BUCKINGHAMSHIRE PARISH NAMES

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The names of Buckinghamshire parishes are discussed in terms of their linguistic composition.
The topographical and social significance of the various elements used is also considered, to
suggest some of the key features to be found in the pre-eleventh century landscape of the county.

Buckinghamshire contains just over two hundred parishes, and the purpose of this paper is to discuss the etymology of their names. The overwhelming majority of these names have Old English origins, and most were recorded in or before 1086. Given the fact that the present county includes parts of several earlier administrative territories, which had assorted Roman, Celtic, Anglian and Saxon origins, this corpus offers a good sample for a discussion of the names which attach to parishes, one of the most enduring religious and political phenomena in our history. There are, of course, many settlements, ranging in size from farms and hamlets to villages, which have equally ancient roots, but which failed to make the grade as parishes. Indeed, there are also parishes whose populations have all but vanished since the eleventh century, but which are still considered here. The names of places which became parishes relatively late in history are also discussed, although they do not form a significant proportion of the total.

I

The principal sources used for this analysis are *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire,*[1] the first of the English Place-Name Society's county volumes, published in 1925, Ekwall's *Dictionary of English Place-Names*[2] and Margaret Gelling's two studies, *Signposts to the Past* and *Place-Names in the Landscape.*[3] Unfortunately, in the first case, the county suffers from being a pioneer, in the sense that in the last seventy years the depth of analysis applied in these volumes has vastly increased, and the intepretation of many names has been subject to change. This is especially the case with those involving elements, and more particularly qualifying elements, which are incapable of ready explanation. In the 1920s, and for several decades

afterwards, place-name scholars tended in such circumstances to opt for personal names which were otherwise unrecorded, but which had more or less close parallels in Continental nomenclature. These were qualified with an asterisk. It appears that in many cases, such interpretations are unnecessarily complicated, and that such names contain more prosaic nouns and adjectives denoting the attributes of the site, rather than that of an early, putative, owner. (In fairness to the pioneers, however, one should note in passing that most Anglo-Saxon personal names were in fact compounded from everyday words, just as place-names were.)

It must be emphasised from the outset, however, that the concept of the 'parish' as we understand it is rather an anachronism in 1086, since the process of breaking down the older, much larger, minster *parochiae* was actually under way at the time, and the provision of individual churches for specific villages or groups of smaller settlements was not yet complete.[4] The county entries in Domesday Book are virtually silent on the subject of churches, including minsters and mentions of priests. Equally, there is little pre-Conquest or so-called Saxo-Norman work in the surviving church fabric of Bucks. which could assist us in rectifying this omission.

The 201 parish names of Bucks. may be divided into five groups (there are 14 additional parishes which share a name with those discussed here): (1) those which are compounds of personal names and habitative elements (that is, denoting settlement of some kind); (2) compounds of personal names and topographical elements; (3) 'group-names', in which personal names compounded with *-ingas* 'people of . . .' appear simply (those with a further qualifier of some kind are considered in the relevant category); (4) non-personal qualifiers com-

TABLE 1:

Buckinghamshire Parish Names by Type and First Reference

Type	Number	<1086	1086	>1086
Personal+ Habitative	32	4	24	4
Personal+ Topographical	44	8	28	8
Group Names	2	1	1	0
Qualifier+Habitative	58	2	48	8
Qualifier+Topographical	65	18	32	15
Total	**201**	**33**	**133**	**35**

no significant difference in the proportion of names with and without personal qualifiers occurring before 1086. We cannot tell, of course, when any of the names was actually coined, except in very general terms based on the obsolescence of certain name elements and on evidence for certain names being fashionable at certain times. This paper will therefore concentrate on meaning, rather than the fraught area of chronology.

pounded with habitative elements, and (5) non-personal qualifiers with topographical elements. The salient details are summarised above.

Seventy-eight parish names contain personal names (39%) and 123 (61%) do not. All but three of these names are of Anglo-Saxon origin, the odd men out having Viking (Old Norse) roots. There are 90 parish names which contain elements related to human settlement and associated activities (45%). Two parishes have uncompounded 'group' names (1% of the total), Oving and Wing. The remaining 109 parishes (54%) have a wide variety of landscape features as their basis. One-sixth of parish names occur in a pre-Conquest source, and although many of these exist only in later copies, most are not outright forgeries.[5] A similar number do not appear on the record until after 1086, although virtually all are known by the end of the twelfth century, and most probably date back to 1086 and before. The remaining two-thirds of Buckinghamshire parish names make their debut in the folios of Domesday Book as fully-fledged estates with an active agrarian population. There is

The various categories of parish name are far from uniformly distributed across the county, reflecting no doubt a mixture of chronology and fashion, whereby certain name-types were favoured at various times in different areas. Table 2 summarises the data for triple hundred groups, compared with the whole county.

One factor which should be noted in passing is that parish *size* also varies by area. As so often, there is a progression from north to south at the aggregate level of Hundreds. In the north-east, the Newport group (Seckloe, Bunsty and Moulsoe) contains 22% of parishes, but only 17% of acres, while the neighbouring Buckingham group (Stotfold, Lamua and Rowley) has 12% of the county area, but almost 15% of parishes. These regions therefore have an 'excess' of about one-quarter in terms of parish numbers. This reflects the high level of fragmentation of estates and manors which had occurred by the end of the eleventh century. The six Hundreds in the central region of the Vale (Cottesloe, Mursley, Yardley, Ixhill, Ashendon and Waddesdon) are in balance (30.6% of parishes on 29% of the area). The Aylesbury group (Aylesbury, Stone and Risborough) combines the Chiltern scarp, the low-lying ground of the Icknield belt, and some of the chalk dip-slope. Here, parishes are larger than average (11.4% of

TABLE 2:

Parish Name Types by Hundred Group (%)

Type	Newport	Buck'm	Cottesloe	Ashendon	Aylesbury	Chiltern	County
All Parishes	22.4	14.9	15.9	14.9	10.9	20.9	99.9
Acreage	16.9	11.8	15.2	13.8	14.0	28.3	100.0
Personal+Habit.	34.4	15.6	18.8	6.2	12.5	12.5	100.0
Personal+Topog.	22.7	18.2	20.4	15.9	4.6	18.2	100.0
Qualifier+Habit.	25.9	15.5	10.3	15.5	12.1	20.7	100.0
Qualifier+Topog.	13.8	12.3	15.4	16.9	13.8	27.7	99.9
Group	–	–	50.0	50.0	–	–	100.0

parishes on 14% of the area). It is the Chiltern Hundreds (Stoke, Burnham and Desborough) which display the largest anomaly in this respect, however, having 21% of Bucks. parishes on 28% of the acreage. Of course, there are both larger- and smaller-than-average parishes in all parts of the county, but there is a clear difference between the north and the south at the aggregate level, and this is carried forward into the *types* of parish name, and the *elements* which are employed in those names.

Personal+habitative names are much more common than expected in the Newport group, balanced by a shortage of qualifier+topographical names. There are no significant anomalies in the Buckingham Hundreds. In the Cottesloe group, parish names which include personal names occur with greater than expected frequency, while there are fewer habitative names with ordinary qualifiers, a pattern which is reversed in the Ashendon Hundreds to the south-west. In the Aylesbury Hundreds, although the total number of parishes with topographical names is what might be expected, there are far fewer of these which involve personal names. In the Chiltern Hundreds, a significant shortfall in the personal+habitative group is balanced by an excess of qualifier+topographical names, a neat reversal of the pattern in the extreme north of the county.

