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The Domesday Book account of the Bruce Fief

Gillian Fellows Jensen (pp. 8–17)

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ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co	Cornwall
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Nb	Northumberland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somerset
Wt	Isle of Wight
CPNE	<i>Cornish Place-Name Elements.</i>
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.</i>
PN Brk	<i>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Bu	<i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.</i>
PN Ca	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.</i>
PN Ch	<i>The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.</i>
PN Cu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN D	<i>The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Do	<i>The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Du	<i>The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.</i>
PN Ess	<i>The Place-Names of Essex.</i>
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.</i>
PN Gl	<i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Hrt	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.</i>
PN Le	<i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Li	<i>The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Mx	<i>The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).</i>
PN Nf	<i>The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.</i>
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.</i>
PN NRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.</i>
PN Nth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.</i>
PN O	<i>The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN R	<i>The Place-Names of Rutland.</i>
PN Sa	<i>The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–9.</i>
PN Sr	<i>The Place-Names of Surrey.</i>
PN St	<i>The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.</i>
PN Sx	<i>The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN W	<i>The Place-Names of Wiltshire.</i>
PN Wa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire.</i>
PN We	<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Wo	<i>The Place-Names of Worcestershire.</i>
PN WRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8.</i>

THE DOMESDAY BOOK ACCOUNT OF THE BRUCE FIEF¹

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that in the year 1085 William the Conqueror instigated the compilation of a comprehensive survey of his English territory. The information assembled was later compressed into the two volumes which are now known as Domesday Book (DB). This imposing document has been described as “our oldest ‘public record’ and the true starting-point of English administrative history”.² The work on the survey must have been carried out at great speed for it has been argued convincingly by Galbraith (op. cit. 28-9, 201-5) that the county records must have existed substantially in the form in which they survive at the time of William’s death in September 1087. Practically the whole of the first volume, in which the account of Yorkshire is found, would seem to be in the hand of a single scribe, who was probably also the compiler.

On ff. 332v-333r, however, a twelfth-century hand has added a description of the Bruce fief. It begins with the statement, “Hic est Fevdvm Rotberti de Bruis quod fuit datum postquam liber de Wintonia [i.e. DB] scriptus fuit”. The name of Robert de Bruce is first recorded between 1094 and 1100 as a witness to a charter of doubtful authenticity.³ During the period 1109-14 he is seen to be in the possession of lands in Claro wapentake and elsewhere. Farrer suggests that the lands were probably given to Robert by Henry I soon after the battle of Tinchebrai (28th September 1106). A writ of Henry I, probably to be assigned to Whitsuntide 1107, records an exchange of lands with Robert de Bruce which must have taken place before the compilation of the account of the fief. This account cannot

¹ Abbreviations used in this article are: AN = Anglo-Norman, ed. = edited, OE = Old English, pers.n. = personal name, p.n(s). = place-name(s), Pope = M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French* (second edn., 1952), YE, YN, YW = Yorkshire East, North and West Ridings, YE with page reference = *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, by A. H. Smith, EPNS Vol. XIV, 1937, YN with page reference = *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, by A. H. Smith, EPNS Vol. V, 1928, YW with page reference = *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, by A. H. Smith, EPNS Vols. XXX-XXXVII, 1961-63.

² By V. H. Galbraith in *The Making of Domesday Book* (1961), 1.

³ For the information about Robert de Bruce see W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters* II (1915), v-vi, 11-12, 326.

have been enrolled in DB before 1120. The entry for Kirkburn and Tibthorpe "*pars istius terre est de feudo Rotberti Fossart*" indicates that the previous tenant-in-chief, Nigel Fossard, was already dead and he is known to have been still alive in 1120. On the other hand it seems that the account of the fief must have been written before 1129 because it makes no mention of the lands which had previously been held by Richard Surdeval of the Count of Mortain but which became part of the fief of Robert de Bruce in that year. The account of the Bruce fief thus provides us with a record of the forms taken by 96 p.ns. approximately 40 years after the compilation of DB. That the forms of the p.ns. in the Bruce fief differ from those in DB itself has already been noticed⁴ but no detailed study of the variations exists and the English Place-Name Society's Yorkshire volumes give no indication as to which of the forms entered with the dating 1086 DB derive in fact from the Bruce folios. It has, therefore, been considered worthwhile to make an examination of the p.ns. in the account of the Bruce fief.

