The place-names of the earliest English records

Barrie Cox (pp. 12–66)

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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**–**7**.
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**–**9**.
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**.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF
THE EARLIEST ENGLISH RECORDS

The past decade has seen significant progress in the establishment of a relative chronology for English place-name types.[1] However, our knowledge of the sequence of these types is still of a very simple kind. The present study is offered as an attempt to extend our chronological framework by isolating some of the more obvious place-name types used in the territories occupied by the Anglo-Saxons during the first three hundred years of their settlement in Britain.

To this end, all place-name forms in authentic Old English documents to A.D. 731 were collected. The cut-off date was arbitrary. A body of material of sufficient antiquity and quantity was necessary to make the results of analysis significant. Given this date, therefore, the following extended prose works are available: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and his *Life of St Cuthbert*, Eddi's *Life of Bishop Wilfred*, the anonymous *Life of St Cuthbert* and the anonymous *Life of Abbot Ceolfrith*. To the place-names appearing in this material were added those in the earliest English charters. These charters, of course, pose many problems of authenticity. The vast majority survive in later copies only. Place-name forms contained in them, therefore, may have been altered in transmission. Spurious charters may include place-names of later creation than their purported dates of composition. Some later compilations may contain authentic material from originals. Only those charters of most reliable pedigree have been used for this study. Even so, such selection must to some extent be subjective and the reader will no doubt reject individual charters which have been too uncritically admitted and wish to include others which have been too harshly cast aside. He must adjust the findings accordingly.

[1] See especially J. McN. Dodgson, "The Significance of the Distribution of the English Place-Name in *-ingas, -inga-* in South-east England", *Medieval Archaeology* 10 (1966), 1–29; M. Gelling, "English Place-Names Derived from the Compound *wīchām*", *Medieval Archaeology* 11 (1967), 87–104; B. H. Cox, "The Significance of the Distribution of English Place-Names in *hām* in the Midlands and East Anglia", *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 5 (1972–3), 15–73; J. McN. Dodgson, "Place-names from *hām*, distinguished from *hamm* names, in relation to the settlement of Kent, Surrey and Sussex", *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973), 1–50.

Surviving material represents the geographical area of Anglo-Saxon England extremely unevenly. The majority of East Anglia, one of the most important regions of the earliest English settlement, is unrepresented. So is Lindsey. Ecclesiastical prose writings provide the only contemporary records we have for Northumbria. In addition, the earliest charter which can be safely used is one for 672–4. The place-name forms considered sufficiently early, therefore, were set down in the short space of some sixty years. Finally, many of the place-names in these sources are not found again in later documents. Interpretation is thus made hazardous where only a solitary spelling survives.

It is with these reservations in mind that the following analysis should be approached. However, it is felt that, despite the limitations of the evidence, some general observations may usefully be made and that some significant patterns do emerge.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

AC	"Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert" in *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge 1940.
adj.	adjective.
AI	K. H. Jackson, "Romano-British Names in the Antonine Itinerary", *Britannia* 1 (1970), 68–82.
Angl	Anglian dialect of OE.
Ayr	Ayrshire.
BCS	*Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. G. de G. Birch, London 1885–93.
Berw	Berwickshire.
BPC	Bede's "Prose Life of St Cuthbert" in *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge 1940.
Brit	British.
cf.	compare.
dat.	dative.
DB	Domesday Book.
DEPN	E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn., Oxford 1960.
Eddi	*The Life of Bishop Wilfred by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge 1927.
EETS	Early English Text Society (Original Series).
EH	*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1969.
EHD	*English Historical Documents I, c. 500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, London 1955.
el.	place-name element.
Elements	A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* (EPNS 25–6).
E. Loth	East Lothian.

EPNS	English Place-Name Society's publications.
fem.	feminine.
Finberg	H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex*, Leicester 1964.
Fl	Flintshire.
FT	M. Förster, *Der Flussname Themse und seine Sippe, Studien zur Anglisierung keltischer Eigennamen und zur Lautchronologie*, Munich 1941.
gen.	genitive.
Gmc	Germanic.
GPN	E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*, Oxford 1967.
Ha	Hampshire.
HAbb	"Historia Abbatum auctore anonymo" in *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, Oxford 1896.
ib.	*ibidem*.
Jackson	K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, Edinburgh 1953.
KPN	J. K. Wallenberg, *Kentish Place-Names*, Uppsala 1931.
Lat	Latin.
Laws	F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, Cambridge 1922.
Lei	B. H. Cox, *The Place-Names of Leicestershire and Rutland*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham 1971.
LG	Low German.
Mdn	H. Middendorff, *Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch*, Halle 1902.
MDu	Middle Dutch.
Merc	Mercian dialect of OE.
MLG	Middle Low German.
n.d.	undated.
nom.	nominative.
Norw	Norwegian.
nr.	near.
obl.	oblique case.
OBret	Old Breton.
ODan	Old Danish.
OE	Old English.
OEBede	*The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (EETS 95-6, 110-1), London 1890-8.
OIr	Old Irish.
ON	Old Norse.
OW	Old Welsh.
pers.n(s).	personal name(s).
pl.	plural.
PN	*The Place-Names of . . .*
p.n(s).	place-name(s).
PN-ing[2]	E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing*, 2nd edn., Lund 1962.
PrCumb	Primitive Cumbrian.
prep.	preposition.
PrGmc	Primitive Germanic.

PrOE	Primitive Old English.
PrW	Primitive Welsh.
R.	River.
RB	Romano-British.
RN	E. Ekwall, *English River-Names*, Oxford 1928.
r.n(s).	river-name(s).
Rox	Roxburghshire.
S	P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, London 1968.
s.a.	*sub anno*.
Sandred	K. I. Sandred, *English Place-Names in -stead*, Uppsala 1963.
sg.	singular.
Skt	Sanskrit.
s.n.	*sub nomine*.
St Paul	M. Gibb, *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London* (Camden 3rd Series, 58, 1939).
TC	M. Gelling, W. F. H. Nicolaisen and M. Richards, *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain*, London 1970.
Tengstrand	E. Tengstrand, *Genitival Composition in Old English Place-Names*, Uppsala 1940.
v.	*vide*.
Watson	W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1926.
Wig	Wigtownshire.
wk.	weak.
W.Loth	West Lothian.
Wt	Isle of Wight; H. Kökeritz, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight*, Uppsala 1940.
*	a postulated form.

The County and County Place-Name Survey abbreviations follow normal EPNS practice.

THE MATERIAL

TOPOGRAPHICAL NAMES

ABERCORN (W Loth): *Aebbercurnig* 731 EH. A Brit name with the first el. PrCumb **aber* 'confluence, river mouth'. Watson interprets the second as **corniǭg* 'horned' — hence 'horned confluence'. However, Professor Jackson regards Watson's interpretation as doubtful. Apart from the dubious applicability of the meaning 'horned', the final *g* in *-curnig* is presumably the voiced spirant. If so, the second el. cannot be **corniǭg* which

would give OE *-c*. A modern *Abercorniock* would be expected.[2] Abercorn was the site of a Northumbrian monastery and an episcopal seat. Watson 461.

ALDINGBOURNE (Sx): *in locis qui appellantur Aldingburne* c. 692 (14) BCS 78 (S 45). 'Stream of Ealda's people', *v.* **-inga-, burna**. An estate granted by Nothhelm of Sussex to his sister Nothgyth for the foundation of a monastery. DEPN, PNSx 62.

AUGUSTINES AC (*in confinio Huicciorum et Occidentalium Saxonum*): *Augustinaes Ac* 731 EH. 'Augustine's oak', *v.* **āc**. The site of Augustine's conference with the British bishops in 603.

AUSTERFIELD (YW): *in campo qui dicitur Ouestraefelda* c. 710–20 Eddi, *Eostrefeld* c. 710–20 ib. 'Open land with a sheepfold', *v.* **eowestre, feld**. The site of the synod of 702. DEPN, PNYW 1 46.

BADON, MOUNT (lost): *Badonici montis* 731 EH. A Brit name of obscure etymology. The site of a battle between British and Anglo-Saxons c. 500.

BAPCHILD (K): *in loco ubi nominatur Baccancelde* 696–716 (11) BCS 91 (S 22), *Bachancild* 696–716 (11) BCS 92 (S 22). 'Bacca's spring', *v.* **celde**. The site of a council held by Wihtred of Kent. DEPN, KPN 22, PNK 242.

BARDNEY (L): *Beardaneu* 731 EH. 'Bearda's *ēg*', *v.* **ēg**. Here Bede uses the very old form *eu* which represents the original nom. sg. PrGmc **awiō-*, cf. Hart, Oxney, Partney and Lastingham *infra*. The more usual *ēg* and *īg* are new nominatives formed from the original obl. case, PrGmc **awi*. The site of a monastery. DEPN, Elements 1 147.

BARROW (L): *in loco qui dicitur Ad Baruae id est Ad Nemus* 731 EH. 'At the wood', *v.* **æt, bearu** (**bearwe** dat. sg.). The site of a monastery. DEPN, Elements 1 5 ff.

BATSFORD (Gl): *terram . . . quæ nominatur Æt Bæccesore* 727–36 (11) BCS 163 (S 101). 'At Bæcci's slope', *v.* **æt, ōra**[1]. An estate granted by Æthelbald of Mercia to Wilfred, bishop. DEPN, PNGl 1 233.

BATTERSEA (Sr): *Batrices ege* 693 (11) BCS 82 (S 1248). 'Beadurīc's *ēg*', *v.* **ēg**. An estate granted to the monastery of Barking (?). DEPN, PNSr 12.

BEDESFELD (lost — Northumbria?): *ad vicum ubi Bedesfeld*

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[2] I am indebted to Professor Kenneth Jackson for his detailed observations on the Celtic material in this study. Any errors which may appear are my own.

dicitur 699–705 AC. 'B(ī)ēdi's open land', *v.* **feld**. A village where St Cuthbert performed a miracle.

BERMONDSEY (Sr): *in locis Vermundesei* 708–15 (e. 13) BCS 133. 'Beornmund's *ēg*', *v.* **ēg**. The site of a monastery. DEPN, PNSr 16.

BESINGAHEARH (lost — Sr): *in loco cuius vocabulam est Besingahearh* 685–7 (12) BCS 72 (S 235). 'Sanctuary of Besi's or Besa's people', *v.* **-inga-**, **hearg**. An estate granted by Cædwalla of Wessex to Cedde, Cisi and Criswa for the foundation of a minster.

BESTLESFORD (nr. Basildon Brk): *terra appellatur Bestlesforda* 688–90 (12) BCS 74 (S 252). 'Bessel's ford', *v.* **ford**. The OE pers.n. appears also in nearby Basildon. An estate granted for the foundation of the monastery of Abingdon. DEPN s.n. Basildon, PNBrk 2 513, Tengstrand xxxvi.

BLEAN (K): *on Blean* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). The name of woodland; Ekwall suggests an OE **blēa** (dat. **blēan**) from an earlier **blahwōn*. It is cognate with OHG *blacha*, MHG *blahe* 'coarse cloth' and is probably used here in the transferred sense of rough ground overgrown with shrub. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. DEPN, KPN 63, 357.

BLEDNEY (So): *ad portam quæ dicitur Bledenithe* 712 (14) BCS 128 (S 1253). 'Bledda's landing place', *v.* **hȳ́ð**. An estate granted to the monastery of Glastonbury. DEPN.

BRADFIELD (Brk): *terra appellatur in Bradanfelda* 688–90 (12) BCS 74 (S 252).[3] '(In) the broad stretch of open land', *v.* **brād** (**brādan** wk. obl.), **feld**. An estate granted for the foundation of the monastery of Abingdon. DEPN, PNBrk 1 200.

BRADLEY (Wo): *terram . . . cui vocabulum est Bradanlæh* 723–37 (11) BCS 153 (S 95). 'Broad clearing in a wood', *v.* **brād** (**brādan** wk. obl.), **lēah**. An estate granted by Æthelbald of Mercia to Cyneburh. DEPN, PNWo 66.

BRAYDON (W): *silvæ cuius vocabulum est Bradon* 688 (12) BCS 71 (S 1170). A name for woodland; probably Brit and of obscure etymology. Land east of this wood was part of an exchange of estates between Baldred and Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury. DEPN, PNW 11.

BREEDON ON THE HILL (Lei): *Briudun* 731 EH. A Brit hill-name identical with PrW **breʒ* (Brit **brigā*). To this the

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[3] PNBrk 1 200 treats BCS 74 as spurious. But see comments in S 252.

English added their own **dūn** 'hill' to create a tautology which suggests ignorance of the meaning of the Brit name. The site of a monastery. DEPN, PNLei 346.

BRENTFORD (Mx): *in loco qui dicitur Breguntford* 705 BCS 115. A Brit r.n. **Brigantiā* is here compounded with OE **ford**. See Brent (p. 43). The site of a council to settle disputes between Wessex and Sussex. DEPN, PNMx 31.

BRENTINGESLEAG (lost — K): *Brentingesleag* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). 'Brenting's woodland clearing', *v.* **lēah**. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. KPN 33, Mdn 17.

BRUNESBEAM (lost — K): *on Brunesbeam* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). 'Brūn's tree', *v.* **bēam**. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. KPN 34.

BUCKHOLT (K): *on Bocholte* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). 'Beech wood', *v.* **bōc, holt**. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. KPN 34.

(IN)CAETLAEVUM (lost): *Incaetlaevum* c. 710–20 Eddi. Ekwall suggests a PrCumb **cę̄d*, **coid* 'wood' as the first el. plus an obscure second el. which he compares with that in *Glevum* (Gloucester). Professor Jackson observes that **cę̄d* is unlikely and the comparison with *Glevum* (PrW **Glēw, Gloiw*) very much so because there is no trace of the initial *G-*. An OE **cattahlāw* 'hill frequented by (wild) cats' is also unlikely. An estate granted to Wilfred's church of Ripon. PN-ing² 77.

CAMPODONUM (YW): *in Campodono* 731 EH. An estate of the kings of Northumbria. The name is translated in OEBede as *Donafelda* (OE **feld** 'open country'). It has been identified by Plummer with the Roman station of *Cambodunum* (thought to lie at Slack YW) but the names are not identical. Smith suggests that it may be the name of a locality, 'in the countryside of the Don' (rectius *in campo Donae*). L. Sherley-Price, *Bede: A History of the English Church and People*, London 1968, 127, identifies it with Doncaster (Roman *Danum*). PNYW 7 34.

CATTERICK (YN): *a uicum Cataractum* 731 EH, *a uico Cataractone* 731 ib, *iuxta Cataractam* 731 ib. Lat *cataracta* 'waterfall, rapids'. The rapids referred to are those on R. Swale near Richmond. It is likely that the Swale itself was called **Cataractonā* and that the name was transferred to the RB settlement, W *Catraeth*, OE *Cetreht*. It was an estate of the kings of Northumbria. AI 70, DEPN, PNYN 242.

CEDENAN AC (lost — L?): *Cedenan ác* 675–92 (12) BCS 842 (S 1804). An OE **āc** 'oak' with apparently a pers.n. in the gen. as the first el. But an unrecorded *Cædena would seem somewhat fanciful. An estate granted to the monastery of Breedon on the Hill.

CHERTSEY (Sr): *Cirotesige* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165), *in loco qui vocatur Cerotaesei id est Ceroti insula* 731 EH. 'Cerot's *ēg*', *v.* **ēg**. A Brit pers.n. *Cerotus* (appearing later in OE as *Ceort*) suggests an early date for this example of *ēg*. The site of a monastery founded by Earconwald. DEPN, PNSr 105.

CHURT (Sr): *Cert* 685–7 (12) BCS 72 (S 235). 'Rough ground', *v.* **ceart**. An estate granted by Cædwalla of Wessex to Cedde, Cisi and Criswa for the foundation of a minster. PNSr 178.

CLOVESHOH (K): *in loco qui vocatur Cloveshoh* 696–716 (12) BCS 91 (S 22), *Clofaeshooh* 731 EH. 'Spur of land with a cleft', *v.* **clōf, hōh**. The site of an ecclesiastical council in 716.

COOLBEORG (lost — Wo?): *in loco qui dicitur* (*Lootwic et*) *Coolbeorg* 717 (11) BCS 137 (S 102). The second el. is OE **beorg** 'hill'; the first may be OE *cōl* 'cool', but this el. is more commonly compounded in stream names. An estate granted to the church of Worcester.

COQUET ISLAND (Nb): *Cocwædesæ* 699–705 AC. Ekwall believes that Coquet was originally the name of woodland, an OE *Coccwudu 'wood frequented by wild birds' and that R. Coquet is a back-formation from it. But *wudu* at this early date is unlikely and there is little time for a back-formation from it to occur. The anglicization of a pre-English r.n. is more likely, cf. *Winwæd* (p. 46). Professor Jackson suggests that the first el. could be PrCumb *cocc 'red', with the -*et* as in R. Kennet (W, Brk), *v.* **ēg**. Coquet Island was a monastic site. DEPN, PNNb 52, RN 93.

CUSANWEOH (lost — Sr): *Cusanweoh* 685–7 (12) BCS 72 (S 235). 'The sanctuary of Cusa', *v.* **wēoh**. An estate granted by Cædwalla of Wessex to Cedde, Cisi and Criswa for the foundation of a minster.

DAWSTON RIGG (Rox)?: *in loco . . . qui dicitur Degsastan id est Degsa lapis* 731 EH. The first el. is derived by Förster from a Brit pers.n. *Dagissu with OE umlaut and with anglicization of the p.n. to *Dægisanstan > *Degisanstan > *Degsastan* (FT 796–811). Seriously questioned by P. Hunter Blair in *Studies in Early British History*, ed. N. K. Chadwick, Cambridge 1954,

157 n., *v.* **stān**. It was the site of a battle between Scots and Northumbrians in 603.

