

University College, Reading
Studies in Local History

The Place-Names of Berkshire

An Essay

By

F. M. Stenton, M.A.

Research Fellow in Local History, University College, Reading

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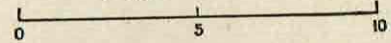
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BERKSHIRE BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

English Miles.



B.V. Taxbshire, Oxford, 1910.

In this map it is attempted to mark the sites of all Berkshire places which are recorded as centres of habitation in the Old English period. Names such as Challow, Childrey, and Bracknell, which merely occur in this period without hint of settlement, as points in the boundaries of other estates, are therefore omitted from the map.

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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, READING

STUDIES IN LOCAL HISTORY.

THE TOWN OF READING DURING THE EARLY
PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

W. M. CHILDS, M.A.

Principal of University College, Reading.

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF BERKSHIRE: AN ESSAY

F. M. STENTON, M.A.

Research Fellow in Local History, University College, Reading.

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GENERAL NOTE

The present volume is issued in accordance with a scheme for the publication of studies dealing with particular aspects of local history. Such studies will relate primarily to the ample field for historical inquiry presented by Reading and the neighbouring counties. The object of the enterprise is to stimulate public interest in the history of the locality, and to afford a means by which the general historical teaching at University College may gradually become connected with, and be illustrated by, the detailed evidence which is furnished by local history.

In order to make such a scheme feasible, a fund sufficient to defray the chief part of the cost of publication is indispensable. Such a fund has been initiated with the approval of the Council of University College. The issue of the present publication has been made possible owing to a donation from C. E. Keyser, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., J.P., Aldermaston Court, Reading. All receipts from sales will be placed to the credit of the Local History Publications Fund.

The Council have entrusted the responsibilities of editorial supervision in regard to the Studies in Local History to the Principal of University College.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, READING,

January 20, 1911.

PREFACE

THE present essay is not intended to include a discussion of the whole body of Berkshire place-names. It is an attempt to consider the local nomenclature of a single county as illustrating some aspects of early English history; in particular, the first stages in the growth of the village community and manor. While, therefore, on the one hand, many of the local names of the county are omitted from the essay, no restrictions have been set to the area from which illustrative examples have been drawn. The plan of the essay did not include any consideration of the points of philological interest presented by the names which are cited; but it is hoped that the collection of early forms given in an appendix will be sufficient warrant for the statements in the text.

While accepting full responsibility for the subject-matter of the essay, I wish to express my especial gratitude to Mr. W. H. Stevenson, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, for his constant and invaluable help. I am also greatly indebted to the Principal of University College, Reading.

F. M. STENTON.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, READING,
January 23, 1911.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A. C.* *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. Rev. Joseph Stevenson (Rolls Series), 1888.
- Anc. Chart.* *Ancient Charters*, ed. J. H. Round (Pipe Roll Society), 1888.
Includes (pp. 106-7) a grant of Sheffield mills, dating 1197-8.
- Asser.* *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, 1904.
The notes contain much information respecting the topography of Berkshire in the OE. period.
- B. N. B.* *Bracton's Note Book*, ed. F. W. Maitland, 1887.
Index of places, vol. I, 202-42.
- Cal. of Doc.* *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, ed. J. H. Round, 1899.
- Cart. St. Frideswide.* *Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide*, ed. Wigram (Oxford Hist. Soc.), 1895-6.
Vol. II contains documents relating to Idstone, Edington, Ashbury, &c.
- C. C.* *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, 1895.
None of the texts printed here relate to Berkshire, but the notes are of the highest general value in regard to the local names included in the boundaries of estates as set forth in land-books.
- C. D.* *Codex Diplomaticus aevi Saxonici*, ed. J. M. Kemble, 1839-48.
The only complete collection of land-books which covers the whole OE. period. Among texts not given by Birch, nos. 693, 792, 971, 1282, 1283, 1290, 1310, are the most important for Berkshire history, but after 975 documents relating to this county are comparatively few. Better texts of the Abingdon land-books are given in *A. C.* vol. i.
- Chron.* *Two Saxon Chronicles parallel*, ed. Plummer, 1892.
- Commune.* *The Commune of London and other Studies*, by J. H. Round, London, 1899.
The first essay deals with the settlement of the South and East Saxons as illustrated by place-names, and advances various criticisms upon Kemble's theories.
- C. S.* *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1885-93.
Includes no documents later than the reign of Edgar.
- D. B.* *Domesday Book (Records Commission)*, London, 1783, 1816.
The photozincographed facsimile of the Berkshire portion appeared in 1863.
- Duignan, Stafford.* *Notes on Staffordshire Place Names*, by W. H. Duignan, 1902.

- Duignan, Worcester.* Worcestershire Place Names, by W. H. Duignan, 1905.
- E. H. R.* English Historical Review.
Articles and notes by W. H. Stevenson are invaluable, and frequently make specific reference to Berkshire place-names.
- Eynsham Cart.* Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham, ed. Salter (Oxford Hist. Soc.).
- F. A.* Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, &c., Rolls Series, 1899 ff.
- F. P.* Fines sive pedes finium 1195-1214, ed. Joseph Hunter, 1835-44.
- H. R.* Rotuli Hundredorum (Record Commission), 1812-18.
The text of the Hundred Rolls of Berkshire is meagre, but a considerable number of name-forms are to be obtained.
- I. L.* Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British Museum. Vol. I, Index Locorum.
- Mon. Ang.* Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. William Dugdale, ed. 1846.
- O. E. T.* The Oldest English Texts, ed. Henry Sweet (Early English Text Society), 1885.
Includes (pp. 153-66) the oldest portion of the *Liber Vitae* of Durham.
- P. R.* Pipe Rolls (Pipe Roll Society).
Contemporary, and containing for Berkshire many suggestive name-forms.
- R. Ab.* Reading Abbey, by Jamieson B. Hurry, 1901.
Appendix II contains a calendar of charters in the British Museum relating to Reading Abbey.
- Rot. Cur.* Rotuli Curiae Regis, ed. Palgrave, 1835.
- R. R.* Receipt Roll of the Exchequer, Michaelmas term 1185, ed. in facsimile, London, 1899.
- Searle.* Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum, by W. G. Searle, M.A., 1897.
- Skeat, Bedford.* The Place-names of Bedfordshire, by W. W. Skeat, 1906.
- Skeat, Cambridge.* The Place-names of Cambridgeshire, by W. W. Skeat, 1901.
- Skeat, Hertford.* The Place-names of Hertfordshire, by W. W. Skeat, 1904.
- Skeat, Huntingdon.* The Place-names of Huntingdonshire, by W. W. Skeat, 1902.
- T. N.* Testa de Nevil (Record Commission), 1807.
- T. P. N.* Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate Nicholae IV (1291) (Record Commission), 1802.
- V. C. H.* Victoria History of the Counties of England, 1900 ff.
Topographical sections contain lists of name-forms arranged by centuries.
- Zachrisson.* Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-names, by R. E. Zachrisson, 1909.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF BERKSHIRE

I

Early forms.—The student of English place-names enjoys with respect to the county of Berkshire an initial advantage of the highest importance. Out of some 250 names recorded for the county before the close of the twelfth century, more than 100 are preserved in texts which purport to be anterior in origin to the Norman Conquest. It is, no doubt, true that barely a quarter of the early forms thus recorded are derived from original writings of the period,¹ and that the diplomatic criticism of documents may to some extent impair our faith in a number of the remainder; it will still be the fact that a high proportion of the local names of the shire are preserved in forms which have not obviously been affected by the sound-changes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.² The *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon*, from which more than half these early forms are derived, cannot claim to rank in point of veracity with Ernulf's *Textus Roffensis*, nor with Heming's Cartulary of Worcester, but on no reasonable grounds can it be degraded to the level of the *Codex Wintoniensis* or the Malmesbury Register. It does not appear that any extensive fabrication of documents was carried on at Abingdon after, at latest, the death of Abbot Faritus in 1117;³ a date at which it was still possible to reproduce in spurious charters the genuine native forms of local names current in the neighbourhood. In any case, the study

¹ Among them may be mentioned Abingdon, Wallingford, Englefield, Cholsey, Cuckhamsley, Ashdown, Reading, derived from the OE. Chronicle; Stanmore, Chaddleworth, Ashbury, Denchworth, Garford, Chieveley, Benham, Boxford, from C.S. 1055; Milton, Welford, from C.S. 935, and 877; Cookham from C.D. 704; Wantage, from the lost MS. of Asser.

² It would not be in place to dis-

cuss here the questions how far these changes resulted from the natural development of the old English language, and how far they were due to direct Norman influence. The second of these causes has probably been exaggerated, the first has certainly been under-estimated.

³ Evidence in this matter will be given in the forthcoming 'Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon', to be published in this series.

of Berkshire place-names rests upon a basis more secure than the work of the foreign scribes of Domesday Book, virtually our earliest evidence relating to the local nomenclature of such counties as Leicestershire and Lincolnshire.

Contrast between East and West Berkshire.—If, then, the sites of all those places which are recorded as centres of habitation in pre-Conquest evidences be indicated on a map,¹ their geographical distribution is significant. Eastwards of a line drawn north and south from Pangbourne to Silchester lies one-third of the county, but eleven places only are recorded within its limits, and four of these, Reading, Sonning, Cookham, and Old Windsor, stand upon the banks of the Thames. In part, no doubt, this circumstance is accidental, but it coincides with information derived from other sources in suggesting that the conditions of the Anglo-Saxon settlement in the east of the shire were very different from those which obtained in the north and west. The Domesday map of the county² reveals the existence of barely thirty villages within its eastern section; and even at the present day, the wide and irregular parish boundaries characteristic of this region contrast sharply both with the rectangular tracts of land descending from the northern edge of the downs to the valley of the Ock, and with the contracted territories of the villages to the south of the upper Thames. It may well be significant that of thirty place-names within the county ending in the OE. *tūn*, a terminal normally associated with ancient settlement on the lines of the village community,³ not one occurs within the eastern third of the shire. Regarded severally, these facts would be inconclusive; but taken together, and in connexion with the existence of the ancient forest of Windsor, they suggest that the eastern third of the county, the area of the London Clay, the Reading and Bagshot Beds, was in early times but sporadically settled and thinly peopled, and they agree with the conclusion, sup-

¹ See map at beginning.

² As given in V. C. H., Berks., i.

³ This must not be pressed too far; there were special uses of OE. *tūn*, some of which will be discussed below (pp. 26-8). Nevertheless it is surely significant that the word hardly occurs in the boundaries in the land-books except with

reference to a village settlement. The *Heantununga(s)* of C. S. 1028, for example, are the men of Hinton (Waldris). Whatever may have been the case in an earlier age, *tūn*, in the ninth and tenth centuries, no longer bears the sense of the isolated farmstead.

ported by other evidence, that this inhospitable tract formed part of the eastern border of the kingdom of Wessex at the time when the kingdom of the East Saxons extended south of Thames to include the modern county of Surrey.

The woodlands of the north.—It would seem, in fact, that east Berkshire once formed only a part of a much wider area which originally presented little inducement for the foundation of village settlements. The local nomenclature of north-west Surrey and north-east Hampshire is also marked by a general absence of place-names ending in *tūn*, distinctive again of the region to the north across the Thames, where lay the *deserta Ciltine*¹ within which Ceadwalla of Wessex took refuge in the days of his exile. Within this district there no doubt existed much ancient woodland; but the woodlands of Berkshire were not confined to the east of the modern county. In 956 King Eadwig granted to Abbot Æthelwold *quoddam nemus cum suis campis* at Hawkridge near Frilsham;² and somewhere to the west lay the Berroc wood which gave name to the shire.³ Also, if the evidence of local names may be trusted, an extensive tract of woodland would seem to have once lain in the northern angle of the county determined by the Thames between Abingdon and Newbridge, a tract of which Bagley Wood is the present attenuated representative. The latter name, OE. *Bacgan lēah*, 'Baega's lea', is only one of a somewhat remarkable series of names compounded with *leah* which are characteristic of this district, but only occur sporadically in the open country beyond its limits.⁴ Row Leigh near Sandford, OE. *ruwan leage*, 'the rough lea'; Radley, either 'Ræda's lea' or, more probably, the 'red lea'; Rockley, OE. *hrocān leah*, near (Besils) leigh; Whitley, Bradley, and Chawley (? OE. **Cewan leah*) near Cunnor, for which no early forms are recorded; *Risc leah*, 'rush lea', *Preosta leah*, 'priests' lea', *cat leah*, *wad leah*, and

¹ Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, ed. Raine, Hist. of Ch. of York (R. S.), i. 59. The situation of these 'deserta' is proved by a contemporary grant of Offa, which refers to lands in *Ciltine*, in loco ubi dicitur *Wichama* [High Wycombe, Bucks], C. S. 201.

² C. S. 919.

³ Asser, 157.

⁴ The OE. *lēah* bore the original

meaning of wood, but before the ninth century had come to denote a tract of open country, a field. The numerous examples of this word in local names immediately south of Oxford, when considered together, suggest a succession of such parcels of open land diversifying the woods with which the district as a whole was covered.

plum leah, in the same quarter, which have now disappeared; *Maduces leah*, and *Earmundes leah*, the old name of Appleton, may well derive their origin from a series of clearings in a belt of woodland, in which Sugworth, Bayworth, Seacourt (OE. *Seofecan wyrth*), the lost Baggan wyrth, the farms of Sugga, Bæga or Bæge, Seofeca, and Bacga, were once isolated homesteads. The solitary *tūn* which occurs in the centre of the district supports this conclusion; for the name of Wootton, rendered *at Wuttune* in a charter of 985,¹ is clearly derived from an OE. **wudu tūn* with the meaning of 'wood town'. More definite evidence is afforded by the fact that Yatscombe near Wootton, OE. *Geates cumb*, 'Geat's valley', was the name of a wood in the tenth century,² when together with two other parcels of woodland named Colmonora and Ætheleaing wudu³ it was appurtenant to the Abingdon estate. And so, just as early Oxford was surrounded on the north by the forests which extended from Wychwood through Woodstock and Stowood to Shotover, we must, it would seem, imagine it confronted to the south by a similar tract, penetrated,⁴ no doubt, by roads but somewhat difficult of passage, and thinly inhabited.

Disappearance of local names.—But the attempt to derive definite historical or geographical information from the study of local nomenclature, though an alluring pursuit, is seldom rewarded by the discovery of facts in which confidence can be placed.⁵ It is well to remember that the number of local names which appear upon the modern map of a county bears no necessary relation to the number of such names, once existing, but of which no trace has survived. The boundaries of ancient Berkshire estates, preserved as in the Abingdon History, reveal the former existence in the county of scores of local names, of

¹ C. D. 1283.

² C. S. 906.

³ From OE. Æthelbeah.

⁴ A 'portweg', for instance, is mentioned in the boundaries of Wootton.

⁵ The identification of estates conveyed by charter in the OE. period is often attended with great difficulty, and much work remains to be done in this direction. As bearing upon Berkshire topography, it may, for instance, be noted that the Mordun which occurs in C. S.

