

The Berkshire Archæological Journal

Berkshire Place-Names.

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I.

RIVER-NAMES.

THE river-names of Berkshire fall into three classes: (1) pre-Saxon, i.e. Keltic, names; (2) Old English (OE.) names; (3) names which have been applied to villages since Saxon times, but which are properly river-names. As regards the first class, which being the oldest, may be of greater interest to some than the later names—for names going back to pre-Saxon times have an undoubted fascination—there is often a temptation to seek a Keltic origin in preference to an OE. origin.¹ In the 22 names here dealt with, two are without doubt Keltic, three more probably Keltic, and two more doubtful; the remainder are OE.

References: A = *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson. B = Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*. K = Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*. DB = Domesday Book.

I. KELTIC NAMES.

CERN, CHARNEY. In the grant by Bertulf to Alfeus of 12 hides at Charney in AD. 852, the place is described as being "*iuxta flumen quod appellatur Cirne*" (A.I. s.a.). In the grant, and in the survey which follows it, the name is written also *Cirnea* and *Cyrnea*. The earliest form is *Ceornei* (A.I. s.a. 821); later forms are AD. 958 *on Cearninga gemaere* (A.I. 246); DB. *Cernei*; AD. 1100 *Cerneia*; Test. Nev., *Cerney*. The modern sfx-ey does

¹ See Ekwall. In *Introduction to Survey of English Place-names*, I. 23.

not represent OE. *ig*, 'island,' but OE. *ea*, 'water,' and the name means 'Cern Water.' The first element is a Keltic name which occurs in Cerne (Dorset), Cerney (Glos.), and Cirencester. The latter is derived from the R-Brit. name *Corinium*, through OE. **Cerinceaster*, and an intermediate form *Cerin*, though not found, is implied by the palatalization of the initial *c* of Cirencester;² such a form is suggested by our *Ceornei* of AD. 821. It is noteworthy that in the survey of Charney, the Ock is not named, though it forms part of the boundary on the SE., but is called instead *Cyrnea*. The name *Eoccen* appears mostly in the 10th century, and its earliest occurrence seems to be in the Woolstone charter of 856 (B. 491). *Cern(ea)* was evidently its pre-Saxon name, and it may be inferred that *Eoccen* (Ock) was applied in the 9th century only to the upper part of the river.

GINGE. DB. *Gainz* = OE. *Gainge*, with sfx. O.E. *inge*, a river-term. The first syllable is difficult. It suggests an OWelsh personal name *Gai*, *Kai*, found in the obscure place-name Gai's Field (*Gaii campus*, Nennius) where a battle was fought in 655, which Bede calls *Winwaed*. A mediaeval place-name *Kei* in N. Wales occurs in a charter of Llewellyn in AD. 1198 (Dugdale).

KENNET. The OE. forms *Cyneta*, *Cynete* (AD. 944, B. 802; AD. 1050, K. 792) go back to the RBrit. *Cunetio* of the Antonine Itinerary (XIV.). This may possibly be from OWelsh *cu*, 'dog,' genit. sing. *cuno(s)*, as in the personal name *Cuneglasus* (Gildas), with a sfx.—(e) *t* (io), which seems to occur in other RBrit. place-names. 'Dog' is not a common element in place-names, though we have *Nant yr ieuanc cwn*, 'the pass of the young dogs' in N. Wales near Bangor, and perhaps Kimber. From OE. *Cynete* is derived Kintbury, OE. *Cyneteburh*, DB. *Chenetberie*.

KIMBER in Stanford Dingley. Though I can find no old forms, it is just possible that this represents an OE. *Cynibre*, containing Welsh *bre*, 'hill,' and perhaps OWelsh *cuno(s)*, 'dog.'

LODDON. I can find no old forms of this, though it is suggestive of the Welsh adj. *llydan*, 'broad.'

² *Introduction to Survey of English Place-names*, I. 16.