DAYLESFORD (Gl): *prope vadum cui vocabulum est Dæglesford* 718 for ?727 (11) BCS 139 (S 84). 'Dægel's ford', *v.* **ford**. The OE pers.n. may be a short form for names in *Dæg-*. An estate granted by Æthelbald of Mercia to Bægia for the foundation of a monastery. DEPN, PNGl 1 217.

DEAN (Sx): *terra quæ vocitatur . . . Æt Dene* ?725 (10) BCS 144 (S 43). 'At the valley', *v.* **æt, denu**. An estate granted to the monastery of Selsey. DEPN, PNSx 47.

DENGIE (Ess): *Deningei* c. 706–9 (17) St Paul J 11 (S 1787). Probably 'the *ēg* of Dene's people', *v.* **-inga-, ēg**. An estate granted by Swæfred of Essex to Ingwald, bishop. DEPN, PnEss 213.

(IN)DERAUUDA (now Beverley YW): *Inderauuda id est In Silua Derorum* 731 EH. 'Woodland of the men of Deira', *v.* **wudu**. The first el. is from the name of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of *Deira*, perhaps derived from PrW **dußr* 'water' (Brit **dubrō-* (**dubrī* pl.)), hence 'the waters, region of many rivers'. But see Jackson 419–21 who questions this etymology. The site of a monastery. PNYE 12.

DOVER (K): *Dofras* 696–716 (12) BCS 91 (S 22). A Brit stream name **Dubrās* from PrW **dußr* 'water' (Brit **dubrō-* (**dubrā* neuter pl.)) and meaning 'the stream'. A Saxon Shore fort and the site of a monastery. AI 77, Jackson 418, 577, 629, RN 135.

DUNWICH (Sf): *Dommoc, Domnoc* 731 EH. A Brit name from **dubnāco-* (a derivative of **dubno-* 'deep'), PrW **dußnọg*, possibly referring to the deep water in the RB port. DB's *Duneuuic* is the earliest recorded example of the OE compound **Dumnuc-wīc*. Note also *Dommocceastre* c. 890 OEBede. The site of the first episcopal see of the East Angles. DEPN.

DYLLAWIDU (lost): *Dyllawidu* 693 (17) BCS 85 (S 53). Probably 'Dylla's wood', *v.* **widu**. OE *widu* is early, becoming *wudu* by back-mutation by the eighth century. An estate granted by Oshere, king of the Hwicce, to Cuthswith, abbess, for the building of a minster.

FARNE ISLAND (Nb): *insula Farne* 699–705 AC, c. 721 BPC, 731 EH. Ekwall suggests OE **fearn** 'a fern' used perhaps because the pattern of islands resembles the fern leaf. This would seem to be rather fanciful. Mawer's suggestion of a Brit

origin is more probable. See Lindisfarne *infra*. The site of the hermitage of St Cuthbert. DEPN, PNNb 80.

FARNHAM (Sr): *Fernham* 685–7 (12) BCS 72 (S 235). 'Fern meadow', *v.* **fearn, hamm**. An estate granted by Cædwalla of Essex to Cedde, Cisi and Criswa for the foundation of a minster. DEPN, PNSr 169.

FOLKSTONE (K): *Folcanstan* 696–716 (12) BCS 91 (S 22). Probably 'Folca's stone', *v.* **stān**. *Folca* may be a short form for names in *Folc-*. The site of a monastery. DEPN, KPN 23, PNK 445.

FORDSTRETA (lost — nr. Fordwick K): *vadum quod appellatur Fordstreta* 686 (15) BCS 67 (S 9). An unusual construction: *strǣt-ford* is normal, *v.* **ford, strǣt**. An estate granted to St Peter's Minster, Canterbury.

FULHAM (Mx): *Fulanham* 704–9 (17) St Paul J 6 (S 1785). 'Fulla's meadow', *v.* **hamm**. An estate granted by Tyrhtil, bishop of Hereford, to Waldhere, bishop of London. DEPN, PNMx 101.

GATESHEAD (Du): *Ad Caprae Caput* 731 EH. 'At the headland frequented by (wild) goats', *v.* **æt, gāt, hēafod**. An OE **Æt Gāteshēafde*. The site of a monastery. DEPN, PNNb 92.

(ÆT) GENSTEDEGATE (nr. Aldingbourne Sx): *æt Genstede-gate* c. 692 (14) BCS 78 (S 45). OE **stede** 'a place, a site' and OE **geat** 'an opening, gap'. The first el. is possibly an OE pers.n. *Gegn*, a short form for names in *Gæn-*, *v.* **æt**. An estate granted by Nothhelm of Sussex to his sister Nothgyth for the foundation of a monastery. Sandred 259 ff., Tengstrand 199.

HACKNESS (YN): *Hacanos* 731 EH. 'Hook-shaped head-land', *v.* **haca, nos(e)**. The site of a monastery founded by Hild in 680. DEPN, PNYN 112.

HÆG (lost — K): *terra vocata Hæg* 697 (15) BCS 96 (S 18). 'The enclosure', *v.* **(ge)hæg**. An estate granted by Wihtred of Kent to Æbba, abbess.

HAMMESPOT (in Romney Marsh K): *in loco qui dicitur Hammespot* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). The reading *Hammefleot* is suggested by Wallenberg in preference to that in BCS 141. The MS is in poor condition, *v.* **hamm, spot, flēot**. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. KPN 224.

HART(LEPOOL) (Du)?: *Hereteu id est Insula Cerui* 731 EH. 'Stag *ēg*', *v.* **heorot, ēg**. The site of a monastery founded c. 640. DEPN, PNNb 104 and especially TC 104.

HATFIELD (Hrt): *in loco celiberrimo ubi nominatur Heðfeld* 680 BCS 53, *in loco Haethfelth* 731 EH, *in campo Haetfelda* 731 ib, *in campo Haethfeltha* 731 ib. 'Open land growing with heather', *v.* **hæð**, **feld**. The site of the synod of 680. DEPN, PNHrt 126.

HATFIELD (YW): *in campo qui uocatur Haethfelth* 731 EH. As Hatfield *supra*. The site of a battle between Northumbrians and Mercians (allied with British) in 633. DEPN, PNYW I 7.

HEBUREAHG (Avery Farm, Hoo All Hallows K): *Hebureahg insulam* c. 687 (12) BCS 89 (S 233). The final el. is OE **ēġ** 'land partly surrounded by water'; an OE pers.n. *Hēahburh* is probably compounded with it but alternatively *Hebur-* could represent OE *hēah-burh* 'chief stronghold'. An estate granted to the monastery of Hoo. KPN 20.

HEFENFELD (lost — nr. Hexham Nb): *uocatur locus ille lingua Anglorum Hefenfeld quod dici potest latine Caelestis Campus* 731 EH. The site of Oswald's holy cross set up in 634 before his battle with the British. In Bede's day a place of annual pilgrimage for the monks of Hexham, *v.* **heofon**, **feld**.

HELLERELEGE (lost — in King's Norton Wa): *in loco silvatici . . . nomine Hellerelege* 699–709 (11) BCS 123 (S 64). 'Woodland clearing on the swell of ground', *v.* **hēalor** (**hēalre** gen. sg.), **lēah**. An estate granted to the church of Worcester.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD (Hrt): *Hæmele* c. 704–9 (17) St Paul J 9 (S 1784). OE **hamol** 'multilated' is here used possibly in the sense 'broken country'. An estate granted by Offa of Essex to Waldhere, bishop of London. DEPN, PNHrt 40, TC 107.

HERTFORD (Hrt): *ad locum Herutforda* 731 EH, *in loco qui dicitur Herutford* 731 ib. 'Stag ford', *v.* **heorot**, **ford**. The site of the synod of 672. DEPN, PNHrt 225.

HEXHAM (Nb): *Hagustaldese* 699–705 AC, *Inhegustaldesiae* c. 710–20 Eddi, *In(h)agustaldesiae* c. 710–20 ib, *Inaegustaldesae* c. 710–20 ib, *Agustaldaesei* c. 710–20 ib, *Inhaegustaldesei* c. 710–20 ib. Possibly 'the warrior's *ēġ*', *v.* **haġustald**, **ēġ**, but *hagustald* may be used as a by-name here. OE *hām* later replaces *ēg*, cf. Lastingham *infra*. The site of a monastery and an episcopal seat. DEPN, PNNb 114, Tengstrand 123.

HIGHLEIGH (Sx): *in loco qui vocatur Hilegh* c. 700 (15) BCS 80 (S 1173). 'High woodland clearing', *v.* **hēah**, **lēah**. An estate granted to the monastery of Selsey. PNSx 86.

(AT)HOM (nr. Muchelney So): *Athom* 702 (13) Finberg 367

(S 244). 'At the meadow', *v.* **æt**, **hamm**. An estate granted to the monastery of Muchelney.

HOO (K): *Hogh* c. 687 (12) BCS 89 (S 233), *Hoge* c. 687 ib, *Æt Hoe* 696–716 (11) BCS 91 (S 22). '(At) the spur of land', *v.* **æt**, **hōh** (**hōe** dat. sg.). The site of a monastery. DEPN, KPN 19.

HUGABEORGUM (lost — Sx): *terra quæ vocitatur Huga-beorgum* ?725 (11) BCS 144 (S 43). The second el. **beorg** 'a hill, mound' is in the dat. pl. Perhaps an original **Æt Huganbeorgum* 'at Huga's hills', with an OE pers.n. *Huga*. An estate granted to the monastery of Selsey.

INGON (Wa): *terram quæ dicitur Ingin* 704–9 (17) BCS 122 (S 1177). Possibly an original **Æt Ingum* 'at the hills', *v.* **ing** (**ingum** dat. pl.). An estate granted by Æthelheard and Æthelweard to Cuthswith (abbess? — cf. *Dyllawidu supra*). DEPN, PNWa 333.

ISLIP (O)?: *in loco qui appellatur Slæpi* 681 (12) BCS 28 (S 1168). OE **slæp** 'a slippery, muddy place' or 'a slipway, portage'. An estate granted by Wigheard to Beorngyth, abbess. DEPN, PNO 221.

LASTINGHAM (YN): *Lastingaeu* 731 EH, *ad monasterii . . . quod est in Lastingaei* 731 ib, *. . . quod est in Lastingae* 731 ib. 'The *ēg* of Lāst's or Læsta's people', *v.* **-inga-**, **ēg**. As in Hexham *supra*, *hām* replaces *ēg*. The site of a monastery founded by Cedd in 659. DEPN, PNYN 60.

LAUGHTERTON (L)?: *Leuggtricdun* 675–92 (12) BCS 840 (S 1806). Perhaps 'hill where lettuce grows', *v.* **leahtric, dūn**. An estate granted to the monastery of *Medeshamstede*. DEPN.

LICHFIELD (St): *Licitfelda* c. 710–20 Eddi, *in loco qui uocatur Licidfelth* 731 EH, *Lyccitfeldensi* 731 ib. *Letocetum*, the name of the Roman station at Wall (a Brit **Lētocēton* from PrW **lēd*, **luid* (Brit **lēto-*) 'grey' and PrW **cēd*, **coid* 'a wood') was adopted into OE as *Licced* and compounded with OE **feld** 'open country'. The episcopal seat of Mercia established by Ceadda. AI 74, DEPN, Jackson 332–4.

LIDSEY (Sx): *in locis qui appellantur Lydesige* ?692 (14) BCS 78 (S 45). 'Hlȳdi's *ēg*', *v.* **ēg**. An estate granted by Nothhelm of Sussex to his sister Nothgyth for the foundation of a monastery. PnSx 63.

LIMENWEARAWALD (lost — K): *Limenwearawalde* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). 'Woodland of the men of the Lympne region', *v.* **-ware** (**-wara** gen. pl.), **wald**. Cf. Lyminge (p. 41)

and Lympne (p. 44). An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. KPN 32.

LINDISFARNE (Nb): *Lindisfarnae* 699–705 AC, *Lindisfarne insula* c. 710–20 Eddi, *insula Lindisfarnea* c. 721 BPC, *in Lindisfarenensi insula* c. 721 ib, *in insula Lindisfarnensi* 731 EH. From PrW, PrCumb *linn* (Brit **lindo-*) 'water, a pool'. Ekwall interprets the name as 'island of the *Lindesfaran* or Lindsey people' since Bede calls the Lindsey folk *gens Lindisfarorum* (OE *faran* 'travellers') which would seem to indicate either the colonization of Lindisfarne from Lindsey or regular intercourse between the two places. However, Symeon of Durham (*Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series **1** 51 and **2** 54) states that Lindisfarne took its name from a stream called *Lindis* which ran into the sea from the mainland opposite the island. No such stream name remains. It is possible, though, that Symeon confused the name given to the tidal waters which daily cut off Lindisfarne from the mainland, with that of a stream. It is unlikely that Farne Island and Lindisfarne have names of different origin. The latter was perhaps given separate recognition from the other Farne because of its tidal waters, the **lindo-* of its first el. Cf. Farne Island *supra*, *v.* **fara** (**faran** nom. pl.), **fearn**. The site of a monastery and see of Aidan, established 635. DEPN, PNNb 135.

LITTLEBOURNE (K): *terram V aratrorum in Littelborne* 695 (15) BCS 90 (S 16), *Littelburne* 696 ib. 'Small stream', *v.* **lȳtel**, **burna**. An estate granted to St Peter's Minster, Canterbury. DEPN, KPN 21.

MAELMIN (lost — possibly Millfield nr. Wooler Nb): *in loco qui uocatur Maelmin* 731 EH. A Brit name with PrW, PrCumb **mẹ̄l*, **moil* (Brit **mailo-*) 'bare'; second el. perhaps PrW, PrCumb **moniδ* 'hill'. The royal residence of the Northumbrian kings after their abandonment of Yeavering.

MASERFELTH (nr. Oswestry Sa): *in loco Maserfelth* 731 EH. The final el. is OE **feld** 'open country'. The first is possibly PrW **maʒes*, **ma-es* 'a plain', creating a near tautology similar in construction to Breedon on the Hill *supra* — but this fails to explain the *-er-*. Oswald of Northumbria was killed here in battle against the Mercians in 642.

MEDILWONG (lost — Northumbria): *uico qui dicitur Medilwong* 699–705 AC. 'Middle field', *v.* **middel**, **wang**. A village decimated by plague where St Cuthbert performed

a miracle. Symeon of Durham mentions *Mediluong* as the scene of the murder of Oswulf of Northumbria in 757 (*Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesia*, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series **2** 41, 376). Possibly the earlier name of one of the Middletons in Ilderton or that in Belford. PNNb 142.

MELROSE (Rox): *Mailros* 699–705 AC, c. 721 BPC, 731 EH. 'Bare moor'; PrW, PrCumb *męl, *moil (Brit *mailo-) 'bare' with PrW, PrCumb *ros 'moor'. The site of a Northumbrian monastery founded before c. 651. Jackson 326, Watson 496.

MIRAFELD (lost): *in loco . . . qui dicitur Mirafeld* 691 (15) BCS 42 (S 10). The second el. is OE **feld** 'open country'; the first is obscure but may be either OE **mi(e)re** 'mare' or OE **myrge** 'pleasant'. A charter confirmed here by Æthelred of Mercia.

MOLESEY (Sr): *Muleseg* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165). 'Mūl's *ēg*', v. **ēg**. An estate granted to the monastery of Chertsey. DEPN. PNSr 94.

MUCHELNEY (So): *Mycleneya* 725 (13) Finberg 380 (S 249). 'Large *ēg*', v. **micel** (**miclan** wk. obl.), **ēg**. The site of a monastery. DEPN.

NUTHURST (Wa): *æt Hnuthyrste* 699–709 (11) BCS 123 (S 64), *Hnuthyrst* 699–709 ib. '(At) nut wood', v. **æt**, **hnutu**, **hyrst**. An estate granted to the church of Worcester. DEPN, PNWa 66.

OVINGTON (Nb): *Osingadun* (rectius *Ofingadun*) 699–705 AC. 'Hill of Ofa's people', v. **-inga-**, **dūn**. The site of one of St Cuthbert's miracles. PNNb 154.

OXNEY (K): *on Oxnaiea* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). '*Ēg* where oxen were kept', v. **oxa** (**oxna** gen. pl.), **ēg**. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. DEPN, KPN 34.

PAEGNALAECH (lost — Northumbria): *Paegnalaech* 731 EH. 'Pægna's woodland clearing', v. **lēah**. The site of a monastery. DEPN s.n. Paignton.

PARTNEY (L): *Peartaneu* 731 EH. 'Pearta's *ēg*', v. **ēg**. The site of a monastery. DEPN.

RECULVER (K): *in civitate Recuulf* 679 (14) BCS 45 (S 8), *Raculf* 696–716 (12) BCS 91 (S 22), *Racuulfe* 731 EH. Reculver was Roman *Regulbium*, a compound of Brit *gulbio- 'beak' and Brit *ro*- 'great', hence 'great headland', referring to the long peninsula here when Thanet was still an island. A Saxon Shore

fort and the site of a monastery founded by Bassa in 669. DEPN, Jackson 559, KPN 12.

REDBRIDGE (Ha): *in loco qui uocatur Hreutford id est uadum harundinis* 731 EH. 'Ford where reeds grow', v. **hrēod**, **ford**. A bridge later replaced the ford. The site of a monastery. DEPN.

