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Bixley

Keith Briggs (pp. 43–54)

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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 Cornish Place-Name Elements.

EPNE English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.

PN BdHu The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.

PN Brk The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.

PN Bu The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.

PN Ca The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.

PN Ch The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.

PN Cu The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.

PN D The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.

PN Db The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.

PN Do The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.

PN Du The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.

PN Ess The Place-Names of Essex.

PN ERY The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.

PN Gl The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.

PN Hrt The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.

PN Le The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–6.
PN Li The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.

PN Mx The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).

PN Nf The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.
PN Nt The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.

PN NRY The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.

PN Nth The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.

PN O The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.

PN R The Place-Names of Rutland.

PN Sa The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–6.

PN Sr The Place-Names of Surrey.

PN St The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.
PN Sx The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.

PN W The Place-Names of Wiltshire.
PN Wa The Place-Names of Warwickshire.

PN We The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.

PN Wo The Place-Names of Worcestershire.

PN WRY The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Parts 1–8.

Bixley

Keith Briggs

There are places called Bixley near Norwich and near Ipswich. Though both are in Domesday Book, they have not been much studied as place-names. Ekwall (DEPN) derives both from *byxe, a hypothetical element related to box 'box-tree'. The earliest spellings are, however, overwhelming in Bisk-rather than Biks-, which means that if there is any connection to *byxe, then two metatheses must have occurred: -ks- -sk- before the first record, and then -sk- -ks- in recent times. It is much more likely that we are dealing with an original element *bisk; in any case these two place-names seem certain to have identical origins. The elucidation of these names may have wider implications for the history of the words *byxe and "bush" and its derivatives, and for place-names such as Bushley, Bisley, Bexley, and Bexhill (on such names see further Dietz 2006).

The form of the names poses an immediate phonological paradox, assuming that they are English: if they contained a personal name such as *Bica* or *Bicca*, they would form genitives in -an and the modern place-name would be **Bickley or **Bickenley (cf. Bickenhill < *Bicanhyll*, PN Wa 59); whilst if they incorporated some hypothetical lexical item such as *bice (or *bīce), the modern name would be **Bitchley < *bicelēah. Similarly a *bisc(e) would give **Bishley. However, no such elements as *bice or *bisc(e) existed in OE, unless the latter occurs in Wimbish in Essex (PN Ess 546), but this is quite uncertain. Our primary aim here is to resolve this paradox.¹

Bixley in Suffolk is at TM 206438, about 5km east of Ipswich, is not a parish, and has no church. It is in Foxhall parish (Briggs 2010) close to the boundaries of the hundreds of Carlford and Colneis. It only just survived as a name, in the form Bixley Heath, but is now revived as the name of a new housing estate. Early forms are:

Bischelea 1086 LDB 293r, 386v, 406v Biskle 13th (Hunt 1847) Biskle(e) 1381/2, 1442/3 Suffolk Record Office SA/15/23/8, 9

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Bexley (or Bixley; unclear on map) 1783 Hodskinson's map (Dymond 2003)

Bixley in Norfolk is a parish, has a church at TG 258049, and is 5km south-east of Norwich, in Henstead Hundred. Early forms are:

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Biskele, Fiskele, Bischelai, Bichesle 1086 LDB
Bischeleaiam, Bischel', Byskeleyam c.1157 (Dodwell 1974, 1985)
(de) Byskele c.1200 (Dodwell ib)
viam de Biskel', (de) Biskele c.1225–1250 (Dodwell ib)
Biskele c.1250–1300 (Dodwell ib)
Biskelee 1272–c.1280 (Dodwell ib)
(de) Biskeleye c.1275–c.1300 (Dodwell ib)
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There is also a Bixley Farm at TM 121986 in Silfield near Wymondham in Norfolk.