Occasionally the account reveals that a place had undergone a change of name in the time that had passed since the compilation of DB. Pinchinthorpe YN 152, which appears in DB as *Torp* 300r, 320v, 380v, has become *Oustorp* 332v. The prefix is the Scandinavian adjective *austr* "east", presumably indicating the position of *Torp* in relation to neighbouring Newton. Such an addition to a simplex *þorp* name is a common feature of p.n. development in Scandinavian England. A need must gradually have arisen to distinguish from each other the many places with identical names. Kirkburn YE 166 is found as *Westburne* in DB 299v, 381v, but as *Burnous* 332v. These two forms represent substantially different names. *Westburne* is an OE **west-burne* "west stream", as distinct from neighbouring Eastburn and Southburn (both recorded in DB), while *Burnous* is an OE **burne-hūs* "house by the stream". That these two names must be regarded as contemporary alternatives rather than as an original name and its replacement, is indicated by the persistence of *Westburne* forms from DB to 1333, while *Burnous* forms are found from the Bruce account to c1180. The earliest spellings in *Kirk-* appear in the late thirteenth century.

Other instances of apparent changes of name in the Bruce

⁴ Cf. I. S. Maxwell, "The Yorkshire Folios", *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, ed. H. C. Darby and I. S. Maxwell (1962), 457.

fief are more likely to be simple corruptions, e.g. *Edmundrebia* 332v for Amotherby YN 45 (DB *Eindebi* 300v, *Aimundrebi* 327v, *Andebi* 380v (2x), original first element the Scandinavian pers.n. *Eymundr*); *Eduardestorþ* 332v for Eddlethorpe YE 144 (DB *Guduuaalestorþ* 301r, *Geduuaalestorþ* 382r, original first element the OE pers.n. *Ēadw(e)ald*); *Gamesford* 332v for Camblesforth YW 4 5 (DB *Camelesforde* 325v, *Canbesford* 330v, *Ca'besford* 379r, *Camelesford* 379r, first element doubtful, perhaps a British river-name); *Laclum* 333r for Lealholm YN 133 (DB *Lelun* 327v, 380v, *Lelvn* 328r, the OE dative plural *lǣlum*). Cf. also minor spelling variations such as *Caimtona* 333r beside DB *Caitun(e)* 300r, 380v, for Cayton YN 103 (first element the OE pers.n. *Cāga*), *Hoseforde* 332v beside DB *Horseforde* 301r, *Horseford* 379r, for Horsforth YW 4 148 (first element probably the OE appellative *hors* "horse"), *Tipetorþ* 332v beside DB *Tibetorþ* 299v, 301r, 330v, 381v (2x), for Tibthorpe YE 167 (first element a Scandinavian pers.n. *Tibbi* or *Tibba*), and two instances of the omission of the genitive ending, *Grimetona* 332v for North Grimston YE 141 (DB *Grimeston* 301r, *Grimstone* 303r (2x), *Grimstone* 328r, *Grimston* 382r, first element the Scandinavian pers.n. *Grímr*), and *Doneforde* 332v for Lower Dunsforth YW 5 83 (DB *Dvnesforde* 328v, 331v, *Dunesford* 379v, first element the OE pers.n. *Dun(n)*).

The practice of the scribe of the Bruce account is slightly more conservative than that of the DB scribe in respect of the p.ns. which are original OE or Scandinavian dative plural forms. There is only a single instance where the dative plural ending is not clearly indicated as *-um* (e.g. *Laclum*, Lealholm YN 133) or *-un* (e.g. *Crambun*, Crambe YN 38) or *-u'* (e.g. *Morhusu'*, Great Moorsholm YN 143). This is *Gerou* 332v beside DB *Iarun* 300v, 381r (OE **gearum* "at the fish-pools", Yarm YN 172). Most of the dative plural endings are, in fact, also indicated in the DB forms, in contrast to the DB forms of Lindsey p.ns., which generally obscure the inflexion.⁵ Note, however, that for Newsham YN 45 DB has the form *Neuhuse* 327v, 380v as well as *Neuuehusu'* 300r, and that for Hotham YE 225 DB only has forms in *-e* (*Hode* 299r, 304v, 306v, 320v, 381v, *Holde* 301r), whereas the Bruce account preserves the form *Hodhu'* 332v (OE **hōdum* "at the