RUMININGSETA (in Romney Marsh K): *Rumining seta* 700 or 715 (8) BCS 98 (S 21). *Rumen is possibly the old name for Romney Marsh, derived from OE **rūm** 'spacious'. The second el. may be either the group-name-forming suffix **-ingas** (**-inga-** gen. pl.) or the OE connective particle **-ing-**[4]. In the former case we have 'fold of the *Rumen* people'; in the latter 'fold associated with *Rumen*'. An *-ingas* construction appears more likely, v. **(ge)set**. An estate granted to St Mary's Church, Lyminge. DEPN s.n. Romney, KPN 236.

SELSEY (Sx): *in Seolesiae* c. 710–20 Eddi, *in Selaesiae* c. 710–20 ib, *in insula quæ dicitur Seolesige* 714 (14) BCS 132 (S 42), *Selaeseu quod dicitur Latine Insula uituli marini* 731 EH. 'Seal's *ēg*', v. **seolh**, **ēg**. The site of a monastery and episcopal seat of the South Saxons, established by Wilfred c. 680. DEPN, PNSx 82.

SHEPPEY, ISLE OF (K): *Scepeig* 696–716 (11) BCS 91 (S 22). 'Sheep *ēg*', v. **scēap**, **ēg**. The site of a monastery. DEPN, KPN 24.

SHOTTERY (Wa): *Scottarið* 699–709 (11) BCS 123 (S 64). The first el. is difficult. Most satisfying would be OE **sc(e)ota** 'trout', hence 'trout stream'; **Scot(t)** (**Scotta** gen. pl.) 'a Scot' is formally possible, though it is doubtful at this date, v. **rīð**. An estate granted to the church of Worcester. DEPN, PNWa 239.

SOMERFORD KEYNES (Gl): *iuxta vadum euius vocabulum est Sumerford* 685 (14) BCS 65 (S 1169). 'Ford available only in summer', v. **sumor**, **ford**. An estate granted to the monastery of Malmesbury. DEPN, PNGl I 83.

STAMFORD BRIDGE (YE): *Aetstanforda* c. 710–20 Eddi, *in loco qui dicitur Stanford* 731 EH. 'At the stony ford', v. **æt**, **stān**, **ford**. An estate granted to Wilfred, bishop. DEPN, PNYE 186.

STAPULFORD (lost): *in loco . . . qui dicitur Stapulford* 690 (15) BCS 42 (S 10). 'Ford marked by a post', v. **stapol**, **ford**. A charter confirmed here by Æthelred of Mercia.

STARTLEY (in Great Somerford W): *Stercanlei* 688 (12)

BCS 71 (S 1170). A wood so called. Perhaps 'a clearing in woodland difficult to cultivate', *v.* **stearc, lēah**. Part of an exchange of estates between Baldred and Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury. PNW 73.

STODMARSH (K): *in marisco qui appellatur Stodmerch* 675 (15) BCS 36 (S 7), *mariscum quod appellatur Stodmersche* 686 (15) BCS 67 (S 9). 'Marshland where horses graze', *v.* **stōd, mersc**. An estate granted to St Peter's Minster, Canterbury. DEPN, KPN 9.

STONE (Ha): *in locum qui vocatur Ad Lapidem* 731 EH. An OE **Æt Stāne* 'at the stone', *v.* **æt, stān**. Possibly the site of a stone marking the passage from Ha to Wt. DEPN.

STREANAESHALCH (now Whitby YN): *Streuneshalgh* c. 710–20 Eddi, *in loco qui dicitur Streanaeshalch* 731 EH, *Strenaeshalc* 731 ib. The first el. is either an OE pers.n. *Strēon* or (**ge**)**strēon** 'property', with **halh** 'a nook, corner of land'. The site of a monastery founded by Hild in 657. DEPN s.n. Strensall, PNYN 126.

STREATLEY (Brk): *alia (terra) quæ nominatur Stretlea* 688–90 (12) BCS 74 (S 252). 'Woodland clearing by a Roman road', *v.* **strǣt, lēah**. An estate granted for the foundation of the monastery of Abingdon. DEPN, PNBrk **2** 531.

STRETMERCH (in Isle Abbots So): *Stretmerch* 693 (13) Finberg 365 (S 240). 'Marshland by a Roman road', *v.* **strǣt, mersc**. An estate granted to the monastery of Muchelney.

(IN) SUDANEIE (lost — Thanet K): *terram quæ dicitur In Sudaneie* 678 (15) BCS 44 (S 1648), 690 (15) BCS 42 (S 10). The second el. appears to be **ēg** 'well-watered land, dry land in a marsh etc.', but **ēa** 'river' would seem to be more appropriate; cf. *Uuestan ae infra, v.* **sūðan**. An estate granted by Hlothhere and Swæfheard of Kent to Æbba, abbess.

(ÆT)SWINAPATHE (nr. Austerfield YW): *Aetswinapathe* c. 710–20 Eddi. 'At the swine track', *v.* **æt, swīn, pæð**. The site of the ecclesiastical council of 702.

THANET, ISLE OF (K): *Tenid* 679 (15) BCS 45 (S 8), *Tanatos insula* 731 EH. Obscure. It may be Brit **Taneton* 'fire island' or 'bright island', possibly referring to a Roman beacon or lighthouse (cf. W *tan* 'fire'). But this is very doubtful and Förster objects to it. His suggestion is a Brit **Tannēton* which Professor Jackson in turn thinks doubtful. DEPN, FT 579 ff., RN 391.

TIDOVER (in Kirkby Overblow YW)?: *in villa quae dicitur Ontiddanufri* c. 710–20 Eddi. '(The place) on Tīda's slope', *v.* **ofer**[2], **ufer**. The site of a miracle performed by Bishop Wilfred. PNYW 5 43.

(AD)TUIFYRDI (on R. Aln Nb): *in loco qui dicitur Adtui-fyrdi id est ad duplex uadum* 731 EH. 'At the double ford', *v.* **æt, twī-, ford**. The site of the synod of 685.

TYNEMOUTH (Nb): *ab hostio Tini fluminis* c. 721 BPC. 'Mouth of R. Tyne', *v.* **mūða**. See Tyne (p. 46). The site of a monastery. DEPN, PNNb 202.

WALLBOTTLE (Nb)?: *in uico regis . . . qui uocatur Ad Murum* 731 EH. An OE **Æt Walle* 'at the (Roman) Wall', *v.* **æt, wall**. A royal estate of Oswiu of Northumbria. DEPN, PNNb 205.

WATTON (YE): *in loco qui vocatur Uetadun* 731 EH. 'Wet hill', *v.* **wēt, dūn**. The site of a nunnery. PNYE 158.

WEARMOUTH (Du): *ostium Wiri fluminis* c. 720 (10) HAbb, *ad hostium Wiri* c. 721 BPC, *ad Uiraemuda* 731 EH. 'Mouth of R. Wear', *v.* **mūða**. See Wear (p. 46). The site of a monastery founded by Benedict Biscop in 674. DEPN, PNNb 209.

WEOCCING PEORROCAS (lost — K): *Weoccing peorrocas* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). Either 'enclosed ground associated with We(o)cca' or 'enclosed ground of We(o)cca's people', *v.* **-ing-**[4], **-inga-, pearroc**. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. KPN 33, PNK 401.

UUESTAN AE (K): *terram . . . qui appellatur Uuestan ae* 679 (15) BCS 45 (S 8). '(The place) west of the river', *v.* **westan, ēa**. An estate granted to the monastery of Reculver.

WIGHT, ISLE OF: *Uectam insulam* 731 EH. A Brit *Vecta* (>OE **Weoht*>*Wieht*) of doubtful etymology. DEPN, FT 121.

UILFARESDUN (lost — YN): *in loco qui uocatur Uilfaresdun* 731 EH. 'Wilfær's hill', *v.* **dūn**. The rallying place of the army of Oswine of Deira in 651.

WYE (K): *on Weowera wealde* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). 'Woodland of the dwellers by the sanctuary', *v.* **wēoh, -ware, wald**. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. DEPN.

WYFIELDS (in Ilford Ess): *campo in silua quæ dicitur Uuidmundesfelt* 685–94 (8) BCS 81 (S 1171). 'Widmund's open land', *v.* **feld**. An estate granted to the monastery of Barking. PNEss 100.

YEAVERING (Nb): *uillam regiam quae uocatur Adgefrin* 731 EH. 'At *Gefrin*', *v.* **æt**. *Gefrin* is the Brit hill-name for Yeavering Bell. It might perhaps be derived from Brit **gabro-*, PrCumb **gaβr* 'goat', with a nasal suffix and PrCumb **brinn* 'a hill'. The royal vill of the Northumbrian kings and sited below Yeavering Bell. DEPN, PNNb 221.

YEADON (YW)?: *Ingaedyne* c. 710–20 Eddi. If the identification is correct, then probably 'lofty hill', *v.* **hēah, dūn**. An estate granted to Wilfred's church of Ripon c. 671–8. PNYW 4 155.

ZOY (and ZOYLAND) (So): *terram . . . quæ appellatur Sowy* 725 (14) BCS 143 (S 251). A Brit stream name compounded with OE **ēġ** 'land partly surrounded by water, land in a river bend etc.'. See Sow (p. 45). An estate granted to the monastery of Malmesbury. DEPN, RN 375.

Habitation Names

ACTON BEAUCHAMP (He): *terram quæ dicitur Aactune* 718 for ?727 (14) BCS 146 (S 85). 'Farm by the oak(s)', *v.* **āc, tūn**. An estate granted by Æthelbald of Mercia to Buca, his *comes*, for the foundation of a monastery. DEPN.

ANGENLABESHAAM (lost — Ess): *terram quæ appellatur Angenlabeshaam* 685–94 (8) BCS 81 (S 1171). 'Angenlāf's *hām*', *v.* **hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Barking.

BAMBURGH (Nb): *in urbe quæ Bebbanburge dicitur* c. 710–20 Eddi. 'Bebba's stronghold', *v.* **burh**. It was *urbe regia quae a regina quondam uocabulo Bebba cognominatur* 731 EH. DEPN, PNNb 10.

BANGOR ISCOED (Fl): *Bancor* 731 EH, *Bancornaburg* 731 ib. W *bangor* 'a wattled fence' which refers either to the walls of the early Celtic monastic building or to the fence enclosing it. To this, Bede adds **burh** 'fortified place'. TC 46.

BEARSTED (K): *Berghamstyde* 695 Laws, *in loco qui dicitur Berkamystede* 696 (15) BCS 88 (S 17). 'Homestead on a hill', *v.* **beorg, hām-stede**. Confirmation of privileges for the monastery of Minster in Thanet was signed here by Wihtred of Kent. DEPN, KPN 18, PNK 202, Sandred 89, 210.

BEDDANHAAM (lost — Ess): *Beddanhaam* 685–94 (8)

BCS 81 (S 1171). 'Bedda's *hām*', *v*. **hām**. The earlier name of the site of the monastery of Barking.

BODSHAM (K): *in loco qui dicitur Botdesham* c. 690 (15) BCS 41 (S 11). 'Bod(d)e's *hām*', *v*. **hām**. An estate granted by Swæfheard of Kent to Æbba, abbess. KPN 9, PNK 425.

BOSHAM (Sx): *in loco qui uocatur Bosanham(m)* 731 EH. Probably 'Bōsa's *hām*', *v*. **hām**. OEBede Kk3, 18 Cambridge University Library reads *bosanhám*, OEBede Bodleian Tanner 10 *Bosanham*, OEBede 41 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge *bosanhamm*. PNSx 57 prefers *hām*; Dodgson in *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973), 25 prefers *hamm*. The site of a monastery whose abbot was the Scot *Dicul*. DEPN.

BRACKLESHAM (Sx): *Braclæshamstede* 714 (14) BCS 132 (S 42). This form means 'Braccol's homestead' *v*. **hām-stede**. It is, however, the only surviving form with OE *hām-stede*. *Brakelesham* 945 (14) BCS 807 (S 506) and all later forms show **hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Selsey. PNSx 87, Sandred 253.

(IN)BRONINIS (lost — Northumbria): *urbe regis Inbroninis* c. 710–20 Eddi. Etymology obscure but most probably pre-English. A fortified site (cf. *Urbs Cnobheri* — Burgh Castle *infra*) of the Northumbrian kings. Wilfred was imprisoned here.

BUDINHAAM (lost — Ess): *terram quæ appellatur Budin-haam* 685–94 (8) BCS 81 (S 1171). 'Bud(d)a's *hām*', *v*. **hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Barking.

BURGH CASTLE (Sf): *in castro Cnobheresburg id est Vrbs Cnobheri* 731 EH. 'Cnofhere's stronghold', *v*. **burh**. A Saxon Shore fort and site of a monastery founded by the Irishman Fursey c. 630. DEPN.

CANTERBURY (K): *Dorovernis* 675 (15) BCS 36 (S 7), 696 (15) BCS 90 (S 16), *Dorovernia* 680 BCS 53, *Doruuernis, -ensis* 731 EH. The RB *Durovernum* from Brit **duro-* 'town with gateways, walled town' and Brit **uerno-* 'alder-swamp, marsh', hence 'walled town by the marsh'. The OE name *Cantwaraburh* 'stronghold of the *Cantwara*, or people of Kent' does not appear until after A.D. 750. The site of an episcopal see established in 601. AI 73, DEPN, KPN 4.

CARLISLE (Cu): *ad ciuitatem Luel* 699-705 AC. *ad Lugubalium ciuitatem quae a populis Anglorum corrupte Luel uocatur* c. 721 BPC, *ad Lugubalium ciuitatem* 731 EH. The RB *Luguvalium* (Brit *Luguualion) which Jackson derives from

the Brit pers.n. *Luguṇalos, hence 'town of Luguvalos'; PrCumb *cair* 'fortified town' prefixed later. A thriving community when visited by St Cuthbert in 687. AI 76, DEPN, PNCu 40.

CHESTER (Ch): *Legacaestir* 731 EH, *ad Ciuitatem Legionum* 731 ib, (Brit) *Carlegion* 731 ib. A Lat *Castra Legionum* gives Bede's anglicized *Legacaestir* and OW *Cairlegion* (with substitution of PrW, OW *cair* for *castra*) 'fortress of the legions', *v.* **ceaster**. A Roman fort and site of a battle between Northumbrians and British c. 613. DEPN.

CHESTER-LE-STREET (Du): *in eo loco ubi Kuncacester dicitur* 699–705 AC. The RB *Concangium*. To this was later suffixed OE **ceaster**. When St Cuthbert passed through, the site was deserted since it was winter at the time and the buildings there were only used in spring and summer (*ad habitacula uernalia et aestualia*), probably by herdsmen. Cuthbert could find no man to provide food for himself or for his horse. DEPN, TC 72.

CHOBHAM (Sr): *Chebeham* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165). 'Ceabba's *hām*', *v.* **hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Chertsey. DEPN, PNSr 114.

CNEBBANBURG (lost — W): *Cnebbanburg* 688 (12) BCS 71 (S 1170). 'Cnebba's stronghold', *v.* **burh**. Part of an exchange of estates between Baldred and Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury.

COLODESBURG (St Abb's Head, Berw): *Colodesbyrig* 699–705 AC, *Colodaesburg* c. 710–20 Eddi, *Coludi urbem* c. 721 BPC, *in loco quem Coludi urbem nominant* 731 EH, *Coludanae urbis* 731 ib.

Ekwall (PN-ing[2] 158, s.n. Coldingham) believes that the Brit name of the area was *Colud*. From this he sees derived OE **Col(u)dingas* 'the people at *Colud*'. In his view, **Col(u)dingahām* was an alternative name for **Coludesburh*. However, *Coludesburh* was clearly on St Abb's Head, a promontory jutting out into the North Sea. Coldingham is two miles to the south and a mile inland.

The OE forms above suggest that the Anglo-Saxons may have used *Colud* as a pers.n. The name of a monk *Coluduc* is found independently in the *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (originally of Lindisfarne) and is probably a diminutive of *Colud*. *Coludesburh* was the site of Æbbe's monastery which, like many other Anglo-Saxon religious foundations, appears to have been established in a disused fortification (hence *urbs* and

burh of the earliest forms, cf. Burgh Castle *supra*. Crawford in *Antiquity* 8 (1934), 202–3 draws attention to the surviving remains of a fortification here and suggests that the site is mentioned as *Caer Golud* in *The Book of Taliesin*. However, the *Caer Golud* of Taliesin is one of the many names for the City of the Earthly Paradise.

Bede's alternative form, *Coludanae urbis*, is very suggestive. It is clearly of a different nature from his *Coludi urbem* and would appear to contain an OE gen. in *-an*, plus an ending, either a Lat gen. *-ae* or a spelling of OE *ēg* (see parallels in forms for Hexham, Lastingham and Selsey (pp. 22, 23, 26)). If the latter is the case, his complete form would probably mean 'stronghold in Colud's *ēg*'. The *ēg* would refer to the whole of the peninsula on which the monastery stood.

It is clear that *Coludesburh* and Coldingham are not identical: the former was a religious site, the latter secular and situated a little further south and inland. But the name in *hām* may well have replaced one in *ēg* as at Hexham and Lastingham. Coldingham belongs, rather, to the major group of *-ingahām* p.ns. in Northumbria — Chillingham, Edlingham, Eglingham, Ellingham, *Runingaham* and Whittingham. These must date from the years after A.D. 547 when Ida took Bamburgh. *v.* **burh** (**byrig** dat. sg.), **ēg**.

DAGENHAM (Ess): *terram quæ appellatur Dæccanhaam* 685–94 (8) BCS 81 (S 1171). 'Dæcca's *hām*', *v.* **hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Barking. DEPN, PNEss 91.

