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THE PLACE-NAMES OF HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

BY PROFESSOR SKEAT.

§ 1. PREFATORY REMARKS.

In dealing with the place-names of Cambridgeshire, I found it convenient to arrange them according to the suffixes which they commonly include, such as *-ham*, *-ton*, *-worth*, and the like. Such suffixes are more than usually numerous in the case of Huntingdonshire, notwithstanding the small size of the county. Arranged in alphabetical order, they occur as follows:— *-berh*, *-bois*, *-bourn*, *-bridge*, *-brook*, *-bury*, *-chester*, *-cote*, *-den*, *-ditch*, *-don*, *-ey*, *-ford*, *-ground*, *-grove*, *-ham*, *-head*, *-hithe*, *-hoe*, *-ing*, *-land*, *-ley*, *-low*, *-reach*, *-stead*, *-stone*, *-stow*, *-thorn*, *-thorpe*, *-ton*, *-well*, *-wick*, *-wold*, *-wood*, *-worth*. Of these, about thirteen do not appear in Cambridgeshire as suffixes, viz.:— *-berh*, *-bois*, *-brook*, *-bury*, *-ground*, *-grove*, *-head*, *-hoe*, *-land*, *-thorn*, *-thorpe*, *-wold*, *-wood*; whilst on the other hand, there does not appear to be any Huntingdonshire place-name ending in *-field*, like the Cambridgeshire Haslingfield, Nosterfield, and Radfield; nor any in *-beach*, *-hale*, *-heath*, *-port*, *-reth*, or *-wade*.

A few descriptive names appear as complete words, either by themselves or preceded by another epithet; and it will be convenient to treat these along with the rest. Such names are Colne, Hill (as in Round Hill), The Hirne, Holme (as in Port Holme), Hurst, Mere, Moor, Perry, and Slepe.

Of many of the names containing suffixes there is but one example in each case, as in Warde-bois, Godman-chester, and the like. The commonest suffixes are *-ford*, *-ham*, *-ley*, *-ton*, and *-worth*; and it is worth while noticing that there are but five examples of *-ham* as against twenty-four examples in Cambridgeshire; whilst on the other hand, the number of examples of *-ton* is greater, amounting to at least thirty-six. Besides the various descriptive names, we must include some saints, with which this county is well provided; viz. St Ives and St Neots, as well as those mentioned in Sawtry All Saints,

Sawtry St Andrew's, and Sawtry St Judith, though the last of these names seems to be incorrect.

The various suffixes or similar descriptive epithets will now be discussed separately. The names considered are nearly all of them old, and most of them are mentioned in Domesday Book. I omit modern names of farms and lodges; and others of little general interest.

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

The following is a list of the more important sources of old names and their significations, with some abbreviations:

Cat. A.D.—Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (Record Series).

D.B.—Domesday Book (part relating to Huntingdonshire).

E.D.D.—English Dialect Dictionary.

F.A.—Feudal Aids (Record Series); vol. ii.

H.R.—Hundred Rolls; Rotuli Hundredorum; vols. i and ii.

Those in vol. ii are dated 1279.

Index to the Rolls and Charters in the British Museum, ed.

H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley (1900).

I.P.M.—Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem sive Escaetarum, ed. J. Caley; vol. i (Record Series).

N.E.D.—New English Dictionary (Oxford).

P.F.—Select Pleas of the Forest; ed. G. J. Turner, London, 1901 (Selden Society, vol. xiii).

P.R.—Pipe Roll, 1189—1190; and Rolls of the Pipe, 1155—8; ed. Rev. Joseph Hunter.

R.B.—Red Book of the Exchequer; ed. W. D. Selby (Rolls Series).

R.C.—Ramsey Chartulary, ed. W. H. Hart; 3 vols (the third vol. has the Index).

R. Chron.—Ramsey Chronicle, ed. W. D. Macray (Rolls Series).

I have also, of course, made constant use of Kemble's edition of the A.S. charters, entitled *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, published in six volumes for the Society of Antiquaries in 1839—48; Birch's edition of selected charters, entitled *Cartularium Saxonicum*, published in three volumes in 1885—93; Thorpe's *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici* (1865);

Earle's Handbook to the Land Charters and other Saxon Documents, Oxford, 1888; and Mr Searle's Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum, Cambridge, 1897, which contains a very full collection of Old English names. I have also been favoured with some useful notes communicated by Mr Norris, of Cirencester, and formerly of St Ives; and by Mr S. Inskip Ladds, of Huntingdon, who has taken much pains to search authorities, and to compile notes relating to the place-names of the county.

§ 2. THE OLD SUFFIX -BERH.

WEYBRIDGE. This name is certainly an altered one, and did not originally end in *-bridge*; for which reason it must be considered separately. There was once an extensive forest there, the name of which is retained in Weybridge Farm, which lies to the S. of Alconbury, and E.N.E. of Ellington. It is frequently mentioned in P.F., the usual spelling being *Wau-berge*; but we find a still older form *Walberg* in R.C., and the Latinised form *Walbergie* (genitive) in the Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi, 1827, under the date 1199. It is clear that *berge* is a later variant of *berk*, which is the A.F. [Anglo-French] spelling of O. Merc. *berh*, A.S. *beorh*, a hill; and the hill is well marked on the Ordnance Map, being over a hundred feet above sea-level. We have an exact parallel in the case of the M.E. *scauberk*, a scabbard, spelt *scauberge* in the Romance of Partenay (Early Eng. Text Soc.). The prefix *Wal-*, as in other cases, represents the A.S. *Weala*, gen. pl. of *Wealh*, a foreigner, a Briton. Thus the true sense is 'Britons' hill'; of which the modern form gives no hint. The spelling *Wabridge* in Pigot's Atlas (1831) is better than the present form *Weybridge*.

§ 3. THE SUFFIX -BOIS OR -BOYS.

This only occurs in Warboys, but is of great interest, as it is not of English, but of Norman origin. It represents the A.F. *bois*, a wood, in which the final *s* was not dropped as in modern French, but was fully preserved as a voiceless consonant, so that it rhymed with *voise* and *choise*. The surname Boyce is still common, and answers in sense to the English Wood. We

also find it in Theydon Bois, the name of a place in Essex near Epping Forest. Near to Warboys a considerable wood still exists, and is called Warboys Woods.

WARBOYS. The whole name is Norman, and must have been given in the time of William the Conqueror, for it appears in Domesday Book, about twenty years after his accession to the English throne. It is there spelt in a partially Latinised form, appearing as *Wardebuse*; the Ramsey Chartulary has the spellings *Wardebuse*, *Wardebux*, *Wardebusecus*, *Wardebuche*, and *Wardebois*; and the Ramsey Chronicle has *Wardebuse* and *Wardebois*. We also find *Wardebuse* in a pretended charter supposed to have been given by king Eadgar on Dec. 28, 974 (Birch, iii. 635); but the late spellings of all the place-names that occur in it are quite sufficient to condemn it. At the same time, such spellings are of some value as being archaic, and the same charter will again be quoted below for what its spellings are worth.

Warde-bois is a singular compound, because the former syllable (as in *ward-robe*) has a verbal force. It has been said that such compounds never occur in Anglo-Saxon. But they were common in Norman; the Norman minstrel *Taillefer* had a name signifying 'one who cuts iron'; and the modern name *Talboys* means 'one who cuts wood.' We have no means of determining whether the sense of *Warde-bois* was 'a place guarding the wood,' such as a forester's hut, or denoted the forester himself; but the idea is sufficiently clear, and we know that there were official foresters in the county, which is said to have been largely occupied by forests in early times.

The idea that *Wardebois* originally denoted the forester himself is favoured by Cotgrave's explanation of *Garde de bois* by 'the warden of, or keeper in, a wood or forrest.' The English name was *woodward*; see P.F., p. lxvii.

§ 4. THE SUFFIX -BOURN.

HOLBORN; between Elton and Stibbington. Lit. 'bourn in a hollow'; from A.S. *hol*, a hollow, or *hola*, a hole. Cf. Holbrook from *Holanbrōc* in Kemble's index.

MORBORN; to the W. of Yaxley. D.B. *Morburne*; H.R. *Morburn* (56 Henry III). From A.S. *mōr*, a moor; and A.S. *burn*, a small stream.

§ 5. THE SUFFIX -BRIDGE.

BOTOLPH BRIDGE. The name of a manor near Orton Longueville. Named perhaps from St Botolph, a Norman travesty of the A.S. name *Bōtwulf*. D.B. *Botulvesbrige*; R.B. *Botulfesbruge*.

§ 6. THE SUFFIX -BROOK.

Brook needs no explanation. The A.S. form was *brōc*, as given in my Place-names of Cambridgeshire; to which I refer the reader both in the present case and many others. There are two examples.

GALLOW BROOK. We now only use the plural form *gallows*; but the Catholicon Anglicum, in 1483, has: 'a Galowe, *furca*.' See the N.E.D. (New English Dictionary).

HINCHINGBROOK. Hinchingbrook House is near Huntingdon. As Hinxworth (Cambs.) is known to be derived from the A.S. *Hengestes*, gen. case of *Hengest*, I offer the guess that *Hinchingbrook* is from *Hengestinga*, gen. pl. of *Hengesting*; the sense being 'brook of the sons (or family) of Hengest.'

TILLBROOK. Near Catworth, and formerly in Beds.; but now (says Mr Ladds) in the administrative county of Hunts. Spelt *Tilbroc* in H.R. ii. For A.S. *Tilan brōc*, i.e. Tila's brook. *Tila* would be a pet-name for names beginning with *Til-*, as *Til-beorht*, *Til-brand*, &c. Cf. *Tillington* (Sussex).

WESTBROOK; N. of Abbotsley. Spelt *Westbrōc* in Kemble, iii. 217; but with reference to another stream.

§ 7. THE SUFFIX -BURY.

BURY occurs alone, as well as in composition; the place so called is near Ramsey. Many A.S. names occur in the dative case, the prep. *æt* (at) being understood. The A.S. *byrig* is the dat. case of *burh*; so that the form *bury* represents the dative of *burh*, a borough. (Distinct from A.S. *beorh*, a hill.)

ALCONBURY. R.C. *Alkemundeberia*, *Alkemondesbury*; R.B. *Alcundebury*; D.B. has *Acumesberie* (corruptly); cf. H.R. *Acundberi* (7 Edw. II); I.P.M. *Aucmundebir*' (42 Hen. III); F.A. vol. ii. *Alcmondebury* (A.D. 1316). It is therefore short for *Alkmund's-bury*. *Alkmund* is a Norman travesty of the A.S. name *Ealhmund*, Old Mercian *Alhmund*. St Ealhmund's day is March 19. In The British Gazetteer by B. Clarke (London, 1852) this place is called 'Alconbury or Alkmundbury'; so that its origin is well known.

EYNESBURY; near St Neots. D.B. *Einulvesberie*. This shews that the name has been remarkably contracted. *Eynes*-represents the D.B. form *Einulves*; and this obviously represents, in its turn, the gen. case of A.S. *Æinulf*, as it is spelt in a signature to Charter no. 1257 in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 541. Further, this *Æinulf* is a late form of *Ægenwulf*. The reduction of the suffix *-wulf* to *-ulf* is extremely common.

§ 8. THE-SUFFIX -CHESTER.

