ge*] *māre tūn*, ‘boundary village’, of which there is now no trace.

6. The line proceeds directly to the ‘high farm’ (OE *heah, wīc*; *Highwick). *Wīc* often denotes a specialised enterprise of some kind as well as a settlement located on the periphery of an estate.

7. The boundary passes southwards above *Nattock Dean*, the ‘valley of the marshy place that lies out in stony valley’ (OE **nættuc, stan, denu*). This cannot be the same Nattock as point 16. It may have been in the area now occupied by the local sewage works (TQ040921).

8. Stony Dean is the eastern end of the dry valley referred to later [11], which reaches the Colne at TQ041918.

9. The waterfall (c.TQ039900) is unlikely to have been very imposing. The topography here is completely altered by the lakes representing earlier gravel pits, one appropriately called Pynesfield Lake.

10. The long curving boundary from the Colne to Chorleywood is known as Old Shire Lane, though the associated hedge was perceived to be the main feature in the charter bounds. It is still more or less continuous today. The charter does not indicate that the first part of the hedge divided *Pinnelesfeld* from Denham. The Chalfont boundary hedge is followed, from TQ024906-024962, but as with the Colne, several of the ensuing landmarks lay along its line.

Chalfont is an unusual name, combining OE *cealc*, ‘chalk/limestone’ with Latin loanword *fons/fontana* ‘spring’, where ‘Chalkwell’ might be expected. Bedmond in Abbots Langley is close by and Bedfont in Middlesex is not too distant, both compounded with OE *byden*, ‘tub’. The Brussels boundaries provide what is apparently the only spelling in *cealc-*, later ones show OE *cealf* ‘calf’. Earlier scholars opted for a personal name, Ceadel.¹⁵ The *Pinnelesfeld* estate abuts only Chalfont St. Peter, with a long salient of the latter interposed between Hertfordshire and Chalfont St. Giles. In 1086, the Chalfonts were each assessed at 4¾ hides and had very similar resources, including woodland for 600 swine apiece. Chenies, earlier Isenhampstead, is not on record until 1195. The VCH suggests that it had been held by Mainou the Breton in 1086, and was therefore probably counted in his adjacent of manor Chalfont St. Giles, possibly representing its woodland area.¹⁶ Chalfont St. Peter’s woodland may also have been concentrated at the northern end, with a relatively indistinct division between them, and also with some of Rickmansworth’s enormous Domesday woodland, sufficient to pasture 1,200 swine, in neighbouring Chorleywood (OE *ceorl, lēah*, ‘wood of the free tenants’).

11. The ‘lower stony valley’ is the prominent dry valley crossing the boundary at TQ023912. There are several Dean Fields in the area.

12. ‘Red’ (OE *read*) in this context probably indicates mineral-stained water. The name Redland appears in the Chalfont St. Peter court rolls in the 14th and 15th centuries.¹⁷

13. The charter form has no obvious OE source. The most likely candidate is *blere* ‘bald’ in the sense of ‘bare hillside’, in contrast to the often wooded

slopes nearby.¹⁸ It may be the slope overlooking the boundary where it makes an east-west dog-leg between TQ015942 and 012943 north of Newland Park; the ancient boundary followed the same alignment.

14. ‘*Bunta’s/bunting ridge’ – again there is no obvious OE source. Where the boundary runs SW-NE is now Philipshill. The ridge may take its name from an unrecorded man’s name, or from one of the bunting family.¹⁹ The ridge is followed by the boundary from c.TQ013947 to 018956.

15. Another difficult name, reflecting the problems in tracing back from a seventeenth-century copy to the original form. OE *grāf/grafa* respectively mean ‘grove/copse’ and ‘ditch/trench’.²⁰ This feature would then be ‘stump at the edge of a small wood’ or ‘stump by a ditch’. The name *Stochfeld* occurs in the fourteenth century. This feature may have been close to the boundary between Chalfont St Peter and Chenies at TQ024962.