DORCHESTER ON THAMES (O): *Dorcic caestrae* 731 EH, *ciuitatem quae vocatur Dorcic* 731 ib. Perhaps a Brit **Dorcicon* (from the root **derk-*). Ekwall suggests a meaning 'bright or splendid place'. Professor Jackson observes that this etymology is highly doubtful, *v.* **ceaster**. A RB town and the site of the first West Saxon episcopal see. DEPN, PNO 152.

DUNBAR (E. Loth): *in urbem Dynbaer* c. 710–20 Eddi. 'Summit fort'. PrW, PrCumb **din* (Brit **dūno-*) 'fort' with PrW **barr* (Brit **barro-*) 'top, summit, hill'. A royal stronghold of the Northumbrian kings. Watson 141.

EGHAM (Sr): *Egeham* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165). 'Ecga's *hām*', *v.* **hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Chertsey. DEPN, PNSr 119.

FLADBURY (Wo): *terram quæ dicitur Fledanburg* 691–9 (11) BCS 76 (S 76), 699–717 (11) BCS 76 (S 1252). 'Flæde's strong-

hold', *v.* **burh**. *Flǣde* is probably a short form of the OE pers.n. *Æthelflǣd*. The site of a monastery. BCS 76 concerns the grant of an estate by Æthelred of Mercia to Oftfor, bishop of Worcester, so that monastic life may be re-established here. DEPN, PNWo 126.

FORDWICK (K): *Fordeuuicum* 675 (15) BCS 36 (S 7). 'Hamlet at the ford', *v.* **ford**, **wīc** and cf. *Fordstreta* (p. 21). DEPN, KPN 9.

GLASTONBURY (So): *Glastingburi* 725 (14) BCS 143 (S 251); cf. *Glastingaea* 704 (14) BCS 109 (S 246) and *Glastingei* 745 (12) BCS 169 (S 257). BCS 109 is generally considered to be spurious but the form shows that an authentic and very early p.n. spelling was at hand for the scribe. Originally, we have 'the *ēg* of the people of *Glaston*', *v.* **-inga-**, **ēg**. The form *Glastingburi* in BCS 143 is a later restyling of the OE **Glæstingabyrig* 'at the stronghold of the people of *Glaston*', *v.* **burh** (**byrig** dat. sg.). The name replaced that in *ēg* and may represent the development of a defended site within the small region of the *ēg*. Ekwall suggests that *Glaston-* is a derivative of PrW **glas* (Brit **glasto-*) and signifies 'the place where woad grew'. However, Professor Jackson observes that Brit **glasto-* meant 'blue', and all known derivatives in the later language mean that. The recorded Gaulish-Latin *glastum* 'woad' must have meant 'the blue (dye plant)'; but there is no reason to suppose the word ever meant anything but 'blue' in Brit or Goidelic. The site of a monastery. DEPN.

GOODMANHAM (YE): *Godmunddingaham* 731 EH. '*Hām* of Godmund's people', *v.* **-inga-**, **hām**. The site of a pagan shrine destroyed in 627 by Coifi, chief priest of the Northumbrians. DEPN, PN-ing[2] 153, PNYE 230.

GRANTACAESTIR (now Cambridge C): *ad ciuitatem quandam desolatum . . . uocatur Grantacaestir* 731 EH. 'Roman fort on R. Granta', *v.* **ceaster**. See Granta (p. 44). Note that lack of continuity of settlement on the site appears to have caused the loss of its RB name. The place was in ruins in 676. DEPN, PNC 36.

HAMPTONS (nr. Tonbridge K): *Fercanhámstede* c. 687 (12) BCS 89 (S 233). The first el. is either an OE pers.n. *Freca* or the el. **freca** 'warrior', *v.* **hām-stede**. Woodland at *Fercanhámstede* was granted to the monastery of Hoo. KPN 21, 92, PNK 159, Sandred 231.

HEROTUNUM (lost — Sx): *in Herotunum* 714 (14) BCS 132 (S 42). The context suggests a settlement and this may account for the use of the dat. pl. here (cf. *wīc* (*wīcum* dat. pl.) where plural usage led to the sense 'hamlet, village' — Elements 2 257). Otherwise 'stag enclosures', *v.* **heorot**, **tūn**. An estate granted to the monastery of Selsey.

HUNEUUALDESHAM (lost — Weybridge Sr): *Huneuualdesham* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165). 'Hūnweald's *hām*', *v.* **hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Chertsey. PNSr 98.

ICKHAM (K)?: *Ieccaham* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). If the identification is correct, then '*hām* comprising a yoke of land', *v.* **ġeoc**, **hām**. But this form suggests the gen. of an OE pers.n. such as *Ic(c)a* or *Ecca*. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. DEPN, KPN 33, Mdn 81, PNK 521.

KINNEIL (W. Loth): *in loco qui sermone Pictorum Peanfahel, lingua autem Anglorum Penneltun appellatur* 731 EH. 'The farm at *Peanfahel*', *v.* **tūn**. The hybrid pre-English name *Peanfahel* means 'end of the wall' and refers to the eastern end of the Antonine Wall; from PrW, PrCumb **penn* (Brit **penno-*) 'end' and Gaelic *fál* (*fáil* gen.) 'wall'.[4] To this existing p.n., the Northumbrians suffixed OE *tūn*. This early example of *tūn*, situated west of Abercorn, must be later than the Northumbrian conquest of Edinburgh, dated by Jackson to 638.[5] Watson 347.

LINCOLN (L): *Lindocolinae ciuitatis* 731 EH, *in Lindocolino* 731 ib. The RB *Lindon colonia*; *Lindon* is PrW **līnn* (Brit **lindo-*) 'water, a pool' and refers to a widening of R. Witham at the foot of the escarpment at Lincoln, the present-day Brayford Pool. The site of the first episcopal see of Lindsey. AI 76, DEPN.

LOOTWIC (lost — Wo?): *in loco qui dicitur Lootwic (et Coolbeorg)* 717 (11) BCS 137 (S 102). Perhaps 'farm on the allotment of land', *v.* **hlot**, **wīc**. An estate granted to the church of Worcester.

LOSSENHAM (K): *Hlossanham* 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). Either 'Hlossa's *hām*' or 'Hlossa's meadow', *v.* **hām**, **hamm**. *Hlossa* may be a short form for names in *Hloþ-*. Ekwall derives this p.n. from *hām*; Wallenberg (followed by Dodgson *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973), 21) prefers *hamm*, but the *-hamm*

[4] K. H. Jackson, "The Pictish Language" in *The Problem of the Picts*, ed F. T. Wainwright, Edinburgh 1956, 143.
[5] K. H. Jackson, "Edinburgh and the Anglian Occupation of Lothian" in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. Clemoes, London 1959.

spelling of 1242 is rather late to be conclusive. An estate granted to the monastery of Minster in Thanet. DEPN, KPN 34, 359, PNK 342.

MALMESBURY (W): *Maldumesburg* 685 (14) BCS 65 (S 1169), *Meldumesburg* c. 701 (12) BCS 105, *Maildubi Vrbem* 731 EH. 'Maeldub's stronghold', *v.* **burh**. According to William of Malmesbury, Maeldub founded the monastery here. DEPN, PNW 47.

MEDESHAMSTEDE (now Peterborough Nth): *Medesham-stede, -stedi* 675–91 (12) BCS 840 (S 1806), c. 687 (12) BCS 89 (S 233), 731 EH. 'Mede's homestead', *v.* **hām-stede**. The site of a monastery. DEPN, PNNth 224.

MINSTER (K): *Suðmynster* 696–716 (11) BCS 91 (S 22). 'Southern minster', *v.* **sūð, mynster**. The site of a monastery founded by Sexburh of Kent in 664. KPN 22, PNK 256.

MUNDHAM (Sx): *in locus qui appellantur Mundhame* ?692 (14) BCS 78 (S 45). 'Munda's *hām*', *v.* **hām**. *Munda* may be a short form of names in *-mund*. An estate granted by Nothhelm of Sussex to his sister, Nothgyth, for the founding of a monastery. DEPN, PNSx 72.

PENITANHAM (lost): *terram quæ dicitur Penitanham* 693 (17) BCS 85 (S 53). An obscure first el., but possibly an OE pers.n. such as *Penta*, *v.* **hām, hamm**. An estate granted by Oshere, king of the Hwicce, to Cuthswith, abbess, for the building of a minster.

RENDLESHAM (Sf): *in uico regio qui dicitur Rendlaesham id est mansio Rendili* 731 EH. Possibly 'Rendel's *hām*', *v.* **hām**. *Rendel* may be a short form for names in *Rand-*. These are common in Scandinavia and on the Continent but are not evidenced in OE. The name may be a further piece of evidence to support a possible Swedish origin for the *Wuffingas*, as suggested by the boat burial at nearby Sutton Hoo. Dr Margaret Gelling, however, observes that the initial theme may be rather an OE **rendel* 'little shore' from *rand* 'brink, shore'. Rendlesham was the royal vill of the kings of East Anglia. DEPN.

REPTACAESTIR (now Richborough K): *ciuitas quae dicitur Rutubi portus a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptacae-stir* 731 EH. The RB *Rutupiae*, probably meaning '(the) muddy (estuary, waters)', *v. Études Celtiques* 11, 413. To this earlier name was suffixed OE **ceaster**. A Saxon Shore fort and port. AI 78, DEPN, PNK 531.

RICINGAHAAM (lost — nr. Dagenham Ess): *terram quæ appellatur Ricingahaam* 685–94 (8) BCS 81 (S 1171). '*Hām* of Rīc's or Rīca's people', *v.* **-inga-, hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Barking. PN-ing[2] 123.

ROCHESTER (K): *Rouesciestre* 696 (13) BCS 88 (S 17), *Hrofaescaestir, -caestrae* 731 EH, *ad ciuitatem Hrofi* 731 ib. The RB *Durobrivae*, Brit **Durobrīu̯ās* (Brit **duro-* 'walled town' and Brit **briu̯ā* 'bridge'), hence 'the walled town with the bridges'. Shortened to OE **Hrof(r)i* and suffixed by OE **ceaster**. The site of a Kentish see established in 604. AI 72, DEPN.

RUNINGAHAM (lost — nr. Melrose Rox): *ad uillam quae dicitur Runingaham* 699–705 AC, c. 721 BPC, *Hruningaham* c. 721 ib, *Hruringaham* 699–705 AC. '*Hām* of Rūna's people', *v.* **-inga-, hām**. The home of St Cuthbert (*v. Antiquity* 8 (1934), 97 ff.). PN-ing[2] 158.

SANDWICH (K): *in portum Sandwicae* c. 710–20 Eddi. 'Market town on sandy soil', *v.* **sand, wīc**. A port used by Bishop Wilfred. DEPN, KPN 295.

SIDLESHAM (Sx): *Sideleshamstede* 714 (14) BCS 132 (S 42). 'Sidel's homestead', *v.* **hām-stede**. The usual forms for this p.n. are in **hām** (cf. the 'earlier' *Sidelsham* '683' (14) BCS 64 (S 232) from a charter of doubtful authenticity). An estate granted to the monastery of Selsey. DEPN, PNSx 85, Sandred 258.

TADCASTER (YW)?: *ad ciuitatem Calcaria quae a gente Anglorum Kaelcacaestir appellatur* 731 EH. OE *Kaelcacaestir* means 'old fortification on chalky ground', *v.* **celce, ceaster**. The Roman name is Lat *calcaria* 'limestone quarries'. It has been anglicized in the OE p.n. Magnesian limestone was obtained at Tadcaster. As well as being a Roman fort, it was also a RB town and possibly the site of a monastery ruled by the nun Heiu who settled here after she had founded the monastery at Hartlepool. AI 69, DEPN s.n. Kelk, PNYW 4 76.

THORPE (Sr): *in loco qui dicitur Đorp* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165). 'Hamlet, outlying farm', *v.* **þrop**. An estate granted to the monastery of Chertsey. PNSr 134.

TILBURY (Ess): *in ciuitate Tilaburg* 731 EH. 'Tila's stronghold', *v.* **burh**. The site of a monastery founded c. 655 by Cedd. DEPN, PNEss 173.

TIOUULFINGACAESTIR (now Littleborough Nt): *iuxta*

ciuitatem Tiouulfingacaestir 731 EH. 'Old fortification of Tīowulf's people', *v.* **-inga-**, **ceaster**. It was RB *Segelocum*, apparently from Brit **sego-* 'strong, vigorous' and perhaps Brit **locus* 'lake'. The name could refer to a pool with a rapid current in R. Trent. Paulinus baptized converts in the river here, perhaps in the pool which gave *Segelocum* its name. AI 79, PNNt 35.

TOMTUN (lost — now Tamworth St ?): *Tomtun* 675–92 (12) BCS 843 (S 1804). 'Farm beside R. Tame', *v.* **tūn**. A *vicus* belonging to Æthelred of Mercia. Probably an earlier name for Tamworth, the royal vill of the kings of Mercia, *v.* Tame (p. 45).

TUNNACAESTIR (lost): *in ciuitate . . . Tunnacaestir* 731 EH. 'Tunna's old fortification', *v.* **ceaster**. Tunna was abbot of the monastery here.

UPMYNSTER (lost — nr. Minster in Thanet K): *Upmynster* 696–716 (11) BCS 91 (S 22). 'Upper minster', *v.* **upp**, **mynster**. The site of a monastery. KPN 22.

UERLAMACAESTIR (now St Albans Hrt): *iuxta ciuitatem Uerolamium quae nunc a gente Anglorum Uerlamacaestir siue Uaeclingacaestir appellatur* 731 EH. The etymology of *Verulamium* is very uncertain. Professor Jackson suggests that it may be derived from a pers.n. **Uerulāmos*, perhaps meaning 'He of the Manly Hand' and thus Brit **Uerulāmion* could mean 'Verulāmos's town'. The RB p.n. *Verulamium* is compounded with OE **ceaster** in *Uerlamacaestir*. The alternative OE p.n. *Uaeclingacaestir* means 'old fortification of Wacol's or Wæcel's people', *v.* **-inga-**, **ceaster**. The *Wæclingas* gave their name to Watling Street. *Uerlamacaestir* was the site of a minster. AI 80, DEPN, GPN 456, PNHrt 86.

UAECLINGACAESTIR (now St Albans Hrt). See *Uerlamacaestir supra*.

WATSINGAHAM (lost — nr. Battersea Sr): *in villam quæ vocabulo fungitur Wátsingahám* 693 (11) BCS 82 (S 1248). '*Hām* of Wāðsa's people', *v.* **-inga-**, **hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Barking (?). DEPN s.n. Washington, PN-ing[2] 123, PNSr 15.

WHITHORN (Wig): *in ea quae Candida Casa uocatur* 731 EH. The OE form (as in OEBede) was *Æt Hwītan Ærne* 'at the white building', probably so called because the stone was whitewashed. Ralegh Radford found what he thought was

whitewash on the stone in his excavation here, *v.* **æt**, **hwīt**, **ærn**. It was the site of a Northumbrian episcopal see established shortly before 731.

WILMINGTON (K): *iiii aratrorum quæ dicitur Wieghelmes tun* (rectius *Pleghelmes tun*) 697 (8) BCS 97 (S 19), *Pleghelmestun* 700 or 715 (8) BCS 98 (S 21). Originally 'Pleghelm's farm', *v.* **tūn**. BCS 97 has the *Wi-* of the pers.n. form written over a partial erasure. An *l* is still visible as the original second letter. The compounded pers.n. seems originally to have been *Pleghelm* but in BCS 97 was later altered to *Wieghelm* to agree with the name by which the settlement was then known, i.e. Wilmington 'farm associated with Wīghelm'. An endorsement of this charter, probably of the ninth century, reads *nunc Wigelmingctun*. In this case, the **-ing-**[4] construction appears to belong at least to the eighth century.[6] An estate granted to St Mary's Church, Lyminge.

WINCHESTER (Ha): *in ciuitate Uenta quae a gente Saxonum Uintancaestir appellatur* 731 EH. The RB name was *Venta* of obscure etymology. To this was suffixed OE **ceaster**. The site of the West Saxon episcopal see. AI 80, DEPN.

WOODCHESTER (Gl): *in loco qui vetusto vocabulo nuncupatur Wuduceastir* 716–45 (13) BCS 164 (S 103). 'Old fortification near or in woodland', *v.* **wudu**, **ceaster**. An estate granted to the church of Worcester. DEPN, PNGl I 115.

WOODHAM (Sr): *Wodeham* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165). '*Hām* by a wood', *v.* **wudu**, **hām**. An estate granted to the monastery of Chertsey. DEPN, PNSr 112.

WOOTTON WAWEN (Wa): *in loco qui vetusto vocabulo dicitur Uuidutuun* 716–37 (11) BCS 157 (S 94). 'Farm by a wood', *v.* **widu**, **tūn**. Note the early form *widu* and cf. *Dyllawidu* (p. 20). An estate granted by Æthelbald of Mercia to Æthelric, *comes*. DEPN, PNWa 242.

WORCESTER (Wo): *in loco cui nomen est Wigranceastre* 717 (11) BCS 137 (S 102), *Wigornensis* 699–709 (11) BCS 123 (S 64). 'Old fortification of the folk called the *Wigoran*', *v.* **ceaster**. The folk-name *Wigoran* may be derived from the old name for R. Piddle, a Brit **Uigorā* of obscure etymology. The site of a monastery founded in 680 by Bosel and an episcopal seat. DEPN, PNWo 19, RN 476.