If we now turn to examine the proportions of the various types of parishes *within* each triple Hundred group, there are again important variations across Bucks.

In Bucks. as a whole, parish names with a habitative basis account for 45% of the total, whereas in the Newport group this proportion is as high as 58%. In Ashendon it is only 37%, however, and in the Chilterns 38%. This variation reflects the high proportion of woodland in the latter regions, at least at the time when the names were being coined. The Cottesloe Hundreds in the centre of the county also have only 38% of parishes with a habitative basis, whereas little or no woodland is recorded here in 1086. The reason for the latter is unclear. It may genuinely reflect the fact that tree cover was reduced to a few stray copses, as is the case today in many parishes, or that the juries who were giving evidence to the Domesday commissioners omitted to mention woodland, expressed in Bucks. as the number of swine which it could support. In the absence of substantial numbers of palaeobotanical samples, any definitive answer to this riddle is still impossible. The distribution of topographically-based parish names in the various regions is the mirror image of those which are habitatively-based.

TABLE 3:
Parish Names Within Hundred Group (%)

Type	Newport	Buck'm	Cottesloe	Ashendon	Aylesbury	Chiltern	County
Personal+Habit.	24.4	16.7	18.8	6.7	18.2	9.5	15.9
Qualifier+Habit.	33.3	30.0	18.8	30.0	31.8	28.6	28.9
Personal+Topog.	22.2	26.7	28.1	23.3	9.1	19.0	21.9
Qualifier+Topog.	20.0	26.7	31.2	36.7	40.9	42.9	32.3
Group	–	–	3.1	3.3	–	–	1.0
Total	**99.9**	**100.1**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

II

Table 4 summarises the data on the principal elements used in Buckinghamshire parish names, by type of qualifier. It shows that out of all the hundreds of elements which could have been used, a relatively limited range was in fact employed, and that some elements occur much more than one would expect in a random sample. There are sixty elements in total: nineteen habitative and 41 topographical.

Element*	Personal+	Other+	Total
A. Habitative Names			
beretun		1	1
bocland		1	1
burh	5	2	7
burhsteall		1	1
burhtun		1	1
cirice		2	2
cot	1	4	5
ham	4	4 (?1)	8 (?1)
ingaham	1		1
hamstede		2	2
hamtun		1	1
port		1	1
stoc	1	4	5
tun	8	30	38
ingatun	10		10
þorp		1	1
wic		1	1
ingawic	1		1
worð	1		1
B. Topographical Names			
æsc		1	1
bell		1	1
beorg	1	4	5
burna		2	2
cet (Celt.)		1	1
clif		1	1
cumb		1	1
denu	4	3	7
dun	8	6	14
dyfr (Celt.)		1	1
feld	2	2	4
ford	1	3	4
funta	1		1
græf/grafa	2	1	3
hamm		2 (?1)	2 (?1)
ingahamm	1		1
healh	1	1	2
hlaw	3	1	4
hoh	4		4
hrycg		1	1
hyll	1	2	3
hyrst		2	2
ieg	1	4	5
gelad		1	1
laf		1	1
leah	6	7	13
mæd		1	1
mere		2	2
mersc		1	1
mor		1	1
ofer		1	1
pen[n]		1	1
sceaga	1		1
slæpe	1		1
sloh		1	1
stan	2	2	4
þorn		1	1
welig		1	1
wielle		2	2
wudu		4	4
yfre		1	1

Almost three-quarters of Bucks. parish names (143; 71%) are formed from only seventeen elements which occur four times or more. Conversely, 33 elements occur only once and seven only in two parish names. Names in *tun/ingtun* alone account for 48 parishes (24%). These common name-forming elements are divided almost equally between those related to habitation or settlement, and those related to landscape features. The name indicated in both halves of the table with a question mark is Medmenham, where it is impossible to distinguish between *ham* and *hamm* using surviving sources (see below). Most of these elements do not belong to the earliest strata of Old English names,[6] and the majority use elements with a long period of currency. For example, *tun* and *leah* may have been used at any time between the eighth century and the twelfth.

III

We begin with the thirty-two parishes whose names are compounds of (overwhelmingly) Old English personal names and elements indicative of settlement in one form or another (see Appendix for list). Although female landowners are by no means unusual in pre-Conquest England, all of these names are masculine in Bucks. There is as usual an element of ambiguity in the interpretation of place-names whose modern ending is *-ham*. This may represent OE *ham*, 'homestead, farm, village', or OE *hamm*, with a variety of meanings basically related to low-lying land by a stream.[7] Even where there are very early spellings, the distinction is not easy to make, a good example being the name Buckingham itself, whose topographical position points to *hamm*, but which could equally well be from *ham*. Here the former is assumed. Contained within this group are two group-names to which further qualifying elements have been added (Tyringham and Tingewick).

With the exception of Æddi, who appears in Addington and Adstock, and probably represents the same individual, none of the names in this group is duplicated. Nine have names compounded of two elements, the rest have single elements, although many of these arise from shortened or pet forms of disyllabic names. The earlier view that tended to assign any element not

otherwise capable of explanation to the category of 'otherwise unrecorded personal name' (usually with parallels in one or other of the Germanic languages) has been modified over the years, although there are still some Bucks. names which seem to belong here: Saunderton from *Sandhere and Amersham from *Ealhmod, neither of which is implausible.[8]

These personal names are combined with a relatively limited range of habitative elements. By far the most common of them is OE *tun* (originally 'fence', whence 'enclosure, homestead, village'), with eighteen examples (56%), of which ten contain the connecting particle -*inga*- between the man's name and *tun*. The -*inga*- particle may denote either simple possession, a form of the genitive, or the sense of a group, 'the people of X'.[9] It seems that all of the Bucks. examples belong to the former category, so that the sense of all eighteen names is 'X's homestead or village'. These parishes are concentrated in the north of the county: ten in the Newport Hundreds and two each in Buckingham and Cottesloe. The next most common element coupled with personal names is OE *burh*, 'fortified place', which may denote anything from an Iron Age hillfort to a recent defence against Viking attack.[10] Aylesbury and Cholesbury seem to belong to the first type, albeit probably refurbished in the former case. Padbury, Soulbury and Wraysbury are less straightforward, as none has surviving or recorded defensive earthworks. It is possible that these names foreshadow the later medieval use of *bury* as a manorial affix, in which the word Bury denotes the manor house and associated complex of buildings, closes, etc.[11]

Allowing for the confusion between *ham* and *hamm* (see above), there are four probable examples of the former in Bucks. Haversham (Hæfer's village) is a remote outlier in the north (but close to Tyringham, see below), the rest being Haddenham, Amersham and Hitcham. All are located in major valleys, however, and as such likely to have attracted early settlement, which Anglo-Saxon settlers merely took over and renamed. Tyringham contains the compound *ingaham*, denoting 'village of the people of Tyr'. Groups of this type were a common feature in the sixth and seventh centuries.[12] They represent one stage in the coalescence of hitherto disparate settlements under the leader-ship of an individual (or are named from a prominent landscape feature in their territory), a process which ultimately led to the formation of principalities and kingdoms. It is not now considered that -*ingas* names denote original, fifth- or sixth-century Anglo-Saxon settlement.[13] The *Tyringas* will have occupied a territory in the Ouse valley, perhaps that which is later equivalent to Bunsty Hundred, of which Tyringham-with-Filgrave forms an isolated portion on the east bank of the river.

