BUCKINGHAMSHIRE DETACHED

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An examination of any medium- to large-scale map of Buckinghamshire drawn before about 1900 reveals many examples of parishes with detached portions lying among the lands of their neighbours, or even further afield. There are even cases where the detached portion lies in a different county, for example Caversfield (Buckinghamshire) is near Bicester (Oxfordshire), while there were several portions of Oxfordshire within Buckinghamshire. Gradually during the nineteenth century, these anomalies were tidied up by government bureaucrats. This paper examines the evidence for these detached parts, which range in size from a few to several hundred acres. Although it is usually impossible to be certain when and why these anomalies arose, it is suggested that in some parts of the county they may reflect pre-Conquest arrangements whereby settlements, which did not possess a particular resource, usually woodland, within their home territory, acquired access to these assets at a distance. The south-eastern Hundreds of Burnham and Stoke seem to show aspects of "Wealden" landscape patterns, while the areas north of the River Ouse in Stodfold and Bunsty Hundreds similarly have a number of detached areas in wooded country. Outside these two areas, most detached portions were very small and scattered, although they too seem to be based on the need to allocate scarce resources such as wood and meadow.

I

This study had two main inspirations. The first was the late John Chenevix's Trench's thought-provoking account of the medieval history of Coleshill, a detached part of Hertfordshire lying between Amersham and Beaconsfield, which also looked briefly at the complex pattern of parishes and boundaries in the area between Coleshill and the Thames.[1] The second was one of the most enduring features of maps of England and its counties, namely the presence of large numbers of "detached" portions, which survived until the nineteenth century. There was a whole hierarchy of detachment, from counties, through Hundreds, to parishes. These detached parts ranged in size from thousands to a few acres, the latter often seeming hardly worth the effort of administration through the centuries. As with all such anomalies, however, these detached parts had an original *raison d'être*, and this paper seeks to investigate those which lay within the present county of Buckinghamshire, and also the very few areas of the county outside its present boundaries.

Prior to the various exchanges between around 1840 and 1900, there were dozens of detached portions of parishes, ranging from large blocks of territory like the northern part of Shalstone parish and Dorney Wood, to individual fields. The parish of Caversfield was separated from the rest of Rowley Hundred by a broad strip of Oxfordshire. Boycott and Lillingstone Lovell formed exclaves of the latter county in Stodfold Hundred, and the now lost *Abefeld* and Ackhampstead lay in the Buckinghamshire Chilterns in Desborough Hundred. The territory known in Domesday Book as *Eia* ('low-lying land surrounded by water or marsh'), later Kingsey and Towersey, was divided in a complex way between Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. Stokenchurch was wholly in Oxfordshire until the county boundary changed in 1894.

Only the more significant of these detached portions were drawn by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century county map-makers, and it is only the first two editions of the Ordnance Survey six- and twenty-five-inch to the mile sheets which show the whole range. Especially notable on the latter is the complex mosaic of detached fields which lay intermixed around the boundaries of Cheddington, Ivinghoe, Pitstone and Slapton parishes, in the area cut through by the Grand Union Canal and the later London & Birmingham Railway.

This late map evidence raises the difficult question of when the detached portions arose, which in turn leads to the even more difficult problem as to *how* and *why* they came about. In order to address these issues, it is probably best to go back to our

earliest detailed knowledge of local territorial arrangements. For the Roman and subsequent British periods of rule, we know nothing apart from the broadest of tribal groupings, whose outer boundaries are scarcely identifiable, let alone those of any subdivisions. That the latter existed is more often inferred than provable, although the use of the word *pagus* in an eighth-century charter to describe the district known as *Hæmele* (Hemel [Hempstead]) suggests that this term was used in the province of *Britannia*, just as it was in Gaul and other parts of the Roman Empire.[2]

We know even less about the British successor polities, and there is no concrete evidence until the seventh century, when Anglo-Saxon control had spread more or less completely across the area north and west of London. The document known as the *Tribal Hidage* is generally ascribed to the Mercian kings of the late-seventh century whose overlordship involved the collection of tribute, although it may date to the time of their Northumbrian predecessors.[3] It lists a range of kingdoms (e.g. Wessex, Sussex and Mercia), together with other territories of indeterminate status. All are assessed in hides, with entities below the level of kingdoms ranging from 7,000 to 300 hides. The process of breaking up the larger units began in the seventh century with the granting of substantial estates to the church to support the new minsters and monasteries. Several early grants, for example that to Chertsey c.666 are of three-hundred hide estates, and this was the same as an estate at Eynsham mentioned in the 820s, but probably much older.[4] Later, ship levy assessments were based on 300-hide units, and from at least the early twelfth century, Buckinghamshire's eighteen Hundreds were grouped in triple units, although their hidages seldom equalled three hundred (see below).

Any of these large territories would have included all of the essential resources for an agrarian society within its boundaries. There were probably extensive areas of underused land between the core territories, with imprecisely defined boundaries. As the intensity of land use increased, the original large territories began to be broken-up. This process became prevalent in the early-eighth century, and gathered momentum over subsequent centuries, so that by the time of Domesday Book in 1086, "estates" as small as one hide were commonplace, and few vestiges survived of the former

"multiple estates". None survived in eleventh-century Buckinghamshire where the royal patrimony had all but vanished, but there are still some substantial estates, often including several discrete settlements and field systems within their boundaries.

This progressive disintegration of large territories presented problems to new owners. It would have been difficult to gain access to resources which were not uniformly distributed, or which were becoming scarce as a result of the reduction of woodland and waste as population grew and arable expanded. It is here that we should probably look for the origins of the practice of allowing estates access to resources within the territory of a neighbour. The fragmentation of the original minster *parochiae* followed somewhat behind that of multiple estates, but the desire of new landowners to endow and maintain their own churches gained an irresistible momentum from the mid-early eleventh century, and the network of parishes was largely complete by 1200.[5] Areas which had been detached in purely administrative terms now became detached portions of parishes, and it was this that tended to fossilise the arrangements until they were "tidied up" in the nineteenth century. It is, of course, impossible to tell if this was so in every case, for some detached portions may have arisen later as the result of grants for charitable purposes, whereby the land in question was absorbed administratively by its "new" parish.