[6] G. Ward, "The Wilmington Charter of A.D. 700", *Archaeologia Cantiana* 48 (1936), 28.

YORK: *in Eboraica civitate* 680 BCS 53, *in Eboracam* c. 710–20 Eddi, *Eburaci* 731 EH, *apud Eboracum* 731 ib. A Brit name possibly meaning 'estate of Eburos'. Ekwall suggests that there may be no pers.n. involved since *Eburos* is taken to be a derivative of Gaulish *eburos* 'yew' and the p.n. might come directly from the tree-name, in which case it would mean 'yew wood'. A Roman colonia and the site of an episcopal see. AI 73–4, DEPN, PNYE 275.

YTHANCAESTIR (RB *Othona*, now Bradwell-on-Sea Ess?): *in ciuitate Ythancaestir* 731 EH. Probably the Saxon Shore fort *Othona* with OE **ceaster** suffixed. Ekwall suggests that the first el. could be rather an OE pers.n. *Yþþa* or *Yþþe*. The site of a monastery founded c. 655 by Cedd. DEPN, Jackson 568, PNEss 210.

DISTRICT NAMES

(including names originally denoting groups or associations of people)

AHSE (lost — between Hexham and Carlisle): *in regione dicitur Ahse* 699–705 AC. Of obscure etymology but hardly an OE name. A region in which St Cuthbert preached.

BARKING (Ess): *in loco nuncupatur Inberecingum* 731 EH, *in monasterio Bericinensi* 731 ib. 'Berica's people', *v.* **-ingas** (**-ingum** dat. pl.). The site of a monastery founded c. 675 by Earconwald. DEPN, PNEss 88, PN-ing[2] 17.

BINTON (Sr): *in Bintungom* 685–7 (12) BCS 72 (S 235). 'Binta's people', *v.* **-ingas** (**-ingum** dat. pl.). An estate granted by Cædwalla of Wessex to Cedde, Cisi and Criswa for the foundation of a minster. PN-ing[2] 28, PNSr 181.

CHILTERN (Bk): *de desertis Ciltine* (*et Ondred*) c. 710–20 Eddi. A Brit hill-name of obscure etymology. A waste in the days of Eddius Stephanus. DEPN, PNBk 174.

CUNNINGHAM (Ayr): *in regione Nordanhymbrorum quae uocatur Incuneningum* 731 EH. A group-name, the base of which may be either a Brit name of the district or, less likely, a PrCumb pers.n. *Cænan* (=W *Cynan*), *v.* **-ingas** (**-ingum** dat. pl.). In the province of the Northumbrians. PN-ing[2] 78.

DENT (YW): *in regione Dunutinga* c. 710–20 Eddi. A group-name with the first el. possibly a Brit word corresponding to

OIr *dind* 'hill', *v.* **-ingas**. An estate granted to Wilfred's church of Ripon c. 671–8. PN-ing² 77, PNYW 6 252.

EALING (Mx): *Gillingas* 693–704 (17) St Paul J 7 (S 1783). 'Gilla's people', *v.* **-ingas**. The unrecorded pers.n. *Gilla* may be a short form for names in *Gisl-*. An estate granted by Æthelred of Mercia to Waldhere, bishop of London. DEPN, PN-ing² 26, PNMx 90.

EATON (Sr): *Getinges* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165). 'Gēat's people', *v.* **-ingas**. An estate granted to the monastery of Chertsey. PN-ing² 29, PNSr 88.

ELMET (YW): *in silua Elmete* 731 EH. A Brit name of obscure etymology. DEPN, PNYW 4 1.

ELY (C): *in regione quae uocatur Elge* 731 EH. 'Eel district', *v.* **æl, gē**. The site of a nunnery founded in 673 by Etheldreda. DEPN, PNC 213.

(IN)FEPPINGUM (lost — Middle Anglia): *in regione quae uocatur Infeppingum* 731 EH. A group-name in **-ingas** (**-ingum** dat. pl.) but of otherwise obscure etymology. Cf. perhaps the first el. in Phepson (Wo). DEPN s.n. Phepson, PN-ing² 94.

GILLING (YN): *Ingætlingum* c. 720 (10) HAbb, *in loco qui dicitur Ingetlingum* 731 EH. 'Gētla's people', *v.* **-ingas** (**-ingum** dat. pl.). The site of a monastery. DEPN, PN-ing² 75, PNYN 53.

HREPINGAS (lost — L?): *Hrepingas* 675–92 (12) BCS 842 (S 1805). Perhaps 'Hrep(p)a's people', *v.* **-ingas**. An estate granted to the monastery of Breedon on the Hill. DEPN s.n. Rippingale, PN-ing² 65.

JARROW (Du): *in loco qui uocatur Ingyruum* 731 EH. 'The *Gyrwe*'. A folk-name derived from OE *gyr* 'mud, a marsh'. Bede also refers to the *Gyrwe* of the Peterborough area (*Australium Gyruiorum*; *in regione Gyruiorum*) who may have colonized the Jarrow region from the south. The site of Bede's monastery, founded in 682. DEPN.

KENT: *Canciæ* 675 (15) BCS 36 (S 7), *Cantiam* c. 720 (10) HAbb, *Cantia* 731 EH. Brit *Cantion*. Professor Jackson observes that the name possibly means 'land of the *Cantii*'. *Cantii* means 'the Hosts' or 'the Armies', *v.* K. H. Jackson, "On Some Romano-British Place-Names", *Journal of Roman Studies* 38 (1948), 55.

KINTIS (lost — Northumbria): *in regio quæ dicitur Kintis*

699–705 AC. Obscure, but possibly a Brit r.n. or hill-name *Cunēt- related to PrW *cænēd (Brit *cunętįū) which is of doubtful meaning, cf. R. Kent (La, We). St Cuthbert performed a miracle here. Jackson 302, 331, RN 225 ff.

LEEDS (YW): *in regione Loidis* 731 EH. Probably a Brit *Lāt-, Lātensēs* (late Brit *Lǫd-, Lōdēses*); originally a group-name, later a district name formed from the base *lāt-* used as a r.n. meaning 'boiling one, violent one' — a former name of R. Aire. Hence 'people dwelling on the river called *Lāt-*' and later 'district occupied by the *Lātensēs*'. DEPN, PNYW 4 124.

LINDSEY (L): *in prouincia Lindissi* 731 EH, *Lindissae prouincia* 731 ib. The name has the same root as *Lindon* (Lincoln), PrW *linn* (Brit *lindo-*) 'water, a pool' and is probably a Brit derivative of the ancient name of the city, *v.* **ēg**. An episcopal see. DEPN.

LONDON: *Londinæ* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165), *Lundonia* 731 EH. A Brit *Lōndinįon* of obscure etymology. DEPN suggests a derivative of a stem *londo-* 'wild, bold' in either a pers.n. *Londinos* or in a folk-name formed from the adj. Jackson 308 n. questions this interpretation. A RB town and an episcopal see. AI 76, DEPN.

LYMINGE (K): *Liminge* 689 (15) BCS 73 (S 12), *in loco qui dicitur Limingae* 697 BCS 97 (S 19), 700 or 715 (8) BCS 98 (S 21), *Limming* 696–716 (12) BCS 91 (S 22). 'The district around Lympne', *v.* **ḡē**. Lympne was the Saxon Shore fort *Lemanis*, from Brit *lemo-* 'elm' with an *-an-* or *-ann-* suffix, hence 'elm-wood town'; cf. Lympne (p. 44) and *Limenwearawald* (p. 23). Lyminge was the site of a nunnery founded by Æthelburh c. 633. AI 78, DEPN, PNK 25.

ONDRED (Ha, K, Sx): *de desertis (Ciltine et) Ondred* c. 710–20 Eddi. Originally the name of the Roman fort *Anderitum* (Pevensey), from the Brit intensive prefix *ande-* 'great' and Brit *ritu-* 'ford', hence 'the great fords' (*v.* K. H. Jackson, "On Some Romano-British Place-Names", *Journal of Roman Studies* 38 (1948), 54). Later a name for the Weald which was a waste in the time of Eddius Stephanus. DEPN, PNSx 1.

OUNDLE (Nth): *in Undolum* c. 710–20 Eddi, *in prouincia quae uocatur Inundalum* 731 EH, *in prouincia Undulam* 731 ib. Probably an OE folk-name *Undāl* formed from *un-* and *dāl* 'division, share', hence 'undivided'. The site of a monastery and the deathplace of Bishop Wilfred. DEPN, PNNth 213.

PEPPERING (Sx): *Piperinges* c. 725 (14) BCS 145 (S 44). Perhaps 'people of the stream', *v.* **pipere**, **-ingas**. The first el. is difficult. Ekwall suggests an OE **pipere*, cf. Pebring (Denmark) which is derived from the cognate ODan *pipr-* 'stream, watercourse' or 'spring'. *Pipr-* is found in several Danish nature names with spellings in *Peber-*. An estate granted by Nunna of Sussex to Beorhtfrith, *famulus Dei*. PN-ing² 38, PNSx 167.

RIPON (YW): *Hrypae* 699–705 AC, *Hripis* c. 710–20 Eddi, *Inhripis* c. 710–20 ib, *Inhrypis* c. 710–20 ib, *Rypense* c. 720 (10) HAbb, *locum qui uocatur in Ripum* c. 721 BPC, *in loco qui uocatur Inhrypum* 731 EH. The dat. pl. of an ancient OE folk-name **Hrype* of obscure etymology. The site of a monastery founded between 651 and 663. DEPN, PNYW 5 164.

STOPPINGAS (lost — in Wootton Wawen Wa): *in regione quæ antiquitus nominatur Stoppingas* 716–37 (11) BCS 157 (S 94). Either 'Stoppa's people' or 'the people of the hollow', *v.* **stoppa**, **-ingas**. Possibly an OE pers.n. *Stoppa*; otherwise OE *stoppa* 'bucket' used topographically in the sense 'a hollow'. An estate granted by Æthelbald of Mercia to Æthelric, *comes*. DEPN s.n. Stopham, PN-ing² 50.

STURRY (K): *in loco qui dicitur Sturgeh* 678 (15) BCS 44 (S 1648), 690 (15) BCS 42 (S 10), *terram quæ dicitur Sturrie* 690 (15) BCS 35 (S 13), *Sturia* 679 BCS 45 (S 8), *Sturige* c. 690 (15) BCS 41 (S 11). 'Stour district', *v.* **gē**. See Stour (p. 45). BCS 45 concerns an estate granted by Hlothhere of Kent to the monastery of Hoo. The other charters record estates granted by Hlothhere, Swæfheard and Oswine of Kent to Æbba, abbess. DEPN, KPN 6.

SUNNINGES (lost — Sr): *alterius provinciæ quæ appellatur Sunninges* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165). 'Sunna's people', *v.* **-ingas**, cf. Sonning Brk. An estate granted to the monastery of Chertsey. PNBrk 1 32, PN-ing² 45.

SURREY: *in regione Sudergeona* 731 EH. 'Southern district', *v.* **sūðer**, **gē**. DEPN, PNSr 1.

WOKING (Sr): *in locis Wocchingas* 708–15 (e. 13) BCS 133. 'Wocc(a)'s people', *v.* **-ingas**. The site of a monastery. DEPN, PN-ing² 30, PNSr 156.

YEADING (Mx): *in regione quæ dicitur Geddinges* 716–57 (12) BCS 182 (S 100). 'Geddi's people', *v.* **-ingas**. An estate granted by Æthelbald of Mercia to Wihtred, *comes*, and to his wife Ansith. DEPN, PN-ing² 27, PNMx 40.

RIVER-NAMES

ALN (Nb): *fluuium Alne* 731 EH. A Brit r.n. from PrW
*alīn (Brit **alauno-*) of unknown meaning. RN 5 ff.

ALNE (Wa): *Æluuinnæ* 716–37 (11) BCS 157 (S 94). A Brit
r.n. It may contain PrW *winn, but *al-* is obscure. RN 8.

AVON (So, Gl): *Avene* 688 (14) BCS 71 (S 1170). A Brit r.n.
from PrW *aßon (Brit *abonā) 'river'. Jackson 272, RN 21 ff.

AVON (Wa): *Afen* 699–709 (11) BCS 123 (S 64). See Avon
(So, Gl) *supra*.

AXE (So): *fluuium Aesce* 712 (14) BCS 128 (S 1253). A Brit
r.n. from PrW *esc (Brit *iscā) of uncertain meaning. RN
152 ff.

BLADAEN (an old name for R. Evenlode Gl, O): *Bladaen*,
(of) Bladene, (on) Bleadene 718 for ?727 (11) BCS 139 (S 84).
A pre-English r.n. of obscure etymology. RN 36.

BRENT (Mx, Hrt) — in Brentford (Mx). A Brit r.n. identical
with Brit *Brigantī, the name of a goddess (derived from the
root **bhergh-* 'high'). As well as being the goddess of the river,
Brigantī was also the tribal goddess of the Brigantes of northern
England. RN 51.

CHERWELL (Nth, O): *Ceruelle* 681 (12) BCS 57 (S 1167).
The second el. is OE **wella**. The first el. may be either OE **cierr**
'turn', hence 'winding river' or an OE ***ceare** 'a turn, bend'.
Possible also is a Brit r.n. **Carī-* derived from **caro-* with the
sense 'pleasant'; but Professor Jackson observes that this is not
very probable. RN 75.

COLNE (Gl): *Cunuglae* 718–45 (11) BCS 166 (S 1254),
Cunuglan 718–45 ib. A pre-English r.n. of obscure etymology.
RN 87.

COQUET (Nb): *Coquedi fluminis* c. 721 BPC. Ekwall believes
the name to be a back-formation from an OE *Coccwudu (*v.*
Coquet Island p. 19). But *wudu* is rare before c. 700. Also, the
area could not have been settled by the Anglo-Saxons until
after the middle of the sixth century, so that the time available
for such a development is limited. Better is the anglicization of
a pre-English r.n., cf. *Winwæd infra*. RN 93.

DACRE (Cu): *amnem Dacore* 731 EH. A Brit r.n., perhaps
from PrCumb *dagr 'a tear, a drop' and possibly meaning
'trickling stream'. Professor Jackson notes that as 'tear' is an
odd name for a river, some derivative may be required, the
suffix of which has left no trace in Dacre. RN 111.

DENISESBURNA (an old name for Rowley Burn Nb): *in loco qui lingua Anglorum Denisesburna id est riuus Denisi uocatur* 731 EH. The final el. is OE **burna** 'stream'. The etymology of *Denis-* is obscure although Bede seems to have taken it to be a pers.n. Ekwall and Förster suggest a Brit **Dubnissos* from Brit **dubno-* 'deep'. FT 174, Jackson 423, 675, RN 120.

DERWENT (Cu): *Deoruuentionis fluuii* c. 721 BPC, *Deruuentionis fluuii* 731 EH. A Brit r.n. from PrW **derwïnt* (from Brit **derụā* 'oak', with formative suffix), hence '(river) where oaks grow abundantly'. Jackson 282, RN 122.

DERWENT (YN, YE): *amnem Deruuentionem* 731 EH. See Derwent (Cu) *supra*. RN 121 ff.

FONTMELL (Do): *Funtamel* 670–6 (15) BCS 107 (S 1164). A Brit r.n. meaning 'stream or spring by the bare hill'. The first el. is PrW **fœntǭn* 'spring', a Brit loan word from Lat *fontāna* 'a stream' with the terminal el. identical with PrW **mę̄l*, **moil* (Brit **mailo-*) 'bare hill'. Jackson 676, RN 161.

FROME (W): *fluvium qui vocatur From* 701 (12) BCS 105. A Brit r.n.; PrW **Frǭṽ* (Brit **Frāmā*) meaning 'brisk, swift, strong'. RN 167.

GLEN (Nb): *in fluuio Gleni* 731 EH. A Brit r.n. from the base **glanịo-* or **glanịā*, a derivative of **glano-* 'clean, holy, beautiful'. RN 177.

GRANTA (C, Bd, Ess) — in *Grantacaestir* (C). A Brit r.n. of obscure etymology. RN 183.

HAMBLE (Ha): *fluminis Homelea* 731 EH. An English r.n. meaning 'crooked river, winding river', v. **hamol**, **ēa**. RN 189.

H(L)IDABURNA (an old name for R. Wandle Sr): *Hidaburna* 693 (11) BCS 82 (S 1248). Ekwall reads *Hlidaburna*, with a first el. OE **hlid** 'slope', v. **burna**. RN 432.

HUMBER (Y, L): *Humbri fluminis* c. 720 (10) HAbb, 731 EH, *Humbrae fluminis* 731 ib. A pre-Brit or Brit r.n. of uncertain etymology. Jackson 519, RN 201 ff.

IDLE (Nt, L): *amnis qui uocatur Idlae* 731 EH. Possibly an OE r.n. derived from *īdel* 'lazy, idle', hence 'the slow river'. Ekwall also suggests a possible Brit origin and compares R. Idle with R. Isole (Brittany) (*Idol* 1029, *Idola* 11th century) of obscure etymology, v. **īdel**, **ēa**. RN 207.

LYMPNE (an old name for the East Rother Sx, K): *fluminis quæ appellatur Limenaea* 700 or 715 (8) BCS 98 (S 21), *flumen*

Limenæ 724 (15) BCS 141 (S 1180). A Brit r.n. **Leman(n)ā* from **lemo-* 'elm', and meaning 'river in the elm wood'. Cf. Lyminge (p. 41) and *Limenwearawald* (p. 23). AI 78, RN 243 ff.