788, 983, 1093, 1217, C. D. 722, 1305, and has been referred indifferently to Hampshire, to the neighbourhood of Bridgnorth, and to Moreton in Berkshire, is definitely identified by the boundaries with Moredon in Wiltshire, a hamlet two miles north-west of Swindon. The Berkshire Moreton is the Mordun of C. S. 565, that is, 'moor village', not the 'moor down' represented by the Wiltshire Moredun.

which the greater number, and perhaps the most interesting, have vanished from living memory. Thus, in east Berkshire, the *Cnottinga hamm* which appears in the boundaries of Barkham, a compound of the personal name **Cnot*, recorded for counties so remote as Bedfordshire and Yorkshire,¹ cannot now be identified. The *Swafes heal* once existing were Waltham St. Lawrence, which records a personal name *Swæf*,² of interest as denoting a man of the nation of the Suevi, the neighbours of the Angles in the age of the migration, has likewise disappeared. On the other hand, the *Braccan heal* on the boundary of the vill of Winkfield in 942³ has given rise to the modern name Bracknell; and the site of the neighbouring *Cewan hrycgas haga* is marked by the present Chawridge manor farm. On the south-western edge of the county, as delimited in 778 in the oldest original West Saxon charter,⁴ two local names only out of twenty have persisted to the present time. The *stan denu*, 'stone valley', of the charter is now represented by Standen Manor near Hungerford; its *Baggan get*, through various intermediate forms, has given rise to the name of Bagshot near Little Bedwyn, now in Wiltshire. Villages in mediæval times as now were subject to processes of decay; in every shire there are manors, prosperous enough when King William crossed the sea, which have their modern representatives only in single farms, or of which the very site cannot now be determined. In Berkshire, Henry de Ferrers' manor of *Wibalditone*, a village as early as the time of King Alfred,⁵ is now represented only by Willington farm in the parish of Long Wittenham, a name which is not likely to appear on any map of the county below the scale of one inch to the mile, but in which we must recognize both the natural descendant of the *Wigbaldingtun* of the ninth century, and the equivalent in origin of the Bedfordshire Wyboston,⁶ the Staffordshire Wobaston,⁷ and the Herefordshire Whittington,⁸

¹ C. S. 895. Cf. Skeat, Bedford, 35.

² C. S. 762.

³ C. S. 778. See below, p. 40.

⁴ C. S. 225; O. E. T. 427.

⁵ The identification is shown by the phrase in the boundaries of Appleton, C. S. 581, 'on þa ealdan dic þe lið betwux Wigbaldingctune 7 Appelforda' [Appelford]. The

identity with Willington farm, where Romano-British remains have been discovered, has not, I believe, yet been suggested. Baring suggests that Wibalditone 'is probably Didcot' (Domesday Tables, 40).

⁶ Skeat, Bedford, 56.

⁷ Duignan, Stafford, 173.

⁸ D. B. *Wibaldingtune*.

all names alike being compounds of the common personal name Wigbeald. Under these circumstances it is always rash to formulate definite conclusions respecting the geographical distribution of different types of local name; for the ancient records available for the purpose are few at best, and it is not easy to make due allowance for the inevitable gaps in our knowledge.

Their instability.—It is an additional complication that throughout their history, and not least during its earlier stages, place-names appear in an unstable condition. As early as the year 954, the name Appleton was replacing the older *Earmundes leah* as the designation of the former vill;¹ and before the Norman Conquest **Bæstles denu* had supplanted the Bæstles ford of the eighth and ninth centuries as the name of the modern Basildon.² Changes of the latter sort are clearly to be connected with the fact, which results from an examination of the ancient boundaries of local estates, that where a personal name is compounded in an existing place-name it will at times also be found recorded in the immediate neighbourhood in association with some terminal quite distinct from that which has persisted in the current nomenclature. Thus, beside the *Bacgan leah* which has given name to Bagley Wood a **Bacgan weorðig*³ and *Bacgan broc*⁴ are recorded; a *Sucgan graf*⁵ appears adjacent to the **Sucgan weorðig* which has produced Sugworth; a *Tubban ford*,⁶ adjacent to the **Tubban ieg*, familiar as Tubney. The same fact is to be observed in other counties for which we possess the necessary information. In the year 896,⁷ the phrase *on læssan Nægleslege* appears in a charter relating to the Gloucestershire Woodchester with reference to a site in close proximity to that occupied by the modern town of Nailsworth; both names alike being obvious compounds of a personal name or nickname **Nægl*, of which, at present, there is no other example recorded. In Berkshire, again, there is good reason for believing that the *Eardulfes lea* which Æthelred II granted to his

¹ C. S. 777. The OE. *æppel tūn*, from which Appleton is derived, simply means 'orchard'. Cf. Appletongate in Newark, Notts.

² The identity of Basildon with the early Bæstlesford of C. S. 100, 101 is shown by the boundaries in

C. S. 565. Basildon appears in Domesday in the form *Bastodene*, and towards 1180 is rendered *Bastendena* (Hist. MSS. Comm., Belvoir Report, iv. 21).

³ C. S. 971.

⁴ C. S. 924.

⁵ C. S. 924.

⁶ C. S. 777.

⁷ C. S. 574.

thegn Æthelwig in 995¹ covered the site of the modern Ardington; and that the OE. *Eard* or *Earda* from which the first element of the modern name must be derived simply represents the stem of the *Eardulf* of the tenth century.² It would be an error to regard the place-names of any county as irrevocably fixed from the time of the settlement; there was no real reason why the name of Bæstel should be associated with the ford which presumably gave access to his property rather than with the valley, the *denu*, which formed part of the property itself. We cannot hope at the present time to understand the reasons which have determined the employment in common speech of one name-form rather than another, nor yet the forces which drove this name or that from current memory, but if we recognise the fluidity of early local nomenclature we shall at least be unwilling to press it too far in the interests of historical theory.

Influence of Kemble.—It cannot be said that this condition was adequately observed by those writers of the last century who first systematically employed place-names in the elucidation of Early English social conditions. It is, no doubt, a tribute to the impulse given by John Mitchell Kemble to the study of Anglo-Saxon origins, that his theories, sixty years after the appearance of the 'Saxons in England',³ still retain a measure of vitality, but this vitality in great part results from the specious precision which ignores inconvenient evidence. To a remarkable extent this is true of the most famous of the many generalizations of which Kemble was the ultimate author, the theory which asserts that the existence of an original *ing* in any place-name points to a settlement of the district covered by the name by a group of real or feigned kinsmen. It is a singular circumstance that at the present time Kemble's doctrine of the patronymic *ing* should have survived the complete dissolution of the mark theory of which that doctrine was designed to serve as illustration, and as the question affects the local nomenclature of Berkshire, it requires a brief discussion here.

¹ C. D. 1289; cf. Asser, 236, n. 4.

² Ardley in Oxfordshire (D. B. *Ardulvestie*) represents another OE. *Eardulfes leah*; Yarnton, in the same county, like the Berkshire Ardington, represents an OE. **Ear-*

dan tūn. Cf. Eynsham Cart. i. 22. Eardington in Shropshire (D. B. *Ardintone*) is a third place-name of identical derivation.

³ The first edition of this work appeared in 1848.

The meaning of ing in combination.—The theory has at least the negative merit of simplicity; it is as easy as it is inaccurate to deduce a family of ‘Canningas’ from the name of Kennington,¹ and it is a pleasant effort of the imagination to trace the distribution of the primitive family holdings among the remains of the village open fields. It is a more difficult matter to adduce any definite evidence that the syllable *ing* denoted family ownership at any date subsequent to the invasion of England. It is, no doubt, true that the *wicstede Wægmunðinga* of Beowulf means the dwelling of Wægmond’s sons; but at the date to which Beowulf refers we are still a long way from the settlement of Kennington. It is much more to the point that when at last we obtain evidence as to the employment of the syllable in question in English names, it is found to be used in a number of diverse ways, no one of which can fairly be excluded from consideration. It could be employed to denote the inhabitants of a place; and we shall not lightly follow Kemble in deducing a family of ‘Lamburningas’ from the *Lamburninga mearc*, the boundary of the men of Lambourne, which is recorded in charters of 984 and 1050.² Nor, as he did, shall we dismiss in a footnote the most important usage by which the syllable *ing* could be appended to a personal name with the exact force of the genitive singular;³ for the more closely English local names are studied, the wider does the prevalence of this usage appear. It is obvious, as Kemble admitted, that *Folcwinning lond* means the land of Folwine; but the possessive value of *ing* is also shown by the alternation in different texts of forms in *ing* and *es* applied to the same place-name.⁴ A good illustration of the practice is afforded by the early forms of the Berkshire name Brightwalton, which first

¹ *Saxons*, ed. Birch, 460. Kennington appears in 956 in the form *Cenigtun* (for *Cenington*), C. S. 971. The modern name shows that the *e* in the prefix was long, and so we obtain the personal-name *Cæn*, earlier *Cæn*, with the possessive *ing* appended. Kennington, Middlesex, D. B. *Chenetune*, is, no doubt, a parallel name.

² C. D. 792, 1282.

³ *Saxons*, 59, note 2. Kemble

never realized the significance of his admissions respecting the possessive *ing*. He regarded the form *inga*, the genitive plural, as ‘the best security’ for an original patronymic, a belief which cannot be upheld.

⁴ Thus the *Wiegelmestun* (rect. *Plegelmestun*) of C. S. 97 is represented by *Wigelmestun* in its first endorsement. See *Brit. Mus. Facs.* i. 5.

appears in the tenth century in the form *Beorhtwaldingtune*,¹ is represented by *Bristoldestone* in the Domesday Survey, and reverts to *Brichtwoldintun* in a contemporary charter of approximately 1121. The name, it is evident, means ‘Beorhtweald’s town’, and in extension of the argument it may be noted that where a number of place-names in different counties are severally compounded with the same personal name, it is to all seeming a matter of indifference whether the latter appears with the termination *ing* or *es*. If we translate the Nottinghamshire Wollaton [D. B. *Olavestone*], the Staffordshire Woollaston [D. B. *Ullavestone*], the Northamptonshire Wollaston [D. B. *Wilavestone*], by the phrase ‘Wulflaf’s town’, it is surely unnecessary to assign any other meaning to the Berkshire Woolhampton [D. B. *Ollavintone*], a name of identical derivation, but resulting from the inclusion in the compound of an original *ing*. Nor should it be ignored that there is at least one clear example of the addition of *ing* in combination to a female personal name. The Worcestershire village of Kemerton is recorded in a genuine charter of 840 in the form *Cyneburgingetun*,² and we should certainly hesitate before we infer from this name that the sons of Cyneburh regarded themselves as a family group distinct from their father’s kinsfolk. And in general, the only theory respecting the appearance of the syllable *ing* in the middle of a local name, which does not raise more difficulties than it solves, is the theory which would assign to it a simple possessive value in that position.³

The final ing.—But the question is complicated in the case of Berkshire by the appearance in the county of four place-

¹ C. S. 743.

² C. S. 430. Cf. Duignan, Worcester, 94.

³ The general insecurity of Kemble’s theory respecting the *ing* termination may be illustrated in another way. The extreme inaccuracy of his identifications of sites which are the subject of grants in the *Codex Diplomaticus* naturally weakens belief in his arguments, and the greater number of his examples of ancient ‘marks’ are merely derived from the modern forms of local names. Harlington,

in Middlesex, for instance, is advanced as a clan name derived from the ‘Harlings’, despite the fact that this place, rendered ‘*Herdtintone*’ in Domesday, is recorded in an original charter of 831, C. S. 400, in the form *hygereding tun*, ‘Hygered’s village’. So, too, Thrussington, Leicester, and Wessington, Derby, are regarded as evidence respectively of ‘Thryscingas’ and ‘Wasingas’; deriving, in fact, from OE. *Thurstanestun* and *Wigstanestun*.

names, Reading, Sonning, Balking, and Wasing, in which *ing* is appended to a personal name without the addition of any further suffix. Of these names, Reading, which appears as early as the year 871¹ in the locative plural form *to Readingum*, is the best attested. With any explanation of such forms as this should be connected the fact that even in a medial position *ing* will very frequently appear in the genitive plural form *inga*; Wallingford is recorded as *Wealingaford* in the Old English Chronicle and in charters. It is forms like these which give the most specious case to the advocates of the patronymic *ing*; it need hardly be said that 'Readingas' and 'Wealingas' duly appear in Kemble's list of marks. And yet the objections to such an interpretation are very formidable. The danger of inferring a family settlement from a medial *inga*² is well illustrated by the case, already cited,³ of the *Cnottinga hamm* near Barkham. So far as our evidence goes, and it is unusually extensive in the case of Berkshire, no settlement of any kind ever arose at the place in question; *Cnottinga hamm* was the meadow, the *hamm*, of one Cnot, presumably an early inhabitant of Barkham or of one of the adjacent villages. That place-names ending in *ing* might arise at a late period, a period at which any 'clan settlement' is out of the question, is shown by such a name as the Nottinghamshire Gedling, for the initial *g* in this name strongly suggests its Scandinavian derivation. And even with regard to those early names in which the final *ing* is beyond dispute, the hypothesis of an original settlement by families is as unnecessary as it is unwarranted, for the syllable *ing*, denoting, it may be, in this case or that a man's sons, could with perfect accuracy be extended to cover his slaves or material possessions. If we are to translate our place-names strictly, Reading may fairly be rendered by 'the belongings of Read', Sunning by 'the belongings of Sunna', Wallingford by 'the ford of Wealh's people'. The force of *ing* in such names seems in fact comparable with the force of *sæte* in those rare cases in

¹ A. S. C. *sub anno*. The form presents difficulty, for in face of the argument of the various texts of the Chronicle we cannot assume that *Read* is a graphic error for the important name-stem *Ræd*. *Read*, it would seem, was a personal

name of which no independent record has been preserved. A *Redinges* is recorded thrice in the Huntingdon Domesday (i. fos. 204 b, 207), but has not been identified.

² Compare *Commune*, 18-20.

³ *Ante*, p. 5.

which the word is compounded with a personal name in local nomenclature; Bilston in Staffordshire, rendered *Bilsetnatun* in 994,¹ must have meant the township of Bils' people. And to imply, as Kemble implied, that *ing*, when appended to a personal name under such conditions, bore consistently a patronymic sense is gratuitously to ignore the several diverse uses which might be made of this overworked syllable in the Old English period.

The double origin of the terminal ham.—Equally inexact is the use which has too frequently been made of one of the most important terminals which occur in English local names, the terminal *ham*. The word in question is still frequently interpreted as if it invariably represented the equivalent of the modern English 'home'. It is regarded as a distinctive mark of an early settlement, its distribution formed an important part of the famous argument by which Mr. Seebohm sought to prove the identity of the English manor with the villa of the Roman occupation.² Yet a final *ham* in place-names may well descend from the unrelated OE. *hamm*, a word bearing the primary meaning of enclosure, but certainly extended in pro-Conquest times to denote meadow-land, a sense which it still bears dialectically in the west of England.³ Now the fortunate preservation of the early forms of local names in Berkshire enables us to distinguish between these words with far more precision than is usually possible. In the names Barkham, Benham, Wittenham, Shrivenham, Fernham, and Marcham, the terminal is certainly *hamm*⁴ in the sense of meadow; at Cookham,

¹ Mon. Aug. VIII. 1444, omitted by Kemble. Compare *Lil sætna genære* (C. S. 1119) 'the boundary of Lil's people', i. e. Lilleshall, Salop.

² *English Village Community*, 253-62. In any case, the map facing p. 256 is vitiated by the incorrect interpretation of Latinized Domesday forms as in Essex. (*Commune*, 14.) I may add that in Nottinghamshire a modern *ham* sometimes descends from the OE. dative plural *um*, as in Welham (D. B. *Wellun*), 'at the springs'.

³ It is defined by 'flat, low-lying pasture' in the *English Dialect Dictionary*. Its use to denote

meadow-land may be inferred from the phrase in C. S. 778, 'undecim segetes pratae (*sic*) in loco ubi dicitur Hoceshamm', an appurtenance to the Winkfield estate. It will be evident that this goes far towards accounting for the fact, which has attracted attention, that place-names ending in *ham* are frequently found in the immediate neighbourhood of rivers. Incidentally, it shows that Marsh Benham, on the Kennet, must be an older settlement than Hoe Benham on the high grounds to the north-west.