One may also consider the four probable *ham*-names with non-personal qualifiers here. Farnham [Royal], Denham, Burnham and Wexham all lie in the Thames valley in an area which has produced some evidence of seventh-century settlement, confirming this element as belonging to an early stratum of English names. These places lie on the favoured terraces and flood-plain of the Thames/Colne river system, and the first three take their names simply from local landscape features: ferns; a stream; and a valley, respectively. The first element of Wexham appears to be OE *weax*, 'wax', perhaps denoting the commercial production of wax (and honey).[14]

No other combination of personal-name and habitative element has more than one example. *Stoc* (Adstock) is, like *tun*, a word of varied shades of meaning. Originally, the sense was 'place', later developed in some cases to 'monastery, cell' or 'secondary settlement'.[15] The root of the word is 'standing [place]', and it has been suggested that it denoted a site where cattle on outlying (possibly seasonal) pastures were gathered for milking.[16] As usual with place-name elements with a variety of meanings, it is probable that the precise reason for choosing to use one element rather than another depended on quite specific circumstances, which it is now impossible to identify. (See below for other Bucks. *stoc*-names.) In the case of Adstock (Æddi's *stoc*), it seems likely that the 'secondary settlement, [dairy] farm' meaning is relevant, since it lies only one mile from Addington (Æddi's *tun*, 'village'). Here, the two settlements both developed into medieval parishes, but it is ironic that Addington has all but vanished from the map as a result of desertion and emparking, whereas Adstock survives as a nucleated settlement.

Wic is another name-forming element with

widely different shades of meaning.[17] The two Bucks. examples (Tingewick and Hardwick) both seem to belong to the 'outlying [dairy] farm' group. In the first case, *wic* is qualified by a group name, **Tidingas*, 'Tida's people'. They occupied a similar position in the Ouse valley at the opposite end of the county from the *Tyringas* (see above), although in this case the names of other groups in close proximity survive: the *Buccingas*, 'Bucc's people', and the *Hliðingas*, 'people dwelling on a hill/slope' (Lenborough). Hardwick derives from a compound noun, OE *heordewic*, meaning 'herdsman's farm'.[18] This often denotes a specialised livestock unit within a 'multiple' estate, probably for cattle, possibly for sheep.

Marsworth is the only example of a parish in Bucks. to include OE *worð*, 'enclosure'. This is yet another example of a concept which seems to have a multiplicity of Old English words to describe it, and where the precise shade of meaning has probably become lost over the centuries. The sense of secondary settlement is present (cf. *stoc* above). Unfortunately, there is apparently no link in this case between near neighbours Marsworth (*Mæssa's enclosure) and Long Marston (Herts., but probably once in Bucks.), since the latter is from OE *mersc tun*, 'village by a marsh', whereas Marsworth had no -r- until the eighteenth century.[19]

The last of the personal name+habitative parish names is Pitchcott (Picca's cottage[s]). *Cot* names generally denote very small, usually secondary settlements, comprising a single farm or hamlet grouping.[20] Relatively few graduated to parochial status, and those that did were often wholly or partly deserted in the later medieval period, as Pitchcott was.

IV

The second group of Buckinghamshire parish names to be considered is that in which personal names are compounded with elements describing landscape features. There are forty-four of them, one-third more than those in which personal names are combined with habitative elements. In this case there are forty-three personal names, all masculine, with only one duplicate: the Hycga of Hughenden and Hedgerley, whose name is also in Hitcham, respectively the valley, wood/clearing and village of Hycga. It is possible that there was some early link between the Thames-side settlement and the Chilterns to obtain timber and pasture swine on a seasonal basis (cf. the Weald in Kent, Surrey and Sussex).[21] On the other hand, this may be merely coincidence. Only three of these names are dithematic, and only one, Turville, has an Old Norse basis. The rest are a typical array of simplex names, which may be early or familiar forms, or both. None is recorded before the end of the eighth century (Wine of Winslow). The significance of parish names which associate men's names with landscape features is debatable. They are also common in minor names and in the boundary clauses of Anglo-Saxon charters. The main factor seems to be that they denote ownership in the sense of 'the [hill, stream, etc.] on X's estate', or at a lower level 'X's clearing, etc.' as opposed to that of Y or Z.

These men's names qualify twenty-one elements. The most common is OE *dun* 'hill', but in the specialised sense of an isolated hill in flat country resembling the hull of an upturned boat, that is, with a flattish, concave top and relatively steep sides.[22] As such, it is typical of the central belt of the county, between the Ouse and the Chiltern scarp, where such hills form prominent features in the low-lying clay Vale of Aylesbury. Wavendon is an isolated example in north Bucks., taking its name from the shape of an east-west ridge of Oxford Clay capped by glacial deposits, as viewed from the Ouzel valley below. Charndon, Poundon and Hillesden are typical *duns* overlooking the valley of the Padbury Brook, about 50–100 feet above its floor. Cheddington is a splendid example, formed of an isolated mass of chalk in the Upper Greensand/Gault plain below the Chiltern escarpment. The long, whaleback ridges north of the Thames valley which give their names to the Winchendons and Long Crendon, and the isolated mass of Wott's hill (Waddesdon) are clear proof of the specific way in which local people deployed this element.

The second most common element in this group is OE *leah*, originally with the sense 'wood, grove', which progressively changed to 'clearing, open ground in woodland'.[23] There are six of these

names, all with the exception of Hedgerley lying north of the Chilterns. It seems probable that some *leah*-names denote the ownership of a small parcel of woodland in an otherwise largely cleared area. Most of these parishes had little or no recorded woodland in 1086, and it would be natural for the possessor of a scarce resource to be commemorated in this way.

Less easily explained is the use of personal names to qualify the next most common features: *hoh*, '[heel-shaped] spur of land' and *denu*, 'valley', each with four examples. Clearly the spur or valley in question must have formed a prominent feature in the territory in question, but the choice of *hoh* instead of, for instance, *tun* in the case of Moulsoe and Tattenhoe for the settlement suggests a degree of idiosyncrasy in place naming.

OE *hlæw*, 'hill, mound', with three examples in this group of parishes, is a problematic element in the sense that it can refer to either natural or man-made features, of widely varying size. In the case of Taplow, where one of the richest Anglo-Saxon barrow burials was discovered in the nineteenth century, it seems certain that the name refers to the surviving large barrow, and that Tæppa was interred therein some time around AD600–625.[24] Winslow, where two names in *hlæw* occur in the tenth-century charter boundaries, is also likely to belong to this category.[25] The consensus is that Bledlow, 'Bledda's mound', is also a burial feature, probably the tumulus of Bledlow Cop on the Chiltern summit.

Other elements qualified by personal names with more than single examples are *ieg*, 'island, raised ground on a flood plain', *feld*, 'open land' (as distinct from woodland), *græf/grafa*, 'grove or pit', *stan*, 'stone' (perhaps a prominent standing stone, or glacial erratic boulder), and *healh*, 'nook, corner'. Olney and Dorney occupy characteristic *ieg* sites, one on the Ouse flood plain, the other by the Thames. Turville and Luffield represent small cleared areas in otherwise thickly wooded districts. Early spelling variation makes it difficult to be sure which feature was associated with Fylga at Filgrave, although Wingrave seems most likely to have been the grove of the *Withungas*, who gave their name to Wing and its surrounding area. Similarly, the stone which formed an obvious feature at

Lillingstone was associated with the *Lytlingas*, 'people of Lytel or Lytla'. 'Ibba's stone' in contrast refers to an individual. In Worminghall the medieval settlement is in one corner of the parish, very close to the later county boundary, although the latter may have had no significance before the tenth century. It is just possible that this name derives not from a man called *Wyrma, but from OE *wyrm*, 'serpent, snake', indicating an area infested with such creatures.