NIDD (YW): *iuxta fluvium Nid* c. 710–20 Eddi, *iuxta fluuium Nidd* 731 EH. A Brit r.n. of unknown etymology. PNYW 7 130, RN 302.

PANT (Ess): *in ripa Pentae* 731 EH. A Brit r.n. derived from PrW **pant* (Brit **panto-*) 'a hollow, a valley'. RN 319.

PARRET (Do, So): *Pedrit* 702 (13) Finberg 367 (S 244). A pre-English r.n. of obscure etymology. RN 320 ff.

RIBBLE (Y, La): *Rippel* c. 710–20 Eddi. Evidently an OE r.n. which Ekwall derives from the adj. ***ripel** (from **ripila-*) meaning 'tearing', hence 'tearing, rushing river'. RN 340.

SALWARPE (Wo): *Saluuerpe* 717 (11) BCS 203 (S 102). An OE r.n. meaning 'dark-coloured winding stream', *v*. **salu**, **weorpe**. RN 350.

SEVERN (Sa, Wo, Gl, So): *amnem Sabrinam* 731 EH. A pre-English r.n. of doubtful etymology. RN 358 ff.

SOLENT (Ha): *Soluente* 731 EH. A pre-English name of obscure etymology. DEPN.

SOW (So) — in Middlezoy and Zoyland (So). A pre-English r.n. of obscure etymology. RN 375.

STOUR (K): *flumen quod nominatur Stur* 686 (15) BCS 67 (S 9). Possibly an OE **stūr** 'heavy, strong, gloomy, unfriendly' or the like. Cognate are Norw *stur* 'gloomy', MDu *stuur* 'heavy, fierce', MLG *stūr* 'stiff, unfriendly', LG *stūr* 'strong'. Ekwall prefers a Brit r.n. derived from the root **steu-* in Skt *sthāvará-* 'firm', Lat *stauro*, ON *staurr* 'a pole'. Jackson rejects this. Jackson 195 n. 1, RN 378 ff.

STOUR (O, Gl, Wo, Wa): *on Sture* 699–709 (11) BCS 123 (S 64), *v*. Stour (K) *supra*.

SWALE (YN): *in fluuio Sualua* 731 EH. An OE r.n. from Angl **swalwe²** 'rushing water, whirlepool'. RN 384.

TAME — in *Tomtun* (lost). A Brit r.n. of uncertain etymology, but perhaps meaning 'dark river' and cognate with OIr *temen* 'dark', Skt *támas* 'darkness'. Förster prefers the root **tā-* 'to melt, thaw', giving a meaning 'fluid, water', cf. R. Teviot *infra*. FT 369 ff., RN 389.

TARRANT (an old name for R. Arun Sx): *iuxta flumen Tarente* c. 725 (14) BCS 145 (S 44). A Brit r.n. **Trisantonā>* PrW **Trihanton* which gave OE *Treante* (here metathesized), cf. R. Trent *infra*. Jackson 524–5, RN 416 ff.

TEVIOT (Rox): *Tesgeta* (rectius *Tefgeta*) 699–705 AC. A Brit r.n. **Tamiatis*>PrW **Teviad*>OE **Tefget*, evidently from the same root as R. Tame *supra*. FT 460, Jackson 488, 612.

THAMES: *Thamis* 672–4 (13) BCS 34 (S 1165), *Tamisa* 685–94 BCS 81 (S 1171), *Tamense fluuio* 731 EH, *ad flumen Tamensim* 731 ib. A Brit **Tamẹsa* (>PrOE **Tamīsu*>OE *Temis*), perhaps belonging to the root **teme-* 'dark', hence 'dark river'. Cf. Skt *Tamasā*, the name of a tributary of the Ganges, and Skt *tamasá-* 'dark'. FT 600, Jackson 331, 486, RN 402 ff.

TRENT (St, Db, Nt, L): *fluuio Treanta* 731 EH, *Treenta* 731 ib. Of the same etymology as R. Tarrant *supra*.

TWEED (Nb): *Tuuide* 699–704 AC, *Tuidi fluminis* 731 EH. A Brit r.n. possibly meaning something like 'strong, powerful river' from the root **teuə-* 'to swell, be powerful'. RN 421 ff.

TYNE (Cu, Nb, Du): *Tini fluminis* c. 721 BPC, *amnem Tina* 731 EH, *Tino amne* 731 ib. A Brit r.n. **Tīn-*, possibly derived from the root **tei-* 'to dissolve, flow'; hence it has the general meaning 'water, river'. RN 425.

WANTSUM (K): *fluuius Uantsumu* 731 EH. The OE adj. ***wændsum** 'winding' derived from *wænden*, later *wendan* 'to wind', hence 'winding river'. RN 433.

WEAR (Du): *Uuir* 699–705 AC, *Wiri fluminis* c. 720 (10) HAbb, *Uiuri fluminis* 731 EH. A Brit r.n. from a base **Uisuro-* or **Uisuris-* (as in the German R. Weser). It may perhaps belong to the root **ueis-* found in W *gwyar* 'blood'. Another Brit r.n. with the general meaning 'water, river'. Jackson 362, RN 441.

WINWÆD (lost — Y): *fluuium Uinued* 731 EH, (*neah Winwæde streame* c. 890 OEBede). In the absence of forms, little can be done with this r.n. Bede tells us that Oswiu of Bernicia defeated Penda of Mercia close by *Winwæd* which at that time was swollen by heavy rains and had flooded the surrounding area. As a result of this, many were drowned while attempting to escape from the scene of defeat. This suggests the presence of a ford over a major river which proved treacherous because of the heavy waters. Bede's form may represent an OE **winnwæd* 'battle ford', from **(ge)winn** 'fight, conflict' and **(ge)wæd** 'ford'. But the OE form is probably no more than the anglicization of a Brit r.n. R. Went (YW) is a strong possibility (earliest surviving forms in *Wenet*). Attempts to locate *Winwæd* in the Leeds region are due to an uncritical reading of Bede's text. PNYW **7** 35 n. 1.

WRITOLABURNA (an old name for R. Wid Ess ?): *Writolaburna* 685–94 (8) BCS 81 (S 1171). An OE r.n. meaning 'babbling stream', *v.* **writol**, **burna**. Ekwall identifies *Writolaburna* with R. Wid Ess in RN 475; but there are difficulties about this, *v.* EHD 446–7.

YENLET (K): *fluminis Genladae* 731 EH. An OE *gegnlād* meaning, perhaps, 'backwater' and formed from **ġeġn** 'again' and **(ġe)lād** 'a watercourse'. RN 477.

Analysis

1. The Old English Elements (apart from Personal Names)

This list comprises all OE elements used in uncompounded p.ns. (and r.ns.) or in the first and second parts of compounded p.ns. (and r.ns.). Under each el., the examples are arranged in three categories: (a) as first el. of a compounded p.n.; (b) as a simplex p.n.; (c) as final el. of a compounded p.n. Elements which are not included in *English Place-Name Elements* (EPNS 25–6) are distinguished by (n) after them.

āc 'oak-tree'. (a) Acton; (c) *Augustinaes Ác, Cedenan Ác.*

ǣl 'eel'. (a) Ely.

ærn 'house, building'. (c) Whithorn.

æt prep. of location. *æt Genstedegate. Athom, Aetswinapathe, Adtuifyrdi*, Barrow, Batsford, Dean, Hoo, Nuthurst, Stone, Wallbottle.

bēam 'tree'. (c) *Brunesbeam.*

bearu (bearwe dat. sg.) 'wood, grove'. (b) Barrow.

beorġ 'hill, mound'. (a) Bearsted; (c) *Coolbeorg, Hugabeorgum.*

*****blēa** 'rough ground'. (b) Blean.

bōc 'beech tree'. (a) Buckholt.

brād 'broad, spacious'. (a) Bradfield, Bradley.

burh (byriġ dat. sg.) 'fortified place'. (c) Bamburgh, a form for Bangor, Burgh Castle, *Cnebbanburg, Colodesburg*, Fladbury, Glastonbury, *Hebureahg* (?), Malmesbury, Tilbury.

burna 'a spring, stream'. (c) Aldingbourne, *Denisesburna, H(l)idaburna*, Littlebourne, *Writolaburna.*

*****ceare** 'a bend'. (a) R. Cherwell (?).

ceart 'rough ground'. (b) Churt.

ceaster, cæster (Angl) 'old fortification' (usually Roman). (c) Chester (2), Dorchester, *Grantacaestir*, *Reptacaestir*, Rochester, Tadcaster, *Tiouulfingacaestir*, *Tunnacaestir*, *Uerlamacaestir*, *Uaeclingacaestir*, Winchester, Woodchester, Worcester, *Ythancaestir*.

***celce** (Angl), ***cælce** (Merc) 'chalky place, chalky ground'. (a) Tadcaster.

celde 'a spring'. (c) Bapchild.

cierr 'a turn'. (a) R. Cherwell (?).

***clof** 'a cleft, valley'. (a) *Cloveshoh*.

cōl² 'cool'. (a) *Coolbeorg*.

denu 'valley'. (b) Dean.

dūn 'hill'. (c) Breedon, Laughterton, Ovington, Watton, *Uilfaresdun*, Yeadon.

ēa 'river, stream'. (c) R. Hamble, R. Idle, R. Lympne, (*In*) *Sudaneie* (?), *Uuestan ae*.

ēg 'land partly surrounded by water, well-watered land, piece of dry ground in a fen, an island, a promontory'. (c) Bardney, Battersea, Bermondsey, Chertsey, a form for *Colodesburg* (?), Coquet Island, Dengie, Hart(lepool), *Hebureahg*, Hexham, Lastingham, Lidsey, Lindsey, Molesey, Muchelney, Oxney, Partney, Selsey, Sheppey, (*In*) *Sudaneie* (?), Zoy.

eowestre 'sheep-fold'. (a) Austerfield.

fara (n) 'traveller'. (c) Lindisfarne (?).

fearn 'a fern'. (a) Farnham; (b) Farne (?); (c) Lindisfarne (?).

feld 'open country'. (c) Austerfield, *Bedesfeld*, Bradfield, Hatfield (2), *Hefenfeld*, Lichfield, *Maserfelth*, *Mirafeld*, Wyfields.

flēot 'estuary, inlet'. (c) *Hammespot* (for *Hammefleot* ?).

ford 'shallow place, natural or artificial, by which a river crossing may be made'. (a) *Fordstreta*, Fordwick; (c) *Adtuifyrdi*, *Bestlesford*, Brentford, Daylesford, Hertford, Redbridge, Somerford, Stamford, *Stapulford*.

freca (n) 'warrior'. (a) Hamptons (?).

gāt 'goat'. (a) Gateshead.

***gē** 'district, region'. (c) Ely, Lyminge, Sturry, Surrey.

geat 'hole, opening, gap'. (c) *æt Genstedegate*.

gegn 'direct'. (a) R. Yenlet.

geoc 'a yoke' (measure of land). (a) Ickham (?).

haca 'hook'. (a) Hackness.

(ge)hæg 'enclosure'. (b) *Hæg*.

hǣð 'a heath, heather'. (a) Hatfield (2).

hagustald 'bachelor, young warrior'. (a) Hexham.

halh 'nook, corner of land'. (c) *Streanaeshalch.*

hām 'village, estate'. (c) *Angenlabeshaam, Beddanhaam,* Bodsham, Bosham, (Bracklesham), *Budinhaam,* Chobham, Dagenham, Egham, Goodmanham, *Huneuualdesham,* Ickham, Lossenham (?), Mundham, *Penitanham* (?), Rendlesham, *Ricingahaam, Runingaham,* (Sidlesham), *Wátsingahám,* Woodham.

hamm 'land in a river bend, river meadow, dry ground in a marsh, a promontory of dry land into marsh or water'. (a) *Hammespot*; (b) *Athom*; (c) Farnham, Fulham, Lossenham (?), *Penitanham* (?).

*****hamol** 'maimed, mutilated'. (a) R. Hamble; (b) Hemel Hempstead.

hām-stede 'homestead'. (c) Bearsted, Bracklesham, Hamptons, *Medeshamstede,* Sidlesham.

hēafod 'hill, headland'. (c) Gateshead.

hēah[1] 'high, chief'. (a) *Hebureahg* (?), Highleigh, Yeadon.

hēalor 'a swelling, hill'. (a) *Hellerelege.*

hearg 'heathen temple'. (c) *Besingahearh.*

heofon (n) 'heaven'; 'holy (place)' (?). (a) *Hefenfeld.*

heorot 'hart, stag'. (a) Hart(lepool), *Herotunum,* Hertford.

*****hlid**[1] 'a slope'. (a) *H(l)idaburna* (?).

hlot 'a lot, share'. (a) *Lootwic* (?).

hnutu 'nut'. (a) Nuthurst.

hōh 'spur of land'. (b) Hoo; (c) *Cloveshoh.*

holt 'a wood, thicket'. (c) Buckholt.

hrēod 'a reed'. (a) Redbridge.

hwīt 'white'. (a) Whithorn.

hyrst 'copse, wooded eminence'. (c) Nuthurst.

hȳð 'port, landing place on a river bank'. (c) Bledney.

īdel 'slow'. (b) R. Idle (?).

*****ing** 'hill, peak'. (b) Ingon.

-ing-[4] connective particle. *Rumining seta* (?), *Weoccing þeorrocas* (?).

-inga- (gen. pl. of *-ingas* and used in compound p.ns. with the same function as *-ingas*). Aldingbourne, *Besingahearh,* Dengie, Glastonbury, Goodmanham, Lastingham, Ovington, *Ricingahaam, Rumining seta* (?), *Runingaham, Tiouulfingacaestir, Uaeclingacaestir, Wátsingahám, Weoccing þeorrocas* (?).

-ingas (-ingum dat. pl.) — used to denote groups or associations of people. Barking, Binton, Cunningham, Dent, Ealing, Eaton, (*In*)*feppingum*, Gilling, *Hrepingas*, Peppering, Sonning, *Stoppingas*, Woking, Yeading.

(ġe)lād 'water-course'. (c) R. Yenlet.

lēah 'a wood, clearing in a wood'. (c) Bradley, *Brentingesleag*, *Hellerelege*, Highleigh, *Paegnalaech*, Startley, Streatley.

leahtric 'lettuce'. (a) Laughterton (?).

lȳtel 'little'. (a) Littlebourne.

mersc 'marsh, watery land'. (c) Stodmarsh, *Stretmerch*.

micel (miclan wk. obl.) 'large'. (a) Muchelney.

middel 'middle'. (a) *Medilwong*.

mi(e)re 'mere'. (a) *Mirafeld* (?).

mūða 'mouth of a large river'. (c) Tynemouth, Wearmouth.

mynster 'monastery, large church'. (c) Minster, *Upmynster*.

myrġe 'pleasant'. (a) *Mirafeld* (?).

nōs(e) 'headland, promontory'. (c) Hackness.

*ofer², **ufer** 'a slope, hill, ridge'. (c) Tidover.

ōra¹ 'a border, bank, edge'. (c) Batsford.

oxa (oxna gen. pl.) 'ox'. (a) Oxney.

pæð 'path, track'. (c) *Aetswinapathe*.

pearroc 'fence enclosing a piece of ground, ground enclosed by a fence'. (c) *Weoccing peorrocas*.

*pipere (n) 'a spring, stream'. (a) Peppering.

*rendel (n) 'little shore'. (a) Rendlesham (?).

*ripel (n) 'tearing'. (b) R. Ribble.

rīð 'a stream'. (c) Shottery.

rūm² 'spacious'. (a) *Rumining seta* (?).

salu 'sallow, dark-coloured'. (a) R. Salwarp.

sand 'sand'. (a) Sandwich.

scēap 'sheep'. (a) Sheppey.

sc(e)ota 'trout'. (a) Shottery (?).

Scot(t) (Scotta gen. pl.) 'a Scot'. (a) Shottery (?).

seolh 'a seal'. (a) Selsey.

(ġe)set 'a fold'. (c) *Rumining seta*.

slæp 'slippery, muddy place; portage'. (b) Islip.

*spot 'small piece, bit'. (c) *Hammespot*.

stān 'a stone, stone, rock'. (a) Stamford; (b) Stone; (c) Dawston, Folkstone.

stapol 'a post, pillar of wood or stone'. (a) *Stapulford*.

stearc 'stiff, hard'. (a) Startley.

stede 'a place, site, locality'. (c) *æt Genstedegate.*
stōd 'a herd of horses, stud'. (a) Stodmarsh.
stoppa 'a pail, bucket; a hollow'. (a) *Stoppingas* (?).
strǣt 'a Roman road'. (a) Streatley, *Stretmerch*; (c) *Fordstreta.*
(ġe)strēon 'property'. (a) *Streanaeshalch* (?).
stūr 'gloomy, strong, fierce'. (b) R. Stour (2).
sumor 'summer'. (a) Somerford.
sūð 'south, southern'. (a) Minster.
sūðan '(place) south of . . .'. (a) (*In*) *Sudaneie.*
sūðer 'southern, south'. (a) Surrey.
***swalwe²** (Angl) 'whirlpool, rushing water'. (b) R. Swale.
swīn¹ 'swine'. (a) *Aetswinapathe.*
tūn 'enclosure, farmstead'. (c) Acton, *Herotunum*, Kinneil,
    Tomtun, Wilmington, Wootton.
twī- 'double, two'. (a) *Adtuifyrdi.*
þrop 'outlying farm, hamlet'. (b) Thorpe.
upp 'up, higher up'. (a) *Upmynster.*
(ġe)wǣd 'ford'. (c) *Winwæd* (?).
***wændsum** 'winding'. (b) R. Wantsum.
wald 'woodland, high forest land'. (c) *Limenwearawald*, Wye.
wall 'a wall' (usually defensive). (b) Wallbottle.
wang 'piece of meadowland'. (c) *Medilwong.*
-ware (**-wara** gen. pl.) 'dwellers'. *Limenwearawald*, Wye.
wella 'a spring, stream'. (c) R. Cherwell.
wēoh 'heathen temple'. (a) Wye; (c) *Cusanweoh.*
***weorpe** (n) 'something which winds'. (b) R. Salwarpe.
westan 'west, west of'. (a) *Uuestan ae.*
wēt 'wet'. (a) Watton.
wīc '(dairy) farm, hamlet'. (c) Fordwick, *Lootwic*, Sandwich.
widu 'a wood'. (c) *Dyllawidu*, Wootton.
(ġe)winn² 'a fight, conflict'. (a) *Winwæd* (?).
***writol** 'bubbling'. (a) *Writolaburna.*
wudu 'a wood'. (a) Woodchester, Woodham; (c) *Inderauuda.*

2. THE PERSONAL NAMES

Names not found in independent use are preceded by a single asterisk if they can be inferred from evidence other than the p.n. in question. Those for which no such evidence can be found are preceded by a double asterisk.