If we believed that biks- in these names was original, a possible source of the element bik is the word OE $b\bar{e}ocere$ 'bee-keeper'. Place-names in Bick- derived from this have been studied by Dietz (1985). But our Bixleys have early spellings quite incompatible with an origin in this word. Slightly more promising would be ME $b\bar{i}ke$ 'a nest of wild bees', likely to be from an OE * $b\bar{y}c$. But two instances of * $b\bar{y}ces$ - $l\bar{e}ah$ 'wild-bees' nest clearing' do not seem likely unless this was a fixed compound in OE. I will thus maintain the assumption that bisk- is original.

A family name has been derived from one or both of these place-names, probably from Bixley in Norfolk. It has members recorded for several centuries from the thirteenth onwards; it is worth noting these records for the evidence which they provide for the spellings *Bisk->* and *Bysk->*. The Essex Feet of Fines (FF Essex 1) have *William de Biskeley* 1203–4 in *Hamme* (East or West Ham), and *Geoffrey de Biskele* 1234–5 in Great Maplestead. We then find *Willelmo de Biskele* 1220–30 in Gervers (1982: 393). The 1327 Suffolk Subsidy Roll (Sf 1327) has:

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Ricardo de Biskelee (Henham)
Ricardo & Clemencia de Biskele (Uggeshall cum Frostenden)
Clemencia de Biskele (Southwold)
Clement: de Biskele (Gisleham)
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The Suffolk Feet of Fines (FF Sf) have:

Geoffrey de Biskeley (Theberton) 1229/30 Geoffrey de Biskel' 1240 Eyre

John de Byskele (North Hales) 1286/7
Henry de Biskele, John de Biskale (Frostenden) 1293/4
John de Byskelee (Frostenden) 1294/5
William de Biskle (Halesworth) 1303/4
Clementia de Byskele (Gisleham) 1315/6
Clementia, wife of John de Biskelee (Gisleham) 1331/2
Richard de Biskele (Debenham etc.) 1332/3

Furthermore in the Blythburgh Cartulary (Harper-Bill 1980: 46, 106) we have *Richard de Bixhele* (Blythburgh) 1278, *and Henrico de Biskele* (Cove) mid 13th. A *Ricardo de Biskele* c.1260–80 is mentioned several times in the Sibton Cartulary (Brown 1988), and a *Saer de Biskele* is mentioned several times by Harper-Bill (1980) in connection with properties in Theberton and Cove, and on page 11 of that volume this family is said to take its name from Bixley in Norfolk, on the basis of data in Curia Regis Rolls. The same man is cited as *Saher de Biskele* 1196, *Seherus de Biskele* 1203, and *Segerus de Biskele* 1204 by Seltén (1979: 133). By 1524 we find only *William Byxlee* in Heveningham (Sf 1524: 4); and by 1568, only *Leonard Bixley* in Dunwich (Sf 1568: 66). The *Biskele* form of the family name appears to have become extinct in the mid-sixteenth century.

We now consider the phonology. There are examples in which æsc 'ash tree' alternates with /æks/, as in Castle Ashby (Axeby 1235, PN Nth 142), Ashton (Axton 1253, PN Nth 229), Axford in Wiltshire (Axeford 1184, Assheford 1289, PN W 288) and Axford in Hampshire (<\axists c-\bar{o}ra 'ash slope', Axore 1280, Coates 1989: 26). Both the Axfords may have contained the genitive plural æsca /æska/. There is a literary parallel here with the poetic aexfaru 'ship-journey, voyage' in the Corpus Glossary (Dahl 1938: 117). Here we confront the larger problem of determining if and when metathesis of /sk/ to /ks/ occurred. There are definite examples, like the name of the rivers Exe, Axe and Esk, or the verb "ask", of which the variant aks has existed since OE times to the present. Kirkeby Wyx 1281 belongs to the river-name Wiske (PN ERN 464). But many other apparent cases, such as <fixas> for fiscas 'fishes' in OE, may be purely scribal. This can happen simply as an error, or the writer may have wanted to convey that the middle of the word contain the sounds /s/ and /k/, and it was the lesser of two evils to have these sounds in the wrong sequence than the alternative of using a spelling < fiscas > which could suggest a wrong pronunciation /fi[as/.2] But the evidence above shows that in Suffolk, Biskley became Bixley in the sixteenth century, and the same change happened even later for Bixley in Norfolk.³