PANG. OE. *Panganburna* (c. AD. 955, B. 919) gives the meaning of 'the stream of Panga,' and it is clear that the modern name is an abbreviation from the old, and not a back formation from the village-name Pangbourne.³ The genitive *Pangan* suggests a personal name *Panga*, otherwise unknown, although Searle gives it in his *Onomasticon*. The OE. should probably be *Pangaburna*, 'the Pang burn' preserving the pre-Saxon name of the river, of unknown meaning.

WANTAGE. Though applied to the town, this is a river-name, OE. *Wanetinge broc* (AD. 964, B. 1142); AD. 958 and *lang Waneting* (A.I. 248); DB. *Wanetinz*.⁴ The sfx. is OE. *inge*, 'river.' The first element is hardly the modern Berkshire dialect *wunt*, 'mole' (as Skeat thought), but rather the pre-Saxon name of the river, which may have been something like **Gwanet*, having possibly the same base as Gwaun in S. Wales (*Abergwaun*=Fishguard), and a sfx. — (e)t as in *Cunetio*.

2. OE. RIVER-NAMES.

BAGMORE BROOK in Shellingford. OE. *Baccan mor* (AD. 931, B. 683) means 'Bacca's swampy ground,' (personal name), and is an early back-formation.⁵

BLACKMOOR STREAM in Winkfield, is a back-formation from OE. *Blac mor* (AD. 942, *on thone blacan mor*, B. 778) and means "black swampy ground."

COLE. This is a modern back-formation from the village-name Coleshill, and the river is called *Lenta* (Keltic) in the Watchfield charter of AD. 931 (B. 675); this name has not survived. The place-name appears in AD. 995 as *aet Colleshylle*; DB. *Coleselle*, and whatever the first element may be, the second is certainly OE. *hyll*, 'hill.' Dr. Zachrisson, in his suggestions as to this name, overlooks the fact that the place is less than quarter of a mile from the river Cole, for he says "not on a river."⁶ For the first element he suggests OE. **coll*, 'head, hill,' or else *coll-ea* by

³ As suggested in *Introd. to Survey of Engl. Pl. N.*, I. 23.

⁴ The sfx. *-inz* in DB = OE. *inge*, as in *Ginge*, DB. *Gainz*.

⁵ A back-formation is the transference of part of a place-name (of a town, hill, etc.) to a river, as Cole from Coleshill, Yeo from Yeovil.

⁶ *English Place-name Puzzles*, p. 9. (Uppsala, 1932).

ellipse. The tautology this implies renders it doubtful, and we may after all have to go back to a personal name *Col*, as Skeat suggested;⁷ such a name seems to occur in Coles Pits (Coxwell), and Coll Well, near Dorchester (Oxon).

EMME BROOK [Emmbrook]. This may be from OE. *Eadhelmes broc*, 'Eadhelm's brook.' Brook-names derived from personal names occur often in the charters.

ENBORNE. The river now called thus was formerly known by two names, somewhat similar in sound, but quite distinct in meaning. East of Newbury it appears to have been called Auburn from OE. *Alrburna*, *Alaburna*, (AD. 944, B. 802) meaning 'alder brook'; and west of Newbury it was Enborne, DB. *Aneborne*,* mediaeval Henborne, which may be OE. *enedburna*, 'duck brook.' The village-name Enborne is derived from the river.

HATT. This is a modern back-formation from the village name Hatford, DB. *Hevaford*; Test. Nev., *Havedford*, from OE. *heafodforda*, 'the ford by the headland (of the plough).'

LAMBOURN. OE. *lamburna* (B. 996), 'lamb's stream.' The town takes its name from the river.

LANDBROOK, Denchworth. OE. *land broc* (AD. 947, A.I. 138), from OE. *land*, and *broc*, 'the brook by the ploughed land.'

MILL BROOK, Milton. Probably a back-formation from the village-name Milton, and later than the 16th century, for the name is *Middletun* (as in DB.) till 1535 (Valor Ecclesiasticus, Milton). The brook is called *eald lacing* 'old lacing' in 956 (B. 935).