It is equally possible that detached portions arose when areas, hitherto held in common by surrounding settlements, were divided up when local boundaries finally became defined. This is frequently found across England in the case of woodland, used for pasture and hunting, of upland pastures occupied seasonally, of marsh and meadow land, all essential resources which are geographically restricted, or which have been reduced by clearance and colonisation. Although Anglo-Saxon kings were devotees of the chase, for example in Bernwood, the imposition of forest law over vast areas by the Norman kings meant that boundaries defined and perambulated. The most likely areas for once-communal woodland in Buckinghamshire are Burnham Beeches and the Chiltern dip-slope in the south, Bernwood in the centre, and Whittlewood and Yardley Chase in the north. The last three are shared with neighbouring counties. Bernwood has few examples of detached portions, as much of

it remained within the ancient royal estate of Brill-Oakley.[6]

The rest of this paper examines detached portions of local parishes in more detail, with special reference to the south-east, north-west and north-east corners of Buckinghamshire.

II

The incidence of detached land across Buckinghamshire, including exclaves, is set out below.

(Parishes are grouped into their customary Triple Hundreds.)

In some cases of early detachment, the remote portions became parishes in their own right, although manorial links often persisted. Eton's Domesday entry conceals the fact that the manor included Hedgerley and Wexham, between them more than twice the size of the small Thames-side territory. Similarly, Fulmer was a detached part of Datchet, comprising one of the two equal-sized

TABLE 1 Buckinghamshire: Detached Portions

Parish	Detached in…	Parish	Detached in…
Aylesbury Hundreds		Long Crendon	Wotton Underwood
Hartwell	Stone	Brill	Ludgershall
Wendover	Hartwell; Bierton	Shabbington	Oakley
Little Kimble	Great Kimble (2); Gt. Hampden	Waddesdon	Kingswood/Grendon
		Towersey	Kingsey
Little Hampden	Great Hampden		
Stoke Mandeville	Hartwell (2); Gt. Missenden	**Cottesloe Hundreds**	
		Edlesborough	Ivinghoe; Slapton; Cheddington; Lit. Gaddesden [Herts.]
Bierton	Hulcott; Aylesbury		
Aylesbury	Bierton (3)		
Saunderton	Princes Risborough	Cheddington	Pitstone
		Pitstone	Ivinghoe; Slapton
Chiltern Hundreds		Ivinghoe	Slapton
Datchet	Fulmer	Slapton	Ivinghoe; Cheddington
Eton	Hedgerley/Wexham	Drayton Beauchamp	Wing; Tring; Buckland
Farnham Royal	Chalfont St.Giles; Beaconsfield	Marsworth	Herts. (Tring); Hawridge; Cheddington
Upton	Fulmer (2)	[Aldbury]	Tring
Iver	Denham	Wingrave	Weedon
Stoke Poges	Horton		
Langley Marish	Iver	**Buckingham Hundreds**	
Dorney	Burnham (2)	Westbury	Biddlesden
Boveney	Burnham; Dorney	Biddlesden	(Dadford)
Taplow	Hitcham or Wooburn; Penn	Lillingstone Dayrell	Lillingstone Lovell
Chalfont St. Giles	Chalfont St. Peter	Caversfield	Whole in Oxfordshire
Chalfont St. Peter	Chalfont St. Giles	Lewknor (Oxfordshire)	Stokenchurch; Great Marlow
Lavendon	Olney (Warrington); Ravenstone	Boycott (Oxfordshire)	Whole in Buckinghamshire (Stowe)
Lathbury	Gayhurst (3)	Lillingstone Lovell	Whole in Buckinghamshire
Newton Longville	Tattenhoe		
		Hertfordshire (?Tring)	Coleshill; Beaconsfield
Ashendon Hundreds			
Hogshaw	Quainton/Shipton Lee		
Quainton	Shipton Lee		

estates in 1086.[7] All the Thames-side settlements in south-east Buckinghamshire had substantial outlying lands. This pattern was clearly in place in the late-eleventh century and may well have had much earlier origins. The resemblance to the situation in Kent, where Thames-side and coastal estates usually had detached *dens* or swine-pastures in the Weald from at least the seventh-eighth centuries, is striking and will be explored further below.

The existence of detached portions of *counties* is not uncommon across England. Given that the shire structure was not fixed in southern Mercia until the tenth century, one should perhaps not read too much into this. Buckinghamshire, for example is an amalgam of parts of ancient territories such as those of the *Cilternsætan* and probably the *Hendrica*, which existed in the seventh century, and tended to follow the south-west to north-east grain of the geology and landscape.[8] The same is true of Oxfordshire, whose northern and southern extremities at Banbury and Henley had as little in common as did Olney and Iver before they were assigned to the same shire in support of the newly-created *burhs* of the ninth-tenth centuries. Nevertheless, islands of Oxfordshire were to be found in the north-west and west of Buckinghamshire, from at least the time of Domesday Book; while Caversfield lay at least two miles from the nearest part of Rowley Hundred. In the case of Towersey and Kingsey, a former unitary territory was divided between the two shires, with a far from straightforward boundary. The case of the Lillingstones suggests that changes could continue to occur in administrative arrangements. The use of manorial "surnames" to distinguish the two parishes post-dated the Domesday survey.[9] Until the nineteenth century a detached portion of Dayrell (Buckinghamshire) remained to the north of Lovell (Oxfordshire), providing the former with access to woodland resources in Whittlewood. At some time prior to 1066, what seems to have been a ten-hide estate had become equally divided between different lords and assigned to different counties. Dayrell was held by Seric, a man of Queen Edith, at the Conquest, while Lovell was further divided into two two-and-a-half hide properties, one held by Azor (probably Azor son of Toti, who had considerable estates in Buckinghamshire). Dayrell passed to Hugh (of Bolbec) as sub-tenant of Walter Giffard, the largest lay tenant-in-chief and sheriff of Buckinghamshire, while Lovell went to Benzelin

and Richard "the Artificer". Neither of these men had other estates in Oxfordshire, but Richard had acquired part of Shenley Brook End to give him a notional thegn's estate of five hides, albeit widely separated from one another.[10] There seems no immediate reason for assigning Lillingstone Lovell to Oxfordshire, where it belonged to the lands assigned to the royal estate at Kirtlington, later known as Ploughley Hundred,[11] or, if the whole ten-hide unit had originally belonged to Oxfordshire, why half had been re-allocated to Buckinghamshire before 1066. It is also unclear whether the territory of the *Lytlingas* ('Lytlla's people') comprised only these two parishes, or if other local estates had once been included, but had assumed their own identities by the Conquest.