OLD ENGLISH

**Angenlāf* (*Angenlabeshaam*), *Bacca* (Bapchild), *Bæcci* (Batsford), *Beadurīc* (Battersea), *Bearda* (Bardney), *Bebba* (Bamburgh), **Bedda* (*Beddanhaam*), *Beornmund* (Bermondsey), *Berica* (Barking), *Besa*, *Besi* (*Besingahearh*), *Bessel* (*Bestlesford*), *B(ī)ēdi* (*Bedesfeld*), **Binta* (Binton), *Bledda* (Bledney), *Bod(d)e* (Bodsham), *Bōsa* (Bosham), **Braccol* (Bracklesham), *Brenting* (*Brentingesleag*), *Brūn* (*Brunesbeam*), *Bud(d)a* (*Budinhaam*), *Ceabba* (Chobham), *Cnebba* (*Cnebbanburg*), *Cnofhere* (Burgh Castle), **Colud* (*Colodesburg*), *Cusa* (*Cusanweoh*), **Dæcca* (Dagenham), *Dægel* (Daylesford), *Dene* (Dengie), *Dylla* (*Dyllawidu*), *Ealda* (Aldingbourne), *Ecga* (Egham), **Flæde* (Fladbury), *Folca* (Folkstone), *Freca* (Hamptons (?)), **Fulla* (Fulham), *Gēat* (Eaton), *Geddi* (Yeading), **Gegn* (*æt Genstedegate* (?)), *Gētla* (Gilling), **Gilla* (Ealing), *Gōdmund* (Goodmanham), *Hagustald* (Hexham (?)), *Hēahburh* (*Hebureahg* (?)), **Hlossa* (Lossenham), **Hlȳdi* (Lidsey), **Hreþ(þ)a* (*Hrepingas* (?)), *Huga* (*Hugabeorgum*), *Hūnweald* (*Huneuualdesham*), **Læsta*, **Lāst* (Lastingham), *Mēde* (*Medeshamstede*), *Mūl* (Molesey), *Munda* (Mundham), *Ofa* (Ovington), *Pægna* (*Paegnalaech*), *Pearta* (Partney), **Pleghelm* (Wilmington), **Rendel* (Rendlesham), *Rīc*, *Rīca* (*Ricingahaam*), *Rūna* (*Runingaham*), **Sidel* (Sidlesham), **Stoppa* (*Stoppingas* (?)), *Strēon* (*Streanaeshalch* (?)), *Sunna* (Sonning), *Tīda* (Tidover), *Tila* (Tilbury), **Tīowulf* (*Tiouulfingacaestir*), *Tunna* (*Tunnacaestir*), *Wacol*, *Wæcel* (*Uaeclingacaestir*), **Wāðsa* (*Wátsinghám*), *We(o)cca* (*Weoccing peorrocas*), **Wīdmund* (Wyfields), **Wilfsᴍʀ* (*Uilfaresdun*), *Wocc*, *Wocca* (Woking), *Yþþa*, *Yþþe* (*Ythancaestir*).

BRITISH PERSONAL NAME COMPOUNDED IN AN ENGLISH PLACE-NAME

Cerotus (Chertsey).

OLD IRISH PERSONAL NAME COMPOUNDED IN AN ENGLISH PLACE-NAME

Maeldub (Malmesbury).

LATIN PERSONAL NAME COMPOUNDED IN AN ENGLISH PLACE-NAME

Augustinus (*Augustinaes Ác*).

3. Pre-English Place-Names Surviving Uncompounded With English Elements

Abercorn, *Anderitum* (*Ondred*), *Badon*, Bangor, Braydon, (*In*)*Broninis* (?), *Calcaria* (Tadcaster), *Cairlegion* (Chester), *Campodonum*, Carlisle, Catterick, Chiltern, *Domnoc* (Dunwich), Dover, Dunbar, *Durovernum* (Canterbury), Elmet, Farne (?), Kent, Kinneil, *Kintis*, Leeds, Lincoln, Lindisfarne (?), London, *Maelmin*, Melrose, Reculver, *Rutupiae* (*Reptacaestir*), Thanet, *Venta* (Winchester), *Verulamium* (St Albans), Wight, Yeavering, York.

4. Place-Names in Which Pre-English Bases (Excluding Personal Names) are Compounded With Old English Elements

burh (byrig dat. sg.): Bangor Iscoed.

ceaster, cæster (Angl): Chester (*Legacaestir*), Chester-le-Street (*Kuncacester*), Dorchester, *Grantacaestir*, *Reptacaestir*, Rochester, Tadcaster (*Kaelcacaestir*), *Uerlamacaestir*, Winchester, Worcester, *Ythancaestir* (?).

dūn: Breedon

ēg: Glastonbury (**Glæstingaēg*), Lindsey, Zoy.

fara: Lindisfarne (?).

fearn: Lindisfarne (?).

feld: Lichfield, *Maserfelth* (?).

ford: Brentford.

gē: Lyminge.

-ingas (-ingum dat. pl.): Cunningham (?), Dent.

-inga-: Glastonbury.

mūða: Tynemouth, Wearmouth.

tūn: Kinneil.

-ware (-wara gen. pl.): *Limenwearawald*.

wudu: (*In*)*Derauuda*.

5. The Sources

A. *Ecclesiastical Prose Writings*

    (i) Bede's *Prose Life of St Cuthbert*
        Topographical Names: Farne, Lindisfarne, Melrose, Tynemouth, Wearmouth.
        Habitative Names: Carlisle, *Colodesburg*, *Runingaham*.
        District/Group Names: Ripon.

(ii) Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*

Topographical Names: Abercorn, *Augustinaes Ác*, *Badon*, Bardney, Barrow, Breedon, *Campodonum*, Catterick, Chertsey, *Cloveshoh*, Dawston, *(In)Derau-uda*, Dunwich, Farne, Gateshead, Hackness, Hart(lepool), Hatfield (Hrt), Hatfield (YW), *Hefen-feld*, Hertford, Lastingham, Lichfield, Lindisfarne, *Maelmin*, *Maserfelth*, Melrose, *Paegnalaech*, Partney, Reculver, Redbridge, Selsey, Stamford Bridge, Stone, *Streanaeshalch*, Thanet *(Ad)Tuifyrdi*, Wallbottle, Watton, Wearmouth, Wight, *Uilfaresdun*, Yeavering.

Habitative Names: Bangor Iscoed, Bosham, Burgh Castle, Canterbury, Carlisle, Chester, *Colodesburg*, Dorchester on Thames, Goodmanham, *Grantacaestir*, Kinneil, Lincoln, Malmesbury, *Medeshamstede*, Rendlesham, *Reptacaestir*, Rochester, Tadcaster, Tilbury, *Tiouulfingacaestir*, *Tunnacaestir*, *Ucrlama-caestir*, *Uaeclingacaestir*, Whithorn, Winchester, York, *Ythancaestir*.

District/Group Names: Barking, Cunningham, Elmet, Ely, *(In)Feppingum*, Gilling, Jarrow, Kent, Leeds, Lindsey, London, Oundle, Ripon, Surrey.

(iii) Eddius Stephanus' *Life of Bishop Wilfred*

Topographical Names: Austerfield, *(In)Caetlaevum*, Hexham, Lichfield, Lindisfarne, Selsey, Stamford Bridge, *Streanaeshalch*, *(Æt)Swinapathe*, Tidover, Yeadon.

Habitative Names: Bamburgh, *(In)Broninis*, *Colodes-burg*, Dunbar, Sandwich, York.

District/Group Names: Chiltern, Dent, *Ondred*, Oundle. Ripon.

(iv) Anonymous *Life of Abbot Ceolfrith*

Topographical Names: Wearmouth.

Habitative Names: nil.

District/Group Names: Gilling, Kent, Ripon.

(v) Anonymous *Life of St Cuthbert*

Topographical Names: *Bedesfeld*, Coquet Island, Farne, Hexham, Lindisfarne, *Medilwong*, Melrose, Ovington.

Habitative Names: Carlisle, Chester-le-Street, *Colodesburg, Runingaham*.

District/Group Names: *Ahse, Kintis*, Ripon.

B. *Charters*

Topographical Names: Aldingbourne, Bapchild, Batsford, Battersea, Bermondsey, *Besingahearh, Bestlesford*, Blean, Bledney, Bradfield, Bradley, Braydon, Brentford, *Brentingesleag, Brunesbeam*, Buckholt, *Cedenan Ác*, Chertsey, Churt, *Cloveshoh, Coolbeorg, Cusanweoh*, Daylesford, Dean, Dengie, Dover, *Dyllawidu*, Farnham, Folkstone, *Fordstreta*, Fulham (*Æt*)*Genstedegate, Hæg, Hammespot*, Hatfield (Her), *Hebureahg, Hellerelege*, Hemel Hempstead, Highleigh, (*At*)*Hom*, Hoo, *Hugabeorgum*, Ingon, Islip, Laughterton, Lidsey, *Limenwearawald*, Littlebourne, *Mirafeld*, Molesey, Muchelney, Nuthurst, Oxney, Reculver, *Ruminingseta*, Selsey, Sheppey, Shottery, Somerford, *Stapulford*, Startley, Stodmarsh, Streatley, *Stretmerch*, (*In*)*Sudaneie*, Thanet, *Weoccing Peorrocas, Uuestan Ae*, Wye, Wyfields, Zoy.

Habitative Names: Acton, *Angenlabeshaam*, Bearsted, *Beddanhaam*, Bodsham, Bracklesham, *Budinhaam*, Canterbury, Chobham, *Cnebbanburg*, Dagenham, Egham, Fladbury, Fordwick, Glastonbury, Hamptons, *Herotunum*, *Huneuualdesham*, Ickham, Lossenham, Malmesbury, *Medeshamstede*, Minster, Mundham, *Penitanham, Ricingahaam*, Rochester, Sidlesham, Thorpe, *Tomtun, Upmynster*, *Wátsingahám*, Wilmington, Woodchester, Woodham, Wootton, Worcester, York.

District/Group Names: Binton, Ealing, Eaton, *Hrepingas*, Kent, London, Lyminge, Peppering, *Stoppingas*, Sturry, *Sunninges*, Woking, Yeading.

DISCUSSION

The total of p.ns. appearing in the earliest English sources, including alternative uncompounded and compounded names for the same site, is 224. This total excludes r.ns. which are treated separately below. The total of p.ns. is made up as follows: District Names (including names denoting groups or

associations of people) 30 examples (13%); Topographical Names 119 examples (53%); Habitation Names 75 examples (34%). Topographical names comprise by far the largest group, accounting for more than a half of the p.ns. recorded.

Pre-English Place-Names (Excluding River-Names)

There are 32 pre-English p.ns. (plus 3 possible) which survive without OE accretions. These comprise 14% of the total (see Analysis 3, p. 53). To these may be added a further 26 p.ns. (plus 3 possible), 12% of the total, in which pre-English names survive in compound with OE elements (see Analysis 4, p. 53). The total of p.ns. in which pre-English elements certainly survive is 58, 26% of those recorded.

In these early records, the following 19 RB p.ns. known also from Roman sources survive either uncompounded or in compound with OE elements (in 6 instances with OE *ceaster* 'old fortification'). They are:

metropolis: *Londinium*

colonia: *Eboracum, Lindon*

towns: *Calcaria, Cataractonium, Durobrivae, Durovernum, Letocetum, Luguvalium, Venta, Verulamium*

islands: *Tanatus, Vectis*

forts (Saxon Shore): *Anderitum, Dubris, Lemanis, Othona* (?), *Regulbium, Rutupiae.*

This survival would seem to indicate the continuity of a significant Celtic-speaking population. It may also reflect the settlement of Germanic *foederati* in the coastal regions, who became familiar with these p.ns. and adopted them. Of special interest is the survival of the names of the Saxon Shore forts. Those of Sussex, Kent and Essex are all present (*Anderitum, Lemanis, Dubris, Rutupiae, Regulbium, Othona* in order from south to north); and we may add for this region *Tanatus, Durovernum, Dorobrivae, Londinium* and *Verulamium.*[7] However, the name of none of the three Saxon Shore forts of East Anglia has survived in these early records.

Our ecclesiastical sources for some of this material may well have caused a proportional distortion in the numbers of pre-English names present because of the practice of giving

[7] A. H. A. Hogg, "The Survival of Romano-British Place-Names in Southern Britain", *Antiquity* 38 (1964), 296–9, notes that the distribution of surviving RB names is quite different from that of Celtic names in general.

missionaries RB towns as centres and because missionaries also tended to establish themselves in earthworks of pre-Saxon origin. Thus, of the 32 (plus 3 possible) p.ns. which survive without OE accretions, only 2 appear solely in the charters. Of these 2, Dover was a monastic site. Of the 26 (plus 3 possible) p.ns. in which pre-English bases (excluding pers.ns.) are compounded with OE elements, only 7 appear solely in the charters. Of these, Glastonbury, Lyminge and Worcester were monastic sites (see Analysis 5, pp. 53-5). It should also be remembered that the survival of purely RB p.ns. in ecclesiastical documents does not necessarily imply that these names were all in colloquial use.

Old English Place-Names

The OE p.ns. of most interest in this collection are those with a final el. which recurs consistently. Such p.ns. suggest that they represent an important type current in the years before c. A.D. 730. It may be, of course, that if our surviving records were less patchy, other types of names, represented here perhaps by only single examples, would proclaim themselves as significant.

We are not able to state with certainty from the evidence available here the length of time that each individual type was current in the years preceding c. 672, the date of the earliest record used. In the case of those settlements with topographical names, it is to be assumed that a measurable period of time must have elapsed between the creation of the name and its transference from a feature in the landscape to the habitation site which developed in its vicinity. Some of the p.n. types isolated here may well represent name-giving habits stretching back in time to the beginnings of the Anglo-Saxon settlement. In the case of names in -*ingas*-, -*inga*-, we have independent evidence to show that they largely belong only to the sixth century A.D. and later.[8] But those in *hām*, for example, seem to have been used from a time early in the Anglo-Saxon settlement and into the seventh century.[9]

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[8] Dodgson in *Medieval Archaeology* 10 (1966) op. cit.
[9] Cox in *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 5 (1972-3) op. cit. and Dodgson in *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973) op. cit.

1. TOPOGRAPHICAL NAMES

ēg Place-names in *ēg* are the largest group of all in this analysis with 19 examples (plus 2 more possible), 9% of all p.ns. recorded. They thus represent a very important early category. OE *ēg* seems to indicate a sizable and well-defined area of dry land suitable for farming and in some cases perhaps forming an ancient estate.[10] In 3 examples, we can see a presumably earlier name in *ēg* being superseded by a habitation name — in Glastonbury, Lastingham and Hexham. To these instances may possibly be added Coldingham (see *Colodesburg*, pp. 31-2). They appear to represent the growth of a major settlement within an *ēg* (or, in the case of Glastonbury, of a stronghold) whose name has replaced that of the small territory. In only 3 instances (Bermondsey, Chertsey and Lidsey) is *ēg* described as a *locus* 'place'.

That only 3 examples are compounded with the group-name-forming *-inga-* suggests that these names are largely earlier than the seventh century. In addition, we should note that the pers.n. *Cerot* in Chertsey is Brit *Cerotus* and that the first el. of Lindsey is either a Brit derivative of the RB p.n. *Lindon* (Lincoln) or has the same root as that name, PrW **līnn* (Brit **lindo-*) 'water, a pool'.

In 9 instances (plus 2 more possible), *ēg* is compounded with a pers.n., in 5 instances (plus 2 more possible) with an OE el., in one instance with a Brit r.n. (plus one more possible) and perhaps in one instance with a derivative of a RB p.n.

The liking of Celtic monks for 'island' sites and the fact that half of these instances of *ēg* are drawn from ecclesiastical sources may have swelled proportionally the number of names in *ēg*. Of these 19 (plus 2 possible) examples, 9 (plus one possible) are from the ecclesiastical prose writings. Of these, all except Lindsey are monastic sites. Of the 10 (plus one possible) examples which appear only in the charters, 3 more are monastic sites, giving a total of 12 monastic sites in all.

feld There are 10 instances of p.ns. in *feld*, in all of which the el. appears terminally. We may take p.ns. in *feld* as representing a second important early category of topographical name. Like names in *ford* (*v. infra*), they reflect the condition of the early

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[10] Of particular interest for the possibility of names in *ēg* sometimes representing ancient estates is W. G. Hoskins' discussion of Maxey (Nth) in his *Fieldwork in Local History*, London 1967, 171–8.

countryside at a time when large tracts of land lay uncultivated. Of these 10 names in *feld*, 6 are compounded with OE elements, 2 only with OE pers.ns., one with a pre-English p.n. (plus one more possible), and possibly one with a Brit el. Of the 2 OE pers.ns., one is of the later dithematic type.