OCK. OE. *Eoccen* is named frequently in the charters mostly between 931 and 1034, though it occurs in 856. (See Charney). The OE. form suggests the OE. river-term *geoc* (which has the same general sense as OE *ea*, 'water.'), occurring in *Geocburnan*⁸ (B. 1125), *Godgeocesham*,⁸ (Kent, B. 194), *Geocfleot* = Yokefleet, Yorks,⁸ and Yockleton, Salop.⁹

RAY. Ray Bridge in Barkham implies a name Ray for the stream it crosses, from OE. *aet thaere ea*, 'at the river.'

⁷ *Place Names of Berkshire* (1911).

⁸ Zachrisson, *loc. cit.*, p. 23, n. 2.

⁹ *ib.* p. 61. n.

*DB. has also *Taneburne* = OE. *aet enedburna*.

STUTFIELD BROOK, in Stanford-in-the-Vale. Perhaps from OE. *Stodfald*, 'horsefold'; or OE. *stūt*, 'slope,' and *feld*, 'open land.' In either case it is transferred from the land to the river.

3. VILLAGE-NAMES WHICH ARE PROPERLY RIVER-NAMES.

BAULKING, BALKING. OE. *Bedalacinge*, *Bathalacing* (I owe these forms to Zachrisson); Skeat interpreted the name as 'Of the sons of Beadulac.' Zachrisson, while rejecting this otherwise unknown name, himself falls into an error in his own explanation as a hill-name, for there is no 'Balking Hill' to give name to the place. It is more probably to be taken as a river-name, with the same ending *-lacinge* as in Lockinge, from OE. *lacu*, 'slow-flowing stream,' and *inge*, 'river.' The place lies between the Ock and the Stutfield Brook, and the latter is no doubt the *lacinge*. The first element, *Batha*, *Beda*, is difficult. It may be the same as in Badbury near Coxwell, OE. *Badanbyrig*, from Keltic *mons Badonis* or *Badonicus* (Nennius, Gildas).

CHILDREY (BROOK). AD. 947 *Cillariithe*, *Cillanrithe* (A.I. 138); DB. *Celrea*; Test. Nev., *Chelrey*, *Celrea*, *Celry*, is from OE. *rith*, 'small stream.' Zachrisson explains the first element as OE. *cille*, 'river, narrow creek' (p. 13). though this rather implies that the people who named it did not know the meaning of the words they used, unless *cille* is to be taken as merely qualifying *rith*, and meaning a 'small narrow stream.' The OE. *Cillanrithe* rather postulates a personal name *Cilla*, as in Chilton, OE. *Cillantun*.

LOCKINGE. OE. *Lakinge* (AD. 868, B. 522); *andlang Lacing* (AD. 958, A.I. 248); DB. *Lachinge*, *Lachinges*. A river-name now applied to a village, from OE. *lacu*, 'slow-flowing stream,' and *inge*, 'river.' The addition of *inge* is not tautological, but implies that the whole name means 'a stream with sluggish stretches.' The word occurs also in Baulking, and in the Milton charter as *eald lacing*, the stream now called Mill Brook (B. 935), which is called *Lacynge broc* in the Hendred charter (B. 1142).*

* Hendred (OE. *Hennarithe*, A.I. 392 = 'hen's stream'), and Hagbourne (OE. *Haccaburna*, K. 1069 = 'Hacca's stream') are also river-names.

II.

HILL-NAMES.

Two classes of hill-name may be distinguished: (1) Hill-names proper; (2) Names of towns and villages which are really hill-names that have lost their significance as such.

I. PROPER HILL-NAMES.

ABBOT'S HILL, Shrivenham. Probably due to the Abbey of Cirencester, which in Test. Nev., held half a hide here.