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I intend to argue that the name Bixley contains a word ultimately related to "bush". It is still unclear how this word relates to its cognates such as Old Saxon (bramal)busc, German Busch, Scandinavian busk(e), French bois, and medieval Latin boscus.4 The English word "bush" first occurs in the compound withibuscemere in a Peterborough charter of 1020×1023 (S 1463; Kelly 2009: no. 20(b)). OED has the first simplex occurrence in 1315. Björkman (1900: 137) says of the related ME form buske that its "distribution . . . suggests Scandinavian influence". This form of the word occurs in several place-names: Buskin (PN D 140) is apparently from a dative plural buscum; Busby (PN YN 169) was Buschebi DB and Buskebi 1180–90 (but this may contain a ON personal name Buski; cf. also Richard be Buskeby 27 Edw III (Rye 1891: 114)), and there was a Scandinavianlooking Aslakebusk' in Tittleshall in Norfolk in 1203 (Dodwell 1958: no. 23). A Scottish place called Bysbie in Wigtownshire was recorded as Buskeby in 1296, and would seem to be another case of ON Buskebi, possibly later altered as if containing a word for 'bishop' (Fellows-Jensen 1989–90: 43). The lost place Buscland' 1207 in Wickhampton in Norfolk has an ambiguous spelling, but probably represents /busk-/ (Dodwell 1958: 56, no. 115). In the 1327 Suffolk subsidy rolls, the surnames Busk, del Busch, and de Buskes occur (Sf 1327: 235). There was a John dil Busk in Suffolk in 1347 (Brown 1987: 14). In Leicestershire was a Seynt Jonbusk' 1467-84 (PN Lei 1 216). It seems certain that buske extended to East Anglia, and was not purely northern.⁶

It is thus conceivable that a compound busc-leah could give a modern **Buskley, meaning 'a clearing in bush-land'. But this will not help us with Bixley or an intermediate Biskley, because of the front vowel -i-. For these, names in bisk- or besk-, which might derive from an umlauted collective derivative *(ge)bysce, are much more interesting. Such a word could have been pronounced with /k/, because of the back quality of the vowel /y/, and because the nominative *bysce was influenced by paradigmatic pressure from inflected forms *bysca or *byscum. The existence of this word has also been postulated in VEPN 2. Possible examples are scarce, but we may note Bush Houses in Sussex (Bysche, Besche 1333, PN Sx 376); Trikebiskesfeld 1202 in Hadleigh in Suffolk, with an odd first element (Dodwell 1958: 160, no. 326); and a Biskenwood 1692 in Huxley in Cheshire (PN Ch 4 103). Bestwood in Nottinghamshire has recorded forms in Beske-, such as in 1177 (PN Nt 114), but the explanation in PN Nt is that the first element derives from a contraction of * $b\bar{e}osuc$, a derivative of $b\bar{e}os(e)$ 'bent-grass'. The same is suggested for Bescar Lane (PN Nt 89).

Much more interesting for our problem, however, is *nemus de Biskelund* 1181–3 near Wymondham in Norfolk. The name is recorded twice only, in