16. The dialect word *nattock*, ‘wet, marshy place’ occurs rarely (OE **næt* ‘wet, moist’).²¹ Most place-name examples are from Hertfordshire, with a scattering in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire. The St Albans cartulary provides clear evidence that *nattuc* existed in the pre-Conquest period. *Nattok* occurs in 1499, located near the Rickmansworth boundary.

17. @The ‘grey/old thorn at Nettlehampstead’ lies at or close to the point where the shire boundary meets the Chess (TQ034982). The name does not survive, although there are examples in Surrey and Norfolk. It means ‘homestead at a place [infested] with nettles’. If medieval *Isenhamstede* (a name yet to be satisfactorily interpreted) occupied the same site as present-day Chenies, it is too far from the *Pinnelesfeld* boundary to be Nettlehampstead.²²

18. The boundary turns south-east at TQ034982 along what is now the river Chess. The name is a late back-formation from Chesham. Hitherto, the earliest records of the old name were *Pittlesburne* and *Pitelburn* in the thirteenth century, but the charter shows that this name existed centuries earlier.²³ It derives either from a personal name Pyttel, or more likely OE *pyttel*, ‘mouse-hawk’ (the short-eared owl).²⁴

THE GADDESSEN BOUNDS

The fact that Edlesborough, Ivinghoe and Pitstone once reached far into the woodlands of Ashridge and beyond is largely forgotten today. It is comparable to the surviving projection of Tring to within a few miles of Aylesbury. The area south-east of Dunstable once displayed many anomalies of this kind, with detached portions and projections of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire intermingled on the Chiltern dip-slope, probably reflecting ancient pasture rights that developed into permanent settlements. The whole area was once occupied by the *Ciltternsætan* (‘dwellers of the Chilterns’), known only from a solitary reference in the seventh-century *Tribal Hidage*.²⁵ In c.705, king Offa of the East Saxons made a grant to Wealdhere, bishop of London.²⁶ Only a brief abstract survives, referring to land *in pago Hæmele* (modern Hemel Hempstead). This extremely rare use of the Latin term *pagus* (‘district’, whence pagan and French *pays*) may hark back to Roman arrangements in the hinterland of *Verulamium*, or merely reflect the Latinity of the cleric who drew up the grant. The author has suggested that *pagus* is used to represent OE *hamel ge*, ‘undulating district’.²⁷ Either way, it indicates that part of the Chilterns was under East Saxon control in the early eighth century, although the area was already under Mercian overlordship. Hemel was in lay hands by 1066, not having passed to St Albans abbey like many of its neighbours.

[Great] Gaddesden was granted to Æthelric in 943–7, either by king Edmund or his successor Eadred, for a payment of fifty pieces of gold. The grant is known only through the will of Æthelgifu, dated 980x990, possibly Æthelric’s widow.²⁸ She left several estates to St Albans, including *Gætesdene*, ‘Gæte[n]’s valley’ (a nickname derived from OE **gāten* ‘a kid’).²⁹ Also included with the land were twenty oxen and ten cows, along with food-rents. In 1066, six hides at Great Gaddesden were held from St Albans by a woman, Wulfwen, after whose death it was supposed to return to the abbey. Domesday Book, however, names Edward of Salisbury as tenant-in-chief in 1086.³⁰

The bounds of Æthelric’s estate largely comprised woodland and other natural features, as might be expected in the tenth-century Chilterns where settlement and agricultural expansion were still in progress. The western boundary of the estate borders on what were Edlesborough,

Ivinghoe and Pitstone parishes, now Nettleden and Little Gaddesden. The perambulation starts in the north-west corner and proceeds clockwise.