⁵ Cf. Gillian Fellows Jensen, "The scribe of the Lindsey Survey", not yet published.

shelters"). For this latter name, however, there may well have existed alternative forms in dative singular and plural. The p.n. is first recorded in a document from 963, only preserved in a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century transcript, as *Hode*. It should also be noted that the Bruce account contains no instances of AN substitution of *o* for *u* in dative endings such as are found in DB, e.g. *Crambom* 306r, *Thirnon* 299v. This substitution of *o* for *u* in order to avoid minim confusion is, however, found in the Bruce account in the form *Doneforde* 332v beside DB *Dvnesforde* 328v, for Lower Dunsforth YW 5 83 (cf. above).

There are a number of other instances where the Bruce account gives forms of names which must be closer to the original spellings than those found elsewhere in DB. Goulton YN 176, which probably contains the OE pers.n. *Golda*, appears in the Bruce account as *Goltona* 332v but in DB itself as *Goutun* 300r, 305v, *Gotun* 380v, with AN vocalisation of pre-consonantal *l*. Haisthorpe YE 89 probably contains as its first element the Scandinavian pers.n. *Hǫskuldr*. This etymology is suggested by the Bruce form *Haschetorp* 332v and later spellings, whereas in DB the p.n. appears as *Ascheltorp* 304r, 382r, *Aschiltorp* 299v, with AN loss of initial *H*- and very possibly confusion with the commoner pers.n. *Ásketill*. The name of the East Riding YE 1 appears in the Bruce account as *Oustredinc* 332v, with the Scandinavian adjective *austr*, whereas this name always appears in DB itself with the OE adjective *ēast* in the form *Est*- or *Æst*-. Tollesby YN 163 (first element the Scandinavian pers.n. *Tólr*) appears as *Tolesbi* 332v but as *Tollesbi* elsewhere in DB, 300r, 320v, 331r, 380v. The Bruce account preserves the correct form *Vpesale* 332v (Scandinavian **up-salir*) of Upsall YN 158, a spelling which also appears in DB itself (300r) but which is twice replaced there by *Vpeshale* 331r, 380v. These forms show contamination by the common OE p.n. element *halh*. For two p.n.s., Foxton YN 215 and Hopperton YW 5 13, the Bruce account preserves correct forms, *Foxtun* 332v (OE *fox*) and *Hoppretone* 332v (OE *hōpere* "cooper"), whereas DB itself would seem to have corrupt spellings, namely *Foustune* 304v, *Fostune* 381r, and *Homptone* 301v, 328v, 329v, 380r, *Homtone* 330v. For two other names, Leavington YN 173 and Birdsall YE 141, the Bruce forms are also rather closer to the original than those found in DB itself,

Leuetona 332v (first element the river-name Leven) and *Brideshala* 332v (first element the OE pers.n. *Bridd*) beside DB *Lentun(e)* 300v, 381r and *Briteshale* 303r, 331r, 382r, *Briteshala* 307r.

The Scandinavian adjective *nýr* “new” had practically always been replaced by OE *nīwe*, *nēowe* before the time of the compilation of DB and it is spellings such as *Neu-*, *Neuwe-*, *Niwe-* that are regularly found there, even in names whose second elements are certainly or probably Scandinavian, e.g. Newthorp Nottinghamshire (DB *Nevtorp*) and Newbourn Suffolk (DB *Neubrunna*). It has, however, been suggested by Ekwall and A. H. Smith⁶ that the DB spelling *Nie-* may represent Scandinavian *ný(r)*. There are two instances of this spelling in the Bruce account, *Niehusu'* 332v beside DB *Neuhuse* 327v, 380v, *Neuehusu'* 300r, for Newsham YN 45, and *Nietona* 332v beside DB *Neuuetun* 300r, 380v, for Newton, Langbargh West wapentake, YN 163. Whereas Newsham may well be an original Scandinavian compound, it is unlikely that the first element of Newton was originally Scandinavian. Thus it seems that unless the spelling *Nietona* represents scandinavianisation of an OE name, an alternative explanation for the *Nie-* spellings should be sought.