It is well known that *-chester* corresponds to A.S. *-ceaster*, the Wessex adaptation of L. *castra*, a camp. It only occurs in one instance.

GODMANCHESTER. A History of Godmanchester was written by R. Fox in 1831, in which it was assumed, quite wrongly and wholly without evidence, that Godman- represents the Godrum (so spelt in the A.S. Chronicle) who made peace with king Ælfred at Wedmore. But the spellings *Guthmuncestria* and *Gudmuncestre* in the Ramsey Chronicle (p. 47) make it quite certain that the town was named after one of the numerous Gūthmunds. The missing *d* appears in I.P.M. (29 Edw. I), in the form *Gurmundecestre*, and even in D.B., which has *Godmundcestre*. The reduction of *th* to *d*, and the substitution of *o* for *u*, are both common characteristics of the Anglo-French habits introduced by Norman scribes.

§ 9. COLNE.

COLNE lies to the S. of Somersham, and near Earith. Spelt *Colne* also in D.B. and R.C. There are several other places,

and two rivers, with the same name. Colchester was formerly Colnchester, and appears in Kemble's Charters as *Colenceaster*; he also has *Colen-ēa* for Colney. Here Coln- seems to represent an A.S. *Colan*, dative or gen. of *Cola*, a name which occurs several times.

But we find in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, vol. i. p. 240, a charter (numbered 166) of extremely early date, belonging to the former half of the eighth century, in which the river Colne, in Gloucestershire, appears in the remarkable form *Cunuglae*, with a genitive case *Cunuglan*; and if this really represents the same name, we may perhaps conclude that the name of the river was originally Celtic; and I am by no means prepared to explain it further. It is possible, however, that the place-name and the river-name are distinct.

§ 10. THE SUFFIX -COTE.

CALDECOTE; to the S. of Folksworth. D.B. *Caldecote*. From the O. Mercian formula *æt thām caldan cotan*, 'at the cold cot'; see the explanation in Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 28.

§ 11. CROSS.

NORMAN CROSS. The name of the northern hundred of the four into which the county is divided. D.B. *Normanecros*. We find in the spurious Charter of Eadgar (dated 972), the expression—'quod iacet ad hundred de *Normannes Cross*'—so that the literal sense is 'the cross of the Norman.' This is quite enough to decide the spuriousness of the charter. See Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 94. The D.B. form *Normanecros* is the earliest known certain example of the use of the word *cross*. It was usual to set up crosses at the junction of four roads; and in this instance it may have been set up at the spot where a road from Yaxley to Folksworth crosses the Old North Road to the N. of Stilton.

§ 12. THE SUFFIX -DEN.

From A.S. *denu*, a vale; see Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 47.

AGDEN. Spelt *Akeden* in H.R. vol. ii. (1279); and in *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi* (1205). It answers to

A.S. *Acden*, of which Kemble has two examples. The prefix is A.S. *ac*, shortened form of *āc*, an oak, the long *a* being shortened before *cd*; cf. *Ac-ton*. The sense is 'oak-valley.' *Agden Wood* lies to the N. of Great Staughton.

BUCKDEN. D.B. has *Bugedene*; R.C. *Bukedene*; R. Chron. *Buccenden*. For A.S. *Buccan denu*, lit. 'valley of the he-goat,' or 'valley of Bucca.' The A.S. *bucca* means properly 'a he-goat'; but it also occurs as a personal name.

GREAT GRANSDEN. Little Gransden is in Cambridgeshire. D.B. *Grantensedene*; but a more correct form is *Grantendene*, as in the older *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*; and the sense is 'vale of the Granta.' See the explanation in *Pl.-names of Cambs.*, p. 48.

§ 13. THE SUFFIX -DITCH.

WORNDITCH; to the N.W. of Kimbolton. For Worm-ditch, as shown by the old form *Wormedik* in H.R. ii. (1279). For A.S. *Wurman dīc*, i.e. 'Wurma's dike.' Compare *Wurma* with *Wurm-beald*, *Wurm-beorht*, *Wurm-gær*, *Wurm-here*; and with the Norse *Ormr*, as in *Orms-by*, *Orms-kirk*.

§ 14. THE SUFFIX -DON.

The suffix *-don* is the unemphatic or unstressed form of the E. *down*, A.S. *dūn*, a hill; a word ultimately of Celtic origin, but borrowed at a very early period. It occurs in two instances.

HADDON. D.B. has *Adone* (with loss of *H*); R.C. and R.B. *Haddone*. We find a fuller form in Kemble, in the compound *Headdandūne slæd*, 'valley of Haddon'; *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 25; where *dūne* is the gen. of *dūn*. Hence the sense is 'Headda's down'; or, in O. Mercian spelling, 'Hadda's down.' The A.S. *Headda*, O. Merc. *Hadda*, is a known personal name. A Hadda was abbot of Peterborough; see *Birch, Cart. Saxon.* i. 127.

HUNTINGDON. D.B. *Huntedun*. This is one of the rather numerous cases in which the syllable *-ing-* has been corruptly substituted for the A.S. gen. suffix *-an*. The true spelling was *Huntandūn*, as in the A.S. Chron., MS. A., an. 921. It means 'Hunta's down'; where *Hunta* is probably a personal name,

though its literal sense is 'hunter.' The suffix *-a* denotes the agent; and *huntan* is the genitive singular. Henry of Huntingdon (ed. Arnold, p. 178) wrongly explains it to mean 'mons venatorum'; shewing that he was not strong in A.S. grammar. At the same time, he was well aware of the fact that the name did not contain the syllable *-ing*.

One spelling in R.C. is *Huntendone*; but in D.B. *Huntedun* (an *n* being dropped).

The county was named from the town, and appears in R.C. as *Huntendūnescira*. Compare 'in comitatu Huntendune'; Cod. Dipl. iv. 246; and D.B. *Huntedunscire*.

§ 15. THE SUFFIX *-EY*.

The *-ey* represents O. Merc. *ēg*, A.S. *īg*, an island.

HIGNEY. Higney Wood lies to the E. of Sawtry. H.R. vol. ii. has *Hygeneye*, *Hyggeneye* (1279). The *g* must have been double, or it would not have been preserved. The A.S. form would appear to be **Hyrgan*, gen. case of **Hygga*, a form not found, but closely related to names beginning with *Hyge-*; such as *Hyge-beald* and others. If this be right, the original sense was 'Hycga's island'; see R. Chron. It has been explained (Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 50) that 'island' merely refers to a place nearly surrounded by water. It is close to Sawtry Fen.

HORSEY HILL; to the N.E. of Farcet. It is close to the old course of the river Nene, and the hill no doubt was once nearly or quite surrounded by water. R.B. has the spelling *Horseye*; answering to an A.S. form *hors-īg*, i.e. 'horse-island.'

RAMSEY. R.C. *Rameseye*; but the dative appears as *Hrames-ēge* in Ælfhelm's Will; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 300. Hence, as already shewn in Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 53, there has been a loss of initial *h*, and the original sense was 'Raven's isle'; where Raven (A.S. *hræm*, *hræmn*) was probably a personal name. No doubt the name was, at a somewhat early date, popularly believed to refer to a *ram*.

ROWEY. To the E. of Warboys, near Pidley Fen. H.R. vol. ii. has *Rueye* and *Rueye Mere*. Kemble's index has *Rugan-beorh*, *Ruwan-beorh*, *Ruan-beorh*, *Ruwan cnol*, *Rugan dīc*, &c.

Thus the prefix *Ru-* represents A.S. *Rūan*, *Rūwan*, *Rūgan*, gen. of *Rūa*, *Rūwa*, *Rūga*, the definite masc. nom. of the adj. *rūh*, rough. No doubt *Rūga*, 'the rough,' was a personal name. The sense is 'Rūga's island.' Chaucer has the spelling *row* for 'rough.'

§ 16. THE SUFFIX -FORD.

COPPINGFORD, or **COPMANFORD**; to the E. of Hamerton; on an insignificant tributary of Alconbury Brook. The former name is corrupt; D.B. has *Copmaneforde*; R.C. *Copmanforde*; F.A. ii. *Copmaneford* (A.D. 1285). *Copman* appears in Mr Searle's list as the name of a moneyer. *Copmaneford* represents O. Norse *kaupmanna*, gen. pl. of *kaupmaðr*, a chapman; followed by A.S. *ford*, a ford; so that the sense is 'chapmen's ford.' The A.S. word for 'chapman' was *cēapman*; but the Norse form is still in use at Whitby, and is spelt *coupman* in the Whitby Glossary.

HARTFORD; on the Ouse, near Huntingdon. It corresponds to A.S. *Heort-ford* (in Kemble); lit. 'hart-ford.' The oldest form is *Heorutford*, in the record of a council which took place at Hertford in 673; Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 49. *Heorut* is an older form of *Heort*.

HEMINGFORD; situate on the Ouse, near Godmanchester. The same prefix occurs in Hemington (Nhants.). D.B. has *Emingeforde* (with loss of *H*); R.C. *Heimmingeforde*, *Hæmmingeforde*, *Hemmingforde*; R.B. *Hemmingeforde*. These forms answer to A.S. *Hemminga ford*, or 'ford of the Hemmings.' *Hemming* is a patronymic form, from A.S. *Hemmi* or *Hemma*, both of which occur in the Liber Vitæ of Durham. The Hemmings were the 'sons of Hæmmi.' We also find *Heming* (with one *m*).

OFFORD; near the Ouse. D.B. has *Vpeforde*, *Opeforde*; R.C. *Oppeforde*, *Offorde*; R. Chron. *Oppeforde*, *Uppeforde*. Here *Oppe-* answers to A.S. *Oppan-*, as in *Oppanbrōc*, 'Oppa's brook'; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 343. The sense is 'Oppa's ford.' The change to Offord was probably due to the substitution of the well-known name *Offa* for the less known *Oppa*.

With regard to the names Offord D'Arcy and Offord Cluny, it is merely necessary to observe that the added epithets, as in other instances, were of Norman or French origin. The family name of D'Arcy is derived from the village of Arcy, not far from Auxerre, in the modern French department of Yonne; and appears not to have been applied to Offord much before the fourteenth century. Before that date, the same place is invariably called Offord Daney's or Danay's, as, e.g. in P.F. p. 23. *Daney's* is simply the A.F. (Anglo-French) spelling of the word 'Danish'; but it may have been also used as a family name, with the original sense of 'the Dane.'

Offord Cluny was named from a Cluniac abbey. Cluny, in Burgundy, is situated 11 miles to the N.W. of Macon.

§ 17. THE SUFFIX -GROUND.

STANDGROUND; near Peterborough. The former *d* is excrescent. D.B. *Stangrun* (with loss of final *d*); R.C. *Stangrunde*. From A.S. *stān*, stone; and *grund*, ground; so that the sense is 'stony-soil.'

§ 18. THE SUFFIX -GROVE.

HEIGHMANGROVE; in the parish of Bury. This name seems to have disappeared. Mr Ladds notes the old spellings *Hethmangrove* (error for *Hechmangrove*), *Heighmangrove*, *Hecmundegrave*; see R. Chron. The suffix is the mod. E. *grove*; and the prefix obviously represents the A.S. personal name *Hēahmund*; cf. A.S. Chron. an. 871.