Of hudan heale east ofer ea be wyrtan to wuduman dene, andlang dene to wuduman lege ofer þa lege middewerde to wudeman dene æfter dene to wudeman geate of þam gate to fearn lege of fearn lege to holtes mere of þara mere to mercing wican of þam wican to longing acre þæt eft in þa ea swa andlang streames to þære byrig suþan þær swa west on ðone mapoldor of ðam mapoldore norð be wyrtan eft in hudan hale

This may be translated as follows (Fig. 2):

East from Hudnall [1] over the river [2] by the woodland edge [3] to woodman's valley [4],

along the valley to woodman's clearing [5], through the middle of the clearing to woodman's valley, [6] after the valley to woodman's gate, [7] from the gate to fern clearing, [8] from fern clearing to the wood boundary [9], from the wood boundary to boundary farm [10] from the farm to the long acre/field, [11] then afterwards in[to] the river, [12] so along the stream south to the fort, [13] thence west to the maple tree, [14] from the maple tree north by the woodland edge [15] afterwards to Hudnall [1].

1. Hudnall (OE *Hudan heale*, 'Huda's nook/corner'), was originally a 690-acre detached portion of Edlesborough. There are four such names the parish denoting outlying settlements.³¹ Hudnall is now

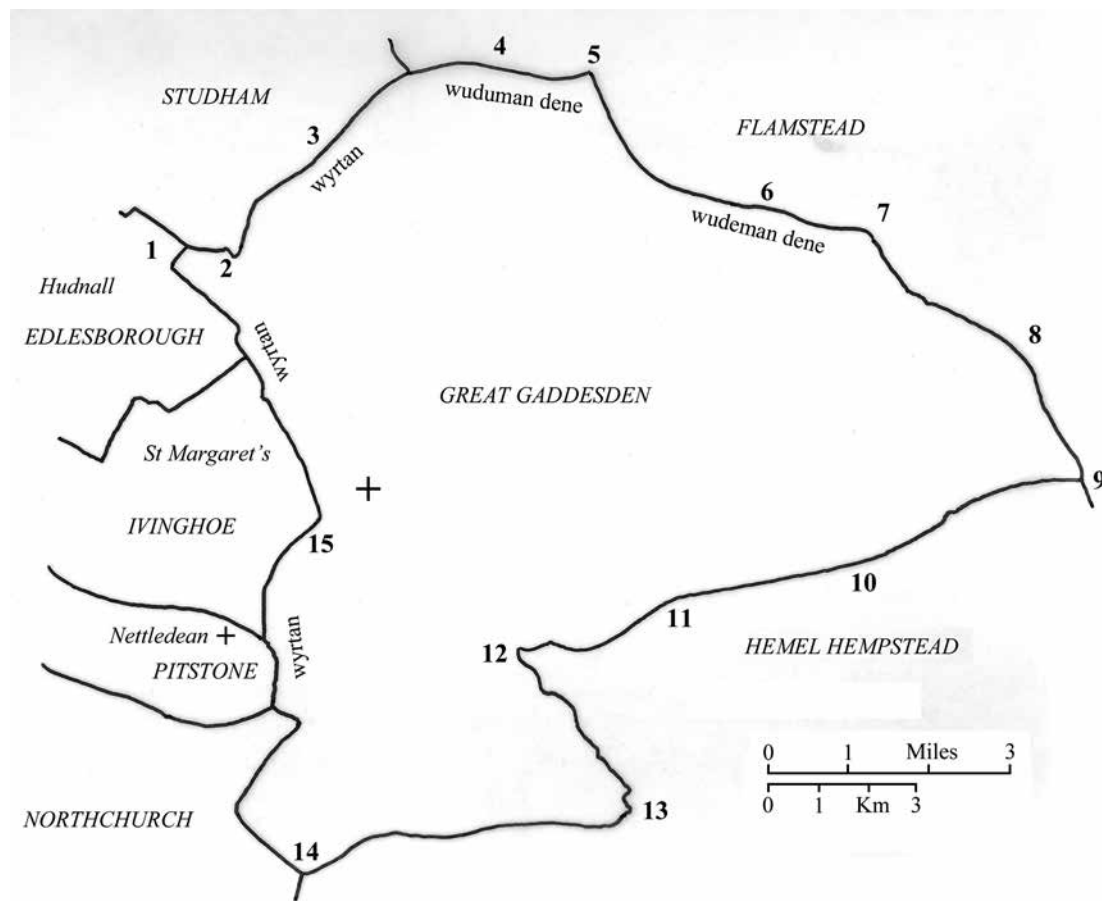


FIGURE 2 Tenth-Century Boundary of the Great Gaddesden Estate

in Little Gaddesden. The road from Edlesborough village to Hudnall (the modern A4146) passes through Dagnall, ‘*Dagga’s nook/corner’. It is unclear to what extent there was permanent settlement here in the 10th-11th centuries.

2. The anonymous river is the Gade, here close to its source (TL020129). The modern name of the stream compounds that of the eponymous Gæte[n] of Gaddesden with OE *ēa* (‘river, stream’).

3. The following five miles of the Gaddesden boundary follows two relatively straight alignments, with a break at Dean Wood. The first feature is the *wyrta*. Ultimately derived from OE *wyrt* ‘root’, this term denotes the edge or bank of a wooded area, often appearing in the form *wyrtruma* or *wyrtwala*.