Boycott was a much smaller detached part of Kirtlington's lands, lying just south of Stowe. In 1086 it was held by Reinbald. He may have been Edward the Confessor's continental priest/chancellor, who also held an estate at Boveney associated with the minster church at Cookham, although he is found among the laity in the Oxfordshire folios.[12] In 1066 the owner had been Blacman, possibly the same man who held land at Crafton and Brickhill from Earl Tostig, Harold's brother. The estate was assessed at only one hide, with one plough working on the demesne and one villein family. It was probably a demesne farm. There was about eighty acres of woodland.

Lewknor parish, in the Oxfordshire Hundred of the same name, had detached portions in Desborough Hundred by 1066, as well as including Stokenchurch which was transferred in its entirety to Buckinghamshire in the 1890s.[13] Abefeld and Ackhamstead were not separately identified in Domesday Book, but were named in later medieval sources.[14] Since Lewknor was well-endowed with woodland resources of its own on the Chiltern escarpment, the reason for attaching these two small blocks is unclear. By the thirteenth century, they were apparently being farmed in the usual way, with peasant tenants occupying virgate holdings.[15] Nearby, Ibstone was divided with two hides in Buckinghamshire and two in Oxfordshire, all held 1086 by Hervey the Commissioner. This was not strictly a case of detachment, rather drawing the shire boundary through a pre-existing territory for some reason.[16] The Buckinghamshire estate was held by Tovi, a king's thegn, in 1066, and one of the Oxfordshire hides by Ulf, so once again there was

no obvious rationale for the division. Hervey also had an estate at Bix, near Henley.

Caversfield was a classic five-hide thegn's estate, with land for eight ploughs and twelve villeins and nine bordars.[17] In 1086 it was one of the two Buckinghamshire estates of William of Warenne, whose sub-tenant was Bryant. The owner in 1066 was Earl Tostig, whose tenant was Edward. In neither case does there seem to have been a local connection which might have caused Caversfield to be transferred away from Oxfordshire. Tythrop, now part of Kingsey parish, was wholly in Oxfordshire in 1086. It was another five-hide unit, this time divided into two halves, each with one third of the land in demesne.[18]

Another very long-lived detached portion belonging to another county was Coleshill and part of Beaconsfield, both in Hertfordshire until 1844.[19] They remained "non-parochial" in the sense that they did not acquire their own churches and administrative identity. Coleshill was an outlier of Tring. Given the abundance of woodland resources within Tring's boundaries, the reason for acquiring and retaining Coleshill is unclear. The Hertfordshire portion of Beaconsfield was identified by Elvey as the anonymous half-hide of land in Burnham Hundred belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln in 1086.[20] Elvey assigned it to Lude in Wooburn, on the basis that in 1066 both belonged in 1066 to Leofric, a man of (king) Harold. If correct, this is an unusual example of a detached portion outside a Hundred boundary, and still leaves the question of its being in a different county unanswered.

III

There are several examples within Buckinghamshire in 1086 of *Hundreds* with detached portions, although this became disguised in later centuries as the system of "triple" Hundreds took over, absorbing most of these anomalies within the same administrative area, as follows:

In addition, Shenley was divided between Mursley (Brook End) and Seckloe (Church End) Hundreds. In the case of Bunsty Hundred, the bulk of which lay north of the Great Ouse, the parishes of Newton Blossomville and Tyringham with Filgrave lay south of the river, while in the west, Buckingham's large parish straddled the river, with the town lying to the north in what was otherwise the territory of Stodfold Hundred.

As with county exclaves, it is impossible to be

TABLE 2 Buckinghamshire: Detached Portions of Hundreds

Hundred	Parish
Stone	Weston Turville; Halton; Missendens
Risborough	Bledlow
Ixhill	Towersey; Ilmer; Aston Sandford
Waddesdon	East & Middle Claydon; Hogshaw; Granborough
Yardley	Drayton Beauchamp
Rowley	Thornton; Beachampton

sure precisely when these arrangements arose, or why they persisted. In Buckinghamshire, it seems that the Hundreds and the Shire were creations of the early-tenth century, a period when Edward the Elder was vigorously expanding West Saxon rule into Mercia, aided by his sister Æþelflæd and her husband ealdorman Æþelred. *Inter alia*, this involved the creation of a network of fortified *burhs* to counter the threat of Danish resistance, and the assignment to them of blocks of territory to provide manpower for the building, maintenance and manning of their defences.[21] Earlier territorial subdivisions in southern Mercia followed the local topography, but the creation of new shires to support the *burhs* at Buckingham, Oxford, Hertford, Bedford and *Scæftesege* (Sashes island in the Thames near Cookham) swept them away. Some of the Hundreds within these new shires may once have been subdivisions of those ancient territories, and may also have equated to minster *parochiæ*, whereas others were merely arbitrary groupings of estates to achieve notional assessments of one hundred hides.

By 1066, none of the Hundreds of Buckinghamshire was assessed at exactly one hundred hides, with totals ranging from 91 to 159 hides. Only six Hundreds came within ten percent of the theoretical figure, with a further six between +20% and –20%. Stone, Desborough and Cottesloe hundreds clearly belong to the category noted elsewhere in Domesday Book of "Hundred and a Half" or "One-and-a-half Hundreds". Even at the level of the later Triple Hundreds, only the Buckingham and Ashendon groups come within 10% of three hundred hides. If these units had ever contained exactly the notional number of hides, the workings of the land market and taxation system had blurred

the situation to a greater or lesser extent by 1066. Apart from Rowley and Lamua Hundreds, adding in the detached portions fails to produce suitably round numbers.