§ 19. THE SUFFIX -HAM.

It occurs in Barham, Bluntisham, Graffham, and Somersham.

BARHAM. R.B. *Bereham*, *Berkham*. From A.S. *beorh-ham*, 'hill-enclosure.' The 'hill' is more than 100 feet above the sea-level. See Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 20.

BLUNTISHAM. D.B. and R.C. *Bluntesham*. So also in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 246. Lit. 'Blunt's enclosure.' The name Blunt occurs again in *Bluntēsīg*, 'Blunt's island'; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 241. It is still in use.

GRAFFHAM, or GRAFHAM. Spelt *Grafham*; D.B., R.C., R.B., R. Chron. Also *Grapham*, with *ph* for *f*, F.A. ii. (1285). Cf. Graf-ton, in Nhants. The prefix is the A.S. *græf*, a trench, whence the modern E. *grave*. The sense is 'trench-enclosure,' or enclosure surrounded with a trench.

SOMERSHAM. D.B. *Svmmersham*; R.C. *Sumeresham*, *Someresham*. Lit. 'summer's enclosure,' or enclosure for the summer. The A.S. gen. *sumeres* is sometimes used adverbially, meaning 'in the summer.'

WINTRINGHAM; near St Neots. Mentioned as *Wytringham* in H.R. vol. ii. (1279). The suffix *-ing* shews that it is derived from a patronymic. The sense is 'enclosure of the sons of Winter.' *Winter* is a somewhat curious personal name, but it occurs (according to Mr Searle) as early as in the eighth century; and is still in use as a surname.

§ 20. THE SUFFIX -HEAD.

The word *head* is here used in a literal sense in the two instances which occur; but we may also take it to apply, figuratively, to local circumstances. It is applied, for instance, to the upper end of a valley or a rising ground.

FARCET. A disguised form, standing for *far's head*; where *far* is a form long obsolete, answering to A.S. *fearr*, a bull; so that the lit. sense is 'bull's head.' R.C. has the spelling *Faresheved*; and Kemble has the dative form *Fearreshefde* in a charter dated 956; Cod. Dipl. v. 342. The same charter mentions Yaxley, which is not far off. From A.S. *fearres hēafod*, 'bull's head.' The application is somewhat fanciful. Cf. Pen-arth, in S. Wales, lit. 'bear's head'; Hartshead (Yks.).

SWINESHEAD. Swineshead is situate in a small detached portion of the county surrounded entirely by Bedfordshire, to which it has lately been added; it is not far from Kimbolton. D.B. has *Swineshefet*; R.C. *Swinesheved*; answering to A.S. *swinēs hēafod*, 'swine's head.' There is another Swineshead in Lincolnshire, which possesses a celebrated abbey.

§ 21. HILL.

ROUND HILL, near Sawtry, requires no explanation.

§ 22. HIRNE.

THE HIRNE. The name of a district near Whittlesea Mere. R.C. mentions a 'Robert in *le Hyrne*.' The A.S. *hyrne*, later *hirn*, means 'a corner, a nook, a hiding-place'; and occurs in *Guy-hirn*, Cambs. See Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 42.

§ 23. HITHE.

EARITH. The sense is 'mud-hithe'; as explained in Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 34. It is on the very border of the county, and the railway-station is in Cambridgeshire.

§ 24. THE SUFFIX -HOE.

The modern E. *hoe*, meaning a projecting ridge of land, or a spur of a hill, is from the A.S. *hōh*, a heel; but is frequently confused with the dialectal E. *how*, a hill, from the O. Norse *haugr*, an eminence. See *hoe*, sb. (1), in the New Eng. Dictionary.

BALDWINSHOE. H.R. ii. has *Baldwinho*, *Baldwineho*. Mentioned (according to Mr Ladds) in the Calendar of the Patent Rolls; 1338—40; spelt *Baudeweneho*, *Baldewynesho*. The derivation is obvious; viz. from the genitive case of O. Merc. *Baldwine*, A.S. *Bealdwine*. See the Liber Vitæ of Durham and the A.S. Chronicle. It was situate in or near Huntingdon.

MIDLOE; a parish to the W. of Southoe. On somewhat high ground to the N. of the river Kim. There is a Midloe Grange, a Midloe Farm, and a Midloe Wood. The old name was *Midel-ho*, as in 'Midelho parcus,' I.P.M. (30 Hen. III); R.C. *Midelho*, *Middelho*. Thus the prefix is 'middle'; and the suffix is *-hoe*, not *-low*.

SOUTHOE, to the S.W. of Diddington, is near a spur of some rising ground which slopes southward, according to the Ordnance map. The sense is 'south spur' or 'southern projecting ridge.' Carelessly spelt *Suho* in R.B.; but *Sutho* in F.A. ii. (A.D. 1303) and in I.P.M. vol. i. (2 Edw. I). Compare *Ivinghoe* in Bucks., with regard to which the Eng. Dial. Dict.

(s.v. *How*) quotes the following from Notes and Queries, 4 Ser. x: 172:—"A range of eminences....Two spurs of these are termed respectively Ivinghoe and Tottemhoe."

§ 25. HOLM.

The A.S. *holm* means not only an island in a river, but also a peninsula formed by a loop in a river. There is a place called HOLME, near Denton Fen.

PORT HOLM; a peninsula so formed near Huntingdon; now occupied by a race-course. The A.S. *port* frequently occurs in the sense of 'town.'

§ 26. HURST.

The A.S. *hyrst* means 'a copse' or 'wood.'

OLD HURST and WOODHURST are not far apart, to the S. of Warboys. It is known that Old Hurst was formerly Wold Hurst; the same change has occurred in Wold Weston; see WESTON; p. 347. Cf. *Wodehurst*, Cat. A. Deeds (10 Edw. II); *Woldhyrst*, id. (33 Edw. I).

§ 27. THE SUFFIX -ING.

This occurs in four examples, viz. Billing, Gidding, Thurning, and Yelling. I also here discuss Lymage.

BILLING. This only occurs in Billing Brook, the name of a tributary of the Nene; but we find a Great and Little Billing in Northamptonshire; and such place-names elsewhere as Billingham, Billingford, Billingham, Billinghurst, Billington, &c. It represents a tribal or family name, the Billings or sons of Billa, which is a known personal name.

GIDDING; as in Great Gidding, Little Gidding, and Steeple Gidding. Very near the end of Ælfæd's Will, dated about 972, there is mention of a place called *Giddingford*. As the *g* is hard, it must have been originally followed by a *y*, not an *i*; otherwise, it would have become *Yidding*. Hence Gidding denotes a settlement of the Gyddings, or sons of Gydda. The personal name Gydda occurs in *Gyddan-den*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 289. For *Giddingford*, see the same, iii. 275.

LYMAGE. The old suffix looks at first like *-inge*; but is really *-in + gē*. Lymage Wood lies between Grafham and Kimbolton. The older name was *Liminge*. It is spelt *Liminge* and *Limminge* in H.R. vol. ii. (1279). Even this is a contracted form. Another, and perhaps a more original form was *Limining'*, as in P.F., p. 22. Perhaps it is the same name as *Lyminge* in Kent, which is mentioned in very early charters; for example, it is spelt *Limingae* in a charter dated by Birch in 697; see Birch, *Cart. Saxon.* i. 142. The same place is spelt *Limining* and *Limminge* in two endorsements on the charter, made at a later date. As the river *Limen* (or *Lymne*) is mentioned immediately below in the same charter, there can be little doubt that *Lymin-ge* is closely allied to *Limen*, which was an old river-name. Again, in a charter dated 741, we likewise have a mention of *Limin cœ*, i.e. 'river Limin,' and of the place-name *Limin-iaecae*, in the dative or locative case. This difficult word is discussed by Mr Chadwick, *Studies in Old English*, § 5 (*Camb. Phil. Trans.* vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 147), who shows that it is compounded of the river-name *Limin* and the O.E. equivalent (Anglian *gē*) of the G. *gau*, a district. It is not, therefore, from a patronymic, but signifies 'Limin district,' or place through which the Limin flows. This is probably why the *n + g* became *nj*. See the account of Ely in *Pl.-names of Cambs.*, p. 51.

THURNING. There is another Thurning in Norfolk, and a Thurnby near Leicester. Spelt *Torninge* (for *Thorning*) in D.B.; R.C. has *Therninge*, *Thyrninge*, *Thirninge*. The spelling in D.B. is not without significance, especially when we note that the place is also called *Thornynge* in I.P.M. vol. i. (8 Edw. II); for the form depends upon the A.S. *pyrne*, a thorn-bush, derived by mutation from *þorn*, a thorn. Thurning denotes a settlement of Thyrnings, so called from some connexion with the word *thorn*. There is a place called Thirne in Norfolk, near Repps. A large number of place-names contain the word *thorn*. Kemble also has *ðorninga-byra*, *Cod. Dipl.* i. 261, with reference to a family of Thornings; since *ðorninga* is in the genitive plural. Compare BYTHORN (below).

YELLING. D.B. has *Gelling*, *Ghellinge*, *Gelinge*; R.C. *Gill-*

inge, Gillingge. It is sometimes confused with Gidding. Kemble has *Gilling* in a late charter; Cod. Dipl. iv. 145. The reference appears to be to a tribe of Gillings; but I can find no further trace of them. In the spurious Charter of Eadgar (A.D. 974), Yelling seems to be alluded to in the phrase "Dillington, Stocton, et Gillinger, cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus"; Cod. Dipl. iii. 107. The final *r* in this form is certainly needless; or perhaps it stands for *s*, so that *Gillinges* is a plural form. The late A.S. *r* much resembles *s*.

§ 28. THE SUFFIX -LAND (FOR -LUND).

TOSELAND; not far from St Neots. The Southern hundred of Huntingdonshire is called Toseland hundred. In this form an *l* has been lost, as the old spellings prove. R.C. has *Thouleslonde* (for *Touleslonde*), *Touleslound*; the Pipe-Roll has *Tolesland* h̄dr (1 Rich. I); H.R. *Touleslond*; I.P.M. *Toulesland* (10 Edw. II). D.B. *Toleslumd* (with *v = u*). *Toles* is the gen. case of *Toli*. A man named Toli was sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, ab. 1053, according to the Ramsey Chronicle; but the reference is probably to the earlier *Toli*, a Danish jarl, who is mentioned in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 921, as having been connected with a Danish army that came from Huntingdon, and was slain in the same year at Tempsford (Thames ford) in Bedfordshire. The river here alluded to is, however, not the London river, but the Ouse, which would appear to have been called *Tæmese* by the English. Mr Ladds kindly sends me a note which is much to the point. "Æthelwold, bp. of Winchester, bought Bluntisham of Wlnoth [A.S. Wulfnoth] in the time of king Edgar (958—975) and of Brihtnoth abbot of Ely (970—981), and presented it to the abbey of Ely, probably in 975. After Edgar's death, the sons of Topae claimed the land, saying that their great grandfather joined king Edward the elder (901—925) at the time when Toli, the earl, had obtained the province of Huntingdon by force against the king. But the wise men and elders of the province, who well remembered the time when Toli the earl was slain at a river Thames [i.e. the Ouse], pronounced the claim frivolous. Toli being slain in open rebellion, his estates would be forfeited to the crown, and this

fact seems to point to him as the owner of Toseland; for Domesday Book says that (as a hamlet of Paxton) it belonged to king Edward, and was then the property, doubtless by gift of William I, of the Countess Judith." For original authorities, see the A.S. Chronicle, an. 921; the Liber Eliensis, ii. 25; and the charter of Edward printed by Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 244, which mentions Æthelwold, Ely, and Bluntisham.