the cartulary of Wymondham Priory (BL MS Cotton Titus C.viii folio 10r, repeated in a different hand on folio 22r; the first actum was published by Harper-Bill 1990: 250). This item names a large number of estates of that priory, mostly near Wymondham. The nemus de Biskelund was probably near Bixley Farm, and may well be the source of that name. The termination -lund implies a Scandinavian name, meaning that Biske- is also likely to be Scandinavian, and thus could be Old Danish (ODan) biskop 'bishop'. This is likely given that we are dealing with church lands, and indeed the name could refer to the same wood as bosco Veske in an actum of 1258-61 also referring to Wymondham, this time with the French word for "bishop" (Harper-Bill 2007: 204). But the word might rather be *bvski, analogous to our hypothetical OE *(ge)bysce. In the latter case, the meaning of nemus de Biskelund would be 'bush grove'. In any case, the existence of Biskelund in Norfolk assures us that an element bisk(e) was available, and this fact alone eliminates the apparent paradox in the name Biskley. I would thus like to give considerable weight to this small piece of evidence. Another Norfolk name which very likely has a similar explanation is *Biskylhous* 1517, 1528, Biskilhous 1517, Byskilhowse 1543, Byskylfeld 1519, in Irstead, which Sandred explains as "Scandinavianized OE *bysc or ODan *byski 'a copse of bushes', hyll, hūs and feld" (PN Nf 2 173).

Let us look further at the Scandinavian words. An ODan *byski has been postulated in Danmarks Stednavne (DS:10; DS:12: 92), as a derivative of busk 'bush', and is said there to be recorded in the Bornholm dialect. This possibly occurs in Biskeagre (Biske Agere 1771, Kobenhavns amt, Sokkelund herred, Sjællandsdelen) and Biskær (Biskier 1496, Odder s. Århus Amt). There is also a northern Swedish town called Byske (bredhabyskio 1331) and a river called Byskeälven. A word byske is also said to occur in Gottland as byskä in the Swedish Academy's large dictionary (OSS s.v.), but no date is given. This dictionary records buske 'bush' only from 1542; modern Swedish apparently prefers the Frenchderived boscage. Ekwall (PN La 156) mentions a place called Biscomb in Lancashire, which I cannot locate in any other source. If it is genuine, it could be the dative plural of our Scandinavian *byski. There is thus adequate evidence for a word byski in Danish and Swedish, and so it is not impossible that it was used in the Danelaw in England too. Old Swedish and ODan /y/ can appear as <e> or <i> in ME in Norfolk and Suffolk (occasionally <u>), with <e> slightly more common than <i> (Seltén 1972: 112ff., Insley 1994: s.nn. Styrr, Styr).

If Scandinavian *byski occurs in England, then the two East Anglian Bixleys might to be assumed to be hybrid compounds, not usually an attractive option. But a possibility is that the Bixleys are from the *bysce

'bush' postulated above, with -sk- for the reasons already given, or from subsequent Scandinavian influence. Such is the usual explanation of Kirton (earlier Kirkton, and rather than **Churchton) and Kirkley in Suffolk. Bixley in Norfolk is well within the area in which Scandinavian influence was strong, but Bixley in Suffolk is on the edge of that area. And in Suffolk at least, we would have expected some -e- spellings such as Beskele, since Suffolk is in the area in which OE v develops to /e/ (Ek 1972: 123; Kristensson 1995: 189–195); but note that Trimley (*Tremelai*, *Tremlega* DB < *Trymma) is now an -i- form, and this phenomenon is not unique. Also slightly worrying is that fact that in the East Anglian cases, and the surnames, the suffix is overwhelmingly -le. We may compare the genuine Suffolk *lēah* names of Trimley, Otley, Hemley, Hollesley, and Butley, all within 20km of Bixley, for which -le is recorded, but for which -lega, -leg', -legh, -leia, -leya, -leye, -ley are much more frequent (Baron 1952). In this respect the forms resemble those of Bexhill in Sussex, typified by Bexle 1235 and Bixel 1278 (PN Sx 489), surely representing a pronunciation such as /beksl/, and possibly related to Biskele by metathesis. The spelling -le perhaps represents an OE dative -lea, but this is only appropriate to the masculine form of leah; Kitson (1990: 203) has shown that leah was feminine in East Anglia with dative *leage*. Compare also Sixhills in Lincolnshire, anciently usually Sixle (Cameron 1998: 109).