The remaining eleven parishes in the personal name+topographical feature category each have different basic elements, ranging from *slæp*, 'slippery place, marsh' in the case of Hanslope, to *beorg*, 'hill, mound' in the case of Edlesborough. This element poses a similar problem to that of *hlæw* [see above], being applicable to either natural or man-made features, the use of the name Eadwulf perhaps tilting the balance in favour of the latter, although the prominent knoll on which the parish church stands could well be the feature in question. Picel's thorn bush (Pitstone) and Ceadel's spring (Chalfont) are typical cases of names derived from possession of a unique local feature, and are found not only in parish names, but in dozens of field names and in the perambulations of Old English charter bounds.

V

Parish names formed from a non-personal qualifier and a habitative element are the second largest group in Buckinghamshire, with fifty-eight examples. They occur throughout the area, equally divided between the nine northern (30) and the nine southern Hundreds (28). They account for one-third of all parish names in each of the triple Hundreds other than Cottesloe, where the proportion is one-fifth. Just over half of these names (30) are based on *tun*, followed by four examples of *ham* (with two more possible, see above), four *cots* and four *stocs*. The predominance of *tun* is not surprising, given that it is the most common type of English settlement name. Adjectives used to qualify it include *new* (Newton Blossomville and Newton Longville), *dræg*, 'dray, portage' (Drayton Beauchamp and Parslow) and *east* (Aston Abbots and Clinton), all names widespread across England.

In some cases, however, the name indicates that the settlement performed some kind of specialist role within the economy or society of a larger estate. Calverton, for example, was a farm/village associated with rearing calves, whereas Barton Harsthorn was an outlying grange or cereal farm (literally 'barley farm'). Wotton may signify either a settlement in woodland, or more likely that it was devoted to the supply of timber to the centre of a multiple estate, in this case that of Brill/Oakley. Preston Bisset was the 'farm/village of the priest[s]', probably assigned to the support of the clergy who provided pastoral care from one of the early minsters, before the creation of the parochial network. In this case the nearest known minster was at Buckingham, although that is not to say that Preston does not commemorate an otherwise unknown early church in the area which was later divided between the three shires centred on Oxford, Northampton and Buckingham which meet hereabouts. Hardwick (OE *heordewic*) is in effect a compound noun used as a place-name, with the meaning '[outlying] farm/hamlet of the [shep]herdsmen', in other words a specialised sheep or cattle farm attached to an estate centre. Nearby Creslow was famed for the quality of its pastures as late as the seventeenth century,[26] suggesting that these high claylands were only given over to arable farming because of population pressure in the high middle ages.

Two Bucks. parishes have names in -*church*, both qualified by features which made them clearly different. Whitchurch was probably so named because it was unusually built of stone at a time when timber was the norm for small, often proprietary churches which later became parish churches. If so, it was likely to have been a product of the intense wave of church-building which marked the second half of the eleventh century.[27] Stokenchurch on the other hand was so called because it was built of logs (OE *stoccen*), no doubt resembling the surviving Saxon church at Greenstead in Essex. It does not appear in the records until 1200, and at the time of Domesday Book lay in Oxfordshire, attached to one of the estates lying below the Chiltern scarp.

Two parishes, Boarstall and Bierton, represent compounds based on OE *burh*, basically indicating fortifications of some kind, although these may range from the Iron Age to the tenth century in date. Given the proximity of Bierton to Aylesbury, and their close historical association, it is probable that the name should be interpreted as 'village belonging to/dependent on Aylesbury'.[28] Boarstall's position at the foot of the prominent Brill and Muswell hills suggests that the *burh* in this case was more of a local feature, perhaps a proto-manorial centre which later developed into the surviving moated site with its fine brick-built tower of the fifteenth century (cf. the ninth-century complex excavated at Goltho in Lincolnshire).[29] At the opposite end of the social spectrum lies Hulcott, whose peasant cottages were no better than sheds or hovels. Horton, 'dirty/filthy village', had an equally uncomplimentary name (cf. Horwood), which occurs many times across England.

There are four names in *stoc* which were uncompounded in 1086, although they later acquired 'surnames' to distinguish them: Goldington, Hammond, Mandeville and Poges. The meaning of this element was discussed above (see Adstock). Although these four places developed into parishes, it is not obvious at first sight whether they were originally dependencies of other estates, with the name signifying 'outlying [livestock] farm', or whether they are examples of places with specialised religious functions. It seems probable that Stoke Mandeville represents a subordinate settlement of Aylesbury, but such links in the remaining cases are less clear. Stoke Goldington lies adjacent to the large parish of Hanslope with its multiple settlements, but the two are connected only by the most minor paths. (Castlethorpe [originally just Thorpe, another name for an outlying settlement, usually a hamlet] probably fulfilled this role in Hanslope, later developing into a parish in its own right.) The places with which Stoke Goldington *is* well-connected, Ravenstone, Weston Underwood, Gayhurst, Lathbury and, across the Ouse, Newport Pagnell, are generally no more or less significant than itself, being five-ten hide estates in 1086. Just beyond the south-eastern corner of the parish, however, lies Bunsty Farm, in a detached portion of Lathbury parish. This gave its name to the local Hundred and means 'Buna's place', OE *stow* having a not dissimilar range of meanings to *stoc*.[30] Many -*stow* names do, however, carry a religious connotation, in the sense of

association with a named saint, but it very unusual for them to commemorate a layman otherwise unknown. Buna may therefore have been an early churchman, even a locally-venerated saint, who had links with this part of Bucks., perhaps during the conversion period 660–750. If this is the case, Stoke Goldington may once have had a religious significance, long forgotten by the time it is first recorded in 1086.

Stoke Poges, which is considerably larger than the average Bucks. parish and which gave its name to the local Hundred, would seem *prima facie* unlikely to have been of only secondary importance. The parish church is not, however, of exceptional size, and was of low value (20 marks - £13.67) in Pope Nicholas' *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291. The dedication to St. Giles may also be indicative of secondary status. Taken together, these facts suggest that we are not looking here at a 'missing' Anglo-Saxon minster church, but rather at a parochial foundation of the eleventh-twelfth century. It appears that the core of the church is essentially Norman.[31] In this case, therefore, the *stoc* which gave the parish its name is probably an outlying agricultural unit of some kind, possibly of Ditton, which remained a detached part of Stoke into the present century, although by 1086 the latter had become very much the larger in terms of resources and population.

There are also four parish names in *-cot*. This OE word means 'cottage', and again indicates an individual farm or hamlet group. These names, and others which did not become parishes, have been discussed in depth in a recent paper.[32] All these parishes are small, the largest only about half the county average, indicating that they were separated, probably quite late, from other territories, by lords who had the means to provide them with churches of their own. Only Edgcott and Foxcote appear in Domesday Book; Westcott and Hulcott are not recorded until *c.*1200.