ARNE HILL, Lockinge. Perhaps from OE. *earn*, 'eagle.' An AS. cemetery was found here in 1862. The name occurs also near Warminster, where there is an earthwork.

ASHDOWN. In spite of efforts to prove the contrary, this tract of down is probably to be placed in the region between White Horse Hill and Ashbury, and the name undoubtedly survives in Ashdown Park, 2 m. SE. of Ashbury. OE. *Aescesdun* (AS. Chron., and Asser), "*quod Latine mons fraxini interpretatur*" (Asser). This is fairly conclusive that the name is from OE. *aesc*, 'ash-tree,' and goes to show, too, that Ashbury, OE. *Aescesbyri*, *Escesbeurh* (AD. 953, A.I. 149) meant 'ash-fort,' not 'Aesc's fort.' "These Downs seem likewise to have been formerly adorned with Woods of Ash, from whence they received the denomination of Ashdown. Near Letcombe is a shrubby place still called the Ashes, and Letcombe Ashes, where, as I have been informed by a curious and learned gentlemen of this neighbourhood, grew, within the memory of several persons lately dead, abundance of tall, and very fair Ashes . . . and so far Eastward I am inclined to think, that Ashdown extended." (Wise, Letter to Mr. Mead, 1738, p. 20).

BADBURY HILL, Coxwell. This hill is crowned with an earthwork, which formerly consisted of two ditches; they were levelled in the 19th century. "A great ditch . . . diked by the Danes for a sure camp." (Leland, Itin. II., f. 21). The name is OE. *Badanbyrig*, 'Bada's fort'; but it is probable that this hill is the site of the battle of *Mons Badonicus* (Arthur's twelfth battle, A.D. 472) for its position fits the few known facts better than anywhere else; and the account in Geoffrey of Monmouth (IX., 4, 5) certainly implies some sort of an earthwork. Nor is it far from the

river Glyne (Oxon), the site of Arthur's first battle.¹⁰ If it is the site of this battle, the first element of the name must be Keltic. The oldest forms *Badonicus mons* (AD. 516, Gildas), and *in monte Badonis* (9th cent., Nennius) suggest that it is a personal name Bado(n).

BLEWBURTON HILL, Blewbury. OE. *Bleobyrigdun* (K. 1251). The name Blewbury is the same, without the sfx. -dun, OE. *Bleobyrig*; DB. *Blitberie* (plainly mis-spelt); AD. 1372 *Blebury* (lost brass in Shellingford Church, Ashmole, *Antiqs. of Berks.*, 1719 I., 180). The *burh* or 'fort' is that on Blewburton Hill, "now and for some time past under the plough . . . on the summit an irregular oval of about 408 by 149 yards, that seems to have been enclosed by a ditch and rampart." (Rev. J. Wilson, D.D., in *Trans. Newbury F.C.*, 1872, I. 164). The first element is obscure: mod. Berkshire *bleaw*, 'blow,' OE. *bl(e)awan*, suggests the meaning of 'windy, blowy.'

BOROUGH HILL, Boxford. OE. *burh*, 'fort,' named from a early vanished curvilinear earthwork.

CHESERIDGE, Compton. AD. 1311 *Cuserugg*, = OE. *Cusanhrigg*, 'Cusa's ridge.' (Cf. OE. *Cusanweoh*, 'Cusa's sacred place,' in Surrey).

CHINHAM HILL. Stanford in the Vale. A low hill between two small streams, the site of a Romano-British settlement.¹¹ The second element is OE., *ham*, 'farm' (not *hamm*, 'water-meadow.'), and the first may be a personal name *Cina.

CHURN KNOB, Upton. This may be a Keltic name, and is possibly the Welsh *crown*, 'round,' (with r-metathesis), and OE. *cnaep(p)*, 'top, knob.'

COLDBOROUGH HILL, Eastgarston. OE. *ceald burh*, 'cold fort,' which may indicate a lost earthwork (cf. Goldbury); or may, on the other hand, mean no more than Coldharbour, 'cold lodging.' (See Crawford in *Intro. to Survey of Engl. Pl. Names*, I. 162).