A most interesting minor place-name is found in a record of the Hospitallers in one of their properties in Chaureth in Broxted in Essex. It is campo qui vocatur Beschton' c.1255 (Gervers c.1996: 131). Firstly, it is odd (though not unprecedented) for a field to have the element -ton. Secondly, the subsequent development as recorded in Reaney (PN Ess lxii) shows that -sch represents -/sk/- which was then metathetized: Bexton 1314, Bexon 1840. The name finally appears as Bexham Barn in the 2008 Environmental Statement for the Stansted Airport G2 expansion project, which threatens the site. The element besk- looks to be compatible with an Anglian development of our *byski, though such a Scandinavian word is not to be expected in Essex. Perhaps this is another example of *bēosuc.

A surname Bixby is currently found in Suffolk. The earliest example I can find is *Walter Bekysby* 1459 in Thorpe Morieux (Northeast 2001: no. 1244). Another Bixby was still in Thorpe Morieux in 1524 (Sf 1524: 166). The surname *Bigsby* found in 1674 and later appears to be identical (Sf 1674: 77). One of this family went to America in the seventeenth century and founded a large Bixby clan, a member of which gave his name to the city of Bixby in Oklahoma (Bixby 1914). The origin of this surname is quite mysterious, since no appropriate -*by* place-name exists. But if such a place-name in *Bix*- did once exist, it might have had the same first element as

Bixley, and the -by would make it highly likely that this first element was Scandinavian. The name Bixby might be an irregular alteration of Busby, or even of *Biskley/Bixley*. It is very curious that the previously well-established *de Byskeley* family seem to have vanished about the time that the surname Bixby first appears.⁹

I have assumed in the discussion above that there is no possibility that either Bixley contains the word *byxe 'box-tree', because of the persistent earlier spellings in Bisk-. But we should nevertheless recall the work of Coates, since he includes our Bixleys in his discussion of box names (1999: 26, 33), deciding that they cannot contain *byxe. Coates states that the soil conditions required for box-trees makes it unlikely that they can grow natively in either East Anglian Bixley location. This fact, and the evidence of spellings in -sk-, prove that the Bixleys have a name of different origin to such superficially similar cases as Bixle 1285, Byxlye 1391–2 in Bix (Oxfordshire) and Bixley Coppice c.1840 in Eye and Dunsden, which are cited in Gelling (PN O 68), and perhaps get their names directly from Bix (<*byxe). There is also a Bixley feild 1631 in Litchfield in Hampshire cited in Gover (1958: 252).

I believe we are more or less forced to conclude that Bixley derives from bysc(e)-lēah 'bush clearing', with the first element either ODan *byski, or OE *(ge)bysce influenced by the ODan word. A possible alternative is that *(ge)bysce denoted a particular species of bush, and the compound was analogous to such common names as Ashley or Oakley, and so meant a wood characterized by the species in question. In either case the Bixley names indirectly provide evidence for the existence of *(ge)bysce, which must have meant something like 'a bush-covered piece of ground; scrubland'. The only significant doubt arises from the complete absence of spellings such as Beskeley in the Suffolk case.¹¹

Appendix

France and Italy: I have looked abroad for parallels to the name Bixley. There are no place-names of certain relevance, but two interesting puzzles arise. If Bixley contains a Scandinavian *byski, it might occur in place-names in Normandy. Bixley church in Norfolk has the unique dedication to Wandregesilius, the same saint as in St Wandrille on the Seine downstream from Rouen. This is a virtual proof of a Norman connection. A Reginald de Bysquele is recorded as having sent a letter from France to King Edward III in 1342 (Delpit 1863: 82). The context is probably Aquitaine, but I wonder whether this man belonged to the Norfolk Biskley family. Let us recall campo qui vocatur Beschton' in Essex. There is a curious coincidence: in the

centre of France, in the département de la Nièvre, is the place called Biches, and this was another Hospitaller possession. The following forms are given by de Soultrait (DT Nièvre: 17): *Bisches* 1219, *Biches* 1275, *Byches* 1287, (de) *Bichiis* 1326. Even earlier records are in de Lespinasse (1887: 363ff.), where we find two papal bulls of 1107 and 1144 which refer to Biches as *Bisca*. The stem appears to be *bisk*-, and this would make this a unique French place-name, and therefore it must have some special origin. Gendron (2010: 59) discusses French place-names containing *biche* 'doe', but follows Taverdet in relating the name Biches to *buis* 'buxus'; the details remain obscure. Delamarre, on the other hand, explains the name as from a Gaulish personal name: **bitusciā** 'domaines de Bituscios' (Delamarre 2012: 79).