Neither does there appear to have been any tenurial reason for having blocks of one Hundred isolated in another, as was the case with the St. Albans estates in Hertfordshire (all grouped together as Cashio Hundred).[22] Without the twenty hides of its detached parishes, Ixhill Hundred would have had 99 hides, and it seems that the confusion surrounding *Eia* (see above), partly in Buckinghamshire and partly in Oxfordshire, was responsible. This suggests that the changes postdated the creation of the shires. Assigning Aston Sandford and Ilmer (nine hides) to Stone Hundred would increase its total to 159 hides. There seems to be no obvious reason for the allocation of Weston Turville, Halton and the Missendens to Stone Hundred in Domesday Book, however, especially as Weston almost certainly once formed a single unit with Aston Clinton. Reallocating these parishes to Aylesbury Hundred would produce totals of 163 hides for the latter and 120 hides for Stone Hundred (129 with Aston and Ilmer). It therefore seems possible that these two areas may once have formed a three-hundred hide territory, whose subdivision was subject to changes over many years.

It is difficult to understand the reason for the assignment of Drayton Beauchamp, Cholesbury and Hawridge to Yardley Hundred, from which they are separated by a substantial salient of Hertfordshire. Only Drayton features by name in Domesday Book, a ten-hide unit comprising three estates, which in 1066 had belonged to Brictric's widow (1½ hides), Wicga, king Edward's man (1⅜ hides), and Aelfric, a king's thegn (6¾ hides). Drayton is a classic chalkland "strip parish", seldom more than half-a-mile wide, but more than four miles long, designed to include a variety of soils and types of land within its borders. It also had an outlier at Helsthorpe in Wing. Cholesbury was part of Drayton in 1086, and had become a separate microparish of 178 acres by the thirteenth century.[23] Hawridge was an outlier of Marsworth.[24] The addition of Drayton to Yardley Hundred produces a total assessment of 118⅜ hides. Were logic applied to the business of demarcating Hundred boundaries, then Drayton would lie in Aylesbury Hundred, increasing its assessment to 135¾ hides

(173 with Weston, Halton and the Missendens). It may equally represent part of a former territory left behind when Tring Hundred was assigned to Hertfordshire.

The Tring salient, reaching to within three miles of Aylesbury, but remote from its own shire town, has not attracted much attention from Buckinghamshire historians. It must once have formed part of the lands of the *Cilternsætan*, in the same way as those parts of Buckinghamshire which later formed Yardley Hundred had done, as well as the area around Dunstable, which became part of Bedfordshire. The need to assign manpower, and hence estates, to the upkeep of the new *burhs* after 900, meant that ancient territorial arrangements were abandoned for administrative convenience. There are no apparent tenurial links between the two parts of Yardley Hundred in 1066, nor between these and the intervening lands of Tring. Although the Count of Mortain held the majority of the latter, as well as small estates in Drayton, Cheddington and Pitstone, none of his Anglo-Saxon *antecessores* seem to have done so. Tring Hundred did not long survive, being absorbed by its neighbour Dacorum.[25] Its assessment was 97⅖ hides, of which only nineteen were outside Tring parish. Tring and Yardley Hundreds had virtually identical proportions of land under arable and woodland in 1086. Quite why Drayton Beauchamp was left behind when the new shires and hundreds were created is impossible to know. Although there must have been some pressing reason for leaving it in Buckinghamshire, there seems no logic in not assigning Drayton Beauchamp to Aylesbury Hundred. Once made, however, such a decision could take almost a thousand years to be undone.

Several parishes in Yardley Hundred exhibited the classic strip form, notably Pitstone and Ivinghoe, although this has been fundamentally changed by a tidying-up of the shire boundary, leaving most of the Ashridge area in Hertfordshire There was a curious "tail" at the southern end. Nettleden was divided between Pitstone and Ivinghoe, but had a northward projection at Hudnall, which was a detached part of Edlesborough, a name in OE *halh*, 'nook, corner', matching Dagnall, Ringshall and Northall in the same area.

The historical boundary between Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire was equally confused, with the area south and west of Luton divided awkwardly between the shires. Luton was one of the largest

parishes in southern England and it seems likely that some or all of the remainder had once been part of the same estate and minster *parochia*. Luton was still a royal estate in 1066, as was Leighton Buzzard, which made up most of the half-hundred of Stanbridge. Caddington and Kensworth were divided between the counties. Part of Edlesborough was included in the Bedfordshire Domesday, although it is unclear whether this was detached, or awaiting a medieval boundary adjustment.

All three components of the Triple Hundred of Ashendon present anomalies. We have already noticed the parts of Ixhill Hundred which lie detached to the south-east, cut off by land assigned to Oxfordshire. Otherwise, Ixhill forms a compact block, probably representing the lands of the ancient royal estate of Oakley-Brill.[26] Excluding the detached parts, its assessment was about 105 hides. Ashendon and Waddesdon Hundreds, however, are much more complicated, with the latter divided into two blocks by the former, whose L-shaped territory reaches as far north as Oving. Together, the two Hundreds were assessed at 204 hides, so divided as to leave Ashendon with twelve surplus hides and Waddesdon nine hides short. The Claydons offer an added complication. East and Middle Claydon (thirty hides) are in Waddesdon Hundred, while Steeple Claydon (twenty hides) is in Lamua Hundred, although it seems probable that they once formed a single fifty-hide unit. Furthermore, all of the estates called "Marston" in Domesday Book are assigned to Waddesdon Hundred, although subsequently the ten hides of North Marston are in Ashendon, adding to the imbalance between the Hundreds. The most that can probably be said is this was once a double hundred divided at some point in a way which seemed appropriate at the time, but which now makes no obvious sense. Land ownership in 1066 and 1086 in this area was equally complex, and there are too few charters surviving to show how the royal patrimony was broken up, although the Wotton charter of 845 shows that this was already underway centuries earlier.[27]

Beachampton and Thornton formed a detached part of Rowley Hundred, whose assessment was 101 hides. Thornton was thereby separated from Thornborough, although they were once no doubt a single unit. Lamua Hundred, by contrast, has an irregular assessment of 127 hides. The only obvious anomaly in Lamua is Padbury, a twenty-hide estate, which indicates penal rather than bene-

ficial hidation, especially compared with its neighbour Steeple Claydon. (They had eleven and twenty-four ploughs at work in 1086, respectively.)