The contexts in which these p.ns. appear throw a little light on the progress of topographical name to settlement name. The majority of names in *feld* have not been transferred to settlements developing in their regions. Austerfield, the two Hatfields and Wyfield are termed *campus* 'open country'. *Hefenfeld* is the site of a battle; *Maserfelth*, although called a *locus* 'place', is also a battlefield, which explains the specification of the locality. *Mirafeld* is a *locus*, and as it is not the site of an historical event, such as a synod or battle, may well be the name of a settlement. Only 3 of the *feld* group, however, appear to relate specifically to settlements. These are Bradfield (*terra appellatur in Bradanfelda* — where *feld* is in the locative case), *Bedesfeld* (*ad vicum ubi Bedesfeld dicitur*) and Lichfield (a *locus*, with a locative surviving in the earliest form — *Licitfelda*).

ford There are 9 p.ns. which contain the OE el. *ford* compounded as a final el. This is another significant early name-forming type and reflects the importance of fords in primitive communications. Of these 9 names, only 2 have a pers.n. as a first theme. One is compounded with a Brit r.n. and the other 6 are compounded with OE elements.

A little information can be gleaned about the contemporary sites to which these original topographical names apply. Daylesford and Somerford appear still to be river crossings without attendant settlements. They are described as *vadum*. Stamford (*Aetstanforda*), *Adtuifyrdi*, *Bestlesforda* and Hertford (*Herutforda*) each indicate the presence of a settlement either by the prep. of location *æt*, signifying '(the place) at . . .' or by a surviving locative (*-forda*). In addition, BCS 74 cites *terra appellatur Bestlesforda* indicating that the ford name had become attached to land adjacent to it. Redbridge (*Hreutford*) was the site of a monastery. The other 2 names with *ford* as terminal el. are described by the ambiguous term *locus* 'place' which could mean that the p.n. simply denotes the ford site itself or else refers to a settlement at the ford. The word *locus* is applied to both Stamford and *Adtuifyrdi* which we know are the names of settlements. Of the 9 p.ns. with *ford* as final el.,

therefore, 5 are certainly those of settlements, 2 appear to be river crossings only (the *sumorford* would probably attract settlement later because of its seasonal nature) and 2 could refer either to settlement or crossing.

lēah P.ns. in *lēah* are extremely common in England. That proportionally few appear in these early records suggests that the el. was more important as a name-forming category after c. 730 (cf. names in *tūn*, p. 63). We find 7 p.ns. in *lēah*. All contain this el. as the first theme, while 2 have OE pers.ns.

With these woodland names, it is difficult to make any worthwhile observations about their progress in transference to settlement sites or about whether some were associated with settlements from the outset. *Paegnalaech* was a monastic site. Startley was the name of woodland and survives only as the name of a farm. *Hellerelege* is described as a *loco silvatici*, Highleigh as a *locus*. Bradley and Streatley are the names of land, and may or may not refer to the land of settlements to which their names have become attached. Both *locus* and *terra* are terms appropriate to land in a woodland clearing. There are no forms in the locative to indicate a settlement. Of these 7 sites, 3 are lost. In one instance, *lēah* is compounded with *-inga-* which indicates that it was a living el. during the later years of the period covered by this study.[11]

Of the 7 p.ns. in *lēah*, 6 appear in the charters only.

dūn There are 6 p.ns. in *dūn*: they should be considered to represent an early topographical name category. The el. *dūn* always appears finally. It is compounded in 3 instances with an OE el. as first theme, in 2 instances with an OE pers.n. and in one with a Brit hill-name. In this last case (Breedon on the Hill), it is clear that the Anglo-Saxons did not understand the significance of PrW **breʒ* and so formed a pleonastic p.n. The OE pers.n. in *Uilfaresdun* is of the later dithematic type.

Of these 6 instances, 4 suggest that they may be names of settlements. The form for Yeadon shows the locative preceded by the prep. *in*. Watton and *Uilfaresdun* are both termed *locus*, perhaps more appropriate to a settlement than to a hill. Breedon is the site of an Iron Age hill-fort and of an Anglo-Saxon monastery founded in the final quarter of the seventh

[11] For further observations on p.ns. in *lēah*, see M. Gelling, "Some Notes on Warwickshire Place-Names", *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society* 86 (1974), 59–79.

century. We can expect settlement at the foot of the hill from the pre-Saxon period.

Of the 6 p.ns. in *dūn*, 5 appear in the ecclesiastical prose writings only.

burna The el. *burna* is represented finally 5 times in these early p.ns., enough to be considered as of a significant name-forming type. In 3 instances, its preceding theme is an OE el., in one an OE pers.n. compounded with *-inga-* and in one other a Brit pers.n.

Of these 5 examples, 3 are stream names. With Aldingbourne and Littlebourne, however, the stream names have become settlement names. Aldingbourne is a *locus* and we also learn of *terram V aratrorum in Littlelborne*.

hamm The final topographical el. which may be of early p.n.-forming significance is *hamm*. Four p.ns. with *hamm* (plus 2 more possible) appear here. But of these 4 certain instances, one is the first el. of a p.n. and may be discounted as belonging to a name-forming category and a second appears as a lost simplex. Apart from the simplex *Athom* '(the place) at the meadow', none of these names indicates that it has become transferred to a settlement.

2. HABITATION NAMES

hām It has already been demonstrated that *hām* is a habitation name-forming el. of early type.[12] It is not surprising, therefore, that names in *hām* form the largest group of p.ns. with habitative elements[13], and this despite the fact that East Anglia and Cambridgeshire, where names in *hām* preponderate, are virtually unrepresented in these records. There are 17 instances (plus 2 more possible), 8% of all p.ns. recorded. In addition, 2 p.ns. in *hām-stede* appear normally as *hām* (*v. hām-stede infra*). The el. *hām* is always terminal. Of the certain 17 instances of p.ns. in *hām*, 15 have OE pers.ns. as their first el.

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[12] Cox, op. cit.

[13] P. H. Sawyer argues that in some cases *hām* was used to denote a large estate ("Anglo-Saxon Settlement, the Documentary Evidence", *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape*, ed. Trevor Rowley, British Archaeological Reports 6 (1974), 108–19). The OE compound *biscophām* is certainly recorded in the sense 'episcopal estate'—see, for example, *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters*, Oxford 1895, 23 and cf. Bispham (La) and Great and Little Bispham (La). If in other cases *hām* does denote 'an estate', the early appellative *wīchām* may perhaps be interpreted as 'estate centred on a Roman *vicus*', cf. Gelling "English Place-Names Derived from the Compound *wīchām*", 96.

(plus one more possible) and one has an OE el. (plus one more possible). Of the 15 compounded OE pers.ns., 10 are of the earlier monothematic type, 2 may be short forms of dithematic pers.ns. and 3 are dithematic. Only 4 p.ns. in *hām* are compounded with the group-name-forming *-inga-* which suggests that like p.ns. in *ēg*, they are on the whole earlier than names in *-ingas, -inga-*.

Of the 17 (plus 2 possible) instances of *hām*, all but 4 are from charter sources. Of the 4 examples in the ecclesiastical prose writings, 2 are in the compound *-ingahām*.

ceaster There are 15 examples of p.ns. with *ceaster* as a terminal el. It is obviously an important early p.n.-forming type. In 10 instances, *ceaster* is compounded with a pre-English name, in 3 with an OE pers.n. (2 of these are monothematic, one is dithematic), and in only one instance with an OE el. In one example, *ceaster* is used in the anglicization of a pre-English name. Of the 11 pre-English names, 8 are p.ns., 2 are r.ns. and one is a hill-name. In only 2 cases is *ceaster* compounded with *-inga-*, a similar proportion to names in *ēg* and *hām*, and indicative of its very early nature.

Of the 15 p.ns. in *ceaster*, 2 are alternatives for the same place. Of the 14 individual sites, 9 are ecclesiastical centres. This reflects the practice of the establishment of centres of Christianity in RB towns. 13 of the examples are found in the ecclesiastical prose writings and only 2 uniquely in the charters. As in the case of p.ns. in *ēg*, the number of those in *ceaster* may also have been proportionally swelled by their associations with the Church (see Analysis 5, pp. 53-5).

burh There are 9 instances of *burh* as a final el. These numbers are conclusive evidence that we must view *burh* as an important early p.n.-forming type. Our material, however, suggests that it may not have been in vogue as early as names in *ēg*, *hām* and *ceaster*. In 5 instances, *burh* is compounded with an OE pers.n. Of these, 3 are monothematic, one is a shortened form of a dithematic pers.n., one is dithematic. In Malmesbury, the first theme is the OIr pers.n. *Maeldub*. Maeldub was abbot of the monastery there and the mentor of Aldhelm. This dates the p.n. to the seventh or early eighth century. The el. *burh* in Glastonbury appears to replace an earlier *ēg*. This suggests that the example belongs to a date late in our time span of three hundred years. On the other hand, the presence of the locative

in the surviving early form of *Glæstingabyrig* may indicate that a settlement developed within *Glæstingaēg* and that both names were used contemporaneously. In *Colodesburg*, the el. may be compounded with a Brit district name. In any event, the use of *burh* here must post-date the Anglo-Saxon arrival in Bernicia (c. A.D. 550) and is probably of the seventh century. Bede's form *Bancornaburg* is used as an alternative to his *Bancor* and may be erratic. Finally, it should be noted that OE forms for Canterbury do not appear until after A.D. 750.

tūn P.ns. in *tūn* are among the most common in England. That so few appear here indicates that they belong, by and large, to the period after c. 730.[14]

There are only 6 instances of p.ns. in *tūn* and these give every indication that they are late. Of the 6, 3 are compounded with OE elements, one with an OE dithematic pers.n., one with a Brit r.n. and one is suffixed to the Pictish hybrid p.n. *Peanfahel*. This last is situated west of Abercorn at the limit of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the eastern lowlands of Scotland. It must date to a period after the fall of Edinburgh to the English in c. 638. Acton is in Herefordshire and cannot therefore be much earlier than c. 650. The earlier name of Wilmington contains the later dithematic pers.n. type. Wootton and *Tomtun* are probably both in the West Midlands which precludes their being any earlier than the late sixth century.

Of the 6 instances of p.ns. in *tūn*, 5 are in the charters.

hām-stede 5 p.ns. in *hām-stede* are present and the compound may be considered an early p.n.-forming type. 3 instances (plus one more possible) have OE monothematic pers.ns. as their initial themes, one instance (plus one more possible) has an OE el. In 2 cases, those of Bracklesham and Sidlesham (each with OE monothematic pers.ns.), *hām-stede* varies with, and is soon replaced by *hām*, suggesting perhaps the growth of home-stead to village at a time when *hām* was still current as a p.n.-forming el. Names in *hām-stede*, like those in *hām-stall* and *hām-tūn*, may have originally represented small habitation sites or agricultural building complexes within a large estate (denoted by *hām*). That *hām-tūn* as a type was later than *hām-stede* is suggested by the fact that Hamptons (see p. 33) replaced *Fercanhámstede*.

wīc Only 3 examples of *wīc* as a terminal el. are present but it

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[14] Cf. Gelling, "Some Notes on Warwickshire Place-Names", 65–9.

may grudgingly be admitted as an early p.n.-forming type of minor importance. The early date of the related appellative *wīchām* would seem to qualify *wīc* for inclusion here.[15] But there is no evidence to place the names with terminal *wīc* within the three hundred years covered by this study except to point to the fact that *Lootwic* is a name from the kingdom of Mercia and this gives a probable sixth century date for this example. All 3 instances have an OE el. as their first theme.

3. DISTRICT NAMES

gē The el. *gē* 'district, region' occurs 4 times. Names of this sort are not to be expected in large numbers and the fact that 4 examples appear here qualify the el. as an early name-forming type. In 2 instances, it is compounded with an OE el., in one instance with a RB p.n. (in Lyminge), and in one instance with a Brit r.n. In 2 cases, those of Lyminge and Sturry, the district name has localized to a settlement site, a *locus*. It is worthy of note that all examples belong to regions of the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement, Kent, Surrey and Cambridgeshire.

4. GROUP NAMES

Dodgson's seminal work on *-ingas*, *-inga-* names, which denote groups or associations of people, dates such names to the sixth century and later.[16] It is to be expected, therefore, that they should be well represented here. For ease of discussion, names in *-ingas* (*-ingum* dat. pl.) are treated separately from those with *-inga-* (gen. pl.).

-ingas (-ingum dat. pl.) There are 14 instances of names in *-ingas* (*-ingum* dat. pl.). 9 examples (plus 2 more possible) are compounded with OE pers.ns. Of these 9 OE pers.ns., 8 are monothematic and one is a short form of a dithematic pers.n. One instance of *-ingas* (*-ingum* dat. pl.) (plus one more possible) has an OE el. as its first theme, one possibly has a Brit district name (or an OIr pers.n.) and one a possible Brit hill-name (or Brit el.). The usual early form of the *-ingas* group-name, therefore, is that based on an OE monothematic pers.n. Only 3 of these group-names can be seen to have been transferred to settlement sites and are styled *locus*. 6 have been transferred to

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[15] Cf. Gelling, "English Place-Names Derived from the Compound *wīchām*".
[16] Dodgson in *Medieval Archaeology* 10, op. cit.

the territory occupied by the group and are termed *regio* or *provincia*; 5 instances are unspecific. The nom. pl. *-ingas* occurs 8 times, the formula OE *in* plus *x-ingum* (dat. pl.) 5 times, while *Dunutinga* (Dent) is uniquely an uncompounded gen. pl.

-inga- The group-name-forming *-ingas* in its compounded gen. pl. case *-inga-* appears 12 times (plus 2 more possible). In 11 instances, the protothemes are OE pers.ns., in one instance a Brit p.n. Of the 11 pers.ns., 9 are monothematic, 2 dithematic. The terminal elements, with one exception, are those which have been isolated in the preceding pages as of early types, namely *hām* (4), *ēg* (3), *ceaster* (2), *burna* (1), *dūn* (1). The exception is OE *hearg* 'heathen sanctuary' which one would expect to belong to the centuries preceding the conversion to Christianity (in this case, of Surrey).

NEGATIVE EVIDENCE

A series of further observations may be made concerning important p.n.-forming elements which are rare in this analysis, or which are not found at all. Our sample is large enough for us to suppose that elements which are otherwise common but are absent here, or are very poorly represented, must have developed as p.n.-forming types largely after c. A.D. 730.

-ing-[4] The OE connective particle *-ing-*[4] is absent apart from two doubtful cases. Both of these, *Rumining seta* and *Weoccing peorrocas*, would be more suitably interpreted as *-inga-* constructions. The compound *-ingtūn* is also absent (*v. infra*). It would seem safe to place *-ing-*[4] (*-ingtūn*) in the period after c. 730.

-ingtūn The common compound *-ing-*[4] plus *tūn* is absent. However, a solitary example does appear in the bounds of the Dean and *Hugabeorgum* (Sx) charter of c. 725 (BCS 144 (S 43)). See also Wilmington (p. 38).

tūn This is probably the most ubiquitous OE habitation name el. of all. That it is so poorly represented must indicate that it was not in vogue until after c. 730. The few instances which we have appear to be early examples of the type and belong to the period c. 650-730.

wella This common p.n.-forming el. occurs only once—in the name R. Cherwell. It is to be supposed that *wella* as a name-

forming el. belongs in general to the period after c. 730.

worð (**worðig, worðign**) The common p.n. types in *worð, worðig, worðign* 'enclosure' appear to belong to the eighth century and later. A single example is present in the bounds of the *Hellerelege* (Wa) charter of 699–709 (BCS 123 (S 64)) but these bounds may well be of later date than the original. Otherwise this important type is absent. Archaeological evidence would appear to support a date of the eighth century and later for settlements with names in *worð*.[17]

Three other important p.n.-forming elements are absent and appear to belong to the period after c. A.D. 730: they are **brōc** 'brook, stream', **hyll** 'a hill' and **cot** 'a cottage'. In the case of the last, however, it must be recognized that names of such minor habitation sites would be unlikely to appear in charters.

RIVER NAMES

There are 46 r.ns. in the collection. Of these, 31 (plus 3 more possible) are pre-English, i.e. 70% of the total; 11 are OE (plus 3 more possible), 24% of the total. *Denisesburna* is possibly hybrid with a Brit first theme and an OE ending. R. Coquet may be an anglicized Brit r.n.

SUMMARY

The study illustrates that the following Old English elements were important in the formation of English place-names during the period c. A.D. 400 to 730:

topographical: *burna, dūn, ēg, feld, ford, lēah* and possibly *hamm*

habitative: *burh, ceaster, hām, hām-stede, wīc*

district-name-forming: *gē*

group-name-forming: *-ingas* (*-ingum* dative plural), *-inga-*.

It suggests that place-names in *tūn* developed only at the very end of the period under consideration and belong largely after c. A.D. 730, as also may place-names in *lēah*.

It suggests that the following important Old English place-name types belong to the period after c. A.D. 730:

brōc, hyll, -inga-[4] (*-ingtūn*), *wella, worð* (*worðig, worðign*) and possibly *cot*.   BARRIE COX.

[17] B. Cunliffe, "Saxon and medieval settlement-pattern in the region of Chalton, Hampshire", *Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1972), 1–12.