OE *hamstede*, literally 'homestead', is yet another element indicative of small, possibly secondary settlements (although it is possible that such names denote remnants of the earlier, more scattered settlement pattern of the Anglo-Saxon period, before the creation of centralised villages with communal field systems[33]). It occurs in Leckhampstead, compounded with *leac*, 'vegetable, leek', and Chenies (originally Isenhampstead, the first element probably being an old name for the River Chess[34]). The former no doubt denotes a farm specialising in vegetable production within a larger economic entity, perhaps that centred on Buckingham (cf. Leighton [Buzzard], from OE *leactun*).

There is one name which does not really fit into any of the major categories, but which for convenience may be placed here. Buckland (OE *bocland*, 'land granted by charter [book]') is a name which occurs in many counties. Often, however, as in the Bucks. example, the charter in question no longer survives, and we are left to guess at the date and context of the grant. In 1086, Buckland was a ten-hide estate belonging to the bishop of Lincoln, while in 1066 it had been held by Godric, the brother of Wulfwig, bishop of Dorchester (the see was one of those moved after the Conquest from a rural to a major urban centre, and although the reason for choosing one so far away is unclear, it set the pattern of Buckinghamshire's ecclesiastical history for eight centuries). The ten-hide assessment and possession by the church are typical enough of estates granted by charter. The relatively small size, however, points to a grant in the tenth-eleventh centuries, when many churches were recovering from the effects of the Danish wars of the ninth century. Although Dorchester was not one of the major Benedictine centres refounded after 950, the grant of Buckland may belong to that period of renaissance under men like Dunstan and Æþelwold.[35]

VI

The largest group of Bucks. parish names is that combining a topographical element with a qualifying noun or adjective. There are 65 such names (32% of the total), but they are most common in the south of the county, with the Aylesbury and Chiltern Hundreds having 42% of parishes with such names. In the north, by contrast, only 20% of parishes in the Newport Hundreds and 26% in the Buckingham group belong here. There are thirty-three base words in this category, of which eighteen occur in a single name, with a further seven having two examples. As we have already seen in

the discussion of the other parish-name categories, certain elements occur with much greater frequency: here they are OE *leah* (7) and *dun* (6), followed by *wudu* and *beorg*, with four apiece.Between them these elements account for a third of the qualifier+topographical group. Taking names which have a personal-name qualifier into account, there are fourteen examples each of OE *leah* and *dun* in Bucks, a record only beaten by *-tun* names. This shows that two of the most significant features in men's minds when it came to selecting the names of settlements which ultimately went on to become parishes in their own right were the characteristically abrupt hills of the Vale, with steep sides and relatively flat tops, and clearings in woodland, either natural or created by a process of clearance. Given the steady progress of the latter process, it is interesting that by 1086, many -ley estates are recorded as having little or no woodland (e.g. Stewkley, Mursley).

Taking all parish names in this group, there are eighteen which have a woodland basis (28%) and a further eighteen where hills and slopes are the defining features. Streams and springs account for twelve (19%) and marshes for six names (9%). It is noteworthy, however, that there are very few woodland names in the Chilterns. Here, the universal presence of trees meant that they were not special, except in a negative sense, where large, probably natural, clearings gave rise to names in *feld*: Turville, Beaconsfield.

One each of the woodland and stream names has a Celtic basis, extremely unusual in south-east England where the pre-English nomenclature has virtually disappeared other than for the specific names of a few major streams (Thames, Thame, Ouse).[36] Datchet contains the Old Welsh *cet*, 'wood', qualified in this case by derivative of Latin *decus*, Old Irish *dech*, 'best'.[37] Whatever was special about the wood when the name was given (perhaps in the seventh century when English and Welsh speakers mingled in this part of Bucks., although the order of adjective+noun belongs to the former language [see below]) must remain unclear. Perhaps it was a stand of distinctive trees, prized for some specific purpose. Fulmer originated as a detached part of Datchet and was included silently under the latter's Domesday entry. There was woodland to support 300 swine, per-

haps 450-500 acres. It seems likely that Fulmer had already developed as a separate settlement by that time, however, since the resources at work on the combined estate were too large for a parish as small as riverside Datchet itself (1,386 acres). The very odd assessment of 13.5 hides (possibly representing a reduction of 10% from a regular fifteen-hide estate) had been equally divided in 1066 between two brothers, Saewulf (Earl Leofwin's man) and Siward (Earl Harold's man), and this may reflect the two distinct parish nuclei.

Wendover (OW *gwyn dwfr*, 'white water, river') preserves the Celtic word order and is likely to have arisen before the seventh century.[38] The name is highly appropriate for a stream in chalk country, with a tendency to run milky after heavy rain. Given the apparent sparsity of early Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Chilterns, however, contact between the two peoples need not have been so early. Unless, that is, the early settlers of Aylesbury whose remains have been found at Walton were familiar with the name of the stream at Wendover. (Paradoxically, the name Walton ([OE *weala tun*, 'village of the Welshmen/strangers/un-free'] is usually considered to denote a residual British population; perhaps here the adoption of an alien material culture failed to eradicate some ethnic or linguistic features.[39])

Two of the parish names in this group have a British word as qualifier: Brill and Brickhill. The element *briga*, 'hill', is compounded in both cases with OE *hyll*, to form a tautologous word, 'hill, hill', a common enough phenomenon with such names. It seems likely that they arose at some stage early in the contact between natives and incomers, when an enquiry to elicit the specific name of a landscape feature was treated as one relating to the generic word, i.e. Q: 'What is the name of that hill?'; A: 'It is a hill'. Unlike the names using OE *dun*, the hills in these cases are quite different. Brill is the second highest of the isolated hills in the clay Vale at 603ft. OD, and would normally have been a *dun*-name in this area (although Muswell Hill nearby, the highest in the region, is also not a *dun*). The 'hill' after which the Brickhills are named is an upland block of Woburn Sands, rising from near Leighton Buzzard to an escarpment overlooking the Ouzel valley at the south-eastern corner of Milton Keynes. The maximum height here is

556ft. OD. It is interesting that Wavendon, just to the north of the scarp, seems to be named after a much lower and rather insignificant ridge.

Another tautological name is Chetwode, combining Celtic *cet* and OE *wudu*, 'wood, wood'. The first element is found in Datchet (see above); the second is used for several parish names in the district around Bernwood Forest (Wotton, OE *wudu, tun*, probably a settlement originally specialising in the management and supply of timber and other wood on the multiple estate of Brill-Oakley; Woodham; Grendon Underwood). This district seems to display several features which indicate some kind of continuity between a Romano-British territory or estate and one which became a Mercian and later royal estate, especially favoured for its hunting.[40]

Two of the parishes with *leah*-names are in north Bucks.: Shenley (OE *scene*, 'bright, beautiful') was evidently once an oasis in a much more densely wooded area than is the case today; [North] Crawley (OE *crawe*, 'crow') must have been especially frequented by these birds. In the centre of the county Stewkley (OE *styfic*, 'stump') must have been named at a time when the woodland was being rooted out and destroyed. The almost complete absence of wood in this area in 1086 seems more likely to have arisen from an error in data transmission, however. Oakley was probably a wood-name, one in which oaks predominated, although it could also denote a clearing in oak woodland. The Lee, a name not recorded until 1181, is a simplex name, and reflects active woodland clearance on the Chiltern dipslope. In the far south-west of Bucks. Fawley (OE *fealh*, 'ploughed land; fallow') offers clear evidence of the reason for most early medieval woodland clearance, where the need to feed a growing population with a low, fixed level of agricultural productivity could only be met by increasing the cultivated area. In the south-east, Langley was the 'long clearing or wood', probably an early incursion into the woodland covering the gravel terraces between the Thames and the Colne.