There is yet one more point to be noted, which is of some interest. So far, I have assumed the suffix to be the E. *land*, as it certainly is at the present day. But it is clear that this is really a popular substitution for a Norse suffix that was not understood. The spellings *Touleslound* in R.C., *Toleslwnd*, i.e. *Toleslund*, in D.B., are highly significant, as they cannot possibly represent the A.S. *land*. On the contrary, they obviously represent the Norse *lund* (Icel. *lundr*, Dan. and Swed. *lund*), a grove; as to which Vigfusson remarks that it is very common in Dan. and Swed. local names (cf. *Lund* in Sweden); and he adds that it also occur in local names in Northern England, and is a mark of Norse or Danish colonisation. He gives only one example, viz. Gilsland (which he does not prove), but the remark can be verified. In Streatfield's Lincolnshire and the Danes, 1884, p. 80, the author gives three good examples, viz. Londonthorpe, formerly Lundarthorp (D.B. *Lundertorp*, Test. de Nev. *Lunderthorp*), where *lundar* is the gen. case of O.N. *lundr*; also Timberland (D.B. *Timberlunt*), and Snelland (D.B. *Sneleslunt*). He also mentions Lound and Craiselound in the Isle of Axholme. In Timberland and Snelland the very same substitution has been made as in *Toseland*. Hence we learn, finally, that *Toseland* was originally 'Toli's lund,' the grove or forest-land belonging to the Danish earl Toli.

§ 29. THE SUFFIX -LEY.

I have already explained that *-ley* represents the A.S. *lēage*, dat. case of *lēah*, a lea or field. Examples occur in Abbotsley, Aversley, Pidley, Raveley, Sapley, Stoneley, Stukeley, Waresley, Washingley, Wooley, and Yaxley.

ABBOTSLEY is a corrupted and disguised form. In 1303, it was *Abbōdesle*; F.A. ii. Fuller forms occur in the Ramsey

Chartulary, which has *Addeboldesleye*, *Alleboldesleye*, *Aylboldelle*, *Alboldesle*; where *Addebold*, *Allebold*, *Aylbold*, *Albold* are all various corruptions of *Æthelbold*, a late Mercian form corresponding to A.S. *Æthelbeald*; see A.S. Chronicle, MS. E. (an. 656). The reduction of *Æthel-* to *Ayl-* is common. Hence the sense is 'Æthelbold's lea.'

AVERSLEY. Aversley Wood lies to the S. of Sawtry. There can be little doubt that it is a mere variant of Eversley; for we find from Kemble's index that *Æferwīc* was written for *Eoforwīc* even in Anglo-Saxon; and again, Eversden in Cambs. is spelt *Auresden* (= *Avresden*) in D.B.; see Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 47. As in the case of Eversley in Hants., the A.S. form is *Eofores lēah*, lit. 'Boar's lea'; where *Eofor* was a personal name, as in *Bēowulf*, l. 2486. Even in ancient Rome, *Aper* was known as a cognomen.

PIDLEY. R.C. has *Pidele*. Kemble has a place-name *Pide-wælla*, which would answer to a modern form *Pid-well*. The forms suggest, as the prefix, an A.S. **Pidan*, gen. of **Pida*, a name not found elsewhere. But there is a closely related strong form *Pidd*, occurring not only in *Piddes mere* (Pidd's mere) in Kemble (Cod. Dipl. iii. 77), but also in Piddington (Nhants.), and in Piddinghoe (Sussex).

RAVELEY. Great and Little Raveley lie to the W. of Warboys. R.C. has *Ravele*, *Raveleya*, *Rafflea*, *Ræflea*, *Reflea*; R. Chron. *Raflea*, *Reveley*. Thorpe has *Ræflea* and the Latinised forms *Ræffleya*, *Ravelega*; Diplomatarium, p. 382; and Kemble has *Raveleia* in the spurious Charter of Eadgar; Cod. Dipl. iii. 107. From an A.S. *Ræfan*, gen. sing. of *Ræfa*; a personal name which may be inferred (as a pet-name) from such names as *Ræfcytel* (or *Rauchetel*), *Ræfmær* (or *Rauemerus*), *Ræfnōth* (or *Rauenōd*), *Ræfweald*, *Ræfwine*, and *Ræfwulf*.

SAPLEY. Sapley is the name of a Heath and of a farm to the E. of Great Stukeley; it appears to have been an important locality in the old time when forest-land occupied much of the county. In P.F. we find the spellings *Sappele*, *Sappel*, *Sappell*, *Sapple*, of which the first form is the best. *Sappe* represents an A.S. *sæppan*, gen. case of *sæppe*, a spruce fir, used to

translate Lat. *abies*. Otherwise preserved in Sapcote, Leic., and in the late A.S. *Sap-cumb* (Sap-combe) in Kemble's Index.

STONELEY. Stoneley adjoins Kimbolton. Its origin is obvious; from A.S. *stān*, a stone.

STUKELEY. D.B. *Stivecle*; R.C. *Styvecle*, *Stiveclea*; R. Chron. *Stivecleia*, *Stucle*; Thorpe has *Styveclea*, *Diplomat.*, p. 382. Later spellings are *Stivekley*, *Steucley*; I.P.M. (50 Hen. III, 5 Edw. I). All from A.S. *Styfecan-lēah*; where *Styfecan* is the gen. case of the name *Styfecā*, a weak form allied to the strong form *Styfic*, which appears in *Stetchworth* (Cambs.); as already explained in my former essay, at p. 27. Compare *Styvic*ing and *Stybbā*, both in Kemble's index.

WARESLEY; on the S. border of the county. D.B. *Wedreslei*, *Wederesle*, *Wedresleie*; R.C. *Weresle*, *Werysleye*; R. Chron. *Weresle*. Hence Waresley is for Weresley, contracted from the Domesday Book form *Wedreslei*; and the dropped letter must have been, originally, a voiced *ð*, which the Norman scribe would render by *d*. Compare M.E. *whēr*, for *whether*, and the E. *or*, *nor*, formerly *other*, *nother*. Similarly the Cambs. *Wetherley* appears in D.B. as *Wederlai*; as already shewn in my former essay, p. 66. The sense is 'Wether's lea'; parallel to *Wethersfield* in Essex.

WASHINGLEY. Washingley is the name of a small parish united to that of Lutton in Northamptonshire; and Washingley Hall lies to the W. of Stilton. D.B. has *Wasingelei*; R.C. *Wassinglee*. The same prefix occurs in Washington (Sussex), spelt *Wassingatūn* in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* v. 312. Thus *Washing-* represents the A.S. *Wassinga*, gen. pl. of *Wassing*, so that the sense is 'lea of the Wassings.' *Wassing* is a patronymic formed from the personal name *Wassa*, which appears in the old spelling of the place-name *Washbourn*. Of course, there is no reference, in any of these names, to the verb *to wash*. The spelling *Wassingley*, with double *s*, appears as late as 1256; *In. p. m.* (41 Hen. III).

WOOLEY. R.B. has *Wolflega*; I.P.M. *Wolveley* (8 Edw. II); I.P.M. *Wolveleye* (47 Hen. III). The sense is 'wolf-lea'; just as we have also *Foxley*, *Horsley*, and *Cowley*. The form

Wifley in P.F. is quite decisive, as *wlf* is the A.F. spelling of A.S. *wulf*. The A.S. form occurs as *Wulf-lēa*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 173.

YAXLEY. D.B. *Iacheslei*; R.C. *Iakesle*. Kemble has *Geakestēa*, Cod. Dipl. v. 342. The sense is 'cuckoo's lea'; from A.S. *gēaces*, gen. of *gēac*, a cuckoo. This A.S. *gēac* is cognate with the Norse *gawkr*, a cuckoo, whence the well-known prov. E. *gowk*, signifying (1) a cuckoo; (2) a simpleton. (The A.S. *ēa* invariably answers to Norse *au*.) The *Y* in Yaxley results from the A.S. *ge*, and the *x* from the *c* and *s*; the development being regular, with a shortening of the diphthong before *csl*. The use of *I* for A.S. *ge* is Norman. *Gēac*, i.e. *gowk*, may have been a nickname.

§ 30. THE SUFFIX -LOW.

A *low* (A.S. *htāw*) is a mound or rising ground. I find only one example in Hunts.

STIRTLOW. Stirtlow House and Park lie to the S. of Buckden. I do not know the old spelling, but it seems reasonable to compare it with A.S. *Steortan-lēah*, in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 234. If this be right, we may take *Steortan* to be the gen. case of a personal name, *Steorta*. Such a name might have meant 'one who holds a ploughtail,' or 'a ploughman,' as the M.E. *stert* certainly meant a ploughtail or plough-handle. See A.S. *steort* in Bosworth. But this should have given *Startlow*.

§ 31. MERE.

The mod. E. *mere*, a lake, is well known. The meres have now disappeared, but an old map, dated 1831, shews Whittlesea Mere, Ramsey Mere, Brick Mere, Trundle Mere, and Ugg Mere, near the N.E. border of the county. Whittlesea mere is a mistaken form of Whittles mere, as already explained in my former essay, p. 56.

TRUNDLE MERE. This probably refers to its somewhat rounded shape, it being represented as being as broad as it is long. It must be a late name of French origin, connected with the E. Friesic *trund*, round. See the verb *to trundle* in

my Etymological Dictionary. However, the true old name was *Trendelmare*, H.R. ii.; also called *Trendmere* (Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 12), i.e. 'round mere'; cf. A.S. *trendel*, a circle, a ring; from the same root as the E. Fries. *trund*. Hence the later name is a mere adaptation of the older one.

UGG MERE. This singular name is certainly an altered form, substituted for *Ubb mere*. R.C. has *Ubbemere*, and we find the later form *Ubmere piscaria*, in I.P.M. (28 Edw. I); also in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 217. *Ubb-* represents the A.S. *Ubban*, gen. of *Ubba*, a known personal name. Cf. *Ubbemerelād*, *Ubban-lēah*, and *Ubban-tūn* in Kemble's Index.

§ 32. MOOR.

MIDDLE MOOR, to the N. of Ramsey, needs no explanation. The name *middle* may refer to the fact that it lies between Ramsey Mere and Whittlesea Mere.

§ 33. PERRY.

PERRY lies on the road from Stoughton to Graffham. D.B. *Pirie*; R.C. *Perye*; from the A.S. *pirige*, a pear-tree.

§ 34. REACH.

SAWTRY. D.B. *Saltrede*; R.C. *Saltreche*, *Saltrethe*, *Saltreye*, *Sautreia*; R. Chron. *Saltrētha*. Here *Saltreche* seems to be the original form, which is perhaps confirmed by the occurrence of *Saltreche* in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 643; but owing to the stress on the former syllable, the latter part of the word became indistinct and was misunderstood. Hence, by the usual confusion between *c* and *t* in written forms, the scribes turned it into *Saltrethe*; whence also, by the usual Norman substitution of *d* for *th* in a medial position, we obtain the D.B. form *Saltrede*. The sense is 'salt-reach,' as marking the great distance to which the sea penetrated inland in early times. It is now some eight miles to the S. of the Nene. See Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 72. This is the best explanation I can give. But it is not wholly satisfactory.