There are a few other forms in the Bruce account which are probably to be explained as scandinavianisations. The spelling *Vsebruna* 332v beside DB *Vseburne* 379v etc. for Little Ouseburn YW 5 4 may show substitution of Scandinavian *brunnr* for OE *burne*, although the *bruna* spelling may simply be the result of metathesis. Rudston YE 98 (originally OE **rōd-stān*) appears in the Bruce fief with the second element scandinavianised to *-stein*, *Rodestein* 332v beside DB *Rodestan* 307r, 325v, 331r, but cf. also scandinavianised *Rodestain* in the DB summary 382r.

A difficult problem is presented by the name Harpham YE 89. This appears in the Bruce account as *Harpein* 332v, 333r, and in DB itself as *Arpen* 299v, 331r, 382r. Later forms quoted in YE 89 suggest that the p.n. is an original OE **hearpe-hām*. In that case the second element has probably been scandinavianised to *-heim* in the Bruce account.

⁶ E. Ekwall, “The Scandinavian Element”, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, ed. A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (EPNS Vol I, 1929), 68, and A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, Part II (EPNS Vol. XXVI, 1956), 52.

There is one very interesting form in the Bruce account which provides the earliest evidence for simplification of a consonant group, resulting in the present-day form of a name. This is *Giseborne* 332v for Guisborough YN 149, as against DB *Chigesburg* 300r, 380v, *Gighesborc* 305r, *Ghigesbvr̃g* 305v, *Ghigesborg* 320v (first element probably the Scandinavian pers.n. *Gigr*).

In a couple of other p.ns. the forms recorded in the Bruce account suggest a different pronunciation from that indicated by the DB forms. Arncliffe YN 178, containing OE *earn* "eagle", appears as *Ernecliue* 332v, with *e* for late OE *æ*, whereas the DB forms *Gerneclif* 300v and *Ierneclif* 381r indicate that the OE diphthong still survived but with the stress shifted to the second element. Eddlethorpe YE 144, containing the OE pers.n. *Ēadweald*, appears as *Eduardestorp* 332v, with *e* for late OE *ǣ* and substitution of *-weard* for *-weald*, whereas the DB forms, *Guduuaalestorp* 301r, *Geduuaalestorp* 382r, show the surviving diphthong with shifted stress, perhaps under the influence of Scandinavian *Ját-*. Three names apparently show substitution or restoration of OE genitive *-es* for Scandinavian genitive *-s*, which is found in the DB forms, i.e. *Foitesbi* 332v beside *Feizbi* 380v, *Fezbi* 300r (Faceby YN 176, containing the Scandinavian pers.n. *Feitr*), *Grentesmor(a)* 332v, 333r beside *Grenzmore* 299v, 331r, 382r (Gransmoor YE 88, containing a pers.n., OE *Grante* or Scandinavian *Grentir*), *Sotesac* 332v beside *Sosacre* 300r, 380r, *Sosacra* 329v (Susacres YW 5 107, first element a Scandinavian pers.n., probably *Sótr* but possibly *Sauðr* or *Soddr*).

Perhaps the most striking feature about the forms taken by p.ns. in the account of the Bruce fief is the latinisation of the second element. The names are latinised as if the second element belonged to the feminine first declension, irrespective of the gender of the OE or Scandinavian appellative. For the elements OE *tūn* masc. and Scandinavian *bý(r)* masc., latinisation as *-tona* and *-bia* is the rule. Thus we have in YE *Brunetona* (Potter Brompton YE 118), *Bortona* (Burton Agnes YE 88), *Galmetona* (Ganton YE 118), *Grimetona* (North Grimston YE 141), *Milletona* (Millington YE 178), *Scamestona* (Scampston YE 138); in YW *Aluretona* (Allerton Mauleverer YW 5 12) *Brantona* (Branton Green YW 5 84), *Carletona* (Carlton, YW 4 3), *Graftona* (Grafton YW 5 88), *Lauretona* (Laverton YW 5