The inclusion of Tyringham, Filgrave and Newton Blossomville, which lay south of the Ouse, in the territory of Bunsty Hundred, while not strictly an example of detachment, seems driven by the desire to achieve something like a regular hundred-hide assessment. With them, Bunsty's total is 99 hides, without it would be only 86, with Mousloe Hundred increased from 113 to 126 hides.

IV

In the rest of the Buckinghamshire Chilterns, access to a range of soil types and resources was usually achieved by means of strip parishes. In some cases, parishes were wholly in the Vale or in the hills, although this may conceal earlier strip or detached arrangements. Sometimes, the break-up of hitherto unitary territories produced a patchwork of detached parts, as happened with the Kimbles and the Chalfonts, often it seems to leave valuable meadowland resources available to both components. Stoke Mandeville, an estate belonging to Aylesbury minster in 1066, had a substantial detached area of woodland and common grazing between the Hampdens and Great Missenden.

In the belt of low-lying land between Slapton and Aylesbury, there was about a score of very small detached portions of parishes, most amounting to no more than a few acres, and with the exception of Wendover detached in Broughton, belonging to parishes whose principal settlements were also in the Vale. These were mostly meadow land, and the rationale behind them is now lost. It is possible that the complex group of detached portions around Slapton represents a block of land formerly common to several settlements which had been parcelled out, obviously well before any kind of enclosure took place. In the main part of Yardley Hundred lying below the chalk escarpment, we find the following pattern:

Main Parish	Detached Parts In
Edlesborough	Ivinghoe, Slapton and Cheddington
Cheddington	Pitstone
Pitstone	Ivinghoe and Slapton
Ivinghoe	Slapton
Slapton	Ivinghoe and Cheddington
Marsworth	Cheddington

In no case do these fragments amount to more than a field or two in any one location, although the aggregate effect is quite substantial. In the vast majority of cases the fragments cannot be associated with separate farms or settlements, and most are unlikely to have been used for arable, as opposed to grazing. It is possible that they were always merely leased out by owners in the mother parish to individuals whose farms (and in medieval times open field strips [see below]) were located in the "host" parish. Perhaps the most complex area of all is around Horton Hall. The hamlet of Horton was nominally part of Slapton parish, but the Hall within its medieval moat and a block of fields to the north lay in Edlesborough. Along the road to Leighton Buzzard there were also detached parts of Pitstone and Ivinghoe parishes.

Edlesborough had the greatest number of detached fragments, the largest of which was the hamlet of Hudnall which lay between Ivinghoe and Little Gaddesden in Hertfordshire, in a dog-leg of Buckinghamshire south-east of Ashridge, which has now been lost entirely to Hertfordshire as part of yet another "tidying-up" of boundaries. Edlesborough may once have been the ecclesiastical centre of the whole of Yardley Hundred, with its prominently sited church representing a pre-Conquest minster, belonging to either the primary, conversion phase (c.650–700) or the secondary period (c.850–1000) of church building in the county.[28] The dozen or so fields in Slapton parish around Horton have already been mentioned, and there was an odd field in Ivinghoe next to the canal. Much the strangest, however, is the series of strips which lay in the open fields of Cheddington. The relevant rubric on the Edlesborough Tithe Map states that these strips "(lie) in Cheddington Parish, the tithes of which belong to Edlesborough".[29] There are eighteen strips in seventeen furlongs and meadows scattered across the open fields of Cheddington, twelve of them in West Field. This situation seems to have no parallels in Buckinghamshire, and in the absence of any comprehensive documentation over a long time span, it is impossible to say when it arose. Perhaps these strips represent the land assigned to Edlesborough church when the open fields were created, probably some time between the tenth and twelfth centuries, although they may have been acquired long after that during the routine operation of the land market. It is nevertheless striking that Cheddington

church never seems to have obtained the right to the tithes from these strips.

Drayton Beauchamp possessed several detached portions. Drayton Mead lay at the northern extremity of Buckland, and there was another substantial block of land projecting into Hertfordshire south of Boarscroft, an outlying part of Tring (see above). Helsthorpe, a five-hide estate between Wingrave and Crafton also belonged to Drayton. Like the its parent, it was divided between the Count of Mortain and Mainou the Breton in 1086, and although there was no apparent overlap of ownership in 1066, it seems unlikely that the link between the two widely-separated places only arose after the Conquest. Marsworth had a line of detached fields in Hertfordshire along the road between Drayton Beauchamp and Cheddington

The division of a former single territory into the parishes of Hartwell and Stone produced a single detached piece of the former on the Dinton boundary, but was more notable for the confusion caused to modern historians by leaving Lower Hartwell village in Stone parish! In the far west of the county, Shabbington retained a substantial area of woodland with Oakley parish, and Long Crendon had Tittershall Wood on the Wotton-Ludgershall boundary, a good six miles distant. Woodham had always been part of Waddesdon until it gained some autonomy, producing a complex arrangement of boundaries north of Akeman Street.[30] Sometimes, boundaries were arranged to avoid the creation of detached portions while giving several communities access to some important place in the landscape, such as a hundredal meeting-place. Examples include the long salient of Wotton Underwood to reach the Hundred moot at Ashendon; and the radiating pattern of parish boundaries from the meeting-place at Seckloe, now the centre of Milton Keynes.

The two areas assigned to Buckinghamshire north of the Ouse were well-wooded in medieval times, as is still the case along and beyond the boundary with Northamptonshire. Both Bunsty and Stodfold Hundreds contain detached portions, apparently aimed at giving access to woodland resources. Lathbury, surrounded on three sides by a great loop of the river, has three detached portions in Gayhurst (OE *gat hyrst*, 'wooded slope frequented by goats'), one of them at Hoo Wood. One included the location from which the Hundred takes its name. This patchwork seems to represent

the division of a single unit comprising Lathbury and Gayhurst. Lavendon had a detached portion on the county boundary in Ravenstone. Hanslope, on the other hand, was a large unitary territory with many settlements which retained its territorial and administrative integrity, with access to all the necessary resources within its boundaries.