With respect to Sawtry All Saints, Sawtry St Andrew, and Sawtry St (?) Judith, Mr Ladds observes:—"These three

places are properly Sawtry Moigne, Sawtry Beaumes, and the demesne land of Sawtry abbey.

Sawtry Moigne is probably the seven and a half hides and one virgate held (see D.B.) by Ramsey abbey, and enfeoffed to the Moigne family.

Sawtry Beaumes is the property held by Eustace the sheriff, and from him by Walter (de Beaumes).

When these two families had died out and were forgotten, the villages gradually came to be called by the names of the saints to whom the churches were dedicated. I have never found them so called before the Reformation.

Sawtry Judith (as it should be) is not named from a saint, but from the Countess Judith, wife of Earl Waltheof, whose land it was. When given to Sawtry Abbey, it became their demesne land, and extra-parochial."

As to Moigne, I find mention of *le Moigne* in P.F. and in H.R. ii. The O.F. *moigne*, *moine* meant both a monk and a sparrow (said to be from its colour resembling that of a monk's robe); and is derived from the acc. case of L. *monachus*. *Sawtre Beaumes* is mentioned in H.R. i. (1276), and is obviously of French origin; there is a place named *les Beaumes* very near Marseilles. The O.F. *beau mes* (L. *Bellus mansus*) meant 'a fine country-house.'

§ 35. SLEPE.

SLEPE. Said to be the old name of St Ives. According to Mr Norris, one part of St Ives was formerly called The Slepe, and another part The Green; and, in fact, "Green End" is still marked on the Ordnance map, being at the Western end of the town. There is no difficulty as to the derivation, as it phonetically represents the A.S. *slæp*, a slippery or miry place, closely allied to the Icel. *sleipr*, slippery, whence the Northern E. *slape*, slippery. There is a good example of it in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 112:—'of ðan ealdan slæpe,' from the old slepe. The spelling of the place-name is given as *Slepe* in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 643, and in the Latinised form *Slepam* in the same, 638; also *Slepe* in D.B., and in H.R. ii. (1279).

§ 36. THE SUFFIX -STEAD.

BEECHAMSTEAD; in the parish of Great Staughton. Formerly *Bichamsted*, as in P.F.; *Bychamstede* in H.R. i. (1276). The prefix *Bicham* represents the A.S. *Bīcan*, gen. of *Bīca*, a very old personal name. This appears from the curious fact that a place named *Bīcan dīc* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 332, appears as *Bīcen dīch* in the same, iii. 415; and finally as *Bicham dīch* in the same, iv. 210. Lit. 'Bica's stead' or 'place.'

§ 37. STONE.

This suffix occurs in Hirstingstone, the name of the Eastern, and in Leightonstone, that of the Western of the four hundreds into which the county is divided. Also in Keystone (Keston) and Oggerston.

HIRSTINGSTONE; also found as *Hirsting Stone* and *Hursting Stone*. D.B. *Hyrstingestan*, *Herstingestan*. Spelt *Hurstyngston* in 1303; F.A. vol. ii. The stone probably marked the place of the *hundred-gemōt*, or meeting-place of the men of the hundred. According to the Laws of Eadgar, the hundred-men were to meet continually about every four weeks; see Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 259.

The spellings in Domesday Book, in which *y* and *e* are both frequently used to represent the A.S. *y*, point to an A.S. form *Hyrstinga stān*; for the *e* after the *ng* can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as representing the final *-a* of the A.S. genitive plural. If this be so, the sense is 'stone of the Hyrstings,' though we have no other example of the occurrence of *Hyrsting*. Yet it may very well be understood as meaning 'men of the hurst' or wood, just as we find *Centingas* for 'the men of Kent'; *y* being the usual mutated form of *u*. The suffix *-ing* can be taken in the sense of 'belonging to,' as well as in that of 'son of.'

KEYSTONE, or KESTON. Spelt *Kestone*, *Kestan* in R.C.; but D.B. has *Chetelestan*, *Ketelestan*; R.B. *Ketelestone*. *Keteles* represents the gen. case of the Norse name *Ketill*; and the sense is 'Ketill's stone.' Cf. Kettlestone, Norf., Kettleburgh, Suff., Kettlethorpe, Lincs., and Kettlewell, Yks.

LEIGHTONSTONE. Spelt *Leoctonestan* in the Pipe Roll (1 Rich. I); *Leytonestone*, F.A. vol. ii. (A.D. 1303). D.B. *Lecturestan*, *Lectone*; R.C. *Leyghtone*, *Leytone*. All from A.S. *lēac-tūn*, *lēah-tūn*, *lēh-tūn*, a garden, lit. 'leek-enclosure'; i.e. a garden for herbs. See *Leighton* in the New Eng. Dictionary.

This is the native word which was superseded by the word *garden*, which we borrowed from Old Northern French. No wonder that *Leighton* is common as a place-name.

OGGERSTON. Of this place, only ruins remain; the maps give 'Oggerston Ruins' or 'Ogerston Ruins' to the S.W. of Morburne. In H.R. vol. ii. we find *Og'ston* for *Ogerston* (1279), but in vol. i. the spelling is *Oggerstan* (1276); so that the suffix is the unaccented form of A.S. *stān*, a stone. *Ogger(s)* answers to an A.S. **Ocgheres*, gen. of **Ocghere*, a name not otherwise known; but the prefix *Ocg-* is well authenticated (Sweet, O.E. Texts, p. 583), and the suffix *-here* is common enough; so that the name is quite satisfactory. The name of Oht-here, the Norseman who related his adventures to king Alfred, is somewhat similar.

§ 38. STOW.

LONG STOW; on the W. border, to the S.W. of Spaldwick. From A.S. *stōw*, 'a place' or site; a name of common occurrence.

WISTOW; to the W. of Warboys. D.B. *Wistov* (for *Wistou*); R.C. *Wicstone* (misprint for *Wicstoue*), *Wystowe*. From A.S. *wīc-stōw*, a dwelling-place; also, an encampment.

The A.S. *wīc*, an abode, dwelling-place, village, is not a native word, but borrowed from the Latin *uīcus*.

§ 39. THORN.

BYTHORN; on the W. border. D.B. *Bierne* (with loss of *th*); R.C. *Bitherne*, *Bytherne*, *Bitherna*, *Bierne*; R. Chron. *Bitherna*. Kemble has: "Witton, Riptonam, Clinton [for Elinton], et *Bidernam*," in the spurious charter of Eadgar; Cod. Dipl. iii. 107; where the suffix *-am* is a Latinised accusative.

It is obvious that *thorn* has been substituted for the obsolete

A.S. *þyrne* (*thyrne*), a thorn-bush or thorn-tree, because *thorn* still bears the latter sense even in modern English; as, e.g. when Goldsmith speaks of "yonder *thorn*, that lifts its head on high." *Bythorn* must mean 'by (or beside) the thorn-bush'; A.S. *bī þyrnan*. The coalescence of *by* and *thorn* into one word is rather curious; but compare Byfleet in Surrey (A.S. *Bifleet* in Kemble), Byford in Herefordshire, Bygrave in Hertfordshire, and Bywell in Northumberland. Kemble has *Biggrāfan*, dative, Cod. Dipl. iii. 363; which would answer to a modern form Bygrove. Here the prefix *Big-* is the A.S. *bīg*, by. See *By-* in the New Eng. Dictionary.

§ 40. THE SUFFIX -THORPE.

The A.S. *þorp* (*thorp*), a village, is cognate with the well-known G. *dorf* and the W. *tref*. It occurs in Eastthorpe, Sibthorpe, and Upthorpe.

EASTTHORPE. Formerly *Estthorp*; Mr Ladds notes that, in MS. Lansdowne 921, it is said to have been "formerly an end-slip in Abbot's Ripton." The derivation is obvious.

SIBTHORPE. Better spelt *Sibthorp* in H.R. ii. (1279). *Sib-* represents the A.S. *Sibban*, gen. of the weak masculine *Sibba*. The sense is 'Sibba's village.' It is now called Ellington Thorpe, and is so marked on the Ordnance map, a mile to the S. of Ellington. In P.F. it is *Elinton Sibetorp*.

UPTHORPE. Half a mile to the S. of Spaldwick, and above it. Spelt *Upporp* (*Upthorp*) in H.R. ii. (1279). The prefix is the A.S. *ūp*, up, upwards; with reference to its higher position. Cf. Upwell (Cambs.), and the numerous Uptons.

§ 41. THE SUFFIX -TON.

This is the unstressed form due to the A.S. *tūn*, 'an enclosure'; whence E. *town*. See my former essay, p. 6. The names with this suffix are very numerous, and may be divided into two sets: (1) names in which *-ing* does not precede it; and (2) names ending in *-ing-ton*.

In the former list, we have Boughton, Brampton, Broughton, Chesterton, Denton, Easton, Everton, Fen Stanton, Fenton,

Fletton, Glatton, Hail Weston, Hamerton, Hilton, Houghton, Kimbolton, Leighton, Orton, Paxton, Ripton, Sibson, Stanton, Staughton, Stilton, Upton, Walton, Water Newton, Weston, Witton, Woodstone, Wyboston.

In the latter: Alwalton, Brington (for Brinington), Connington, Covington, Diddington, Dillington, Ellington, Elton, Stibbington, Wennington.

BOUGHTON. An insignificant place, to the E. of Southoe. Spelt *Bouton* in H.R. i (1276). There are at least eight more places with the same name. Boughton in Kent is spelt *Bōctūn* in a charter of Earl Godwīne, dated about 1020; see Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* vi. 178. The prefix is therefore the A.S. *bōc*, a book, charter, deed, conveyance; and the name must have been applied to a farm that had been formally conveyed from one owner to another. The change from *-ōct-* to *-ōht-*, *-ought-*, is regular; and occurs again in Broughton (below).

BRAMPTON; to the S.W. of Huntingdon. D.B. *Brantune*; R.C. *Bramptone* (temp. Hen. I); R.B. *Bramtone*, *Brantone*. The dat. *Bramtune* occurs in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 1121. The origin of this name is very doubtful; if *Brantun* is an older spelling, perhaps it represents an A.S. *Brandan tūn*, where *Branda* is a weak form allied to the fairly common name of *Brand*. But this is no better than a guess.

BROUGHTON; to the N.E. of Huntingdon; a common name. D.B. *Broctune*; R.C. *Broucthone* (with *th* for *t*), *Broctune*. The A.S. form is *Brōc-tūn*; Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* i. 268. The sense is 'brook-town' or 'brook-enclosure.' The spelling with *gh* is due to the fact that the A.S. *c* usually passed into *h* (M.E. *gh*) before a *t*. Other examples occur in Leighton and Boughton (above) and Staughton (p. 346). At the same time the M.E. *ght* altered the quality of the preceding vowel. Hence R. Chron. has *Brouctone*, *Browton*. The brook on which Broughton is situate is called Bury Brook, because it also passes by Bury.

CHESTERTON. D.B. *Cestretune*; lit. 'camp-enclosure'; already explained as a Cambridgeshire name.