³² In areas such as this, it is possible that the wood-bank ran *through* a large wooded area, hitherto held in common between the neighbouring estates. The *wyrta* runs from c.TL020129-038141. In the tenth century this was clearly a more wooded landscape than today, but intensively managed to produce a range of products, from whole trees used in construction to firewood and charcoal, not to mention forage for pigs. Domesday Book assesses the wood at Great Gaddesden as sufficient for 500 swine. Fowler suggested a figure of 2½ statute acres per swine, but Rackham’s more recent study notes that the crop of acorns and beechmast is erratic and that these renders, like the hides used for tax-assessment purposes, are like to have been notional, merely telling us the size of a wood in broad brush terms was very large, large, medium or small.³³ Fowler’s multiplier gives 1250 acres of woodland for Gaddesden, 30% of the parish total. (Compare neighbouring Flamstead 42%; Edlesborough 22% and Ivinghoe 27%.)

4. The next boundary point, ‘woodman’s [shallow] valley’ is mentioned twice, separated by a clearing. The valley is now known as Ballingdon Bottom. The first section at what is now Ballingdon Bottom runs from c.TL038141-045140, along Dean Lane, south of Dean Wood.

5. The ‘woodman’s clearing’ was at the turning point in the boundary at TL045140, possibly representing a seasonal settlement for forestry workers.

6. After crossing the clearing, the boundary now follows a second ‘woodman’s valley’ from about TL047138-061228, this time a dry valley running parallel with that of the Gade.

7. ‘Woodman’s gate’ probably marked the transition from the dense managed woodland to a more open, partly-cultivated area. The gate was probably in the vicinity of the present Upper Wood Farm (TL061128).

8. The ‘fern clearing’ indicates a more open landscape, here infested with bracken – also an essential product in the early medieval economy. It was probably close to where Gaddesden Lane crosses the boundary at TL 074118.

9. The ‘wood boundary’ (OE *holt, gemære*) is the first point since Hudnall still identifiable today. Holtsmere End lies just south of the point where the charter boundary turns west (TL077112). Although Holtsmere is in present-day Great Gaddesden parish, the charter boundary runs to the north.

10. The ‘outlying boundary farm’ (OE *mearc, wīc*) on or close to the boundary, possibly the predecessor of Eastbrookhay Farm (TL066108; *Wykefeld* 1406.³⁴).

11. ‘Long acre’ denotes a strip of cultivated land alongside the boundary, presumably part of *Marking Wick [10]. It probably ended where the continuation of Gaddesden Lane meets the boundary at TL050106.