CUCKHAMSLEY HILL, East Hendred. From OE. *Cwichelmes-hlaew* (AS. Chron., s.a. 1006), 'Cwicheim's mound,' a large

¹⁰ T. C. Lethbridge in MAN, 1931, 245.

¹¹ See Atkinson, *Romano-British site on Lowbury Hill*, p. 75 n.

tumulus which in 1844 was 21 ft. high, and 140 yards in circumference. (Hewett, *Hundred of Compton*, 1844, p. 96). The name is probably that of Cwichelm, King of the West Saxons, who died a Christian in 636 (AS. Chron., s.a.) ; and with the modern ending 'hill' refers to the down on which it stands. It has been corrupted to Cuchinslow, Scuchinslow, Scutchamore, and even Scutchamfly.

CUNNYGAW HILL, Welford. A variation of the name found elsewhere as Conygree, Conigre, or Coniger, ME. *coni*, 'rabbit,' and *garth*, 'enclosure,' meaning 'rabbit-warren.'

DRAGON HILL, Uffington. A flat-topped hillock just below the White Horse, where 'King' George is said to have killed the dragon. (See Hughes, '*Scouring of the White Horse*.') A connection with Uther 'Pendragon,' King Arthur's father, has been seen in the name ; and in view of the possible Arthurian associations in this area, it need not be hastily rejected, though it is as yet unsubstantiated.

FOXCOMBE HILL, Wootton. OE. *fox hola cumb* (AD. 985, A.I. 401), 'the combe of the fox's hole.'

FURZE HILL, Fernham, Hungerford. OE. *fyrz*, 'furze.'

GOLDBURY HILL, East Hendred. The sfx., OE. *byrig*, 'fort,' seems to imply an earthwork, and Camp Piece occurs in Ardington on the other side of Ginge Brook (Grundy.), though the latter, if OE. *camp*, may only mean 'enclosed ground.' The first element, OE. *ceald*, 'cold' may also point to an ancient site, as in the case of Cold Kitchen Hill, Wilts, a prehistoric and RBritish site, and may mean 'deserted.' (*Intro. to Survey of Engl. Pl. Names*, I. 163).

GORE HILL, East Ilsley. OE. *gara*, 'triangular piece of land.'

HACKPEN HILL, Childrey. On this part of the Downs is a forgotten earthwork seen by Wise in the early 18th century ('*Further Observations upon the White Horse*,' 1742, p. 55) ; at the SE. corner of a copse at the head of the hollow called The Punchbowl, there remained in 1917 the western ditch with slight traces of a bank on the N. side. The name may be from OE. *haecce*, 'rail fence,' and *penn*, 'enclosure,' pointing to a stockaded work. The name occurs also near Avebury.

HARLEY HILL, Basildon. This may preserve the Charter name OE. *hiorotleah*, 'hart's lea,' (B. 565).

HARROWDOWN HILL, Longworth. Perhaps from OE. *hearg*, 'temple,' and *dun*, 'hill.'

HURST HILL, Cumnor. OE. *hyrst*, 'hill.'

KITE HILL, S. Fawley. OE. *cyta*, 'kite.'

LOLLINGDON [COPSE], Aston Tirrold. DB. *Lolindone*, from a personal name *Lula*, and OE. *dun*, 'hill.'

LOWBURY HILL, Aston Upthorpe. OE. *hlaew byrig*, 'fort by the mound,' named from the AS. barrow (*hlaew*) beside the RBritish cattle-enclosure (*burh*) on this hill.

RAM'S HILL (Uffington). OE. *hremmes* [*hremnes*=*hraefenes*] *byrig* (AD. 941, A.I. 70), 'raven's fort,' where there are still traces of an earthwork. ("Antiquity," II. 217).