DENTON; near Coldecote. D.B. *Dentone*; R.B. *Dentuna*. There are many places of this name. The prefix may either

represent *denu*, a valley, or the gen. pl. *Denā*, of the Danes, of which the nom. pl. was *Dene*. The place lies in a deep hollow. Denby (Derbyshire) may mean 'Danes' town,' as is almost certainly the case with Danby in Yorkshire. There is no doubt as to the Den- in Denmark. I may note here that this prefix has nothing to do with the Celtic *Den-* in Denbigh (Welsh *Dinbych*); in which *Din-* represents the Welsh *dīn*, a hill-fort, from the same Celtic original as the A.S. *dūn*, E. *down*. The spelling *Dene-tūn* occurs, with reference to Denton in Kent, in a charter of the latter half of the tenth century; see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. ii. 380. There are many Dentons; and the sense of the prefix may vary.

EASTON; to the E. of Long Stow, and N.E. of Kimbolton. From A.S. *ēast*, east.

EVERTON. Everton is in Bedfordshire; but the church, according to the ordnance map, is in a detached portion of Huntingdonshire, and Everton manor was formerly accounted for as being in the hundred of Toseland. D.B. *Evretune*; R.C. *Evertone*. The prefix is the A.S. *eofor*, a boar; as in Eversden, Cambs. Cf. Aversley (p. 334).

FEN STANTON. Lit. 'stone-inclosure in the fen-land.' Cf. Long Stanton, Cambs.

FENTON. A hamlet near Warboys. R.C. *Fentone*. From A.S. *fenn*, a fen.

FLETON; to the S. of Peterborough. Fletton manor was in the hundred of Norman Cross. D.B. *Fletun*. Kemble has: 'in Huntingdonneschira uillam de Flettonne'; Cod. Dipl. v. 8. This is in a late copy of a spurious charter. Elsewhere we have *Flectune*, Cod. Dipl. iv. 247; but the spelling cannot be trusted, and *c* is often miswritten for *t*.* Fletton is probably right, and the prefix may well be the A.S. *fleot*, a brook, a stream. The word *fleet* still survives, and is fully illustrated in the New English Dictionary and the English Dialect Dictionary. It is a common dialect word, and occurs in Northfleet, Southfleet, and Fleet-ditch.

* Besides, *ct* is scarce in late A.S., which often turns *ct* into *ht*.

GLATTON; to the N.N.W. of Sawtry. D.B. *Glatune*; R.C. *Glattone*; R.B. *Glattone*, *Glaptone*. The last form shews that Glatton stands for Glapton, with the same prefix as in Glapthorne, Nhants. This prefix is further illustrated by the form *Glæppan-feld*, Cod. Dipl. ii. 411. Hence the prefix represents *Glæppan*, gen. case of *Glappa*, a name of the most respectable antiquity, as it occurs in an early eighth century MS.; see Sweet, *Oldest Eng. Texts*, p. 148.

HAIL WESTON; see WESTON (p. 347).

HAMERTON, or HAMMERTON. D.B. *Hambertune* (with intrusive *b*); R.B. and R.C. *Hamertone*. Spelt *Hamirton*; Cat. of Ancient Deeds (26 Edw. I). The same prefix occurs in *Hamer-dene geat*, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 40. The A.S. *hamer*, a hammer, occurs in composition in two plant-names, *hamer-secg*, i.e. hammer-sedge, *hamer-wyrt*, hammer-wort or black hellebore. Perhaps *Hamer* (or *Hamera*) was a man's name, since we find a Hammeringham in Lincolnshire, in which Hammering indicates a patronymic form. There is another Hammerton in Yorkshire; also a Hammersmith and a Hammerwich. In the last, it is hardly possible that *Hammer* can represent the gen. of *Hama*, as has been suggested.

HILTON; to the S.E. of Huntingdon, on the very border of Cambs. F.A. ii. *Hilton*. From *hill* and *town*.

HOUGHTON; to the N.W. of St Ives. A common name; there are more than a dozen of them. D.B. *Hoctune* (with *c* for A.S. guttural *h*); R.C. *Hohtune*, *Houctone*, *Hoctone*; R. Chron. *Hoctune*, *Houcton*, *Howtton*. Kemble has *Hohtūninga mearc*; Cod. Dipl. iii. 189. The prefix is the A.S. *hōh*, a heel, also a *hoe* or spur of a hill; see SOUTHOE (p. 329).

The pronunciation is variable, but as the A.S. *ō* usually answers to E. *oo*, the normal pronunciation would seem to be *Hooton*; but it is usually called *Hoton* by the inhabitants, the preservation of the *ō* being due to the guttural, as in *hoe* above. And some call it *Howton*, with the *ow* in *cow*. Houghton Hill is over 100 feet above the sea-level.

KIMBOLTON. D.B. *Kenebaltone*; also *Chenebaltone* (with *Ch* for *K*); R.C. *Kynebautone*; R.B. *Keneboltone*; I.P.M. *Kinebauton*

(56 Hen. III). Thus the prefix represents the A.S. *Cynebealdes* or *Cyneboldes*, gen. of *Cynebeald* or *Cynebold*, a common name; and the sense is 'Cynebold's enclosure.' It may confidently be asserted that Kimbolton does not take its name from the river Kim; but conversely, the river Kim took its name from the place, as in other instances; and notably, in the case of the Cam.

LEIGHTON; to the N. of Spaldwick. Already explained; see LEIGHTONSTONE (p. 340).

ORTON, or OVERTON; near Peterborough. Orton Waterville is to the W. of Orton Longueville. The surnames are of later date, and of obvious origin; from the A.F. *ville*, a town. R.C. notes the name *Longeville*, *Longevilla*. D.B. *Ouretune*; we find also *Overtonlongvile*, Cat. of Ancient Deeds (19 Edw. IV); *Overton Watervill*, *Overton Longevill*, Feudal Aids, vol. ii. (A.D. 1303). Hence *Orton* is short for *Overton*. The A.S. form is *Ofertūn*, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. ii. 349. Also the *o* is long, and the prefix is the A.S. *ofer*, a river-bank, as in OVER (Cams.). The river is the Nene, above Peterborough.

PAXTON. Great and Little Paxton lie to the N. of St Neots. D.B. *Pachstone*; R.C. *Paxtone*. For the prefix, compare *Pacclāde*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 5, in a spurious charter. Better evidence is afforded by the tribal or family name *Pæccingas*, in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 347, from which we may infer a personal name *Pæcc*, which is otherwise known as explaining the place-name Packington. The genitive *Pæcces* would then account for the modern form. Hence also the spelling *Pacston* in P.F.

RIPTON. Abbot's Ripton and King's Ripton are near the centre of the county. D.B. *Riptune*; R.C. *Ripptune*, *Riptune*; R. Chron. *Riptone*. Compare *Rip-ley*, of which there are three examples in England. The latter answers to the A.S. form *Rippan-lēah*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 216. The sense is 'Rippa's enclosure'; and Rippa is a pet-name; probably for *Rip-wine*, as this is the only recorded example with the prefix *Rip-*.

SIBSON. Near Stibbington. D.B. *Sibestvne*; H.R. *Sibeston*

(1276). Kemble has *Sibbes-lea*, *Sibbes-weg*; and *Sibbes* is the gen. of *Sibbi*. The meaning is 'Sibbi's enclosure.'

STANTON; see FEN STANTON (p. 343).

STAUGHTON. Great Staughton is near the border of the county; and Little Staughton is in Bedfordshire. It is the same name as Stoughton (in Leicestershire and Sussex); and the latter spelling is nearer to the original. The A.S. form is *Stoc-tūn*; Cod. Dipl. iii. 107; the A.S. *c* becoming M.E. *gh* before the following *t*; cf. Houghton, Leighton. The prefix is the A.S. *stōc* or *stoc* (the vowel-length is uncertain), of which the original sense seems to have been "a place fenced in." Compare Tavistock, Basingstoke. In Napier's Glosses, we find: "oppidum, i. ciuitas, *stoclīf*"; and "oppidanis, *stocweardum*"; nos. 3993, 5272. The place-name Stockton is probably merely a later variant of the same original.

The D.B. spelling is *Tochestone*, with *che* for *ke* (or rather *k*, for *e* is intrusive) and *T* for *St*. It amusingly illustrates the Norman's difficulty in pronouncing an English name. *Toches* = *Toks*, with the *s* at the wrong end of the syllable.

STILTON; to the S.W. of Yaxley; once famous for its cheese. This is certainly a contracted form. D.B. *Sticiltone* (with *c* as *k*); R.C. *Stiltone*. The prefix corresponds to A.S. *sticol*, which means both steep and rough. It is used once as a gloss to the Lat. *asper*, and Ælfric (Homilies, ed. Thorpe, i. 162) speaks of the way that leads to heaven as being *nearu and sticol*, i.e. narrow and steep. Stilton is on the great old road known as the Ermin Street, and lies in a hollow, so as to be entered from either end down a steep incline. Compare the expression "on sticelan pað," i.e. to the steep path; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 403.

UPTON; near Alconbury. From the A.S. *ūp*, used in composition with the sense of 'upper.' In fact, it lies higher up the brook. Compare Upwell (Cambs.) and Upwood (below).

WATER NEWTON. On the Nene. The sense is obvious.

WOODWALTON; near the Great Northern Railway, to the N.W. of Abbot's Ripton. Compounded of Wood and Walton, and formerly known as Walton. D.B. *Waltune*; R.C. and R.B. *Waltone*; R.C. mentions the 'wood of Walton'; i. 86. Another

Walton is spelt *Wealtun* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 369; and may mean *Weala-tūn*, 'the town of the Britons'; just as Walden (Herts.) was certainly *Weala-denu*; Kemble, vi. 212. It might also mean 'wall-town,' from the A.S. *weall*, 'a wall,' borrowed from the Latin *uallum*. But obvious as this seems, I doubt if it is right; and the spelling *Waleton* (in R.B.) for other Waltons is highly significant, as the *e* represents an A.S. *a*.

WESTON. There are two Westons; Hail Weston, between Staughton and St Neots, and Old Weston, formerly Wold Weston, near Brington. Both are near the western border of the county, and are derived from the A.S. *west*, west. The prefix *Hail* is of uncertain meaning, and might refer to a family name. If not, we can only identify it with the Norse *heil*, hale, sound, in good health; see *Hail*, obs. adj., in N.E.D., which is cognate with, yet distinct from both the Northern E. *hale*, and the Southern *whole*. Mr Ladds notes that there are two distinct medicinal springs within the parish. R.C. has *Haliwestone* once, by error, but *Haylwestone* four times. Quite distinct from the name *Hale*, as in Lancashire, for which see *Hale*, sb. (2) in the New Eng. Dictionary. In I.P.M. (35 Hen. III) we find a mention of *Woldweston*, and again *Wolde Westone* in F. A. ii. (A.D. 1316). In the same (A.D. 1285) we find *Weston de Waldis*; so that Old Weston is certainly a corruption of Wold Weston, i.e. Weston in the Wold. Cf. H.R. *Weston de Wold*.