⁴ C. S. 895 *æt Beorchamme*, 942 *æt Bennanhamme*, 581 *Wittanhamme*,

Waltham, Wytham, Wickham, and Thatcham, it is apparently *ham* in the sense of home¹; the remaining names bearing this terminal in the county are neither recorded in pre-Conquest forms nor illustrated by duplicates elsewhere, and their exact meaning must therefore remain doubtful. But in face of this distinction of origin it obviously becomes unsafe to found conclusions upon the distribution of the terminal in question over the country at large. It is, no doubt, true that place-names ending in *ham* appear in greatest numbers in the south and east; Staffordshire and Derbyshire contain only a single example apiece. But it is equally true that another word, the West Saxon *healh*,² the Mercian *halh*, bore a sense very similar to that of the OE. *hamm*, the sense of river-side meadow or pasture,³ and that this word is found most frequently in local names just where terminals in *ham* are the rarest. Among the existing names of Berkshire there is only one example, the terminal of the name Bracknell; in Staffordshire there are at least twenty-five.⁴ One is tempted to suggest that in the north and west *healh* was commonly employed in local nomenclature where *hamm* would have similarly been used in the south and east, and that such an accidental circumstance has gone far towards producing the remarkable irregularity in the distribution of terminals in *ham* which has frequently attracted the attention of scholars. Similar irregularities, at least, are to be observed in the case of other words employed in the composition of local names. If the distribution were traced of all the local names which contain the OE. **hōp*, a valley, the work would reveal an extensive series of such names, beginning in Lincolnshire,⁵ continuing across Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, increasing in numbers in Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, and fading away

C. D. 1290 *at Scrifenanhamme*, A. C. i. 26 *Færhon*, C. S. 1169 *to Merchamme*.

¹ See appendix of forms.

² The early use of *healh* in West Saxon local names is proved by the *Pattan . . . ealh* and *Baldwines healh* of C. S. 225.

³ The word persists dialectically in the 'haughs' of the Scotch lowlands. 'Hale' is defined in the E. D. D. as 'flat alluvial land by a

river'. The OE. *healh* could be used as a prefix in local names as in *Halloughton*, Nottinghamshire, *Healhtune*, C. S. 1029, or could stand by itself as in *Halam*, Nottinghamshire, *Healum*, C. S. 1029, 'at the meadows'.

⁴ See Duignan, *Stafford, passim*.

⁵ *Swinhope*, near Caistor (D. B. *Swinhope*). Also *le Dale* in Derbyshire is a typical example (OE. **Ælles hōp*).

again in the counties to the east and south. It would be difficult to show that anything of historical or geographical significance underlies these facts; just as there is no obvious reason why the OE. *hōh*, frequently employed in Bedfordshire¹ in the names of villages situate upon the hill spurs of the downs in that county, should never be used under similar circumstances in Berkshire. It is probable that the importance of the OE. *hām*, as the native word most nearly approximating in meaning to the Norman *manoir*, has caused undue significance to belong to the question of its local distribution.

Hām and hēme.—The distinction between *hām* and *hamm* is by no means consistently maintained even in name-forms derived from texts of pre-Conquest origin²; it is never marked in the Domesday Survey, which for the great body of English place-names remains the earliest evidence now extant. It thus becomes impossible in the case of most counties to pursue in security the argument,³ in itself not unacceptable, that local names ending in *ham* represent in general an earlier settlement than that which produced names ending in *tūn*. The high antiquity of *tūn* as an element in local nomenclature is sufficiently proved by its appearance in Picardy and Flanders in the names of places settled by the Saxons in the fifth century.⁴ On the other hand, the early use of *hām* in a local acceptation might fairly be argued from the employment, in the boundaries of estates conveyed by charter, of a plural form *hēme*,⁵ derived by mutation from *hām*, to denote the inhabitants of a village, quite irrespective of the permanent terminal of the name of the latter. Of this usage, there are several examples in Berkshire land-books. The *Stifingehæma gemære* recorded in the boundaries of Hendred⁶ can only mean the boundary of the men of **Styfun tun*, the modern Steventon; the *Cinghæm(e)* whose land bordered the territory of Longworth in 958⁷ are the men of Kingston, later surnamed Bagpuise, an ancient royal estate; the *Orhæma gemære* on the border of Chieveley is the boundary of the men of Oare, a name recorded in the form *at Oran* in

¹ In Skeat, Bedford, twelve examples of this terminal are cited from this small county.

² In C. S. 1169, for example, *Marcham* appears in the forms

Mercham and *to Merchamme*.

³ *Commune*, 6-8.

⁴ E. H. R. xiv. 41.

⁵ C. C. 116-17.

⁶ C. S. 1142.

⁷ C. S. 1028.

968¹ and clearly referring to the *ora*, or bank, which at this point rises above the west Ridgeway. It is true that no Berkshire examples of the phrase in question are to be derived from documents earlier than the tenth century,² but it remains good evidence of an earlier usage which regarded the word *hām* as the normal designation of a village settlement.

Some Berkshire terminals.—The full number of distinct terminals employed in the composition of Berkshire local names amounts, approximately, to forty. As the list presents few features of especial interest it may be relegated to an appendix, but a small group of these words require a brief note in passing. The suffix of Colthrop,³ the OE. *thorp*, used independently in Berkshire as a local name in Thrupp near Faringdon, and Thrupp near Abingdon, is rarely found south of Thames;⁴ although a number of Oxfordshire instances serve to bridge the distance between Wessex and the Danelaw, where under Scandinavian influence the word was extensively employed. The same influence, indeed, may have produced the *Crocesthorpe* of the Berkshire Domesday, the name of a lost village in Nachedorn hundred; for the personal name *Croc* is rarely recorded in local names out of the Danelaw Shires.⁵ For a different reason the name of Clewer deserves remark; for like its duplicate Clewer in Devonshire⁶ it belongs to a small group of names in which the OE. *wara*, 'inhabitants', is employed as suffix. The meaning of the name is definitely fixed by the occurrence in an original charter of 778 of the phrase '*be eastan is clifwara gemære*',⁷ 'to the east is the boundary of the cliff people', with reference to Cliffe at Hooe in Kent, a form, it may be noted, which should finally dispose of the impossible identification of this place with Clofesho, the synodal place of encampment in the eighth century. The name of Inkpen⁸ is remarkable in

¹ C. S. 1225.

² There is no Berkshire example of the equivalent word *hæminga*, which, however, is recorded for Oxfordshire, as in the *niwan hæminga londgemære* of C. S. 760, with reference to Newnham Courtney.

³ T. N. *Colthorp*. The prefix looks like the common p. n. *Cola*.

⁴ It occurs, however, in Surrey in Thorpe, near Egham.

⁵ Where it produces such names as Croxton and Croxby. It probably represents ON. *Krókr*.

⁶ D. B. *Clivare*.

⁷ C. S. 227.

⁸ C. S. 678 *æt Ingepenne*. It may be added that the same document contains a reference to land *æt Denforda*, referring to Denford near Hungerford; a form which makes against the suggestion that this

that its terminal, with obvious reference to Inkpen beacon, represents the Welsh *pen*, a head, compounded in the prefix with the OE. personal name *Inga*,¹ contained also in the names of Ingham Lincoln, Ingworth Norfolk, and Ingardine Salop. But the most interesting terminal employed in the county, interesting alike on account of its derivation and its extreme rarity, is that which occurs in the name of Ruscombe. This place is not surveyed independently in Domesday; but the registers of Salisbury cathedral furnish abundant early forms which prove that the 'comb' of the modern name has replaced an earlier *camp*; a word never found except in local names, but apparently borrowed from the Latin *campus*, with the meaning of field. The word is recorded in the phrase *to Campsetena gemæra* in the foundation charter of Eynsham priory, with reference to Chipping Campden in Gloucestershire;² it is used independently in the name of Castle and Shudy Camps in Cambridgeshire;³ it forms the terminal of the Hertfordshire Sacombe,⁴ a name in which, as in the case of Ruscombe, there has been confusion with OE. *cumb*, a valley; but few examples of its employment elsewhere in the country have hitherto been identified. The prefix of the name Ruscombe is also remarkable, for by all signs it represents a personal name *Hrōth*; a name-stem rarely used in local nomenclature;⁵ but the real interest of the name lies in the fact that its terminal, like the final *pen* of Inkpen, forms an exception to the normal English descent of the local names of Berkshire.

The wicks of Berkshire.—Another loan-word from the Latin, the OE. *wīc*, from Latin *vicus*, is an important element in the local names of Berkshire. As a terminal, the word is rarely found in this county; Henwick near Thatcham is perhaps the clearest example of its use.⁶ In such a context, the word would normally bear the meaning of village; but in the north of the county it is employed in a specialized sense, and the wicks of

name is connected with the Danish wars of the ninth century. The first element seems to represent OE. *denu*, valley. Cf. Asser, 274-5.

¹ The last is the best attested of these; it probably represents the Ingewyrthe of C. S. 1317.

² Eynsham Cart., i. 23.

³ Skeat, Cambridge, 38.

⁴ Skeat, Hertford, 19.

⁵ Roothing, Essex, has been derived from *Hrōth*, Zachrisson, 289.

⁶ No early forms seem to be recorded.

the Vale of White Horse are in origin simply dairy farms. The word appears in the Berkshire Domesday¹ in the 'wica' which belonged to bishop Osbern's estate of Buckland and rendered ten pounds of cheese, and the wicks which belonged to Abingdon abbey² are carefully enumerated in the Chronicle of that house. Names like Fyfield Wick, Ardington Wick, Goosey Wick, in the Vale; Bray Wick at the other end of the shire, have carried the memory of these detached but appurtenant dairy farms down to the present time.

River names.—But the employment, in local names, of words like pen and camp and wic does not impair the essentially English character of the place-names of Berkshire. We could not but expect that the appearance of alien elements in the local nomenclature of the county should be sporadic and incidental. Berkshire, a county which could plausibly, even if wrongly, be held for the nucleus of the kingdom of Wessex, is not a shire in which traces of the original inhabitants of its soil are likely to be preserved in its place-names. In one quarter, and there alone, the older names have held their ground; applied to rivers and streams, the relics of a more ancient speech have persisted to the present time. The Kennet has a duplicate in the Welsh *Cynwydd*,³ the Ock has been derived from the British word *ehōc*, 'salmon'.⁴ And here and there are traces of what may be a yet older language; we know that Wantage and Lockinge in their earlier forms were once river names,⁵ but their interpretation eludes us, they are equally unintelligible whether tested as Celtic or English.⁶ Even less conspicuous streams than those to which these ancient words were applied have retained their archaic names to modern times; the Kibble Ditch, a meagre brook near North Moreton, has kept a name of immemorial antiquity, rendered in the tenth century⁷ in the form *Gybhild*, and already meaningless to those who used it. But continuity under such conditions as these only reveals the more

¹ V. C. H., Berks., i. 336.

² A. C. ii. 149. ³ Asser, 261.

⁴ Bradley, 'English Place-Names', Essays by members of the English Association, 25.

⁵ Ginge derives its name from the Ginge brook; but the latter is probably derived from the OE. *gwing*, a sewer.

⁶ The converse process by which the modern name of a river has been derived from that of a village on its banks is also represented in Berkshire. Pangbourne on the Pang is clearly to be compared with Kimbolton on the Kim.

⁷ C. S. 810 *andlang Gybhilde*.

clearly the English origin of the names of places formed by the settlement of the invading race.

II.

The two types of local name.—English place-names may conveniently be divided into two great classes. Within the first may be placed such Berkshire names as Welford, OE. *welig ford*,¹ 'willow ford'; Boxford, originally *Box ora*,² 'box bank'; Appleford, which explains itself; Burghfield, OE. *beorh feld*, 'barrow' or 'hill field':³ names, that is, which are simply descriptive of the sites to which they refer. More important for historical purposes, and in Berkshire, at least, hardly less numerous, are the local names of the second class, in which the terminal indicating the nature of the site is compounded with a personal name denoting its original owner. Representative names of this type are Ufton, OE. **Uffan tūn*, 'Uffa's town' or farm;⁴ Benham, recorded in the form *æt Bennan hamme*⁵ in 956, 'Benna's meadow'; Ilsley, *Hildeslie* according to the compilers of Domesday, meaning 'Hild's field'.⁶ Between these classes, it is true, there fall a number of names of doubtful significance, such, for example, as Aldworth,⁷ which, for all we can tell, may mean either the farm of Ealda or the old farm; but upon a survey of the local names of an entire county their importance is not great.⁸ In Berkshire, if reckoning be made according to the list of places entered in the local Domesday, names of the descriptive type are in a small majority; but if the list were extended so as to include all the names within the county which may reasonably be referred to Anglo-Saxon times, the proportion of names of the personal order

¹ C. S. 877.

² C. S. 1055.

³ C. S. 888.
⁴ D. B. *Offetune*, Anc. Chart. 107
Uffinton.

⁵ C. S. 942.

⁶ Ilsley must be carefully distinguished from the *Hildes hlæw* of C. S. 908, a charter which does not, as has been supposed, relate to Compton near Ilsley. The land conveyed lay in Compton Beauchamp (cf. Asser, 237), and *Hildes hlæw* is evidently the meeting-place of the mediaeval hundred of 'Hildeslope' (cf. A. C. ii. 310), the Domes-

day *Hilleslau*, in which Compton Beauchamp lay. Presumably the *hlæw* was the burial mound of a second Berkshire Hild. The form *Hildes hlæw* occurs again near Olney, Buckinghamshire.

⁷ The employment of Eald as a personal name in the OE. period is attested by the form (æt) *Ealdeswurthe*, relating to Awworth, Nottinghamshire. C. D. 1298.

⁸ Compare Ashampstead (xii Cent. *Æshamestede*, *Assamestede*), either from the tree name or the p.n. *Æsca*.

would probably increase. Arborfield, OE. **Hereburge feld*; Hinksey, OE. *Hengistes ieg*; Snelsmore, OE. **Snelles mōr*; Everington, OE. **Eoforinga tūn*, for example, would thus be brought into the reckoning, and would not, apparently, be counterbalanced by names like Twyford, OE. **twī ford*, 'double ford',¹ Hurst, or Binfield, a compound of *fēld* with OE. *beonet*,² coarse grass or rushy land, more familiar in the combination Bentley. Upon the whole a rough equality between the names of the different types would probably result.

Structure of descriptive names.—Names of the descriptive type differ materially among themselves in the point of structure. Many of them descend from adjectival phrases in the dative case governed by the preposition *at*. Bradfield, for example, is recorded in the form *at bradan felda*,³ with the meaning 'at the broad field'. But the greater number are formed by the juxtaposition of two substantives, as when a terminal is preceded by the name of some plant, animal, tree, or bird. In such cases, the noun forming the prefix is normally compounded in an uninflected form with the terminal, as in Faringdon, OE. **fearn dun*,⁴ 'fern hill'; Stanmore, originally Stanmere,⁵ 'stone pool'; Finchampstead [D. B. *Finchamestede*], 'finch homestead'. Exceptions to this rule are at times to be found in the case of names in which the prefix gives the name of a bird or animal; as in Hendred, OE. *henna rīth*, *henne rīth*, 'hens' or hen's stream';⁶ Woolley near Farnborough, OE. *wulfa lēah*, 'wolves' field';⁷ but in general, the presence of an inflexional ending in the prefix of a name of this kind is a good argument for referring it to a personal name formed from that of the bird or animal in question. It is better to derive the name of Fowscot, rendered by Fugelescota in the twelfth century, from a personal name *Fūgel*, than to translate it by 'the cottage of the wild-fowl'.⁸

¹ A Northumbrian Twyford is explicitly defined by Bede, H. E. iv. 28 'in loco qui dicitur Adtuifyrði, quod significat "ad duplex vadum"'.
² So we may infer from the form Benetfeld in P. R. 22 H. II.
³ C. D. 693.
⁴ Cf. C. S. 1174.
⁵ C. S. 1055.

⁶ Cf. C. C. 71.

⁷ In addition to this place, spelt *Otoelei* in Domesday, a similar compound has persisted in the name of Woolley Green, near Waltham, 'wulfa leag', C. S. 762. Compare the long list of wolf compounds in C. C. 53-4.