211), *Scotona* (Scotton YW 5 92), *Widetona* (Widdington YW 5 7); in YN *Apeltona* (Appleton Wiske YN 174), *Caimtona* (Cayton YN 103), *Goltona* (Goulton YN 176), *Hiltona* (Hilton YN 172), *Leuetona* (2x) (Kirk and Castle Leavington YN 173), *Martona* (Marton in Cleveland YN 162), *Mortona* (2x) (Morton, Allerton wapentake YN 215 and Langbargh West wapentake YN 157), *Nietona* (Newton YN 163), *Otrintona* (South Otterington YN 208), *Esteintona* (Stainton YN 171), *Tametona* (Tanton YN 170), *Torentona* (Thornton Dale YN 88). Cf. also the Latin plural forms *duabus Haselintonis* (East and West Heslerton YE 121), *duabus Hanechetonis* (two Hangtons not in PN YN). None of these p.ns. appears in DB itself with the second element in the form *-tona*. Here the spelling of the element *-tūn* varies between *-tone*, *-ton*, *-tune*, *-tun*, *-tvne* and *-tvn*. Only three *tūn* names appear in the Bruce account with non-latinised spellings. These are *Hoppretone* (Hopperton YW 5 13), *Foxtun* (Foxton YN 215), and *Hotun* (High Hutton YN 40).

The other large group of names with latinised forms in the Bruce account is that in *-bý*. In YE we have *Friebia* (Firby YE 144), in YN *Edmundrebia* (Amotherby YN 45), *Buschebia* (Busby YN 169), *Bordelbia* (Bordelby YN 214), *Danebia* (Danby YN 131), *Hornebia* (Hornby YN 280), *Englebia* (Ingleby Arncliffe YN 178), *Laisinbia* (Lazenby YN 160), *Ormesbia* (Ormesby YN 157), *Tormozbia* (Thornaby YN 172). All these names have the second element in the form *-bi* in DB itself. Four other names retain non-latinised forms in *-bi* in the Bruce account. These are *Geruezbi* (Garrowby YE 130), *Bergolbi* (lost place in Seamer YN xlv), *Foitesbi* (Faceby YN 176), *Tolesbi* (Tollesby YN 163).

Other elements which are found in latinised forms in the Bruce account are OE *berg* neuter in *Welberga* (Welbury YN 216), OE *burne* fem. or Scandinavian *brunnr* masc. in *Vsebruna* (Little Ouseburn YW 5 4), the OE river-name **Cáfe* fem. in *Caua* (North Cave YE 224), OE *clif* neuter in *Cru'becliua* (Crunkly Gill YN 133) but not in *Cliue* (South Cliffe YE 225), OE *dæl* masc. or Scandinavian *dalr* masc. in *Eschedala* (Eskdale YN 119) and *Childala* (Kildale YN 166), OE *ēg* fem. probably in *Herlesia*, although confusion with OE *ēa* fem. "river" is possible here (Harlsey YN 215), OE *halh* masc. in *Brideshala* (Birdsall YE 141), cf. also DB *Briteshala* 307r beside *Briteshale* 303r, 331r, 382r and *Wercheshala* (Low

Worsall YN 173), OE *mōr* masc. or Scandinavian *mór* masc. in *Grentesmora* 333r but not in *Grentesmor* 332v (Gransmoor YE 88), OE or Scandinavian *þorn* masc. in *Caltorna* (Cawthorne YN 78) and *Cratorna* (Crathorne YN 174). Note that there is only a single instance of a latinised form of one of these names in DB itself but cf. also DB *Sosacra* 329v (YW 5 107). P. H. Sawyer has earlier⁷ drawn attention to the fact that Latin inflexions are preserved in a very large number of names in the Liber Exoniensis from which DB for Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Dorset would appear to have been derived directly or through an intermediate stage, whereas these inflexions are either dropped or represented by a final *-e* in DB itself. This suggests that the Latin inflexions were either found in the original returns or added by the scribes of local draft compilations such as Liber Exoniensis and volume two of DB (covering East Anglia). No similar compilation survives for the county of Yorkshire but it is likely that the account of the Bruce fief was compiled after reference to either the original returns for the places in question or a local draft, rather than to DB itself.