WITTON or WYTON; between Huntingdon and St Ives. D.B. *Witune*. This Witton occurs as *Witton*, but only in late or spurious charters; see Cod. Dipl. iii. 107; iv. 145. The spelling in D.B. (and even in modern books) with one *t* suggests as the prefix the gen. *Wīgan* rather than *Wittian*; both *Wiga* and *Witta* are known names; see Sweet, Oldest Eng. Texts, pp. 514, 631. If so, the sense is 'Wīga's town.' But this is a guess.

WOODSTONE. Woodstone manor is mentioned in D.B., spelt *Wodestun*; Woodstone Lodge is about half-way between Yaxley and Peterborough. The D.B. spelling shews that the suffix is

-*tun*; not 'stone,' which would be represented by -*stan*. The A.S. *wudu*, a wood, makes the gen. *wuda*, but it is of the masc. gender, and hence it also acquired the gen. *wudes*; as in "anlanges *wudes*," along the wood; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 172; &c. Hence the A.S. equivalent is *Wudes tūn*. The sense is 'enclosure of (or by) the wood'; and it was probably of rather late formation. The older method was to compound the words, as in *Wudo-tūn* (for *Wudu-tūn*) in an early charter (about A.D. 840); see Sweet, Oldest Eng. Texts, p. 454 (48. 2). Hence the modern Wooton, or Wootton, of each of which there are a dozen examples. In the same way, we find one example of Woodsford (Dorset), but five of Woodford.

WYBOSTON. There is a Wyboston farm to the S. of Godmanchester; and the name is obviously old. I have no instances of older spellings, but *Wybos-* results so regularly from the form *Wyboldes*, late form of *Wigbealdes*, the gen. case of the known name *Wigbeald*, that we can hardly be wrong in accepting this. Mr Duignan, in his Staffordshire Place-names, notes that Rodbaston is spelt *Redbaldestone* in D.B.; and what is more to the purpose, he shows that Wobaston, 3 miles N. of Wolverhampton, is spelt in 1227 as *Wibaldestūn*, and in 1327 as *Wybaston*, adding (quite correctly) that *Wibald* is a shorter form of *Wigbeald*. It only remains to add that *Wybaston* is more correct than *Wobaston*, as regards the prefix; i.e. it is a form that has been better preserved.

NAMES ENDING IN -INGTON.

ALWALTON; near the Nene. An abbreviated form. D.B. *Alwoltune*; but the Pipe Roll has *Aðelwoltun* (4 Hen. II). Kemble has *Alwaltun*; Cod. Dipl. iv. 247; but the spelling is late. It is clear, from the form in the Pipe Roll, that the original form contained the name *Æthelwold*; but we find a still fuller form in Birch's Cartularium, iii. 71, and in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. ii. 304, viz. *Æthelwoldingtūn*. The sense is 'the enclosure of the sons of *Æthelwold*.'

BRINGTON; to the E. of Bythorn. There is also a Great Brington in Northamptonshire, but it is on the more remote

border of that county. D.B. *Breninctune*; R.C. *Brinintune*; *Briningthone* (with *th* for *t*), *Bringtone*. Thus Brington is short for Brinington. The A.S. form is *Bryningtūn*; Cod. Dipl. v. 300; short for *Bryninga-tūn*, or 'enclosure of the Brynings.' *Bryning* is a patronymic form, from the personal name *Bryni*; see Sweet, *Oldest Eng. Texts*, p. 568. Compare the name Briningham (Norfolk).

CONNINGTON; to the N. of Sawtry St Andrew's. D.B. *Coninctune*; R.C. *Conyngtone*, *Cuningtone*, *Cuninctune*; R. Chron. *Cuninctune*. The same name as Conington, Cambs. See Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 18.

COVINGTON; to the N.W. of Kimbolton. D.B. *Covintune* (with *n* for *ng*); *Covintone*, F.A. vol. ii. (A.D. 1285). The prefix answers to the A.S. *Cufinga*, gen. pl. of *Cufing*, a patronymic formed from *Cufa*; giving 'enclosure of the sons of Cufa.' See COVENEY in Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 51.

DIDDINGTON; to the N. of St Neots. About three and a half miles to the W. of this place there is a place called Dillington, where there was a manor which is duly noticed in Domesday-Book; and the two places have been confused both by editors and others, so that one name has affected the other. The original name of Diddington was certainly Doddington. D.B. *Dodintone*, *Dodincton*; I.P.M. *Dodington* and *Eynisbr* [Eynesbury]; an. 55 Hen. III. For A.S. *Doddinga tūn*, or 'town of the Doddings,' i.e. of the sons of *Dodda*, which is a common personal name. The Doddington in Cambs. has already been similarly explained.

DIELLINGTON. D.B. *Dellinctune*; R.C. *Dilingtone*, *Dillingtone*; R. Chron. *Dilington*. Also *Dylington*, F.A. ii. (A.D. 1303). For A.S. *Dyllinga tūn*, or 'town of the Dyllings'; see the explanation of Dullingham, Cambs.

ELTON (for ELLINGTON). The old forms of Elton and Ellington are not always easy to separate; but fortunately these places are situate in different hundreds. Elton is in the hundred of Norman Cross, on the N.W. border of the county; but Ellington is in the hundred of Leightonstone, near Spald-

wick; Grafham, Brampton, and Woolley. As to the etymology of Elton, there can be no doubt; it appears in R.C. as *Adelyngtona*, *Athelintone*, *Æthelingtone*, *Ailingtona*; R. Chron. *Adelingtone*, *Adthelingtone*, *Æthelingtone*; D.B. *Adelintune*. These spellings obviously represent the A.S. form *Æthelinga tūn*, 'town of the Æthelings' or princes. The same prefix occurs in *Æthelinga īg* (Kemble), now Athelney in Somersetshire. The reduction of the prefix *Æthel-* to *Ayl-* or *Ail-* is found in other instances; but the loss of the syllable *-ing-* is unusual and remarkable. It can only be explained by the heavy stress on the first syllable, so that *Aylington* would become, successively, *Aylinton*, *Ayl'ton*, *Elton*, with the same loss of the middle syllable as is elsewhere common, viz. in *Hunst'on* for *Hūnstanton*, *Cic'ester* for *Cirencester*, *Da'ntry* for *Dáventry*, *Lem'ster* for *Léominster*, and the like.

ELLINGTON. The origin of Ellington is more doubtful; but the most likely explanation is that the original form was the same as in the last instance. We find: D.B. *Elintune*; R.C. *Ellingtune*, *Ellingtone*, *Elintone*. But in P.F. we have not only *Elington*, *Elyngton* (pp. 21, 23), but also *Etlyngton*, *Elinton* (both on p. 19), and *Edelinton* (p. 21); all with reference to Ellington, as appears from the context. The forms *Etlyngton*, *Edelinton*, are highly significant, and point to *Æthelinga tūn* as the most likely original. Why these names should have been developed differently, is not an easy question to answer; but the most likely solution is that Ellington was the older place, the name of which suffered an earlier corruption, and was afterwards less affected by Norman influence. But whatever the solution of this puzzle may be, it is difficult to dispute the probability that the names were once identical. That names of different dates give different modern forms is well known. Acton is an older name than Oakley, and Staughton than Stockton.

STIBBINGTON; on the river Nene. D.B. *Stebintune*; R.B. *Stebintone*; I.P.M. *Stibynton* (32 Edw. I). We find also: "Newton cum Sibestone et Stibington"; F.A. vol. ii. (A.D. 1316). For A.S. *Stybbinga tūn*, or 'town of the Stybbings or sons of

Stybba.' *Stybba* is only known from the local name *Stybban snād*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 26.

WENNINGTON. This is a hamlet not far from Ripton Abbot's. The name appears as *Wenintonā* (Lat. ablative) in a late Ramsey charter; in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 301. Here *Wenin* is a late and inferior spelling of *Wenninga*, gen. pl. of *Wenning*, a patronymic noted in Mr Searle's Supplement, at p. 582. This patronymic is formed from *Wenna*, found in the local name *Wennan stān*; in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 103. The allied prefix *Wen-* occurs in *Wen-heard*, *Wen-sige*, *Wen-stan*, and other compounds. The sense is 'the enclosure of the sons of *Wenna*.'

§ 42. WEALD, WOLD.

WEALD. The name of a hamlet on the road from St Neots to Eltisley. Spelt *Welde* in Pigot's map; the Mid. E. spelling would be *Weld*; from A.S. *weald*, a wood. The modern spelling *weald* is pseudo-archaic. Owing to the influence of *w* on the following vowel, or else to a direct development of the O. Merc. *wald*, the usual modern form is *wold*. This appears in WOLD WESTON, as explained above under WESTON. It occurs again in Leighton Bromswold or Bromeswold, discussed below.

LEIGHTON BROMSWOLD. I.e. Leighton super Bromswold, as being situate on a wold so called. It may be noted here that a "wold" was often entirely destitute of trees, and signified the site of an ancient wood in many instances, long after the wood had been cleared away. Mr Ladds has sent me the following excellent collection of dated examples.

- 1249. Lecton in Brunneswold (MS. Harl. 6950).
- 1262. Lehton super Brunneswold (ib.).
- 1294. Leyctun super Bruneswold (MS. Harl. 6951).
- 1296. Leyctun super Brunneswold (ib.).
- 1300. Lecton Manor super Brouneswold (ib.).
- 1301. Lectun super Bruneswold (ib.).
- 1311. Leyghton super Bruneswold (ib.).
- 1311. Leyghton Brounsbold (ib.).
- 1543. Leighton Bromeswold (MS. Harl. 6953).

In Harl. MS. 88 (38 Henry III) it is Lehton in Bruneswold.

It is quite clear that the A.S. form was *Brūnes*, gen. case of *Brūn*, which is the modern Brown; a name of great antiquity. Hence the sense is 'Leighton (garden) on the site of Brown's wood.' The development of the name from *Lehton* to *Leighton* is well seen. The spellings *Lecton*, *Leycton* are less correct, and due to the usual substitution of the A.F. *c* for the A.S. *h*.

§ 43. THE SUFFIX -WELL.

HOLYWELL. D.B. *Haliwelle*; R.C. *Haliwelle*. Lit. 'holy well.'

§ 44. THE SUFFIX -WICK.

HARDWICK. A hamlet between St Neots and Toseland. H.R. ii. *Herdewik* (1279); A.S. *Heorde-wic*, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 288. From A.S. *heorde*, gen. of *heord*, a herd or flock; and *wic*, a dwelling. See Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 28.

SPALDWICK. D.B. *Spaldwic*. Kemble has *Spaldwic*; Cod. Dipl. iv. 246; but this is a late form. He also has *Spaldelyng* in his index, as an alternative form for *Spaldyng*. There is a Spalding-ton in Yorkshire. The suffix *-wick* represents A.S. *wīc*, a dwelling; borrowed from the Lat. *wīcus*, a village. The sense is therefore 'the dwelling of Spald,' or of Spalda, or of the Spalds. In Birch, Cartul. Anglosaxonicum, i. 414, we have a list of territorial names, amongst which is a mention of "*Spalda* syx hund hyda," i.e. six hundred hides belonging to the Spalds. Here *Spalda* is the gen. pl. of *Spald*.