⁸ *Fūgel* was the name of a moneyer in the tenth century;

Their general character.—Names of the descriptive type in general bear a very trivial character. The local nomenclature of Berkshire, perhaps more than that of other counties, relates to names of birds and animals. Hendred, Woolley, and Finchampstead have just been noted. The modern name of Swallowfield is, indeed, deceptive; its first element is an OE. **Swealwe*, the early name of the river Blackwater. But in other cases the simple meaning is beyond doubt.¹ The name of Enborne, if we may argue from late forms, like Enford in Wiltshire,² is a compound of the OE. *anid*, *ened*, a duck; the goose has conferred its name upon Goosey in the valley of the Ock.³ The obvious meaning of Lambourne is correct—the hām *at Lambburnan* is recorded in King Alfred's will;⁴ Shifford, lower down that stream, represents a **sceap* or *sceapa ford*, 'sheep ford'; traces of the pig may be found at Swinford in the extreme north-east of the shire, and at Swinley in its extreme south-east. The memory of the wild cat has survived at Catmore, OE. *catmere*, 'cat pool'; Shippon near Abingdon represents a pre-Conquest sheep-pen.⁵ Oxford is only the most famous of many names in this quarter which carry a strong smack of the farmyard.

It is true, nevertheless, that among Berkshire place-names of the descriptive order there are a number which present features of some especial interest. Englefield, for example, is one of the few local names in which the employment of Engle in an ethnic sense is certain;⁶ it implies an early settlement of Angles in the Saxon territory of Berkshire, just as Conderton in Worcestershire, OE. *Cantware tūn*,⁷ implies an early settlement of Kentishmen in that county. The name of Aldermaston means 'caldorman's town';⁸ the estate was held by King Harold

and another man of the same name benefited under the will of Wynflæd. C. D. 1290.

¹ Compare the Yorkshire Swale, 'Sualna' in Bede, H. E. ii. 15.

² C. S. 706 *at Eneforda*.

³ C. S. 906.

⁴ C. S. 553.

⁵ D. B. *Sipene*, A. C. ii. 19 *Scipena*.

⁶ Cf. E. H. R. xvii. 627. Engle was certainly used as an OE. personal name, as in the combination *Englunga dene* in C. S. 216. This charter relates to land in a place called Readanhora, which is fre-

quently identified with Radnor in Wales (cf. Skeat, Herts., 53), but is shown by the boundaries to have lain somewhere near Pyrtan in Oxfordshire. It is, therefore, possible, since no early forms are known, that Englefield Green, near Windsor, may be derived from this personal name.

⁷ Duignan, Worcester, 41, from C. S. 541.

⁸ Alderminster in Worcestershire is a corruption of a similar form (Duignan, Worcester, 2). But

in 1066, and may well have been an early residence of the ealdormen of Wessex or of Berkshire. The forms Wantage¹ and Lockinge² are derived from the ancient names of the streams by which those places respectively stand; Speen, the representative in name of the *Spinæ* of the Antonine Itinerary, is a most remarkable example of the persistence in modern nomenclature of a name conferred during the Roman occupation of Britain. The names Streatley and Stratfield point to settlements by ancient roads; the former lying where the Icknield Way crosses the Thames, the latter near to the Roman highway from London to Silchester. More difficult of interpretation, though admitting of a simple translation, is the name Chilton, rendered by *Cilda tun* in a document of 1015.³ *Cilda* represents the late genitive plural of the OE. *cild*, and might be so translated were it not that the phrase 'children's town' makes nonsense. The name is evidently connected with the enigmatical OE. *cild*, somewhat frequently applied to the names of persons in texts of the tenth and eleventh centuries; and the suggestion has been made⁴ that when used in this way the latter word may possibly denote a person comparable in status to the drengs of the northern Danelaw, the sergeants of Norman times. The name of Chilton may well relate to an original community of such people; a similar formation is evidenced in the common name Knighton, OE. *cnihta tūn*,⁵ a settlement of *cnihts* or servants, but the questions which relate to the rank and duty of the serviential class before the Conquest remain, at present, exceedingly obscure, and the exact meaning of the OE. *cilda tun* must be held doubtful.

In the north of the county, near the road from Oxford to

it should be noted that Ealdorman was used as a personal name in late OE. times for an 'Aldreman', appears in Domesday, i, fo. 342, as the pre-Conquest owner of South Carlton, Lincolnshire.

¹ C. S. 1032, 1058 *andlang waning*.

² C. S. 1032 *andlang lacing on ceate ford*. C. S. 935 (original) on *ealdan lacing*.

³ C. D. 1310.

⁴ Vinogradoff, Eng. Soc. in

Eleventh Century, 63-4.

⁵ The Berkshire Knighton near Compton Beauchamp is rendered *Nisteton* in Domesday, a form which shows the Norman inability to pronounce the initial group *cn*, the equivalence of Norman *st* with OE. *ht*, and apparently the representation of the inflexional *a* by *e*. It is quite consistent with derivation from an OE. *cnihta tūn*. Cf. Zachrisson, 49-50.

Faringdon, there lie two places whose names deserve especial remark. In 957 King Eadwig granted to the ealdorman Ælfheah 10 hides *ubi ruricoli antiquo usu nomen imposuerunt at Boclande*.¹ The OE. *bōcland* denoted an estate held with certain privileges, such as the power of testamentary disposition, in virtue of a royal charter or 'book'; and even if we regard the reference to the 'ancient usage' of the rustics as a mere piece of chancery rhetoric,² it is still necessary to conclude that the name in question was already well established by 957. It would therefore seem that the lands then conveyed, which form part of the modern village of Buckland, had been the subject of an earlier grant of the same kind, from which the name applied to the estate was derived. It may be added that while the name Buckland is common in the south of England, it does not seem to occur north of Hertford, Buckingham, and Gloucester, a circumstance probably connected with the rarity of existing land-books relating to the north and east of England.

Five miles from Buckland stands the village of Fyfield, a name occurring also in the adjacent counties of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Oxford, and in the east of Berkshire, at Fifield near Windsor.³ The meaning of these names is well ascertained; they individually represent an OE. **æt thēm fīf hīdum*, 'at the five hides'. Estates of this area were of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon times, and accordingly the assessment of the country for services and payments to the king was based upon a unit of five hides from a very remote period. The north Berkshire Fyfield was the subject of two royal grants, in the reigns respectively of Eadwig and Eadgar, and it is very remarkable that while the first grant⁴ conveys thirteen hides in that vill, the second conveys twenty-five,⁵ and the Domesday Survey records an assessment of twenty. It is evident that by the time of King Eadwig Fyfield had far outgrown the limits of the original five hides to which its name bears witness, and the fact suggests that the name itself was conferred in an age already remote in the middle of the tenth century.

Names of later origin.—By that time, indeed, the village

¹ C. S. 1005.

² Phrases of the kind are very common in charters of the time.

³ For which no early forms are recorded.

⁴ C. S. 977.

⁵ C. S. 1221.

geography of Berkshire had already assumed the general form which has persisted to the present day. There nevertheless remain a small number of places to which a later origin must be assigned; and these places are for the most part to be found in an unlikely quarter, along the line of the most important road in the county, the road from London to Bath and Bristol.¹ Neither Theale, Newbury, Maidenhead, nor Hungerford, for example, can with any probability be referred to the Old English period. Of these names, that of Newbury is the most suggestive; it tells of the new borough founded by Arnulf de Hesdin, its Norman lord, at the point where the road from Oxford to Winchester crossed the Kennet.² The name of Hungerford³ tells little of the origin of the town; the meaning of the prefix is unknown, the ford suggests that the passage of the Kennet determined the growth of a community there. Whatever the prefix of the name Maidenhead may mean, its terminal simply represents the Mid. Eng. *hache*, *hacche*, a wicket or gate, from OE. *hæc*. The name of Theale first appears in the early thirteenth century, and is remarkable for its simplicity;⁴ its origin, the OE. *thelu* means a plank, in this case possibly referring to a wooden bridge across the Kennet. The rise of these places may fairly be set down to the augmented trade and greater mobility in rural life which followed the Norman Conquest, to increased movement along the Bath Road, and the roads connecting Winchester and Salisbury with the north.

¹ It is not probable that the Berkshire section of the Bath road represents a route of any great antiquity. It never coincides with a parish boundary, there is no evidence for its existence before the twelfth century, its course through Reading suggests that it is more recent than the road running north and south through that town. It is probable that the rise of Newbury went far towards producing an important road westwards from Reading.

² The earliest references to Newbury at present known occur in Cal. of Doc. 1326, a charter which relates the grant by Arnulf de

Hesdin of a curtilage at *Nioeberiam* to the priory of St. George, Hesdin, and in charter 308 of the same collection, in which Arnulf's grant of Newbury church to the abbey of St. Peter, Préaux, is confirmed by William I. Cf. V. C. H., Berks., i. 313-14.

³ Hungerford first appears in a document dating between 1101 and 1108, and arose on the manor of Edington (*Ibid.*, 313-14).

⁴ Richard, *capellanus de la Thele*, is mentioned in a Reading charter assigned to the reign of Henry III (R. Ab. 176). The name may be compared with Stanstead le Thele, Hertfordshire (cf. Skeat, Hertford, 45).

The personal element.—The interest which belongs to names of the descriptive type is generally accidental and local. If Sheffield on the Kennet, a name compounded with the OE. *scylf* and *feld*, means the settlement by the sloping field, the fact expresses nothing more than an elementary topographical feature of the site. Regarded singly, names of the personal or possessive sort have little more significance; the implications borne by the personal element in local nomenclature do not appear till the general prevalence of that element is recognized. The detailed examination of its distribution over a small but representative tract of country may therefore be in place here.

The local names of north-west Berkshire.—Starting, then, at the north-western extremity of Berkshire, we may note that the name Buscot, a contraction of the Domesday *Boroardescote*, is a combination formed from the personal name Burhward, the first element in the Cheshire Burwardsley, the Staffordshire Burslem, and the Shropshire Broseley. Coleshill, some three miles to the south, bears a name occurring in duplicate at Coleshill in Warwickshire, possibly derived from a personal name Coll, but more probably referring to the river now known as the Cole.¹ Southwards again, Watchfield, rendered *Wæclesfeld* in a document of the tenth century,² may be referred to a personal name *Wæcel, never recorded independently, but certainly compounded in the name of Watlington in Oxfordshire.³ The name is of some especial interest; for there is reason for the belief that it is represented in the form *Uaeclingacæstir*,⁴ the early designation of St. Albans, and in the original form of the name of Watling Street.⁵ Shrivenham, the next village, bears a name unintelligible except as regards its terminal; Bourton, which follows, is a simple compound of OE. *burh*, 'fort', with *tūn*,⁶ but within half a mile

¹ Cf. the phrase of *gyrd lea on colle* C.S. 1282, which refers to Yardley, Worc. and to the stream on which the Warwickshire Coleshill stands.

² C. S. 675.

³ C. S. 547 *æt Wæclinctune*.

⁴ Bede, H. E., I. vii, ed. Plummer, i. 21.

⁵ Recorded, for example, in the

original C. S. 792 in the form *Wæclinga street*. It is probable that the name was originally applied to the sections of the road in the neighbourhood of St. Albans, and gradually extended to the whole line from London to Wrochester.

⁶ A. C. i. 26 *Burghtūn*.

of the county boundary, under the northern edge of the downs, Idstone is a combination of the familiar personal name Eadwine,¹ represented also at Edington in Somerset; Ashbury, the adjacent village, once belonged to a settler named Æsc, perhaps identical with the man from whom the whole range of hills known in the seventh century as Æscesdun derived its name²; Odstone, half a mile east, may well be the only place-name in the country derived from the personal name Ordheah. Compton (Beauchamp), which follows in due succession, means only 'valley town',³ but Woolstone and Uffington are to be referred respectively to the personal names Wulfric and Uffa, of which the former occurs also at Wolston on the Warwick Avon; the latter, at Ufton in the Kennet valley, at Offenham in Worcestershire, at Ufton in Derbyshire, and at Uffington in Lincolnshire on the Welland. North-east of Uffington comes Balking, rendered *Badalacing* in the tenth century, a form otherwise unknown, probably derived from a personal name *Beadulac,⁴ an addition to the series of personal names compounded with the *Beadu* stem in the Old English period. Due north of Balking, another unique personal name may probably be recovered in the *Scær, from which, by a common Anglo-Norman consonantal change, the modern name of Shellingford seems to be derived. It is hardly necessary to extend this list further; it could be continued indefinitely without serious difficulty, for everywhere in Berkshire, as indeed in England as a whole, place-names of the possessive type lie thick upon the surface of the county map. And although we cannot yet determine the exact proportion which names of this kind bear to names of the descriptive type in the several counties of England, yet detailed investigation will one day answer this question, and give us a rough quantitative estimate of the extent of seignorial control over the villages of England in the age in which they came into being.

¹ Eadwine is much rarer in local nomenclature than would be inferred from its frequent use as an independent name.

² Cf. Asser, 234 ff.

³ C. S. 908, *æt Cuntune*.

⁴ Cf. C. S. 873 and 1121. Compare Bademund for Beadumund and Badanoth for Beadunoth. It is

somewhat unusual for a place-name to be formed from a two-stem name with a final *ing*; but we may compare Godalming, Surrey [*æt Godelmingum*, C. S. 553] from **Godhelm*, and perhaps Winfarthing, Norfolk, from Winefrith [*Wineferthing*, D. B.].

The seignorial implication.—For this is what is really implied by the personal element in local nomenclature. We may dispute at length about the exact relation in which Wulfric stood with regard to the land of Wulfric's *tūn*, the origin of Woolstone; but no probable explanation of the appearance of his name compounded in that of the village can refuse him rights of some kind over the village land and over the men who tilled it,¹ and the simplest theory about the eponymous lord is precisely that which would give him the most extensive rights—rights of ownership rather than of superiority. We may see in the original Uffington the house and farm steading of Uffa, standing with the cottages of his labourers in the middle of his fields and pasture land; or, if we so prefer, we may imagine a group of ceorls, personally free, but economically dependent, rendering dues or service to Uffa, the great man and leading settler of the township; in either case, the lord is there, and with him the starting-point for the future manorial organization. It may never be possible for us finally to decide, in any given case, between these alternatives; our external evidence is too scanty, and too poor in quality. The essential fact is that in regard to numberless English villages we have to reckon with a lord of some kind as an integral and original force in the development of the agrarian community. When at last English place-names as a whole have undergone detailed investigation, the most notable result of the work will be the recognition of the seignorial idea as a primitive force in the organization of rural society.

Diversities of origin.—But such a recognition, it must be noted, is fully compatible with, even if it does not imply, an absolute rejection of any theory which would attempt to interpret the early history of English villages in the light of a universal, or pre-arranged, scheme of development. Diversities of origin must be allowed for; they are, indeed, suggested by the most elementary study of local nomenclature. If the name Padworth² suggests the growth of a village out of a group of dependent husbandmen clustered round the farm of Peada, the name Charlton³ still more clearly implies an original settlement of free and in-

¹ Compare Stevenson in E. H. R. iv. 356.

² C. S. 984 *æt Peadanwurthe*.

³ C. S. 925 *Ceorlatun*.

dependent ceorls.¹ It is no less true that we cannot tell with certainty whether, even in those cases where the name of the village is of the personal order, a community of free settlers may not have coexisted from the beginning² beside the farm or stronghold of the man who by virtue of his rank or wealth or local power was to impress his name upon the rural group as a whole. Bryni has left his name to Brimpton;³ but we may not assume unreservedly that the original community in that place was composed exclusively of his serfs or dependents. The peculiar value of the study of place-names lies in the fact that it disposes once for all of the theory, formerly almost universally held, of the original equality of the early settlers of Britain, that it emphasizes the individualistic character of the first Anglo-Saxon forms of land-tenure, and that it brings within the range of high probability the existence, from the beginning of things, of a type of agrarian community from which the manor of the eleventh century may, without any definite breach of continuity, have evolved.