Stodfold Hundred (OE *stodfald*, 'horse enclosure'; cf. modern 'stud') also had a scatter of detached parts of parishes. The hundred moot was located in Lamport (OE *lang port*, 'long port, i.e. town').[31] Both were in Stowe parish, whose name may indicate an early religious significance. It is crossed by the Roman road from Towcester on Watling Street to Dorchester and Silchester.[32] A separate study is needed of this area's Roman and post-Roman history, including relationship between the minster church and the tenth-century *burhs* at Buckingham and the complex of sites in and around Stowe.

The territory of the *Lytlingas,* later divided between Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, has already been discussed. The principal area of intermingled parishes lies in the west of Stodfold Hundred. Westbury, a modest riverside parish, possessed a detached portion almost as large again beyond Shalstone, which is now largely clear of woodland but in the early medieval period but seems likely to have been well wooded. In 1086, Westbury's two estates had wood sufficient to feed five hundred pigs between them, possibly as much as 1,500 acres. No wood is attributed to neighbouring Turweston, and sufficient for only one hundred pigs at Shalstone. Biddlesden had a detached woodland area, south of part of Westbury, and separated from the rest of the parish by a salient of Shalstone. This suggests that a block of woodland had once common to a group of settlements, only being parcelled out with formal boundaries as the manorial structure became more rigid, possibly in the early eleventh century.

V

We now turn to part of Buckinghamshire where the complexity of parishes and detached parts is far greater. This area comprises the whole of Stoke Hundred, and the southern part of Burnham Hundred (Fig. 1). Here the pattern resembles that associated with the Weald in Kent, Sussex and Surrey, although here the links are not over such great distances. The northern part of Burnham Hundred does not exhibit this pattern. Amersham and above all Chesham, the largest parish in the county and one of the largest in south-east England, have discrete territories containing all the necessary resources, and the same is true of the block of land now divided between the two Chalfonts. This area may have been a separate territory, subsequently added to the rest of the Hundred, whose orientation was towards the Thames.

The Domesday hidage of Burnham Hundred is exceptionally low, only 92 hides for an area of 55,000 acres, 40% assigned to Burnham and its various components. Amersham and Chesham also had very beneficial assessments: ten and fifteen hides respectively, for almost 19,000 acres, although there was land for only fifty-five ploughs in 1086, suggesting five-six thousand acres of arable. Woodland covered perhaps 7,000 acres. Stoke Hundred in contrast was assessed at 125 hides, and its area of 28,700 acres is much more in line with other Buckinghamshire Hundreds with similar hidages.

The southern part of Burnham and Stoke Hundreds cover about 52,000 acres, assessed at 183 hides. There is a complex mosaic of parishes and detached portions within an area only about six miles by ten. There were once twenty-eight separate units, ranging in size from the major blocks of Iver and Burnham/Beaconsfield to slivers of woodland such as Boveney detached. The underlying geology ranges from Thames alluvium, flood-plain and gravel terraces in the south, through the Eocene beds in the centre to the chalk dip slope in the north, although the older rocks are overlaid by a variety of sands and gravels.[33] The soils fall into two broad groups: well-drained loamy and gravelly soils along the Thames and, in a belt running eastwards towards Hedgerley and Fulmer, slowly permeable, seasonally waterlogged soils in the woodland belt.[34] This pattern of east-west bands might be expected to produce strip parishes giving access to arable, meadow, pasture and woodland within their boundaries, as is the case around the Chiltern escarpment. Here, although most parishes are elongated north-south, most needed to acquire resources elsewhere.

In the Weald, the links with the wood pastures of the interior are demonstrably ancient,[35] and so in south-east Buckinghamshire it is necessary to consider what evidence there is for the antiquity of the parochial mosaic. There are no surviving pre-
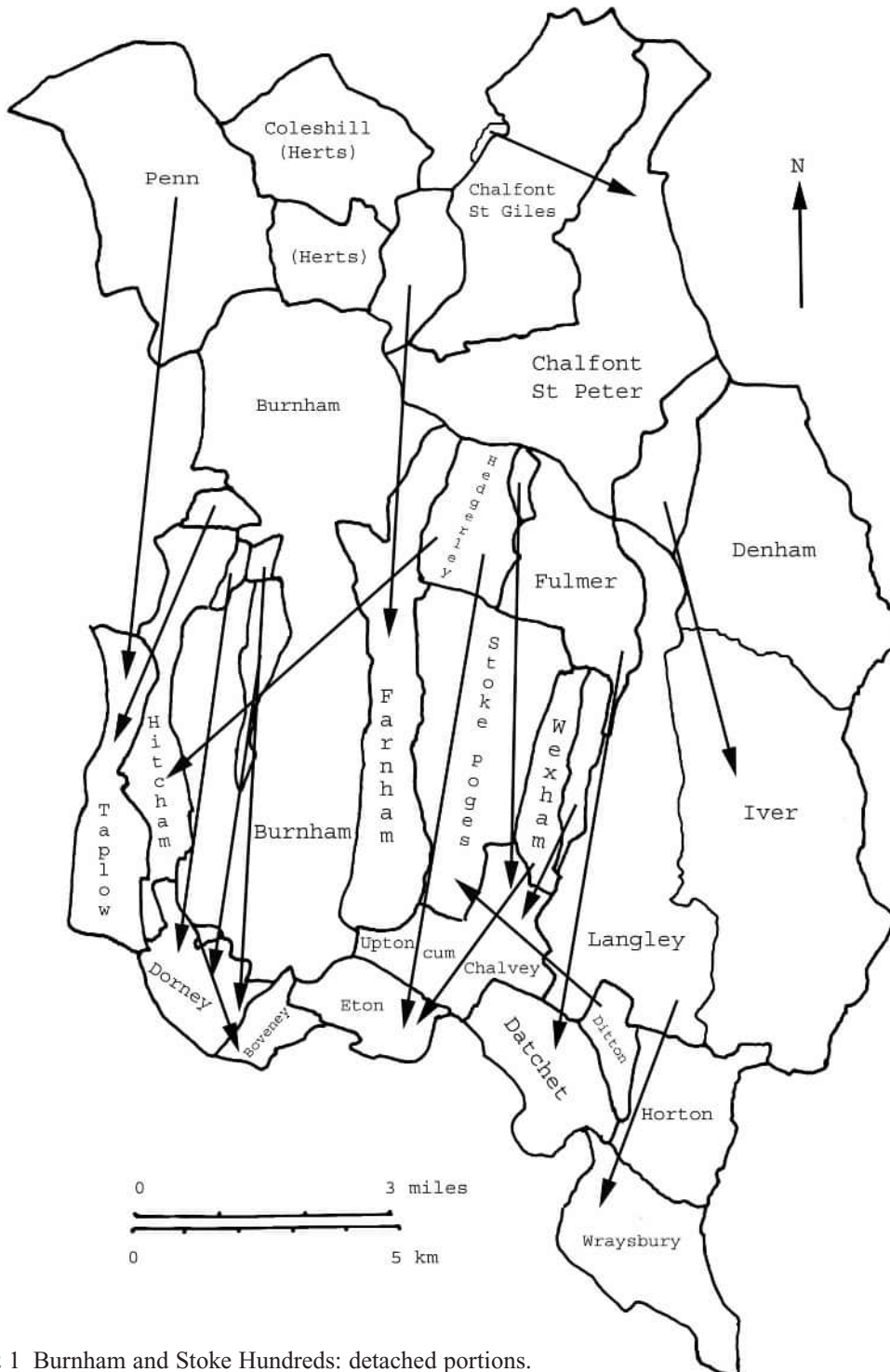
FIGURE 1 Burnham and Stoke Hundreds: detached portions.