The *dun*-names are concentrated in the Vale, as are those with personal-name qualifiers, reflecting the specific attributes of hills bearing such names (see above). The clay hill of Claydon was substan-

tial enough to give its name to four settlements, later qualified by the prefixes Steeple, Middle, East and Botolph. Together, they were assessed at fifty hides in 1086, although divided between Waddesdon (Middle/East) and Lamua (Steeple) Hundreds, with forty-five ploughteams at work. Whaddon (OE *hwæte*, 'wheat') was evidently noted for its crops, but the most interesting of these names in terms of its qualifier is Weedon, where the first element is OE *weoh*, '[pagan] shrine, temple'.[41] The prominent hill on which this was situated commands wide views of the Vale and the Chilterns, but it has unfortunately left no other trace in the record, historical or archaeological, although it takes us back to the period when the countryside was being converted to Christianity from early minster centres such as Aylesbury and, possibly, Wing. Ashendon (OE *æscen*, 'covered by ash trees') and Grendon, 'green hill', perhaps because it was grass-covered in an area otherwise well-wooded, are named from obvious physical attributes. More subtle is Quarrendon, where the qualifier is OE *cweorn*, 'quern, hand-mill'. The hill in this case is a relatively understated example, just north of the river Thame. Smith states that names incorporating this element may indicate sites where quernstones were found,[42] and it is possible that some suitable material had been found in the underlying Jurassic beds. Ekwall supports this view.[43] Mawer and Stenton, on the other hand, dismiss this possibility, interpreting the name as 'mill hill'.[44] The problem here is that such a mill would have to be a watermill, since windmills did not appear in the region until the late-twelfth century. No mill is mentioned in the Domesday entry for Quarrendon. Perhaps the hill was perceived as quern-shaped in some way.

Four parishes have *beorg*-names. As discussed above this word has several shades of meaning, one of which gives modern English *barrow*, hence a man-made as opposed to a natural feature. Thornborough is a good example of the dilemma which this poses. The two large Roman burial mounds by the Padbury Brook are suitable candidates for OE *beorg*, in this case barrows overgrown with thorn bushes. Equally, the hill on which Thornborough village stands above the Ouse could represent the use of the word for a natural feature. Granborough is most probably 'the green hill' and Ellesborough 'ass hill', part of the

Chiltern escarpment once noted for grazing asses. Nearby the Risboroughs were once noted for the growth of brushwood (OE *hris*), in contrast to full-grown woodland which clothes the scarp elsewhere. It seems most likely, therefore, that all four *beorg*-names relate to hillslopes, rather than to barrows.

Reverting to woodland names, there are four parish names based on OE *wudu*. Astwood, first mentioned in 1151, is the 'east wood', describing its position on the Bucks.-Beds. border. This was an area of active woodland clearance before and after the Conquest, with many field-names indicative of the process.[45] Chetwode is a tautological compound of British and English words for wood, of the kind which has already been discussed. The two Horwoods were noted for their 'dirt or filth' (OE *horh*), presumably a reference to the clay subsoil and the difficulties of using paths through this formerly extensive belt of woodland. Kingswood, late both in appearing in the record (1298) and in becoming a separate parish (1866, formerly a hamlet in Ludgershall), is the 'king's wood', part of the forest of Bernwood, which also appears locally in the 'surnames' of Wotton and Grendon Underwood.

There are three fords which gave rise to parish names. Great and Little Linford lie at opposite ends of a crossing of the Ouse, OE *hlyn* being a maple-tree, no doubt from a large specimen marking the ford. Water Stratford and the much later, tiny urban parishes of Stony Stratford mark points where Roman roads crossed the Ouse, while at Twyford there was a double ford across the braided upper reaches of the Claydon Brook. Three names incorporate OE *[i]eg*, 'island, higher ground in a marsh'. Kingsey (and neighbouring Towersey in Oxon.) were originally just *Eia*, taking their name from patches of higher ground by the Cuttle Brook and its tributaries. Similar terrain on the floodplain of the Thames gave rise to Boveney, 'above, over', Dorney, 'bumblebee island' and Chalvey in Slough, 'calves' island'.

The only other element which forms the basis of more than two parish names is OE *denu*, 'valley'. All are in the Chiltern region, where the steep-sided, often dry valleys of the chalk are typical of the types of valley described by this term.[46] The

Hampdens are named from one or other of the settlements themselves, the name meaning 'homestead valley'. Horsenden, 'horse valley', is the gap in the Chilterns followed by the road and railway between Risborough and Wycombe. (This is a name which was once considered to contain a personal name, in this case Horsa – identical with the putative companion of Hengist, the first Saxon conqueror of post-Roman Kent. This sort of interpretation is now considered unlikely, especially in view of the perfectly logical and acceptable alternative.) Hambleden, a large Thames-side parish bisected by a stream in a steep-sided valley, means 'crooked valley', as recently elucidated by Arnold Baines.[47]

Space precludes consideration of all the remaining topographical elements. Several relate to streams and springs, for example *burna*, 'stream', and *wielle*, 'spring, well', as in Swanbourne ['swan's or swain's stream'], and Hartwell ['hart spring']. OE *mere*, 'lake, pond', occurs in Fulmer and possibly Ilmer (although the latter may contain OE *[ge]mære*, 'boundary'). The qualifying words are bird and hedgehog, respectively. Mere forms the first element of Marlow, the second being 'leavings, remnant', that is, the pools left after draining had occurred, perhaps of a former backwater of the Thames.

Linslade is a compound of OE *hlinc* and *gelad*, meaning 'river crossing at a slópe', a good description of the position of the Ouzel crossing between two prominent valley sides. Fingest is one of those names which raises more questions for the historian than its simple meaning. The first element is Old Norse *þing*, 'assembly', the second OE *hyrst*, '[wooded] hill.[48] Whatever may have been the significance of this out-of-the-way place for Scandinavian settlers, it was lost relatively early. The local hundred moot was at Desborough Castle in Wycombe. The 'stones' which gave Stone its name may represent the remains of some man-made structures, possibly Roman, although there is still debate about this.

VII

This necessarily brief and simplified survey of the parish names of Buckinghamshire has never-

theless shown that there is a wealth of information contained in them for the local historian and archaeologist. They are of course only one element in a continuum of names which reaches from that of the shire down to those of individual fields, all of which deploy the elements discussed here, as well as scores of others which do not appear as the basis of parish names. There is much to be learned about the way in which the landscape was perceived by those who coined the names, most of which are likely to have arisen in the period c.600-c.1000, when Old English almost completely dominated the relevant vocabulary of names. Non-English words form only a tiny percentage of parish name elements in Bucks., as in neighbouring shires.

Of the total number of basic elements (60), about one-third are in some way indicative of human settlement or activity, the rest are landscape features of various kinds. Six elements, moreover, account for almost half of all parish names, with *tun/ingtun* alone representing almost a quarter. Personal names are used to qualify 38% of these names, again overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon in origin, and all male. It is noteworthy that there are more personal qualifiers in the topographical category than in the habitative one (45 against 32), although the tendency to name natural features after landowners or other locally prominent individuals is well-known from the boundaries of charters and from field-names.

It is to be hoped that an updated version of the English Place-Name Society's pioneering county volume for Buckinghamshire will one day be forthcoming, not only incorporating revised views as to the meaning of the names discussed here, but also with full surveys of the minor names in each parish.