WINWICK; near Little Gidding. D.B. *Winewiche*; R.C. *Winewic*; F.A. ii. *Winewik*. Kemble has *Winewīcan*, in a Latin charter with late spellings; Cod. Dipl. iv. 254. Also *Winan-beorh* (index), which shews the full form of the prefix. For A.S. *Winan wīc*, i.e. 'dwelling of Wina.' The same prefix occurs in Wimpole, Cambs.

§ 45. THE SUFFIX -WOOD.

Besides Woodwalton, Monk's Wood, and Woodhurst, we have *-wood* as a suffix, viz. in Upwood.

UPWOOD; to the S.W. of Ramsey. D.B. *Upehude* (with *h* for *w*); R.C. *Upwude*, *Upwoda*; Kemble has *Upwode*, Cod.

Dipl. iii. 107, but the spelling is late. From the A.S. *ūp*, which in composition has the sense of 'upper.' Compare Upwell in Cambs., and Upton (p. 346).

§ 46. THE SUFFIX -WORTH.

From the A.S. *weorth*, a holding or farm. See Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 25.

BUCKWORTH; near Alconbury. D.B. *Buchesworde* (with *ch = k*, and *d* for *th*). Better spelt *Bokesworth*, Cat. of Ancient Deeds (A.D. 1267). Hence the gen. suffix *-es* has been lost. For A.S. *Buces weorð*, i.e. 'Buc's farm'; from the A.S. *buc*, *bucc*, a buck, also a personal name. Compare the account of Bóxworth, Cambs.

CATWORTH; to the W. of Spaldwick. D.B. *Cateuorde* (with *d* for *th*); R.C. *Cateworthe*, *Catteworthe*; also *Catteworth*, F.A. vol. ii. (A.D. 1285). The prefix represents O. Merc. *Cattan*, A.S. *Ceattan*, gen. of O. Merc. *Catta*, A.S. *Ceatta*, a known personal name. Kemble has *Cattan-ēge*, Cod. Dipl. iii. 465.

FOLKSWORTH; near Norman Cross. D.B. *Folchesworde* (with *ch = k*, and *d* for *th*); R.C. *Folkeswrthe* (with *w* for *wo*). For A.S. *Folces weorð*, lit. 'folk's farm,' or 'people's farm.' Compare Folkstone (Kent), where the old form *Folces stān* shews that the sense was 'folk's stone,' not 'folk's town.'

MOLESWORTH; to the N.W. of Catworth. D.B. *Molesworde* (with *d* for *th*); R.C. *Mullesworth*; also *Muleswrth*, F.A. vol. ii. (A.D. 1285). The prefix is the same as in *Moulsey* (Surrey); A.S. *Mūles-ēg* (in Kemble's index). From A.S. *Mūles*, gen. of *Mūl*, a known personal name. The A.S. *mūl* also means a mule; from Lat. *mūlus*. This A.S. *mūl* would have produced a mod. E. *moul* or *mowl*, but is obsolete. The mod. E. *mule* is not derived from the A.S. form, but from the O.F. *mul*, which represented the Lat. acc. *mūlum*.

NEEDINGWORTH; to the E. of St Ives. R.C. *Nidingworthe*, *Niddingworht* (with *ht* for *th*); R. Chron. *Nidingewrthe* (with *w* for *wo*); also *Nidingworth*, Cat. Ancient Deeds (15 Edw. II); *Nedyngworth*, ib. (34 Hen. VI). I am unable to explain the exact form of this word; it seems as if the modern *ee* were a

survival of an old \bar{i} , which was formerly pronounced in the same way. *Needing* is probably, however, a patronymic form. Perhaps it is illustrated by Needham (Norfolk).

PAPWORTH. Papworth St Agnes is partly in Hunts., but Papworth St Everard is in Cambs. The sense is 'Pappa's farm,' as already explained. See Pl.-names of Cambs., p. 27.

TETWORTH. The vicar of Everton is also vicar of Tetworth, though the latter place, according to Bacon's Atlas, is in Cambs., to the W. N. W. of Gamlingay. The prefix may represent the A.S. *Tettan*, gen. of the personal name *Tetta*. See the name *Tettan-burn* in Charter-no. 2, l. 8 of the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, Oxford, 1995; p. 3. If so, the sense is 'Tetta's farm.' This solution is confirmed by some old forms of the name noted by Mr Ladds, viz. *Tettewrda* (Harl. Charter 83, B. 5; ab. 1150); and *Thetteworde* (Harl. Charter 83, B. 9; 12th century). Distinct from *Teota* (A.S. Chron.).

There still remain the names ST IVES and ST NEOTS, both from the names of Saints. Both names occur in the genitive case. St Ive's day is April 25. Alban Butler gives a short account of him under the name Ivia or Ivo. He is said to have been a Persian, who died and was buried at St Ives; but his body was afterwards translated to Ramsey abbey. St Ives in Cornwall is named from the same saint, a church having been built there in his honour by a license from Pope Alexander V. in the fifteenth century. St Neot's day is Oct. 28. The accounts of him are legendary; see Wright's *Biographia Britannica*, vol. i. p. 381, who refers us particularly to the Rev. G. C. Gorham's *History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neots*. St Neot was an anchorite, who in his latter days retired to Cornwall, where there is a place called St Neot, without the *s*. The account of him in Alban Butler is extremely curious, from another point of view. He accepts as perfectly true the early foundation of the university of Oxford, saying: "To this holy hermit is generally ascribed the glorious project of our first and most noble university, in which he was king Alfred's first adviser." And he adds in a footnote this remarkable comment. "Nothing more sensibly

betrays the weakness of human nature than the folly of seeking a false imaginary glory, especially in those who incontestably possess every most illustrious title of true greatness. Some weak and lying impostors pretended to raise the reputation of the university of Cambridge by forgeries which it is a disgrace not to despise and most severely censure." I am afraid that the Oxford legend will not stand the test of careful enquiry any better than our own. But I accept his definition of Cambridge students, which seems worth repeating. They are men "who incontestably possess every most illustrious title of true greatness."

I think it is worth while adding a note that, in general, the original vowel-sounds are remarkably well preserved in the older forms of place-names; and usually, even in the modern ones. It is further worth noting, in particular, that Domesday Book certainly has two values for the letter *e*, when representing a short vowel. Of course, it properly represents the A.S. short *e*, as in *Dentone*, the modern *Denton*; but it also denotes the A.S. short *y*, the mutated form of short *u*, for which the scribe had no proper symbol, the French *y* being significant rather of a short *i*. Observation of this fact helps us in the etymology. Examples appear in D.B. *Breninctune*, Brington, from A.S. *Bryning*; D.B. *Dellinctune*, Dillington, from A.S. *Dylling*; D.B. *Herstingestan*, Hirstingstone, from A.S. *Hyrsting*; D.B. *Kenebaltone*, Kimbolton, from A.S. *Cynebald*; and D.B. *Stebintune*, Stibbington, from A.S. *Stybbing*.

In the appendix to my "Notes on English Etymology," I enumerate sixteen cases in which Anglo-Norman scribes usually fail to represent the sounds of Anglo-Saxon consonants. Many such failures occur in the Domesday spellings of the place-names here considered. Examples may perhaps be useful. I number the cases as in my "Notes," omitting such numbers as are not well exemplified:

1. Norman scribes drop initial *h*. Hence we have *Adone* for Haddon, and *Emingeforde* for Hemingford.
3. They write *t* for initial *th*; as in *Torninge*, Thurning.
5. They write *u* for *wu*; as in *Botulf* for A.S. *Bōtwulf*.

And, owing to Norman influence, we have dropped our own *w* in the same. Cf. *Upehude*, Upwood.

6. They had no way of clearly denoting the English sound of *y* in *you*. Hence we find both *Gelinge* and *Ghellinge* for Yelling; and *Iacheslei* for Yaxley.

11. They disliked *lk*. Hence, in *Acumesberie* for Alkmund's bury, the *l* has disappeared.

12. They disliked a final *nd*. Hence we find *Stangrun* for Stanground.

13. They disliked the A.S. *ng*, which was sounded like the *ng* in *stronger*. Sometimes they substituted *n*, but in conscientious moments they wrote *nc* for it. Exx. *Stebintune*, Stibbington; *Dodintone*, Doddington; *Adelintone*, Elton; *Coninctune*, Connington; *Dodinctone*, Doddington; *Breninctune*, Brinington, now Brington:

15. Final *th* became a *d* for them. The suffix *-worth* often appears as *-worde* or *-orde*.

16. They wrote *ce* (pronounced as *tse*) for the Eng. *che*. Hence we find *Cestretune*, Chesterton; *Godmundcestre*, Godmanchester. On the other hand, we find the D.B. spelling *che* to express *ke*; as in *Buchesworde*, Buckworth; *Folchesworde*, Folksworth; *Chenebaltone*, Kimbolton. Cf. *Pachstone*, Paxton.

They further declined to use the A.S. symbol for *w*; for which they substituted not only their own *w*, but sometimes also *uu* or *v*. Hence we find *Cateuworde*, Catworth; *Spaldvice*, Spaldwick; *Wistov*, Wistow. And they further sometimes wrote *v* for the vowel *u*. Very characteristic of French is the substitution of a voiceless final consonant for a voiced one. Hence *Suineshefet* = *Swinesheved*, the old form of Swineshead. Conversely, the difficult combination of a voiceless *k* with a voiced *d* in *Buckden* was avoided by saying *Bugeden* (with hard *g*).

The medial *e* in D.B. often represents the A.S. *-a*, as in *Emingeforde* for *Heminga ford*, where *-a* is the suffix of the gen. plural. It also takes the place of the A.S. *-an*, the sign of the gen. singular, as in *Cateuworde* for *Cattan weorth*.

The names in D.B. are almost always preceded by the Latin prep. *in*, and hence they nearly always appear in the dative case, with a final *-e*. The English dative had to serve for an ablative as well.

CONCLUSION. When we consider these place-names as a whole, we cannot but be struck with the fact that they are, almost without exception, intensely English, and very free from foreign influence. The sole traces of Roman occupation are in the names Chesterton and Godmanchester, to which we may add, by way of note, that the name Perry, A.S. *pirige*, i.e. a pear-tree, is a word of Latin origin; from L. *pirum*. Traces of the Norman Conquest (exclusive of the remarkable influence of Norman on spellings and sounds) occur only in Warboys and Norman Cross. With the probable exception of river-names, which I am unable to elucidate, the sole traces of Celtic inhabitants are in the names Weybridge (Walberge), the hill of the Welsh or Britons, and Walton, the town of the strangers or Welsh men. If, as has been said, the occurrence of the suffix *-ham* is a sign of Friesian occupation, we may note, as has already been said, that there are but five examples of *-ham* as against twenty-four examples in Cambridgeshire; which shows a startling difference. Even still more remarkable is the almost total absence of Scandinavian, which is represented only by Toseland, originally Toli's lund or grove, an interesting example; by Keston or Ketill's stone; possibly by Denton, or town of the Danes, who seem to have been, like the Welshmen, quite foreign to the county; and, lastly, by Copman-ford, the ford of the Danish traders. The chief stock of the early inhabitants was wholly English in regard of speech, though certainly with much admixture of Celtic blood. And their speech was probably that of the early Mercian Angles who first settled in the Eastern part of our islands. Moreover, Huntingdonshire is certainly to be included amongst the counties which have helped to form the standard literary language of the British empire and of the United States of America.

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