Tūn and manerium.—This probability is certainly increased by the existence of a small group of place-names which serve to throw a faint light into the darkness which envelops the pre-Conquest *manerium*. Of these the most important happens to belong to the county of Berkshire. In 1086, Geoffrey de Mandeville was returned as holding in 'Lambourne' a manor rated at 10 hides, containing a population of 23 villeins, 10 bordars, and 3 slaves, and valued at £12. We are further informed that in 1066 this estate had been held by one Esegar, the recognized *antecessor* of Geoffrey, once staller to Edward the Confessor; and there is good reason for believing that the name of 'Esegar'⁴ is preserved in a corrupt form in the name of the

¹ It may be noted, in illustration of the correspondence of free peasantry with the open field system, that no boundaries are assigned in C. S. 925 to the Charlton estate, *nam prefatum rus nullis certis terminis dirimitur, sed iugera adiacent iugeribus*. This, however, is only a coincidence; for at the lost 'Ætheredingetan' of C. S. 1079, a name clearly meaning Æthelred's town, the nine hides conveyed also lay 'among other *gedæl* land'.

² Cf. Vinogradoff, 'Growth of the Manor,' 64, with reference to the *fundi* of Roman Gaul.

³ C. S. 802 *at Bryningtune*.

⁴ 'Esegar,' 'Esgar,' represent the old Danish equivalent of the ON. Asgeirr, rendered into English by Asgar, and sometimes compounded locally, as in the name Asgarby, Lincolnshire [D. B. *Asgerbi*]. The Old English equivalent of the name would be Ōsgar.

modern village of East Garston in the Lambourne valley.¹ The interest of this name, in its older form *Esegareston*, lies not so much in its derivation from the name of an historical personage, though the circumstance is itself sufficiently unusual to deserve remark, as in the proof which it affords that in the mid-eleventh century the OE. *tūn* could be employed in local nomenclature in a sense indistinguishable from that of the Norman *manerium*. Nor does East Garston stand alone, for in the adjacent county of Wiltshire two names at least point to the same conclusion. The early forms of the name of Brixton Deverill indicate its derivation from an OE. **Beorhtrices tun*;² and as the owner of the village in 1066 was Beorhtric, familiar in the romantic literature relating to the Norman Conquest as the lover of Queen Matilda, the correspondence with East Garston is sufficiently close. So too, although he is unknown to history, the Beorhtmær who gave name to the hamlet of Brigmerston³ on the Wiltshire Avon can hardly be other than the Beorhtmær who is returned as its pre-Conquest owner in Domesday, just as the original Blacman of the Kentish Blackmanstone⁴ can hardly be other than the Blacman who held the manor in 1066. Beyond the latter date it is rarely possible to establish any correspondence between the name of a village and the name of its lord; but there remains one example from the first half of the tenth century which deserves notice in this connexion. In 940, King Edmund granted to his thegn Ordweald land by the river Wiley,⁵ and appended to his grant a list of the appurtenances of the land conveyed. We read of the *haga* in Wilton which belonged to the property, of hedge-bot in Grovelly Wood, of the right to the third tree in the grove by Mannes pool; and the clause ends with the words 'all this belongs to Wiley, to *Ordwaldes tune*'. Ordweald has apparently left no trace of his presence among the local names of the Wiley valley; but the character of his *tūn*, as it was understood by the compiler of this charter, is sufficiently clear. The word in this case at least is far from bearing the sense of a village community; it covers the lord's dwelling, the *heafod boll*, the *capitale messuagium*, of

¹ T. N. *Esegarestone*.

² Asser, 268.

³ D. B. *Brismartone*.

⁴ D. B. *Blachemanestone*.

⁵ C. S. 757.

later times. It would be rash to found extensive conclusions upon a single instance; but it is suggestive to find the word *tūn* already bearing in a document of the year 940 a sense to all seeming identical with that of the Norman *manoir* of the eleventh century, and even if diplomatic investigation should throw suspicion upon the charter in question,¹ it will nevertheless remain to support the argument founded upon the names of East Garston and Brixton Deverill.

Development of small estates.—In the Devonshire Domesday entry is made of two minute properties which, like East Garston and Brixton Deverill, have carried the names of their pre-Conquest owners down to the present time. In 1066, the hamlets of Goodcot in North Tawton hundred and Lovcot in Shebbear hundred² belonged respectively to, and derived their names from, two women named Godgifu ('Godeva') and Lufu ('Love').³ Each of these places is styled a manor, but in the west of England manors carry no lordly implications; Goodcot in 1086 included two villeins and one slave, its value, when it passed to its Norman lord, was five shillings; Lovcot at the same time had been worth 30 pence. The interest of these facts lies in their bearing upon the original condition of other places, the names of which are compounded with the same terminal. The OE. *cot*, *cote*, meant a cottage, a small dwelling; few words have less of a manorial association. Yet these Devonshire hamlets are called manors; and, as we learn from Domesday, one point of departure from which manorial development could arise lay in the dwellings of people who certainly stood little if at all above the peasant class in rank or wealth.⁴ In general, with many reservations, it

¹ The charter is only preserved in the Wilton cartulary MS. Harl. 436, but probably rests upon a genuine basis. The indiction, date, and witnesses correspond, and the document contains formulas which are found in other charters of Eadmund's reign, notably the phrase *cum sempiterno syngraphio agye crucis*. The poem is highly alliterative, but traces of alliteration are common about this time. In many respects, especially in regard to the glacial curse which constitutes the anathema, the charter may be com-

pared with the contemporary C. S. 753.

² V. C. H., Devon, i. 497, 511.

³ There are other cases of the same kind in Devonshire. Thus 'Waddlescote *alias* Waddleston *alias* Warstrong' (*Ibid.* 447) is rendered *Wadelscota* in D. B., and was held T. R. E. by one Wadell, a name presumably representing the recorded OE. *Wædel*, borne by an eleventh century moneyer.

⁴ Compare the west country manors cited by Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 116-17.

might be true to say that place-names compounded with *cot* are found applied in Domesday to hamlets rather than to important manors or large villages. Yet in the north-western angle of Berkshire the great manor of Buscot furnishes a remarkable exception to this tendency. Rated at 40 hides T. R. E., containing a non-servile population of 50 villeins and bordars, including two mesne tenancies and valued at £26, Buscot in 1086 was clearly a highly developed estate on the manorial model.¹ Even so, we shall hardly be pressing its name too far if we infer that in origin Buscot differed little from those Devonshire hamlets on which remark has been made; that the cottage of one Burhward formed the original settlement; and that accidental circumstances of which nothing is known created in process of time the manor of 1086. It may well be that in the age of the settlement the holders of different estates were separated from each other by diversities of rank and wealth no less wide than those which prevailed in 1066.

The Danelaw parallel.—A useful warning against an exaggerated conception of the degree of seignorial power implied by the personal element in local names may be obtained from a brief reference to a remote part of England. One of the most convincing results of recent investigation into the Domesday Survey has been the demonstration of the essential freedom which distinguished in 1066 the villages of the Danelaw. Rarely in the possession of a single lord,² their inhabitants enjoyed a power of dealing with their land, an exemption from the heavier burdens of agrarian service, to which no parallel can be cited from Berkshire or the adjacent shires. And yet the Scandinavian occupation of eastern Mercia took place less than two centuries before the Norman Conquest, and the local names which arose at that time are far more consistently personal than those which form the subject of the present essay. The Leicestershire Somerby, Kettleby, Ingarsby, Sysonby, Asfordby³

¹ V. C. H., Berks., 346.

² In my essay on 'Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw', published this year in the Oxford Studies in Legal and Economic History, evidence is brought forward tracing the cha-

racteristic forms of the Danelaw *manerium* back to the middle of the tenth century.

³ Rendered in D. B. in the respective forms, *Sumerlīdebie*, *Cheitelbi*, *Inwaresbie*, *Sistenebi*, *Osferdebie*.

must once have been the villages of Sumarlithi, Ketill, Inguarr, Sigsteinn, and *Åsfrithr, just as the Berkshire Ufton, Woolstone, and Idstone were once the villages of Uffa, Wulfric, and Eadwine. Yet while in 1066, so far as we can tell, the men of Ufton and Woolstone were involved in strict subjection to their respective lords, the men of Somerby and Asfordby paid their rent, did suit of court, and a measure of service to the king alone.¹ Our conclusion will probably be that while the development of the villages of Berkshire and Leicestershire may well have started from a similar point in each case, the longer period of continuous tenure in the south² permitted the vague superiority of the original lord to harden into the system of seignorial exploitation which seems to have prevailed there on the eve of the Norman Conquest. Here, again, it is necessary to make due allowance for diversities of original type. Even in the Danelaw, seignorial groups may well have been formed in the beginning of things, shattered in the wars of Æthelred's time, and gradually re-formed in the long peace which followed the accession of Cnut without our being in any way aware of the process. Conversely, in the case of Berkshire, it may in many cases have been that the superiority which allowed a man to give name to a village involved nothing more than higher rank or greater wealth, and the consequent power of protecting his fellow villagers, and thus in the person of his descendants of acquiring a measure of seignorial authority over them. In any case, the example of the Danelaw is sufficient to show that the appearance of an original lord in the name of a village is not incompatible with its essential liberty at an early date.

Names not denoting settlement.—It is another question how far we are justified in attributing seignorial force to those names in which the personal element is compounded with a terminal not of itself denoting a place of settlement. Some of them definitely suggest a very different conclusion. It is highly

¹ These villages in 1066 were members of the great royal 'soke' of Rothley. V. C. H., Leicester, i. 287, 307.

² In the case of Berkshire we cannot ignore the influence of the

estates of the abbey of Abingdon, which must, at any rate since the death of King Eadgar, have furnished examples of manorial organization scattered widely over the shire.

probable that the original Ceawa of Challow was buried within the *hlæw* or tumulus from which the modern name of that place is derived; and that Cuckamsley Knob, the Cwichelmeshlæw of the Old English Chronicle,¹ was the burial mound of King Cwihelm I of Wessex.² It may be reasonable to ascribe a measure of seignorial power to the Leofweard who, presumably, founded Leverton;³ it is more difficult to say whether anything other than local prominence belonged to the Wineca, Ceol, Hacca, and Bacga, by whose field, island, stream, and bank, the villages of Winkfield, Cholsey, Hagbourne, and Bagnor came into being. Local prominence, at the least, we must assume, unless we are prepared to explain how the property of a man who was himself but a ceorl among ceorls came to confer its name upon the whole village in which he dwelt. The village freeholder, in later times, has indeed often left the record of his name within the bounds of the local community, but his traces are to be found, not in the designations of manors or village colonies, but in the names of strips or furlongs in the open fields.⁴ It may be well to take the hint afforded by the fact that terminals derived from local features are frequently compounded in the prefix with personal names to which the suffix *inga* is applied; for in rendering Shillingford by 'the ford of Scær's people' and Yattendon by 'the valley of Geat's people'⁵ we imply that those communities, at their origin, included few settlers who were not the men of Scær and Geat, and we may fairly extend a similar implication to names like Sparsholt (OE. *Spæres holt*) and Windsor (OE. **Windles ora*). In all such cases the residence of the original owner obviously once existed, although in general its memory

¹ *Sub anno* 1006.

² Asser, 236.

³ This name presents difficulty. An estate which clearly represented Leverton was granted by Edward the Confessor to Abingdon in 1050 (C. D. 792). In that charter, however, the property is merely described as *viii mansas iuxta flumen quod Cynete vocitatur, illud videlicet rus quod Eadric quidam rusticus habuisse cognoscitur*. It is styled 'Lewartune' in D. B., where the pre-Conquest owner is named Blacman, and there is no room for a

Leofweard as owner of Leverton between 1050 and 1066. The omission of the name from C. D. 792 must therefore, it would seem, be accidental.

⁴ As for instance in the *Wolvines fur(lang)*, from OE. Wulfwine, a division in the open fields of Bray. F. F. 143.

⁵ For the derivation of Yattendon cf. Asser, 277. It must be remembered that a medial *inga* may well have a simple possessive force.

has not been preserved;¹ and we cannot tell whether it constituted the economic centre of a township, an isolated farmstead, or a croft in a village street. In the latter case, the witness to individualism of tenure borne by names of the present class would become even more definite than before, since we should be driven to conclude that beside the settler accidentally immortalized by the local preservation of his name, there existed an indeterminate number of others, like him, of undistinguished rank, holding their land in severalty, but unrecorded in current nomenclature. Such a conclusion may present in itself no very formidable difficulty; but it is hardly the most natural solution of the problems presented by the great number of local names of which, in Berkshire, Hinksey and Winkfield may be taken for a type.

III.

The evidence for women as land holders.—In quite a different direction from this, the personal element in local nomenclature possesses a significance which is hardly recognized as yet. The theory of the original agnatic village community has in great part faded from the surface of our textbooks, but there is still evident a tendency to regard the exclusion of women from the ownership of land as an ascertained feature of early Anglo-Saxon law,² an exclusion directly contradicted by the fact that it is even now possible to compile a fairly long list of names in which the first element gives us the name of a woman. Such names, as we might expect, are rare in comparison with the number of those in which a man's name is recorded, but they occur, so far as can now be seen in most of the counties of England. A Bealdthryth has left her name to the Staffordshire Balterley,³ an Ælfæd to the Worcestershire Offerton,⁴ a Wulfifu to the Devonshire Wollaton,⁵ a Cynchild once owned Kenilworth,⁶

¹ Compare the *weorthig* or farm of the original Baega of Bagley Wood, *ante*, p. 6.

² So Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, 143: 'There can be hardly a doubt that Anglo-Saxon law started also from the exclusion of women, and that it was by the help of the Church that they improved their position in this respect.' But

we have no warrant for doubting that place-names compounded with feminine personal names may date from a period not far removed from the settlement.

³ Duignan, Stafford, 9.

⁴ Duignan, Worcester, 119.

⁵ D. B. *Olvievetona*.

⁶ Recorded, e. g., in Mon. Ang. vi. 221, in the form *Kenildewurda*.

another bearer of the same name, if a late copy of a charter may be trusted, was an early possessor of the Nottinghamshire Kinoulton.¹ The Oxfordshire Adderbury² and the Essex Abberton³ may severally be traced to a lady named Eadburh; Alveley in the latter county is derived from an Æthelgifu,⁴ a name reappearing in Herefordshire in association with a site which has not yet satisfactorily been determined.⁵ In Cambridge-shire, the series is continued by the two Wilburhs of Wilbraham and Wilburton respectively, and by the Badburh of Babraham;⁶ Chellington in Bedfordshire has been derived from an OE. Ceolwynn.⁷ In Cheshire, despite its frequent identification with the *Weardbyrig* of the OE. Chronicle, the name of Warburton may safely be derived from an original **Wærburge tun*, containing the female personal name Wærburh.⁸ In Hampshire an *Æthelswythe tun* is recorded for a site in suggestive proximity to the modern Elson in Gosport.⁹ The Warwickshire village of Hilborough represents an OE. **Hildeburge weorthig*, shortened owing to the length of the compound;¹⁰ a similar reduction has occurred in the Norfolk Hilborough, the *Hildeburh wella* of Domesday; both names containing the female name Hildeburh. In Dorset, to judge from the Domesday form, the hamlet of Afflington derives its name from an OE. Ælfrun.¹¹ This list simply represents a chance collection of names; it could very considerably be extended at once, and future research will one day assign to the element of female ownership revealed by local nomenclature its due proportion and value; but it is already impossible, in face of the existing evidence, to deny that women might well hold land at the early date at which English place-names in general seem to have been conferred.

Examples from Berkshire.—To such a series Berkshire contributes three clear examples. The name Bucklebury is derived from the female personal name Burghild. Arborfield, despite a variety of conflicting spellings in mediaeval documents, may be

¹ C. D. 971 *Kinildatun*.

² D. B. *Eddurberie*, also the *æt Eadburgebyrig* of C. D. 722.