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APPENDIX

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE PARISH NAMES

1. Personal+Habitative

Hundred	Parish	First Ref.	Elements	Meaning
Bun	Haversham	1012	*Hæfer, ham*	Hæfer's village
Bun	Ravenstone	1086	*Hrafn, tun*	Hrafn's village
Bun	Tyringham	1086	*Tir, ingaham*	Village of Tir's people
Bun	Warrington	1175	*Wearda, ingtun*	Wearda's village
Sec	Loughton	1086	*Luha, ingtun*	Luha's village
Sec	Simpson	1086	*Sigewine, tun*	Sigewine's village
Sec	Wolverton	1086	*Wulfhere, ingtun*	Wulfhere's village
Sec	Woolstone	1086	*Wulfsige, tun*	Wulfsige's village
Sec	Woughton	1086	*Weohha, tun*	Weohha's village
Mou	Emberton	1086	*Eanberht, tun*	Eanberht's village
Mou	Sherington	1086	*Scira, ingtun*	Scira's village
Sfd	Turweston	1086	*Thurulf, tun*	Thurulf's village
Lam	Addington	1086	*Æddi, ingtun*	Æddi's village
Lam	Adstock	1086	*Æddi, stoc*	Æddi's place
Lam	Padbury	1086	*Padda, burh*	Padda's fort
Row	Tingewick	1086	*Tida, ingawic*	Outlying farm of Tida's people
Mur	Dunton	1086	*Doda/Duda, ingtun*	Doda/Duda's village
Mur	Hoggeston	1086	*Hogg, tun*	Hogg's village
Cot	Cublington	1086	*Cubbel, ingtun*	Cubbel's village
Cot	Soulbury	1086	*Sula, burh*	Sula's fort
Yar	Cholesbury	1227	*Ceolweald, burh*	Ceolweald's fort
Yar	Marsworth	1012	*Mæssa, worð*	Mæssa's enclosure
Ixh	Shabbington	1086	*Sc(e)obba, ingtun*	Sc[e]obba's village
Wad	Pitchcott	1176	*Picca, cot*	Picca's cottage
Ayl	Aylesbury	900	*Ægel, burh*	Ægel's fort
Stn	Cuddington	1115	*Cuda, ingtun*	Cuda's village
Stn	Dinton	1086	*Dunna, ingtun*	Dunna's village
Stn	Haddenham	1086	*Hæda, ham*	Hæda's village
Des	Saunderton	1086	**Sandhere, tun*	Sandhere's village
Bur	Amersham	1066	**Ealhmod, ham*	Ealhmod's village
Bur	Hitcham	1086	*Hycga, ham*	Hycga's village
Stk	Wyrardisbury	1086	*Wigræd, burh*	Wigræd's fort

2. Personal+Topographical

Bun	Hanslope	1086	*Hama, slæpe*	Hama's slippery place
Bun	Lavendon	1086	*Lafa, denu*	Lafa's valley
Bun	Olney	979	*Olla, ieg*	Olla's island
Bun	Filgrave	1218	*Fygla, græf*	Fygla's grove/thicket
Sec	Bletchley	1152	*Blæcca, leah*	Blæcca's clearing
Mou	Chicheley	1086	*Cicca, leah*	Cicca's clearing
Mou	Hardmead	1086	*Herewulf, mæd*	Herewulf's meadow
Mou	Moulsoe	1086	*Mul, hoh*	Mul's spur
Mou	Petsoe	1151	*Peoht-, hoh*	Peoht-'s spur

Mou	Wavendon	969	*Wafa, dun*	Wafa's hill
Sfd	Akeley	1086	*Aca, leah*	Aca's clearing
Sfd	Biddlesden	1086	*Byttel, denu*	Byttel's valley
Sfd	Lillingstone	1086	*Lytel/Lytla, ingastan*	Stone of Lytel's people
Sfd	Luffield	1086	*Lufa, feld*	Lufa's open country
Lam	Charndon	1086	*Cærda, dun*	Cærda's hill
Lam	Poundon	1255	**Pohha, dun*	Pohha's hill
Row	Buckingham	918	*Bucc, ingahamm*	Meadow of Bucc's people
Row	Hillesden	949	*Hild, dun*	Hild's hill
Mur	Mursley	1086	*Myrsa, leah*	Myrsa's clearing
Mur	Tattenhoe	1167	*Tata, hoh*	Tata's spur
Mur	Winslow	792	*Wine, hlaw*	Wine's mound
Cot	Mentmore	1086	**Mænta, mor*	Mænta's marsh
Cot	Wingrave	1086	*Widunga, graf*	Grove of ?Wihthun's people
Yar	Cheddington	1086	*Cetta, dun*	Cetta's hill
Yar	Edlesborough	1086	*Eadwulf, beorg*	Eadwulf's hill/barrow
Yar	Ivinghoe	1086	*Ifa, ingas, hoh*	Spur of Ifa's people
Yar	Pitstone	1086	*Picel, born*	Picel's thorn
Ash	Chearsley	1086	*Ceolred, leah*	Ceolred's clearing
Ash	Winchendon	1004	*Wineca, dun*	Wineca's hill
Ixh	Long Crendon	1086	*Creoda, dun*	Creoda's hill
Ixh	Ickford	1086	*Icca, ford*	Icca's ford
Ixh	Worminghall	1086	**Wyrma, healh*	Wyrma's corner
Wad	Hogshaw	1086	*Hogg, sceaga*	Hogg's wood
Wad	Waddesdon	1086	*Wott, dun*	Wott's hill
Ayl	Missenden	1086	**Myssa, denu*	Myssa's valley
Ris	Bledlow	1012	*Bledda, hlaw*	Bledda's mound
Des	Hedsor	1195	**Hæddel, ofer*	Hæddel's bank/slope
Des	Hughenden	1086	**Hycga, denu*	Hycga's valley
Des	Ibstone	1086	*Ibba, stan*	Ibba's stone
Des	Turville	1086	*Ðyri, feld*	Ðyri's open land
Bur	Chalfont	949	*Ceadel, funta*	Ceadel's spring
Bur	Coleshill	1279	*Cola, hyll*	Cola's hill
Bur	Taplow	1086	*Tæppa, hlaw*	Tæppa's mound
Stk	Hedgerley	1190	*Hycga, leah*	Hycga's clearing

3. Groups

Cot	Wing	1012	*Widungas*	?Wihthun's people
Ash	Oving	1086	*Ufingas*	Ufa's people

4. Qualifier+Habitative

Bun	Lathbury	1086	*lath, burh*	lath fort
Bun	Newton Bloss.	1175	*niwe, tun*	new village
Bun	Castlethorpe	1252	*þorp*	outlying settlement
Bun	Stoke Gold'n	1086	*stoc*	dependent settlement
Bun	Weston U'w'd	1086	*west, tun*	west village
Sec	Calverton	1086	*cealfra, tun*	calves' village
Sec	Water Eaton	1086	*ea, tun*	river village
Sec	Newport Pag.	1086	*niwe, port*	new town
Sec	Newton Long.	1086	*niwan, tun*	new village
Sec	Stantonbury	1086	*stan, tun*	stone village
Sec	Stoke Hamm'd	1086	*stoc*	dependent settlement
Mou	Broughton	1086	*broc, tun*	stream village
Mou	Clifton Reynes	1086	*clif, tun*	village at a steep slope
Mou	Milton Keynes	1086	*middel, tun*	middle village
Mou	Walton	1218	*weala, tun*	Welshmen's/slaves' village