Conquest charters for this area, so that Domesday Book offers the first evidence. It does not concern itself with the location of the various components of the estates included in its folios. In Burnham Hundred the following places are named: Boveney, Burnham, East Burnham, Dilehurst, Dorney, Farnham,[36] Hitcham and Taplow, and in Stoke Hundred: Datchet, Denham, Ditton, Eton, Horton, Iver, Stoke [Poges], Upton and Wraysbury. Only from later sources is it apparent that other places were subsumed under these named estates, of which only Ditton (part of Stoke Poges) and Boveney (part of Burnham) failed to become separate parishes. Several medieval parishes formed outlying members of Domesday estates. Burnham did not have detached portions, but included within its boundaries several settlements such as Cippenham, which seems to equate to Domesday *Dilehurst*, East Burnham, and most of Beaconsfield. Within its territory were detached parts of two riverside vills, Dorney and Boveney, providing them with the woodland absent close to the Thames. Dorneywood still records this association more than nine centuries later. Taplow was the parent of Penn, although the latter covers more than twice its area, and also had a small detached area at the north end of Hitcham, now called Wooburn Common. As with Beaconsfield, it is not possible to determine to what extent Penn had developed into a permanent settlement with its own fields at this date, although the sixteen ploughlands assigned to Taplow suggests that it had. Hitcham seems not to have possessed any outliers in 1066, although Hedgerley probably belonged to it at one time. Both contain the Anglo-Saxon personal name *Hycga* (with OE *hām*, 'settlement, homestead', and *lēah*, 'clearing', respectively).[37] Hedgerley was later in Stoke Hundred and associated with Eton (see below). The name Hicknaham in north-west Burnham derives from OE *Hicca,* and was partly in Dorney detached.[38] Seer Green was a detached portion of Farnham. Few of the names of the principal settlements include personal-names.

The complex pattern evidently arose before 1066, but it is difficult to be sure when. It seems probable that the whole of the southern part of Burnham Hundred once formed a single estate, albeit containing many settlements. A man of very high status was buried in the barrow at Taplow in the early seventh century, and his grave goods display parallels with Kent, Springfield in Essex and Sutton Hoo.[39] It is impossible to know the extent of the territory he controlled, although the position of the barrow on high ground overlooking the Thames is a typical boundary location. The Burnham estate would have included ample resources, with a block of woodland across the centre and north, probably held in common. The convoluted boundaries of Dorney, Taplow and Hitcham are typical of the results of carving out smaller estates, probably in the ninth and tenth centuries, when the crown was in need of assured loyalty and military service. When this happened, the new estates would have required access to woodland of their own. For example, Farnham (and Seer Green) appear to have been carved out of the eastern side of the original Burnham estate. This process of division did not reach its logical conclusion, however, as several separate settlements and field systems remained with Burnham throughout the medieval period. Although Burnham had long left royal control, with the exception of Beaconsfield the new owners never succeeded in raising their properties to parochial status. Burnham Abbey was a thirteenth-century foundation, although the church may have been a minster long before that.[40] The three thegns who held East Burnham in 1066 owed a customary due of five *ora* (80 pence, one-third of a pound) to the otherwise unrecorded minster of Staines in Middlesex.[41] This may be a faint echo of a *parochia* predating the creation of the shires.

The pattern of parishes and detached parts in Stoke Hundred is even more complex, and there is no obvious evidence for an original single estate. The name Stoke, borne by four Buckinghamshire parishes, is one of those Old English elements which carries a variety of meanings, in this case 'a place, a religious place, a secondary settlement'.[42] Stoke may have had a special significance before becoming a Hundred centre in the tenth century, although Iver could be a more likely candidate for an early estate centre and [secondary] minster.[43] Its name, from OE *yfre*, 'river bank, slope' is, like Burnham, based on a natural landscape feature, and the parish contains several settlements. Stoke Hundred became highly fragmented as land was granted away from the original core. Eton had links with Hedgerley and Wexham, Datchet with Fulmer, Wraysbury with Langley, and Stoke with Ditton. Upton and its subsidiary settlement Chalvey had

detached portions east of Wexham and at Bulstrode. Iver detached lay between Denham and Chalfont. Langley was linked with Wraysbury. It seems probable that by 1066 places like Fulmer, Hedgerley and Langley had already progressed well beyond the stage of being merely seasonal pastures and sources of timber and other woodland products.