12. The perambulation now reaches the river [Gade] for the second time at TL040103.

13. The boundary turns south along the Gade to reach the ‘fortified place’ (OE *burh*, dative *byrig*), close to the Hemel Hempstead-Leighton Buzzard road. It can hardly be a hillfort; indeed it is difficult to see what kind of fortified place might be located here. There is, however, a notable curved salient of Hemel parish into the corner of Gaddesden, although it does not appear in the Hertfordshire Historic Environment Record. It may represent the remains of a prehistoric earthwork of some kind, now ploughed out. (*Berry feild* 1559.)

14. The ‘maple tree’ is a typical example of a once-prominent but long-vanished boundary feature. It probably stood where the Gaddesden boundary turns north at its meeting point with Hemel and Northchurch (TL025088).

15. The boundary now follows another *wyrтан* back to Hudnall. This is a more sinuous line than the northern boundary[3], and mostly follows the eastern extremity of the Buckinghamshire salient. From south to north it abuts Frithsden in Pitstone (‘valley in the wooded country’ [OE *denu*, [ge]fyrhðe]); 0.4 miles), Nettleden in Ivinghoe (OE *netel denu*, ‘nettle valley’; 1.4 miles), connected to Ivinghoe by a droveway barely 75 yards wide, and finally Hudnall in Edlesborough (0.6 miles). Nettleden is a long dry valley from Ashridge to the Gade, shared between Pitstone and Ivinghoe. Its chapel of St Margaret originated as the twelfth-century nunnery of St. Margaret de Bosco.³⁵ Great Gaddesden village and church lie only 300 yards from the Nettleden boundary.

Today, relatively little woodland survives in the vicinity of the Gaddesden boundary, a situation already apparent on Jeffreys’ Buckinghamshire map of 1770. The shire boundary was evidently fixed by the time that Gaddesden was granted to St Albans c.1000, and no attempt was made to ‘regularise’ it until the late-nineteenth century. The woodland resources of the Chilterns were of vital importance to the string of scarp-foot settlements along Icknield Way. In Domesday Book the three Buckinghamshire parishes had woodland for 1,175 swine, indicating that the ‘panhandle’ and much of the escarpment were wooded.

CONCLUSION

These two boundary clauses provide invaluable descriptions of parts of the Buckinghamshire landscape c.1000, revealing an assortment of natural and man-made features to add to those known from the county’s other Anglo-Saxon charters. The *Pinnelesfeld* boundary comprises three principal features, two rivers and the man-made line dividing the two shires. The line along the Colne and Old Shire Lane is broken up into shorter sections, mostly by natural features, although there are a few man-made features, of

which Nettlehampstead is potentially the most significant.

The importance of woodland in the Great Gaddesden area is clear, with the great bulk of the northern eastern and western bounds comprising more or less continuous woodland cover. Gaddesden itself was a permanent settlement with outlying farms by that time, but it is unclear whether some or all of the woodland assigned to the three Buckinghamshire parishes had progressed beyond seasonal occupation: Hudnall is not named again until 1227; Nettleden is first mentioned in 1200, when part had been acquired by Missenden Abbey, while Frithsden appears as late as 1291.

Further research is required into some of the interpretations offered in this paper, although most are readily intelligible. Wider questions include the reasons for the use of an artificial shire boundary between *Pinnelesfeld* and Buckinghamshire, rather than the “obvious” line along the Colne and Chess. Did this line exist before the creation of the shires? If not, what benefit accrued to Hertfordshire in acquiring this swathe of farm- and woodland? Similarly, the long stretches of *wyrтан* (woodland edge) along the northern and western sides of Great Gaddesden suggest that the salient of Buckinghamshire into the depths of the Chiltern woods predates the creation of the shires, with early pasturage arrangements surviving the administrative transformation from early Anglo-Saxon territories to the new shires.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Abbreviations:

- | | |
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| CDEPN | V. Watts, <i>Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names</i> (Cambridge, 2004) |
| DEPN | E. Ekwall, <i>Dictionary of English Place-Name</i> (4 th ed. Oxford, 1960) |
| ECTV | M. Gelling, <i>The Early Charters of the Thames Valley</i> (Leicester, 1979) |
| EPNE | A.H. Smith, <i>The Place-Name Elements</i> |

- (2 vols. Cambridge 1956; reissued in one volume with addenda & corrigenda but same pagination, Nottingham, 2008)
- RB *Records of Buckinghamshire*
- S P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (1968); updated version on-line at www.esawyer.org.uk
- VEPN D. Parsons & T. Styles (eds), 1 *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names: A-Box* (Nottingham, 1997); 2 *Brace-Cæster* (Nottingham, 2000)
11. Rīcmær is only evidenced in Continental sources, though it may have existed in OE (J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer & F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire* (1938, hereafter PNHerts), 80–1.
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Notes

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5. B603, S367; ECTV, nos.147, 148.
6. S. Keynes, ‘A lost cartulary of St Albans Abbey’, *Anglo-Saxon England* **22** (1993), 253–279.
7. B280, S151; ECTV no.164; B812, S1497; ECTV no. 168.
8. For sources on boundary changes see F.A. Youngs, *Guide to the Local Administrative Units of England, I Southern England* (London, 1979), 33, 36, 39.
9. K. Bailey, ‘Early Anglo-Saxon territorial organisation in Buckinghamshire and its neighbours’ *RB* **36** (1994) 129–143.
10. B280, S151; Willegod, a name otherwise not on record in Anglo-Saxon England, was allegedly the first abbot of the [re-]founded minster at St Albans.
11. W. Page (ed.), *Victoria County History of Buckinghamshire* (vol. 3, 1925), 199–200.
12. G.R. Elvey, *Transcripts from Chalfont St Peter Court Rolls*, Bucks. Arch. Soc. Muniments, Book 6.
13. DEPN, 50; also discussion under *blōr* in VEPN 1, 117.
14. VEPN 2, 68.
15. EPNE, i 207–8.
16. EPNE, ii 48. The ‘lost cartulary’ substantially increases the corpus of OE *nættoc*-names.
17. PNBucks, 221–3.
18. PNHerts, 2.
19. J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary IV* (Oxford, 1905), s.v.
20. D. Dumville, ‘The Tribal Hidage’ in S. Bassett (ed.) *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989), 225–230.
21. M. Gibbs (ed.), *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London* (1939), 5; S.E. Kelly (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Charters X: Charters of St Paul’s London* (Oxford, 2004), 141–3.
22. K. Bailey, ‘Some Observations on Ge, Gau and Go’, *Journal English Place-Name Soc.* **31** (1998–9), 63–76.
23. D. Whitelock (ed.), *the Will of Æthelgifu* (Roxburghe Club, Edinburgh, 1968).
24. PNHerts, 34–5.
25. Edward of Salisbury, sheriff of Wiltshire also succeed Wulfwen (of Creslow) at Aston Clinton (20 hides), in Waddesdon Hundred (5½ virgates; part of Hoggeston lying in Creslow), Creslow (5 hides), and at Chelsea (2 hides). She is representative of a class of important Anglo-Saxon women landholders replaced by men

- after 1066; indeed DB twice calls her King Edward's man!
31. PNBucks, 93–4.
 32. See Bosworth-Toller *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* <http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz>; A.H.J. Baines, 'Wyrtruma and wyrtwala', *South Midlands Archaeology* 12 (1987), 102–110; M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire* III (1976), 633ff.
 33. G.H. Fowler, *Bedfordshire in 1086: an analysis and synthesis of Domesday Book*, *Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc.* (Aspley Guise, 1922), 82–3; O. Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (1986), 75–9.
 34. These and subsequent field-names are from PNHerts, 269; they are *not* necessarily identical with the locations of the charter boundary points.
 35. VCH Hertfordshire (vol.2, 1908), 317.