Sfd	Foscott	1086	*fox, cot*	fox cottage
Sfd	Leckhampst'd	1086	*leac, hamstede*	vegetable farm
Sfd	Maid's Moret'n	1086	*mor, tun*	marsh village
Sfd	Westbury	1086	*west, burh*	west fort
Lam	Edgcott	1086	*æcan, cot*	oaken cottage
Row	Barton Harts'n	1086	*beretun*	barley farm
Row	Beachampton	1086	*bece, hamtun*	stream village
Row	Preston Bisset	1086	*preost, tun*	priest[s] village
Row	Thornton	1086	*þorn, tun*	thorn village
Mur	Drayton Parsl.	1086	*dræg, tun*	?dray/portage village
Cot	Aston Abbots	1086	*east, tun*	east village
Cot	Hardwick	1086	*heordewic*	herdsman's outlying farm
Cot	Whitchurch	1086	*hwit, cirice*	white church
Yar	Drayton Beau.	1086	*dræg, tun*	?dray/portage village
Yar	Slapton	1086	*slæp, tun*	village at a slippery place
Ash	North Marston	1086	*mersc, tun*	marsh village
Ash	Quainton	1086	*cwene, tun*	queen's village
Ash	Wotton U'w'd	848	*wudu, tun*	wood village
Ixh	Aston Sandfd.	1086	*east, tun*	east village
Ixh	Boarstall	1158	*burhsteall*	fortified place
Ixh	Chilton	1086	*cild, tun*	young man/warrior village
Ixh	Dorton	1086	*dor, tun*	gap village
Wad	Fleet Marston	1086	*mersc, tun*	marsh village
Wad	Westcott	1200	*west, cot*	west cottage
Ayl	Aston Clinton	1086	*east, tun*	east village
Ayl	Bierton	1086	*burhtun*	fort village
Ayl	Buckland	1086	*bocland*	land granted by charter
Ayl	Hulcott	1200	*hulu/hulc, cot*	hovel cottage
Ayl	Stoke Mand.	1086	*stoc*	dependent settlement
Stn	Halton	1033	*healh, tun*	village at a corner
Stn	Weston Turv.	1086	*west, tun*	west village
Des	Medmenham	1086	*medeme, ham[m]*	middle village/meadow
Des	Stokenchurch	1200	*stoccen, cirice*	wooden church
Bur	Burnham	1086	*burna, ham*	stream village
Bur	Chenies	1195	*isen, hamstede*	homestead on R. Isen
Bur	Farnham Roy.	1086	*fearn, ham*	fern village
Stk	Denham	1066	*denu, ham*	valley village
Stk	Eton	1086	*ieg, tun*	island village
Stk	Horton	1086	*horh, tun*	dirty village
Stk	Stoke Poges	1086	*stoc*	dependent settlement
Stk	Upton	1086	*up, tun*	upper village
Stk	Wexham	1211	*weax, ham*	wax village

5. Qualifier+Topographical

Bun	Cold Brayfield	967	*brægen, feld*	?brain-shaped open country
Bun	Gayhurst	1086	*gat, hyrst*	goat wood
Sec	Bradwell	1086	*brad, wielle*	broad spring
Sec	Linford	1086	*hlyn, ford*	lime-tree ford
Sec	Shenley	1086	*sciene, leah*	bright clearing
Sec	Willen	1189	*wyligum*	willows
Mou	Astwood	1151	*east, wudu*	east wood
Mou	Bow Brickhill	1086	*briga, hyll*	hill hill
Mou	North Crawley	1086	*crawe, leah*	crow clearing
Sfd	Radclive	1086	*readan, clif*	red cliff
Sfd	Shalstone	1086	*sceald, stan*	shallow stone
Sfd	Water Stratfd.	1086	*Stræt, ford*	paved road ford

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Lam	Claydon	1086	*clægigan, dun*	clay hill
Lam	Marsh Gibbon	1086	*mersc*	marsh
Lam	Thornborough	1086	*þorn, beorg*	thorn hill/barrow
Lam	Twyford	1086	*twi, ford*	two fords
Row	Chetwode	949	*cet, wudu*	wood wood
Mur	Horwood	792	*horh, wudu*	dirty wood
Mur	Nash	1231	*æsc*	ash
Mur	Stewkley	1086	*styfic, leah*	stump clearing
Mur	Swanbourne	792	*swana, burna*	swan stream
Mur	Whaddon	1086	*hwæte, dun*	wheat hill
Cot	Creslow	1086	*cærse, hlaw*	cress mound
Cot	Grove	1086	*graf*	grove
Cot	Linslade	966	*hlinc, gelad*	slope crossing
Cot	Weedon	1066	*weoh, dun*	shrine hill
Yar	Hawridge	1191	*heafoc, hrycg*	hawk ridge
Ash	Ashendon	1086	*æscen, dun*	ash hill
Ash	Grendon U'w'd	1086	*grene, dun*	green hill
Ash	Kingswood	1298	*cyning, wudu*	king's wood
Ash	Ludgershall	1015	*lutgar, healh*	trapping spear nook
Ixh	Brill	1072	*briga, hyll*	hill hill
Ixh	Ilmer	1086	*igil, mere/(ge)mære*	hedgehog pool/boundary
Ixh	Oakley	1086	*ac, leah*	oak clearing
Ixh	Towersey	1086	*ieg*	island
Wad	Grandborough	1060	*grene, beorg*	green hill
Wad	Quarrendon	1086	*cweorn, dun*	quern hill
Wad	Woodham	1370	*wudu, hamm*	wood meadow
Ayl	Ellesborough	1086	*esol, beorg*	ass hill
Ayl	Hampden	1086	*ham, denu*	village valley
Ayl	Lee	1181	*leah*	clearing
Ayl	Wendover	970	*(g)wen, dyfr*	white water
Stn	Hartwell	1086	*heort, wielle*	hart spring
Stn	Kimble	903	*cyne, bell*	?royal hill
Stn	Stone	1086	*stanas*	stones
Ris	Horsenden	1086	*horsa, denu*	horse valley
Ris	Risborough	903	*hris, beorg*	brushwood hill
Des	Bradenham	1086	*brad, hamm*	broad meadow
Des	Fawley	1086	*fealh, leah*	fallow clearing
Des	Fingest	1163	*þing, hyrst*	meeting-place wood
Des	Hambleden	1015	*hamel, denu*	crooked valley
Des	Marlow	1015	*mere, laf*	pool remnant
Des	Radnage	1162	*readan, ac*	red oak
Des	Wooburn	1075	*woh, burna*	crooked stream
Des	Wycombe	970	*Wye, cumb*	Wye valley
Bur	Beaconsfield	1184	*beacen, feld*	beacon open country
Bur	Boveney	1086	*bufan, ieg*	upper island
Bur	Chesham	1012	*ceastel, hamm*	heap of stones meadow
Bur	Dorney	1086	*dorn, ieg*	bumblebee island
Bur	Penn	1188	*pen(n)*	hilltop
Stk	Chalvey	1227	*cealf, ieg*	calf island
Stk	Datchet	990	*dech, cet*	fine wood
Stk	Fulmer	1198	*fugol, mere*	bird pool
Stk	Iver	1086	*yfre*	bank/slope
Stk	Langley	1208	*lang, leah*	long clearing
Stk	Slough	1195	*sloh*	marsh