Elsewhere in Stoke Hundred, Denham had sufficient wood within its boundaries. It may once have formed a single unit with Iver, whose legacy was Iver detached. Horton alone seems not to have had access to woodland in the north of the Hundred. The majority of its land was already given over to arable by 1066. As in Burnham, the great majority of settlements in Stoke Hundred have names based on natural features: for example, Eton, 'village on a river', Fulmer, 'fowl or foul mere' and Ditton, 'village by a dyke/ditch'. Much the most interesting, and the only survivor of Celtic nomenclature in this part of the county is Datchet. Unlike such tautological compounds as Brill and Brickhill, both elements are of Brittonic origin. The second element is clearly *cet* (cf. modern Welsh *coed*, 'wood'), the first as yet uncertain, although there are parallel names in Gaul; it may mean 'fine'.[44] There may have been a residual area of woodland within the bounds of Datchet when the name was given, but as we have seen, the major part of the wood belonging to this estate lay in Fulmer.

Although the original woodland-related links between settlements on or near the Thames and the area known as Burnham Beeches and beyond were breaking down as population grew and arable extended into new areas, it is reasonable to assume that the original pattern in this corner of Buckinghamshire resembled that in areas like the Weald, even though the distances between seldom exceeded five miles. It seems possible that this block of land, together with the Amersham/Chesham/Chalfont area, had once been one of the three-hundred hide polities which were common in the seventh century, and may have originated long before that, in the Roman period or even earlier. For some reason, the northern part retained large parochial territories, thereby avoiding the need for complex detached portions to achieve fair resource allocations. We have no means of knowing when the process of breaking up the "Burnham" and "Stoke" estates began, although there is no evidence that land here was granted to any of the

early minster churches. (The links between Boveney and Cookham church, and Denham and Westminster recorded in Domesday Book are probably not old, indeed the latter occurred only in the 1060s.[45]) Few local parish names incorporate personal names: Hitcham (*Hycga*), Taplow (*Tæppa*) and Wraysbury (*Wigred*) and Cippenham (*Cippa*) in Burnham are the only examples. Some may date back to the sixth-seventh centuries, even though their territories will not have been fully defined until the tenth-eleventh centuries. The name Wigred is most commonly recorded in Mercia in the eight-ninth centuries, which would fit with the administrative pattern at that time.[46] The *burh* of Wraysbury may have been an Iron Age fort close to the Thames-Colne confluence, or a later strongpoint-cum-manorial centre.

Unfortunately, the Domesday data on woodland in Buckinghamshire employ the formula *silva x porci*, 'wood for x swine', which makes it all but impossible to ascertain what the area of woodland in the Burnham-Stoke area might have been. This especially so if these amounts were merely indicative by 1086. Traditionally swine were taken to the woods to consume acorns and beech mast, whose yield was very variable.[47] Beech was clearly a dominant species in south Buckinghamshire, although we cannot know the composition of the local eleventh-century woods. Rackham calculated that around a quarter of Buckinghamshire was wooded in 1086, and suggested that a figure of three acres per swine might be an appropriate multiplier.[48] This would give approximately 120,000 acres of wood across the whole county. Some 37,000 swine were enumerated in Domesday Book, although large areas were omitted, even though they clearly possessed woodland, notably Cottesloe and Mursley Hundreds. If the total is increased pro rata to allow for this, there would be about 42,000 swine, giving an average of about three acres of wood apiece. Using this multiplier, we obtain a total of 16,300 acres of woodland in the south-east of Buckinghamshire, almost a third of the total area, emphasising its predominantly wooded character north of the OS 83 grid line. Taking an average of one hundred acres per plough (actual and potential), the arable area would be about 18,700 acres (36% of the total), leaving about another third for meadow, pasture, heathland, much of which would have come under the plough as a result of rapid population growth in the two

centuries after 1086. Woodland in the parts of Oxfordshire which lay within the county on 1066 are measured in terms of their principal axes as 'x furlongs by y furlongs', although it is still unclear what distances were intended in any given location.

It should also be borne in mind that the areas of woodland in south-east Buckinghamshire are unlikely to have thick, continuous belts of trees in the eleventh century. We have already seen that permanent settlement and arable farming had spread to many of the detached areas in the north of Burnham and Stoke Hundreds, and locally soils produced areas of heathland and rough grazing, which would have been usefully supplements to the limited amount of meadow land for the grazing of livestock other than swine, notably cattle and sheep, although we have no record of their numbers in the Buckinghamshire Domesday.

VI

The presence of a wide variety of detached portions across the English landscape was one of its most characteristic and endearing features for over a thousand years, until the tidying mentality of nineteenth-century bureaucracy finally led to their demise, albeit in a random and protracted fashion. From at least the eleventh century, and almost certainly long before, there were enclaves and exclaves of counties, hundreds and parishes in varying degrees of complexity, and this paper has sought to draw attention to those associated with Buckinghamshire. Despite the cloak of ignorance which usually surrounds the origins of any given area of detachment, there are clear parallels with areas like the Weald which show the importance of each community having an equitable share of resources, and it seems that the break-up of once large blocks of territory into Hundreds, parishes and estates or manors could often lead to very persistent links between apparently quite separate places. Why the strip parish, a long, narrow area which gave its inhabitants the same advantages without the problems associated with droving across intervening territories, was not universally adopted is now impossible to know. The contrast between the area from Ivinghoe to Bledlow which is essentially a series of strip parishes, with south-east and northwest Buckinghamshire could not be more marked. Strips were a common feature of chalk downlands, along with so-called spring-line villages, where water surfaced after percolating through the gener-

ally dry limestone area. The shape of Burnham, Farnham and Langley parishes, to name but three, suggests that this form was considered appropriate elsewhere, even where a mosaic of detached parts also existed. Equally problematic is the persistence of large parishes with multiple settlements and field systems, often with more than one manor (for example Hanslope, Buckingham, Chesham and Burnham), in areas where increasing tenurial diversity was matched by territorial fragmentation. Any attempt to answer such questions must await a much fuller knowledge of medieval Buckinghamshire.

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