Occasionally spellings in the Bruce account betray AN or French influence, where the DB forms are free from this. Faceby YN 176, containing the Scandinavian pers.n. *Feitr*, appears in the Bruce account as *Foitesbi* 332v. Lindkvist has noted⁸ that this spelling suggests a non-western French scribe, whose language would contain *oi* for AN and western French *ei*. The appearance of this characteristic in the Bruce account might suggest that the scribe was from some part of France other than Normandy. It should be noted, however, that the same characteristic occurs in DB itself in spellings of three other Yorkshire p.ns. but not, apparently, in p.ns. from any other county. These instances, which were first noticed by Lindkvist, are Hunderthwaite YN 307, (DB *Hvndredestoit* 310r, *Hundredestoith* 381r), Mickelthwaite YW 4 176 (DB *Muceltuait* 328v, *Muceltuit* 379r), Snaith YW 2 25 (DB *Esneid* 315v, *Esnoit* 330v, *Esnoid* 331v). The substitution of *oi* for *ei* is not a regular feature of the language of the DB scribe so the recorded instances probably reflect a written source or link. The same explanation would seem to apply to the Bruce form

⁷ In "The Place-Names of the Domesday Manuscripts", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 38 (1955-56), 483-506.

⁸ In *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin* (1912), 43 n. 1.

Foitesbi. It should be noted that the differentiation of the Old French diphthong *ei* to *oi* is dated by Pope (§ 226) to “before the middle of the twelfth century” so the instances in DB itself are very early.

In the Bruce form *Berguetorp* 332v of Burythorpe YE 142 the spelling *gu* to indicate the pronunciation [g] is also French. The graphy *gu* for [g] before *e*, *i* arose in French after initial *gw* had been reduced to *g* at some time before the late twelfth century (Pope §§ 192, 701). Note that this graphy is occasionally found in DB itself, e.g. *Friguist* 340r (*Friðgestr*), *Guede* 369r (*Gyða*), *Guert* 348v (*Gyrðr*). The Bruce account contains no instance of the northern French graphy *gh* for [g].

Two names in the Bruce account show AN sound-substitution of *-in* for *-ing*, namely Lazenby YN 160 (*Laisinbia* 332v) and Otterington YN 208 (*Otrintona* 332v). Cf. the DB forms *Lesingebi* 300r, 380v, *Leisingebi* 305r, *Lesighebi* 331r and *Otrinctun* 299r, *Ostrinctune* 300v (with OE or AN unvoicing of the *g* before a voiceless consonant), *Otrintune* 381r. In the word *Riding* the Bruce account on two occasions unvoices final *g*, namely *Oustredinc* 332v, *Westredinc* 332v, but note *Nortreding* 332v. The Bruce account contains a single instance of the addition of AN prosthetic *E-* (Pope § 1106) in Stainton YN 171 (*Esteintona* 332v), which appears in DB as *Steintun* 300r, 305r, 380v (2x), *Steintun* 305r, 320v. There are no instances of prosthetic *E-* in the DB forms of the p.ns. in the Bruce fief but the phenomenon is well evidenced elsewhere in DB itself.

The main points made in this paper may be summarised as follows:

1. Two places can be shown to have received new names between the compilation of DB and the writing of the account of the Bruce fief. Neither of these new names has survived to the present day.
2. There are a number of instances where the Bruce account preserves forms of names that are closer to the original than those found in DB. Some of these instances show preservation of Scandinavian inflexions, elements or spellings, others OE ones.
3. There is some evidence to show that a few forms recorded in the Bruce account are scandinavianisations of OE names.

4. Occasionally the Bruce account provides the earliest evidence for a sound development or substitution that must have taken place after the compilation of DB.

5. The scribe of the Bruce account regularly latinised the final element of the p.ns. This trait may show the influence of his source, perhaps the original returns for DB or a local draft compilation.

6. Some spellings in the Bruce account betray AN influence and one betrays a non-western French influence. It is suggested that the non-western characteristic may derive from a source used by the scribe.

GILLIAN FELLOWS JENSEN