³ D. B. *Eadburghetun*.

⁴ Zachrisson, 113.

⁵ Ancient Charters, 36; possibly Aylton, Hereford.

⁶ Skeat, Cambridge, 24, 14, 19.

⁷ Skeat, Bedford, 59.

⁸ D. B. *Wareborgetone*.

⁹ C. S. 865, relating to Alverstoke, Hants, not, as stated by Birch, to Bishop Stoke in that county.

¹⁰ D. B. *Hildebereurde*, M. A. ii. 17 *Bildeburgwrd*.

¹¹ D. B. *Alfrunetone*.

referred to an OE. **Hereburge feld*, containing the personal name Hereburh, compounded also in the names of Harbury in Warwick, and Habberley in Worcester. Edington near Hungerford, one of the many impossible sites which have been identified with King Alfred's battlefield of Ethandun, represents a former **Eadgife tun*, from the female name Eadgifu.¹ The list would probably be longer were it always possible to distinguish between the compounded forms of masculine and feminine weak, single-stem, names. Bayworth represents an OE. **Bægan weorthig*,² which may contain either a masculine Bæga or a feminine Bæge; Pangbourne, recorded in the irregular form (*æt*) *Pæginga burnan* in 844,³ may be compounded with either the masculine Pæga or the feminine Pæge, for with the Worcestershire *Cyneburging tun* before us⁴ we cannot deny that the *ing* suffix might well be appended to a female name. In any case, the names Bucklebury, Edington, and Arborfield do not exhaust the Berkshire evidence for the early female tenure of land; for among the vanished local names of the shire recorded in Old English land-books an *Ælfthryth* appears in the boundaries of Kingston (Bagpuise), a *Wihlufu* in those of Lyford, an *Eanflæd* at Hinksey, a *Cynewynn* at Ardington, an *Ælflæd* at Padworth.⁵ The collection, never yet attempted, of the female names recorded in such a context, would materially reinforce the evidence derived from the female names which accidentally have persisted in current local nomenclature.

Unrecorded personal names.—In still another direction, and one more widely removed from the general course of historical study, the detailed investigation of local nomenclature seems likely to lead to results of some considerable importance. At the present day, our knowledge of the personal names borne in Anglo-Saxon times is of a very fragmentary character. Of the various sources of information in regard to this matter, the surest of all, the names of moneyers stamped upon the coins

¹ Asser, 275. The suggestion, V. C. H., Berks., i. 331, that the Domesday *Eddelvetone* is 'probably for Eddenetone' is unfortunate.

² C. S. 932 *æt Bægan weorthe*.

³ C. S. 443. The normal form from either *Pæga* or *Pæge* would be *Pæginga burn*.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 9.

⁵ C. D. 1276. *Alfthrythe stan*. C. D. 746, to *Wihlufe hamme* (the only recorded example of this name). C. S. 1002, *æt Eanflæde gelade*. C. D. 1289, *ongen Cynewynne wylle* (also unique). C. S. 984, of *Ælflæde gemæra*.

of the period, has been rendered available in the two volumes of the British Museum Catalogue; the early necrologies, such as the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham, are in print, and the personal names compounded in the boundaries of estates included in the Old English land-books have been subjected to examination, although a very cursory one.¹ But the great mass of English place-names has not yet been required to yield its contribution to an Anglo-Saxon onomasticon; and hence the largest collection of native personal names remains of necessity very defective. It is, of course, impossible to say, even approximately, how great an addition will ultimately be made from this source; but by all signs the new names will run into many scores. It is well to note that within so restricted an area as the basin of the Berkshire Ock there lie at least six places, the names of which are severally compounded with personal names of which no independent record has been preserved. Shellingford and Balking have already been described; Denchworth must be referred to an OE. **Denic*, apparently a short form of some name compounded with the *Dene* stem;² Sparsholt is derived from an OE. **Spær*, combined also in the duplicate name Sparsholt near Winchester; Tubney is derived from an OE. *Tubba*; the phrase to *Ceawan hlewe*, which denoted in 958 the site of the modern Challow, has preserved a personal name **Ceawa*,³ of which the only other certain record is found in the *Ceawan hrycg*⁴ entered among the boundaries of Winkfield in 942. To the south of the great escarpment of the chalk lies Fawley; a name identical in origin with that of the south Northamptonshire Fawsley, which last appears in an original charter of 944 as *Feahuwes lea*,⁵ and contains a personal name formed from the

¹ It would be an obvious error to infer the existence of new names indiscriminately from words which have no meaning in OE. There are many words occurring in a local context to which no explanation can as yet be given, such, for example, as the **clap*, which forms the first element of the Berkshire Clapcot and Clopton, the initial **coc* of Cookham [cf. C. C. 115]. But the addition of a genitive in *es*, and still more, that of an

inflexional *ing*, is a strong argument that a personal name lies behind the word in question.

² A similar formation from the *Dun* stem may be inferred from the name of the tenth-century moneyer *Dunic*, if this is not an error for *Duning*.

³ *Spær*, *Tubba*, and *Ceawa* are entered in Searle on the strength of the forms in C. S. 1121, 777, 833.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 5.

⁵ C. S. 792.

OE. adjective *fealu*, 'yellow'. Six miles to the south-east, Chieveley bears a name which gives as prefix an OE. *Cifa,¹ also unknown out of combination. In the extreme east of the county Dedworth may perhaps contain a personal name *Didda; unrecorded, but comparable with the common Dodda and Dudda. It is no doubt true that in regard to the majority of such cases the recovery of the original personal name embedded in the compound can only be a matter of inference from the evidence supplied by later forms; true, also, that the result of such work may not seem to have any obvious bearing upon our conception of early English history. But it is always dangerous to assume the inutility of any branch of historical study; and quite apart from the assistance which a complete onomasticon might afford in the matter of the criticism of documents,² the co-ordination of Old English personal names with those of the German or Scandinavian mainland³ might well give ground for conclusions of great general interest.

Local distribution of name-stems.—But the intrinsic interest of the personal element in local nomenclature is not confined to the new personal names which await discovery from its investigation. The distribution over England of the various names and name-stems employed in the Old English period is very imperfectly ascertained as yet. Certain broad facts in regard to this matter are indeed to be gathered from the surface of our Domesday maps—the wide diffusion of the Beorht, Wulf, Wig, Cyne, Ead, Ælf, and Æthel, stems,⁴ for example, but for the rest the whole of this wide subject remains at present unsurveyed territory. How far its exploration would yield results of direct historical significance must at present remain uncertain, for any attempt to suggest definite conclusions in this matter would be highly premature. Some slight indica-

¹ C. S. 1055.

² Thus the 'Togred' (<Dogred) 'domus nostrae praepositus' of the spurious C. S. 1057 bears a name unrecorded in English documents. The stem Dog, nevertheless, has been found in the name of Dowdeswell, Gloucester (*æt Dogadeswellan*, C. S. 283), E. H. R. vi. 739. This does not affect the character of C. S.

1057 as a peculiarly flagrant forgery; but a similar argument applied to the personal names which occur in the earliest annals of the Chronicle has far-reaching consequences.

³ Cf. Scarle, xv, xxi.

⁴ For the Æthel stem reference may be made to the local illustrations cited by Zachrisson, 111-14.

tion of the facts which are revealed in this way may, however, be obtained by a rough indication of the local distribution of the Cyne stem; a stem, it may be noted, which is not represented in modern Berkshire place-names. The stem in question is obviously to be recorded in each county from Dorset to Nottingham inclusive.¹ The name Cynestan has given rise to Kinstanton in the former county; in Somerset, Kenyweston is a compound of the name Cyneward, Kilmerston, of the name Cynemær; recorded also for the adjacent county of Gloucester in Kempford and Kemmerton; in Herefordshire, Kinnersley is derived from Cyneheard. The series is continued for Worcestershire by the feminine Cyneburh of Kemerton; for Shropshire by the Cynemær of Kynaston, and the Cynebeorht of Kimber-ton; for Staffordshire by the Cyneweald of Kinvaston. In Warwickshire, Kenilworth is a compound of the feminine Cynehild, Kinwarton, of the masculine Cyneward; in Leicestershire, Kimcote derives from the name Cynemund. The name Cyneweald reappears in the Domesday form of Killamarsh in Derbyshire; Cynemær, in that of the Nottinghamshire Kimberley, a second Cynehild has probably left her name to Kinoulton in the same shire. Apart from this compact group of shires, Kinmerston in Northumberland is derived from Cynemær; Kimberley in Norfolk, apparently, from Cyneburh; Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire from Cynebeald. It is not pretended that this list is exhaustive, even in regard to the counties to which reference is made; but the investigations of Professor Skeat have revealed no Cyne names in Cambridgeshire or Hertfordshire; the solitary *Chenemundewiche* of the Bedfordshire Domesday has left no trace of its existence,² and if the stem in question is still recorded locally in Berkshire it is with reference only to farm or field. The series obviously admits of wide extension, but the time for an exhaustive study of these matters remains as yet far distant.

Name-stems recorded in Berkshire.—The same subject may well be regarded here from another point of view. The number

¹ There is a possibility that in some of these cases the stem represented may be *Coën* not *Cyne*. Most of the examples, however, seem certain.

² V. C. H., Bedford, i. 216. The exact form is recorded, for a site which eludes identification, in the *Cynemunding wic* of C. S. 524.

of distinct stems recorded in the local names of a single county varies remarkably, and indeed inexplicably, between different cases; Berkshire is probably a representative shire in this respect.¹ It may be noted that in this county the *Ead* stem is represented by the Eadwine of Idstone and the Eadgifu of Edington; the *Ord* stem, by the Ordheah of Odstone; the *Lēof* stem, by the Leofweard of Leverton; names in *Wulf* appear in the Wulfric of Woolstone, and the Wulflaf of Woolhampton; in *Beort*, in the Beorhtweald of Brightwalton; in *Here*, in the Hereburh of Arborfield; in *Burh*, in the Burhweard of Buscot and the Burghild of Bucklebury; in *Beadu*, in the Beadulac of Balking; in *Wig*, in the Wigbeald of Willington farm. The *Hrōth*, *Æsc*, *Ceol* and *Cōen* stems, uncompounded, are recorded in the names of Ruscombe, Ashbury, Cholsey, and Kennington; the stem *Cead*, with which the enigmatical name *Cædwalla* is compounded, is represented in Berkshire by the **Ceadela* of Chaddleworth; and the prefix in *Garford*, rendered *Garanford* in the original C. S. 1055, would seem to be a weak personal name **Gara*, formed from the *Gār* stem.² There is no certain example among surviving names in the county of the *Cyne*, *Æthel*, *Ecg*, *Ealh*, or *Cuth* stems;³ and the common *Ælf* stem only occurs in the name of Elton Farm near Welford, which, from the early forms, may perhaps represent an original **Ælfredes* or *Ælfheres tun*. Yet all these stems, and many others, are recorded for the county among the personal names which occur in the boundaries of estates granted in the pre-Conquest period, and the fact may serve as a useful warning against founding historical argument exclusively upon current nomenclature.⁴ It need not prevent us from remarking that the series of Anglo-Saxon name-stems persisting to the present

¹ The list which follows is merely given in illustration.

² Compare Goring, Oxford [D. B. *Garinges*].

³ Names in *Ecg* and *Cuth* are rarely found in local nomenclature. The former stem is recorded for Berkshire in the name of the hundred of **Egesleah* (D. B. *Eglei*) preserved in the hundred name of Kintbury Eagle. Cf. Asser, 271.

⁴ There is great variety between different entries in Domesday Book as to the accuracy with which approximation is made to the true form of the native place-name. Personal names, such for instance as *Wilhelm*, which were common to both French and English, are in general reproduced the most closely when they occur in combination.

time in the local nomenclature of the county is, from whatever reason, curiously incomplete.¹

Some comparisons.—It is impossible here and now to trace with any detail the points of correspondence between the personal names recorded in Berkshire place-names and those which appear similarly compounded in the local names of other shires.² But it is never wise to study the place-names of any county in isolation; and the interpretation of the local names of this county is materially assisted by the recurrence of similar forms beyond its borders. Thus the personal name **Styfa*, which forms the prefix of the Berkshire *Steventon*, reappears at *Steventon* in Hampshire, *Stevington* in Bedfordshire, *Steeton* in Craven, and *Stewton* near *Louth*. The name *Bryni*, which has given rise to *Brimpton*, has also produced *Brington* in Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire; *Hilsley* in Gloucestershire and *Hillesden* in Buckinghamshire are each compounds of the name *Hild*, from which the Berkshire *Ilsey* is derived; *Cusworth* in Yorkshire contains the rare personal name *Cusa*, preserved in *Curridge* near *Chieveley*. The prefix of the name *Childrey* is the personal name *Cilla*, compounded also in *Chilwell* in Nottinghamshire, and *Chillington* in Staffordshire. More remarkable is the derivation of *Hinksey* from the OE. *Hengest*; for while from historical sources we know of no bearer of this famous name other than the conqueror of Kent,³ its popularity is attested by its sporadic appearance in local names in widely scattered parts of England. *Hinksey* is only one member of the remarkable series of such names to which *Henstridge* in Somerset, *Hinxston* in Cambridgeshire, *Endscot* in Devon, *Hinxworth* in Hertfordshire, and *Hinksford* in Staffordshire belong. *Mackney* near *Wallingford* contains a personal name **Macca*, compounded again in the Derbyshire *Mackworth* and

¹ In the place-names of Derbyshire, for example, despite the rarity of pre-Conquest forms, a considerably longer series of name-stems is represented than is to be found in Berkshire.

² The same personal name will frequently be found compounded locally in different parts of a single county. Thus **Ceawa* occurs cer-

tainly twice, and possibly three times, in Berkshire place-names, and the name *Sunna*, which has produced *Sonning*, is also recorded at *Sunninghill*, near *Ascot*, and *Sunningwell*, near *Abingdon*.

³ Who is probably identical with the *Hengest* of *Beowulf*. Chadwick, *Origin of English Nation*, 52.

Mackney. The Sugga of Sugworth near Radley is represented also at Sugnall in Staffordshire; the Hoda of Hodcot, at Hodnell [OE. **Hodan hyll*] in Warwickshire; the Scot of Shotteswell in the latter county is the same name as that which has produced Shottesbrook in Berkshire; Botley in Hampshire and Botley near Oxford are each derived from the recorded personal name Botta. Duxford in Berkshire (D. B. *Dudochesforde*) and Dunkswell in Devonshire (D. B. *Doducheswelle*) each contain the common personal name Duduc. The Berkshire Abingdon and the Abingtons of Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire are severally compounds of the OE. name Abba; to the Wealh of Wallingford, a name meaning literally a Welshman,¹ parallels may be found at Wallington in Hertfordshire and Surrey, and, apparently, at Wallstone in Derbyshire; in which county the name of Snelston on the Dove, like that of Snelston in Cheshire, derives from a personal name *Snell, unrecorded out of combination, but preserved also in the Berkshire Snelsmore. The important name-stem Ceol, from which Cholsey is derived, has undergone a different phonetic development at Chelsham in Surrey; and if the name of Lollingdon Farm is, as seems probable, derived from an OE. Lull or Lulla,² it represents an exception to the process which has produced Lullington in Derbyshire, Lulworth in Dorset, and Lulham in Herefordshire. The hamlet of Lilley near Farnborough, recorded in 931 in the form *Lilling lea*,³ like Lilbourne and Lilford in Northamptonshire, and Lillington in Warwickshire, as regards its name, is derived from an OE. Lil or Lilla; the *Braccan heal*, which marked in 942 the site of the modern Bracknell, is the only pre-Conquest evidence for the personal name *Bracca,⁴ from which it is probable that the

¹ *Wealh* developed the secondary meaning of 'slave'; but is recorded independently as a personal name as early as the *Liber Vitae* of Durham [O.E.T. 158, *Ualch*].