It might seem absurd to consider Bisceglie in Apulia (between Bari and Barletta) to have a name in any way related to our main theme. But one recorded spelling is Bixele, and the place seems certain to have been a Norman foundation of approximately 1060 (van Houts 2000: 237; Norwich 2010: 194). If the Normans used a word *byski, a place-name based on it might have been transferred from Normandy, and a diminutive might have been *biskel. The problem is that the name is largely recorded in formal Latin documents and appears in widely varying forms. These have been collected by Alfredo Logoluso, and include Bixele 1311 and Bisely 1334-9.12 The region has been subject to Lombardic, Byzantine, Arab, and Norman influence and no doubt the name has been refashioned and reinterpreted more than once. It appears to have not been recorded in classical sources, so the form Vigiliae, as if meaning 'watch-towers' is probably fanciful. Ambrogio et al. (2004) give Vigilias and Biscilia 1096 and favour the 'watch-tower' theory. A form Buxilias is given in the Gesta Roberti Wiscardi by Guillermi Apuliensis (Pertz 1851: 254). This seems to rationalize the name as if referring to box-trees (Latin buxus). We find Bissiliam for Bisceglie in the De rebus gestis Rogerii Siciliæ regis of Alessandro di Telese (del Re 1845: 120). The question of whether the name is Norman is still open.

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Notes

- 1. Other place-names from Bic(c)a include Bichelake, Bickenham, Bikemere (all 1189) in lands of Glastonbury (Stacy 2001: 77, 102n, 169). Bickley in Cheshire has one -s- form: Bykeslegh 1400 (PN Ch 4 6).
- 2. Other OE metathetical pairings include *rix/risc* 'rush, reed', *max/mæsc* 'net', and *hux/husc* 'husk'.
- 3. Bickerston in Norfolk seems to have been sometimes spelt *Bixton* (e.g. in a deed of the late thirteenth century, Norfolk Record Office KIM 2N/4).
- 4. An uninvestigated possibility is that Latin *buxus* 'box-bush' in its vulgar form **boxus*, was metathetized (in early Romance) to *boscus*, along with a generalization of its sense to any kind of bush, and this was then borrowed into the modern Germanic languages.
- 5. For more on the Peterborough charter, see Morris 2006.
- 6. Further investigation into English /sk/ has been undertaken by West (1936). Oda (2005) argues that the spelling <sc> in a few words in *Beowulf* such as *forscrifen* and *scencte* stands for /sk/ because of the requirements of alliteration. The case is weak. The word "bishopric" has an irregular final /k/; **bishoprich is the expected outcome of the OE form *bisceoprīce*. Scandinavian influence may have been at work here.
- 7. The farm of Busklein near Stavanger in Norway gets its name from the word *biskop*, and offers a possible parallel to *Biskelund* in the way the *-ps* is dropped: *Biskupslæina* 1416, *Byskelyn* 1559 (Rygh and Kjær 1897–1936: v.14, p. 330).
- 8. The surname Bixby might derive from Bittesby in Leicestershire (PN Lei 5 25).
- 9. There is a Bigsby's Corner 1km south of Saxmundham in Suffolk.
- 10. Coates mis-identifies the Norfolk Bixley as the Bixley Farm near Wymondham.
- 11. A curiosity is the word *biscus*, cited by du Cange (1845) from a glossary of 1348, where it is interpreted as *ruscus*, *gallice houset*, that is, rush or reed.
- 12. http://www.bisceglielive.it/rubriche/rubrica.aspx?idrubrica=223, accessed 2010-08-11.

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