² 'Loll' for 'Lull' may perhaps be referred to Norman influence. An OE. *Lolla is possible, but hardly likely.

³ C. S. 682.

⁴ Skeat, Hertford, 38, derives Braughing in that county from an OE. Brahea or Bracha, with reference to C. S. ii. 516 (=778). The

latter is the Winkfield charter, frequently cited above, and the form Bracha, as Skeat points out, is merely a variant of Bracca. It may be added that C. S. 778 is only known from the two thirteenth-century MSS. of the Abingdon History, and that the B text, the oldest version of the Chronicle, has correctly *Bracca* in place of *Bracha*. The absence of the guttural in the modern name Bracknell is strongly against its derivation from *Brahca*, and supports the reading *Bracca*.

Northamptonshire Brackley descends. Everington is one of a widespread group of names formed from the OE. personal name Eofor,¹ to which Eversley in Hampshire, Eversden in Cambridgeshire, and Eversholt in Bedfordshire belong. There remain, no doubt, embedded in the place-names of Berkshire, personal names which in the present state of our knowledge are unique: the personal name Sutta has been admitted to the Anglo-Saxon onomasticon on the sole warrant of one of the forms in which the difficult name of Sotwell is represented,² the Read of Reading is a name otherwise unknown; but in most cases it is possible to supply a parallel to any local name which may be cited. One wonders whether it is wholly fanciful to foresee a time when for each county there will be compiled annotated lists of all the personal names recorded in local nomenclature within its limits.

Re-appearance of early personal names.—It is a further interest of such studies that they reveal the occasional reappearance in local nomenclature of the personal names which occur in the oldest English genealogies among the semi-mythical ancestors of the kings of the eighth century, or are applied by the Chronicle to the leaders of the first English settlers; names often unique, or of excessive rarity in later times. The widespread distribution of the name Hengest is only one among many similar facts which give an air of reality to the earliest sections of the Old English Chronicle.³ A Horsa may well be represented in the Lincolnshire Horsington;⁴ the name Cymen, borne by the first of the three sons of Ælle of Sussex, is recorded once more in the phrase *Cymenes denu* with reference to a site within or on the very borders of Berkshire.⁵ If, as is probable, the derivation of the name of Avington on the Kennet is identical with that of Avington in Hampshire,⁶ it contains the personal name Æafa, borne by the grandfather of king Egbert

¹ The OE. *eofor* meant a boar, and the animal name is certainly represented in Everdon, Northampton (to *Eeverdune*, C.S. 792) and Everton, Nottingham (*Euretone*, D. B.).

² Scarle, 434, referring to C.S. 810.

³ Cf. E. H. R. xiv. 33-6.

⁴ D. B. *Horsintone*.

⁵ C. S. 225, the Bedwyn charter.

⁶ Early forms are given at the head of the topographical section dealing with Avington in V. C. H., Hants. The *Eafun hling* of C. S. 468, relating to one of the Hampshire Worthys which border on Avington, is probably connected with the latter name. Cf. Evington, Leicester (D. B. *Avintone*).

of Wessex. A Welsh origin has been sought for the enigmatical name *Cædwealla*, a suggestion which would have an important bearing upon the antecedents of the royal house of Wessex were it not discounted by the appearance of the stem *Cead* in local names scattered somewhat widely over the south and midlands. A *Ceadela* is recorded in the Berkshire Chaddleworth and the Devonshire Cheldon; a *Ceadel* in the Worcestershire Chadwick, the Warwickshire Chaddlewich and Chadshunt, the Buckinghamshire Chalfont; the strong or weak form indifferently may be represented in the Devonshire Chillington and the Oxfordshire Chadlington. It may at least be asserted with confidence that the detailed investigation of local nomenclature would leave but a small number of these obscure and early personal names in isolation.

Conclusion.—In the present essay the attempt has been made to illustrate from the place-names of a single county the general significance of the study of local nomenclature, and more particularly its bearing upon the difficult questions which arise in connexion with the early history of the village community in England. In regard to such matters there is indeed room for differences of opinion, but it may perhaps be suggested that of recent years place-names in general have fallen into somewhat undeserved disrepute as a source of information with respect to the primitive structure of English rural groups. It was, no doubt, inevitable that in reaction from the somewhat precipitate generalizations of Kemble the study of local nomenclature should have been abandoned in favour of other and surer methods of inquiry; that the tenurial conditions revealed by Domesday should have been treated as a basis for our understanding of the agrarian organization of early times; that search should have been made for the reality which underlay the formulas of the Old English land-books. Arguments drawn from such considerations as these are both surer and wider than any theories which rest upon local nomenclature alone; and yet it remains true that place-names have their use, even if a restricted one, and that the information which they supply is inaccessible elsewhere. It is the nature and credibility of that information which form the subject of the foregoing pages.

APPENDIX I

TERMINALS EMPLOYED IN LOCAL NAMES

THE total number of distinct terminals employed in the local names of Berkshire is approximately forty, and the list which follows is probably complete in respect of names current in the Old English period¹:—

bearu, grove or small wood, e.g. Billingbear (? OE. Billing bearu) 'Billa's grove'; *beorh*, hill or barrow, e.g. Farnborough (OE. to Fearnbeorgan) 'fern hills'; *brôc*, brook, e.g. Shottesbrook (D. B. Sotesbroc) 'Scot's brook'; *burh*, borough or fort, e.g. Ashbury (OE. *Æscsburh*) 'Æsc's fort'; *burn*, bourne or stream, e.g. Hagbourne (OE. *æt Hacce burnan*) 'Hacca's bourne'; *camp*, field, e.g. Ruscombe (1091 Rothescamp) 'Hrôth's field'; *cote*, cottage or small dwelling, e.g. Buscot (D. B. Boroardescote) 'Burhward's cot'; *cumb*, valley or combe, e.g. Yatscombe (OE. *Geatescumbe*) 'Geat's valley'; *denu*, valley, e.g. Yattenden (OE. **Geatinga denu*) 'the valley of Geat's people'; *dûn*, hill or down, e.g. Abingdon (OE. *Abbandun*) 'Abba's hill'; *feld*, field, e.g. Bradfield (OE. *æt bradan felda*) 'broad field'; *ford*, e.g. Welford (OE. *Welig forda*) 'willow ford'; *flôd*, stream, e.g. Inglewood (OE. **Engel flôd*) 'Engel stream'; *geat*, gate, e.g. Bagshot near Hungerford (OE. to *baggan gete*) 'Bagga's gate'; *graf*, trench, e.g. Wargrave (D. B. Weregrave) [meaning of prefix doubtful]; *hâm*, home or village, e.g. Wickham (OE. *Wicham*) 'village home'; *hamm*, meadow, e.g. Marcham (OE. to *Merchamme*) 'boundary meadow'; *hamstede*, homestead, e.g. Sulhampstead (OE. **Sylhamstede*)² 'mire homestead'; *healh*, meadow, e.g. Bracknell (OE. *Braccan healh*) 'Bracca's meadow'; *hlôw*,

¹ In this list, the illustrative name is given in the oldest recorded form, when this is conclusive as to the meaning. Otherwise, the hypothetical original is inferred from the later forms given in

Appendix II.

² No early forms are recorded, but the place appears as *Silhamstede*, *Sylhamstede*, in the thirteenth century (I. L. p. 714).

mound or tumulus, e. g. Cuckamsley (OE. Cwichelmes hlæw) 'Cwichelm's mound'; *holt*, wood or coppice, e. g. Sparsholt (OE. *Spæresholt) 'Spær's wood'; *hrycg*, ridge, e. g. Hawkridge (OE. hafoc hrycg) 'hawk ridge'; *hyrst*, wood, e. g. Sandhurst (OE. *Sandhyrst) 'sand wood'; *hyll*, hill, e. g. Sunninghill (OE. *Sunninga hyll) 'Sunna's hill'; *ieg*, island or marshy land, e. g. Cholsey (OE. Ceoles eig) 'Ceol's island'; *lēah*, ley or field, e. g. Bagley (OE. bacgan leah) 'Bacga's field'; *mere*, pool, e. g. Stanmore (OE. Stanmere) 'stone pool'; *mersc*, marsh, e. g. Tidmarsh (? OE. *Tidan mersc) 'Tida's marsh'; *mōr*, moor, e. g. Snelsmore (OE. *Snelles mōr) 'Snell's moor'; *ora*, bank, e. g. Boxford (OE. Box ora) 'box bank'; *pen*, hill, e. g. Inkpen (OE. æt Inge penne) 'Inga's hill'; *rith*, stream, e. g. Hendred (OE. henna rith) 'hens' stream'; *thorp*, village or hamlet, e. g. Colthrop (? OE. *Colan thorp) 'Cola's village'; *tūn*, town or village, e. g. Brightwalton (OE. æt Beorhtwolding tūne) 'Beorhtweald's village'; *wara*, dwellers, e. g. Clewer (OE. *clif wara) 'cliff dwellers'; *weorthig*, homestead or farm, e. g. Padworth (OE. æt Peadan wurthe) 'Peada's farm'; *wic*, village, e. g. Henwick (? high village); *wyll*, spring, e. g. Sunningwell (OE. Sunningawyll) 'the spring of Sunna's people'.¹

¹ An argument, if one were needed, against the obsolete theory which would derive *wyll* in place-names from the Latin *villa* is supplied by the phrase in C.S. 830 'ubi iam dudum incolae prolatum nomen latialiter declaratum fontem indiderunt, nunc vero verbi gratia

Gewisorum more Beorhtan wille'. Whether or not this charter, which relates to Brightwell, Berks, is genuine, the phrase shows that to its compiler the name simply meant 'clear spring'. The site is wrongly identified by Birch with Brightwell, Oxford.

APPENDIX II

EARLY FORMS OF BERKSHIRE PLACE-NAMES

Abingdon, Berks. Chron. 977 C æt Abbandune, to Abbandune, *et passim*. [OE. Abba with *dūn*.]

Aldermaston, Berks. D. B. Heldremanestune, Eldremanestune; P. R. 26 H. II, Aldremanneston; H. R. Aldermannestr; B. N. B. Aldemannestona; P. R. 13 H. II, Aldermannestun; F. A. (1316) Aldermanstone. [OE. *ealdorman*.]

Aldworth, Berks. D. B. Elleorde; P. R. 13 H. II, Aldewurda; R. R. Aldewrda; T. N. Aldew'rth.

Arborfield, Berks. Sarum Charters i. 282, 306-7 Edburgefild, Erburgefild; T. P. N. Herbelgiresfeld; T. N. Erburgefild; F. A. 1316 Erburghefelde. [OE. Hereburh.] For the first form, probably resulting from confusion with OE. *Ēadburh*, compare *Edburberie*, one of the Domesday forms for Harbury, Warwick, of which the derivation from Hereburh is certain.

Ardington, Berks. D. B. Ardintone; H. R. Ardinton. [OE. Eard, Earda.]

Ashbury, Berks. C. S. 491 æt *Æscesbyrig*; C. S. 1055 *Æscesburuh*; C. S. 899 *Æscesburh*; D. B. Eissesberie; A. C. i. 14 *Esseburiam* (Latinized); 35 *Essebiri*; H. R. *Essebyr*. Cart. St. Frideswide, *Essebury*, *Assebyri*; T. P. N. *Aschebury* [OE. *Æsc*.]

Avington, Berks. D. B. Avintone; T. N. Aventon. [? OE. *Ēafa*.]

Bagley, Berks. C. S. 924 *bacgan leah*; A. C. ii. 10 de Silva *Bachelcia*; H. R. *Bagele*. [OE. *Bacga*.]

Bagnor, Berks. D. B. Bagenore; T. N. Bagenore; F. A. 1428 Bagenore; Rot. Cur. Bagenore. [OE. *Bacga*.]

Bagshot, Wilts. C. S. 225 to *baggan gete*; C. S. 1213 *baggan* (*v.l.* *bagcgan*) *geat*; D. B. *Bechesgete*; F. A. 1316 *Bukkesgate*. [p.n. *Bacga*, changed before Conquest into strong form *Bacg*.]

Balking, Berks. C. S. 873 Bedalacing, in title Bedelakinges; C. S. 1121 Baðalacing, æt bada lacing; I. L. Bathelking (1286).

Basildon, Berks. D. B. Bastedene; P. R. 13 H. II, Bastendena, 23 H. II, Bastedene; T. N. Bestlesden; H. R. Bastelden, Bastleden; I. L. Bascildene (1365). [Cf. Bæstlæsford, C. S. 565, 100, 101. A p. n *Bæstel must be deduced from these forms.]

Bayworth, Berks. C. S. 932 æt Bægenweorthe; D. B. Baiorde; A. C. ii. 37 Bæiewrtham, 311 Baiwurde; R. R. Baiwrde. [OE. Bæga (or Bæge).]

Binfield, Berks. P. R. 22 H. II, Benetfeld; T. P. N. Benetfeld. [OE. *beonet*.]

Botley, Berks. A. C. ii. 17 apud Botleam, 152 Boteleia. [OE. Botta.] Cf. Botley, Hants. [D. B. *Botelie*], and 'to *Bottan ige*' in boundaries of Lyford, Berks.

Boxford, Berks. C. S. 1055 Boxoran; C. S. 1022 æt Boxoran, to Boxorran; D. B. Bousore, Bochesorne; A. C. ii. 9, 144 Boxore, Boxora, 196 Boxoram; P. R. 13 H. II, Boxhora.

Brightwalton, Berks. C. S. 743 æt Beorhtwaldingtune; D. B. Bristoldestone; R. Ab. 156 Brichtwoldint'; H. R. Brinwalton, Briwalton; P. R. 13 H. II, Bricht Walestona; T. P. N. Brithwalton. [OE. Beorhtweald.]

Brimpton, Berks. C. S. 802 æt Bryningtune, to Bryningtune; D. B. Brintone; P. R. 13 H. II, Brintona. [OE. Bryni.]

Bucklebury, Berks. D. B. Borgedeberie, Borchedeberie; R. Abb. 164 Burchildeberia, 172 Burkilleberie, 178 Burghildebiri; P. R. 15 H. II, Burchildeberi; T. P. N. Burhildebury; F. A. 1316 Burghildebury. [OE. Burghild.]

Burghfield, Berks. C. S. 888 to beorhfeldinga gemære; D. B. Borgefel; P. R. 22 H. II, Bergefeld; Anc. Chart. 107 Berghefelda; R. R. Bergefel, Bergefelde; T. P. N. Beerwefeld, Borhefeld; F. A. 1316 Burgefelde. [OE. *beorh* + *feld*.]

Buscot, Berks. D. B. Boroardescote; P. R. 30 H. I, Burwardescote; H. R. Burwardescote; F. A. 1428 Borewardescote; T. P. N. Borewardescote, Burewardescote. [OE. Burhward.]

Catmore, Berks. C. S. 892 Catmeres gemære; C. S. 682 Catmæringa gemære; D. B. Catmere.

Chaddleworth, Berks. C. S. 1055 Cadelanwyrth; D. B. Cedeneorde Cedeleorde; A. C. ii. 170 Chedileswrtha, 172

Chedeleswrtha; H. R. Chadelesworth; P. R. 13 H. II, Chadelwurda. [OE. *Ceadela.]

Challow, Berks. C. S. 833 to Ceawan hlæwe (in boundaries of Denchworth); D. B. Ceveslane; T. P. N. Westchaulawe; F. A. 1316 Estchaulo. [OE. *Ceawa.]

Charlton, Berks. C. S. 925 Ceorlatun; D. B. Cerletone; R. R. Cherletune. [OE. *ceorl*.]

Chieveley, Berks. C. S. 1055 Cifanlea; D. B. Civelei; A. C. ii. 31 Civeleia, 83 Civelea, 120 Civileia, 192 Chiveleam, 299 Chivele, 310 Chiveleie, 322 Civele; H. R. Chiveley; B. N. B. Chiveslegha; P. R. 13 H. II, Chivelai; F. F. Chivele. [OE. *Cifa.]

Childrey, Berks. D. B. Cilrea; cf. C. S. 798 betweox eccene and cillarithe; C. S. 833 to cillan rithe. [OE. Cilla.] The *rith*, or stream, referred to rises a little to the west of Challow, and flows past Denchworth and Hanney to join the Ock.

Chilton, Berks. C. S. 565 Cylda tun; C. D. 1310 Cilda tun; D. B. Ciletone; A. C. ii. 4 Chiltune, 141 Childestuna, Cildestuna. [OE. *cild*.]

Cholsey, Berks. OE. Chron. 1006 Ceolesig; C. S. 565 Ceolesig, C. D. 716 into Ceolesige; D. B. Celsei; A. C. ii. 160 Celsi; P. R. 13 H. II, Chauisi; R. Ab. 157 Cealseia, 165 Celsea, 166 Ceals'; Mon. Ang. iii. 280 Chaussy. [OE. *ceol*.]

Clewer, Berks. D. B. Clivore; T. H. Cliffeware; T. P. N. Clifware; H. R. Cliware; F. A. 1428 Clyware; P. R. 5 H. II, Clifwara; F. F. Cliveware. [OE. *clif* compounded with *wara*.]

Coleshill, Berks. C. D. 1290 æt Colleshylle; D. B. Coleselle, Coleshalle; R. R. Coleshella; F. F. Coleshill; T. P. N. Coleshull; F. A. 1428 Colsulle. [OE. river name Coll.]

Colthrop, Berks. T. N. Colethorp, Coletorp; F. A. 1428 Coltrope. [OE. Cola.]

Cookham, Berks. C. S. 291 Coccham, Cocham; C. S. 1174 æt Coccham; C. D. 704 to Cocham; D. B. Cocheham; P. R. 22 H. II, Cocham. [The prefix is clearly the OE. *cocc*, of uncertain meaning. It cannot represent a personal name. Terminal, OE. *hām*.]

Curridge, Berks. C. S. 900 æt Cusan hricge; D. B. Coserige; P. R. 13 H. II, Cuseregge; H. R. Cuserugg'; B. N. B. Cuserigge; F. F. Cuserug; R. R. Cuserige. [OE. Cusa.]

Dedworth, Berks. D. B. Dideorde; T. N. Diddew'rth. [OE. *Didda.]

Denchworth. C. S. 1055 Deniceswurthe; C. S. 833 Deneceswurthe, Deniceswurthe; D. B. Denchesworde; T. N. Suthdencheswurth, Northdenchesworth; A. C. ii. 6 Dencheswrthe, 192 Dencheswrtha; B. N. B. Denchewrthe, Denchelwrthe, Duncheswurthe; T. P. N. Denchesw'rth; F. A. 1316 Southdenchesworth. [OE. *Denic (from Dene- stem).]

Denford. C. S. 678 æt Den forda; D. B. Daneford; Rot. Chart. 14a Deneford; Cart. St. Frideswide ii. 333 Denford. [OE. *denu.*]

East Garston, Berks. R. R. (1185) Esegarestona; T. N. Esegarestona, Esegareston; F. A. 1316 Estgarston, 1351 Esgarton.

Edington, Berks. D. B. Eddevetona; C. of D. 369 Edevetona; P. R. 13 H. II, Edivetona; T. N. Edumeton; Cart. St. Frideswide ii. 324 Edineton. [OE. Eadgifu.]

Elton in Welford. T. N. Elfreton, Elfinton. [? OE. Ælfred, Ælfhere.]

Enbourne, Berks. D. B. Taneburne, Aneborne; P. R. 13 H. II, Aneburna; T. N. Enedburne, Eneburne; M. A. vi. 565 Endeburne. [OE. *enid ened.* Cf. on *Eneda wyll*, C. S. 1003, Hants.]

Englefield, Berks. OE. Chron. 871 on Engla felda; D. B. Ingfelle; Anc. Chart. 107 Englefeld. [‘Campus Anglorum.’]

Everington. P. R. 22 H. II, Evrinton; 26 H. II, Everinton; R. R. Everigtona; F. F. Everintona. [OE. Eofor.]

Fawley, Berks. D. B. Faleslei; P. R. 23 H. II, Faleweslega; Faleslega; H. R. North falleye; T. N. Falelegh; F. A. 1316 Northfallele cum Southfallele. [p.n. from adj. *fealu*. Cf. Fawley, Northants. C. S. 792 to fealuwes lea (*sic*); D. B. Felesleue, Faleusle, Felveslea, Felewesleie. The Northamptonshire name has better preserved its original form, but the forms from the Pipe Rolls seem conclusive of identity of derivation for the Berkshire name.]

Fowscot, Berks. D. B. Follescote; P. R. 24 H. II, Fugelescota. [OE. p.n. Fūgel.]

Ginge, Berks. C. S. 981 Gainge, to Gæinge, 1047 to gaing,

on gæing broc; D. B. Gainz; P. R. 8 H. II, Gainz; I. L. Estgeyng (1225).

Hagbourne, Berks. C. S. 565 Haccaburna, æt hacceburnan, on hacceburnan, of haccebroce; C. D. 693 æt hacceburnan; D. B. Hacheborne; F. F. Hakeburne; T. P. N. Hakeburn; F. A. 1316 Esthakeburne. [OE. *Hacca. Cf. andlang haccan broces C. S. 801.]

Hinksey, Berks. C. S. 1002 æt Hengestesige, hengestes ig; A. C. i. 270 Hensteseie, ii. 326 Henstescia; F. A. 1316 Northchenxtesey. [OE. Hengest.]

Idstone, Berks. F. N. Edwinestona; T. N. Edwyneston; F. A. 1316 Edwyneston; Cart. St. Frideswide ii. 319–20 Edwineston, Edwyneston, Edineston. [OE. Eadwine.]

Ilsley, Berks. D. B. Hildeslei; Sarum Charters 13 Hildeslegam; A. C. ii. 196 Haldesieia; H. R. Hildeslewe, Esthildeslewe, Ildeslewe. [OE. Hild.]

Inkpen, Berks. C. S. 678 æt Inge penne; D. B. Hingepene, Ingepene; P. R. 13 H. II, Ingepene; T. N. Ingepenne. [OE. Inga + Celtic *pen*.]

Kennington, Berks. C. S. 971 Cenigtun, to Cenigtune; C. S. 972 æt Cenintune; D. B. Chenitun, Genetune; A. C. ii. 4 Kenitune, 240 Kenituna, 311 Keintone, 329 Chenituna. [OE. Cēn, Coēn.]

Lockinge, Berks. C. S. 522 Lakinge, Lacing (late copy); C. S. 935 on ealdan lacing (original); C. S. 1032 andlang lacing; D. B. Lachinges; Anc. Chart. 107 Lecchinges; F. F. Laking; A. C. ii. 5 Lakinges, 192 Lacing, 300 Lachinges.

Lollingdon, Berks. D. B. Lolindone; T. N. Lollindon; H. R. Lollingdon. [? OE. Lull, Lulla.]

Mackney, Berks. C. S. 810 insula quam populares Maccanig nuncupant; C. S. 864 Maccanæ, æt Maccanige; F. F. Makeni. [OE. *Macca. Compare Mackworth and Mackney, Derby (D. B. *Macheorde, Macheie*).]

Oldstone, Berks. D. B. Ordegestone; T. N. Ordington, Ordeiston, Ordeston. [OE. Ordheah.]

Padworth, Berks. C. S. 984 æt Peadanwurðe, to peadanwyrðe; D. B. Peteorde; P. R. 22 H. II, Pedewurða; T. P. N. Padeworth. [OE. Peada.]

Pangbourne, Berks. C. S. 4437 (for æt) Pægeinga burnan;

C.S. 919 on Pangan burnan; D.B. Pangeborne; B.N.B. Pangeburnia. [OE. *Pæga* or *Pæge*.]

Ruscombe, Berks. Registrum Sancti Osmundi (Rolls Series) i. 199 Rothescamp [1091], 276 Rotescomb, 278 Rothescamp, 306 Rotiscamp, 323 Rothescampe, ii. 73 Rotescomb; Sarum Charters (Roll Series) 369 Roscomp; P.R. 13 H. II, Rotescamp; F.A. 1316 Roscompe. [p. n. Hrôth with *camp*.]

Seacourt, Berks. C.S. 1002 æt Seofecanwyrtha, Seofocan wyrth; D.B. Seuacoorde; P.R. 30 H. I, Seuecheworda; A.C. i. 270 Seouecurt; A.C. ii. 4 Seuecurt, 17 Seuecurda, 311 Seovecwurde; 329 Sevechwrtha; T.N. Sevekewurth; F.A. 1316 Seukeworthe. [OE. *Seofeca*.]

Sheffield, Berks. D.B. Sewelle; Cal. of Doc. 628 Siffleth; R. Ab. 180 Scheufeud; T.N. Sheffield; P.R. 13 H. II, Scheaffelda; B.N.B. Sefeldie; Anc. Chart. 106 Sefelda, 107 (from 'Redditus de Noyon') Schefelet; Rot. Cur. Sefeld; T.P.N. Schoefeld. [OE. *scylf*. The vocalization of the *l* in both syllables in the third form, dating from 1284, seems conclusive. Cf. Shelfield, Stafford (D.B. Seelfeld).]

Shefford, Berks. D.B. Siford; P.R. 13 H. II, Schipforda; T.N. Sipford; F.F. Sifford; F.A. 1316 Estshifforde. [*scēapford*. Cf. Shefford, Bedford.]

Shellingford, Berks. C.S. 683 ad Scaringaford (in title Xalingeforda); A.C. i. 59 Scæringaford; D.B. Seringeford; A.C. ii. 149 Sellengeford, 159 Sceringeford, 191 Saringeford, 287 Salengeford, 307 Salengeford, 310-11 Schalingeford, 323 Scarengford; T.N. Schalingeford; T.P.N. Schalingeford; F.A. 1316 Shallingford. [OE. **Scær*.]

Shottesbrook, Berks. D.B. Sotesbroc; P.R. 13 H. II, Sotesbroch aurifabrorum; P.R. 1 R. I, Schottesbroch; T.P.N. Sottesbrok; I. L. Sottesbrok (1332). [OE. Scot.]

Shrivenham, Berks. C.D. 1290 æt Scrifenan hamme; D.B. Seriveham; A.C. i. 26 Scrivenanhom; P.R. 1 R. I, Scriveham.

Sotwell, Berks. C.S. 810 æt Suttan wille; C.S. 864 æt Suttanuule; D.B. Sotwelle; Mon. Ang. iii. 280 Sottewell; H.R. Sottewell; F.A. 1316 Sortwell. [OE. **Sutta*.]

Sparsholt, Berks. C.S. 1121 æt Speresholte; D.B. Sper-

sold; P.R. H₂ *passim* Speresholt; A.C. i. 477 Speresholt, ii. 288 Spersolt. [OE. **Spær*. Cf. Sparsholt, Hants, C.S. 1290 æt Spæresholt.]

Steventon, Berks. C.S. 1142 to Stifingehame ge mære, to Stifincg hæma gemere; D.B. Stivetune; H.R. Stiventon; B.N.B. Esteuetona, Estuingtona, Stivingtona; T.P.N. Stiventon; F.A. 1316 Styvington. [OE. **Styfa*.]

Sugworth, Berks. D.B. Sogoorde; A.C. ii. 312 Suggewrthe; T.N. Suggew'rth; F.F. Suggewrth. [OE. *Sucga*.]

Sunninghill, Berks. R.R. Sunigehilla; F.F. Sunniggehill. [OE. *Sunna*.]

Sunningwell, Berks. C.S. 932 andlang Sunniggawulla broces; D.B. Soningeuuel. [OE. *Sunna*.]

Swallowfield, Berks. D.B. Soanesfelt, Solafel, Sualefel; P.R. 13 H. II, Sualewefelda; R.R. Sualefeld; T.N. Swalewefed; T.P.N. Swalefeld; F.A. 1428 Swalufelde. [OE. river name **Swæalwe*, still current in 1300 in the form *Swalewe*, Cal. Close Rolls 393. Cf. æt *Swalewanclife* C.S. 874; *Swalecliff*, Kent.]

Thatcham, Berks. C.S. 1174 þæcham; D.B. Taceham; R. Ab. (xii. cent.) Thacheham, Taceham; F.F. Thachama. [OE. *þac* 'thatch' and *ham*.]

Tubney, Berks. D.B. Tobenie; R.R. Tubencia; A.C. ii. 5 Tubbencia, 39 Tobbencia, 192 Tubbenciam [1146], 311 Tubbenie. [OE. **Tubba*, only known in the phrase *on Tubbanforda*, which relates to the immediate neighbourhood of Tubney. C.S. 777.]

Uffington, Berks. C.S. 687 to Uffentune; S.B. Offentone; F.F. Uffeton; T.P.N. Offinton; A.C. ii. 192 Offentonam, 310 Uffintone; F.A. 1316 Offynton. [OE. *Uffa*.]

Ufton, Berks. S.B. Offetune; Anc. Chart. 107 Uffinton; F.A. 1316 Uftone. [OE. *Uffa*.]

Waltham, Berks. C.S. æt Wuealtham (*sic*) to Wealtham; D.B. Waltham. [The meaning of the prefix is doubtful; it may represent a personal name **Wealta*. Skeat, Hertford, 32.]

Wantago, Berks. Asser, Uuanating; C.S. 1038, 1052 andlang waneting; D.B. Wanetin₃; Cal. Chart. Roll, Waneting.

Watchfield, Berks. C.S. 675 æt Wæclesfeld (*sic*); D.B. Wachenesfeld; A.C. i. 26 Wethenesfeld, Wacenesfeld, ii. 134,

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&c. Wechenesfeld, 196 Wachanes feldam, 310 Wachenefeld, 321-3 Wechenesfeld, 384 Wachanesfeld; Rot. Cur. Wachenfeld, Wachenesfelda; F. A. 1316. [OE. Wæcel.]

Welford, Berks. C. S. 877 (original) æt Weligforda, 963 æt Weligforda, into Welligforda; D. B. Waliford; A. C. i. 26 Wælingford, Weliford, 82 Waliegeford, 83 Uualingeforda, Waliford, 144 Waliford, 192 Uueliford; P. R. 13 H. II, Weliforda. [OE. *welig*. Note confusion with Walingford.]

Wickham, Berks. A. C. i. 26 Wicham, ii. 172 Uuicham, 196 Wicham. [OE. *wīc* and *hām*.]

Winkfield, Berks. C. S. 778 æt Winecan felda; D. B. Wenesfelle; R. R. Wenkefeld; P. R. 13 H. II, Wincgefeld; A. C. i. 429 Uuinkefeld, ii. 7 Winckefeld, 87 Winkefelda, 192 Uuinekefeld (1147); T. P. N. Wynekesfeld; Cal. Chart. Roll, Wenekefeud; F. A. 1428 Wynekefeld. [OE. *Wineca.]

Woolhampton, Berks. D. B. Ullavintone; Cal. Rot. Chart. Wullavinton; T. N. Wulavinton, Wulaviton; H. R. Wullamin-ton; T. P. N. Wolaumtone. [OE. Wulfaf.]

Woolstone, Berks. D. B. Olvricestone; A. C. ii. 213 Wifri- chestun; H. R. Wuluricheston; F. A. 1316 Wolfricheston. [OE. Wulfric.]

Wytham, Berks. C. S. 1002 æt Wihtham, Wihtham; D. B. Winteham; A. C. ii. 4 Witham. [The meaning of the prefix is uncertain. The absence of any trace of inflexion in the first forms shows that the common name-stem Wiht cannot be represented here. The terminal is clearly *hām*.]

Yattendon, Berks. D. B. Etingeden; T. N. Yetingeden, Yatingeden, Yatingden; T. P. N. Yathingedene; F. A. 1316 Yatindenc. [OE. Geat.]

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