SERPEN HILL, Abingdon. "There yet appear two camps by Abingdon, one called Serpen Hill, about a quarter of a mile ENE. of the town. Here, it is said, was a battle between the Danes and Saxons; part of the trenches yet remains." (Leland, Itin., VII. 65). The name has not survived; but about 6 furlongs ENE. of Abingdon Station, opposite the turn to Northcourt from the Oxford road, and close to Fort Hole Copse, are slight traces of an earthwork. The name is of unknown meaning; the second element may be OE. *penn*, 'enclosure.' The site is on a low hill.*

SINODUN HILL, Little Wittenham. The lower of the two Wittenham Hills, with an earthwork round the summit. Skeat interpreted the name as 'Synod Down (Hill),' from Gk. *συνόδος* and referred to the use of the word in Saxon times.¹² In the absence of any better derivation supported by early forms, this may be accepted.

THORN DOWN, East Ilsley. OE. *thorn dun*, 'thorn down,' may refer to the vanished manor of the Naked Thorn, DB. *Nachededorne*, OE. *nacode thorn*, 'the naked or bare thorn-bush.' The valley between Thorn Down and Ilsley "popular tradition points out as the site of a . . . town . . . immense quantities of ancient bricks, tiles, and other building materials . . . have

¹² *Place Names of Berkshire*.

* See article on "A Moated Mound at Abingdon," p. 167. [Ed.]

been ploughed up in these fields." (Hewett, *Hundred of Compton*, p. 44).

TITCOMBE HILL, S. Hinksey. OE. *Titan hyll*, 'Tita's hill,' found in the Hinksey charter as *Tetan hylle*, and *Tiddan cumbe*, the latter being a variant of Teta, Tita. (B. 1002).

WALBURY HILL, Inkpen. The name is from that of a curvilinear earthwork upon the hill, OE. *Weala byrig*, 'Briton's or Welshman's fort.' In Gough's Camden it is called Cornhill, which may be the older name, and possibly from Welsh *crwn*, 'round,' with r-metathesis, and the sfx. OE. *hyll*, 'hill.'

WARNHILL [COPSE], Longworth. OE. *Waernan hylle* (AD. 958, B. 1028), 'wren's hill.' (OE. *wāærna*).

WHITE HORSE HILL. AD. 1171. *locum qui vulgo mons albi equi nuncupatur*. (A., s.a.); temp. Ric. I. *prope montem ubi ad album equum scanditur*. (A.); AD. 1369 *la vale de White Horse*. (Close Rolls).

2. TOWN AND VILLAGE-NAMES WHICH ARE REALLY HILL-NAMES.

ABINGDON. OE. *Abbandune* (AD. 821, B. 366); Tax. Eccles., *Abendone*. From a personal name, Abba; meaning 'Abba's hill.' Cf. *Abban beorh* (AD. 964), East Hendred.

BEEDON HILL. This is not, as the modern sfx. implies, really a hill-name; but DB. *Bedene* makes it clear that the ending is OE. *denu*, 'valley,' not *dun*, 'hill.' The first element may be OE. *beo*, 'bee.'

COLESHILL. [This name has already been dealt with under the river Cole.]

FARINGDON. DB. *Ferendone*; Test. Nev., *Farendone*; Tax. Eccles., *Farndon* = OE. *Fearndun*, 'fern hill,' referring to Faringdon Hill (Folly). (Cf. Fern-ham, OE. *fearnham*).

INKPEN [HILL]. DB. *Hingepene*. A difficult name. It is probably a hill-name, and as a case where a Keltic element may legitimately be seen, the ending may be the British *penno*—, 'head, top,' with an inexplicable first element.*

* Stenton gives *Inga* as a personal name.—[Ed.]

OARE. Test. Nev., *Ore.* = OE. *ora*, 'slope.' Oarborough Hill, in Hampstead Norris, from OE. *ora*, and *burh*, 'fort,' is no doubt the site of an earthwork, though no trace of one is now visible.

III.

PERSONAL NAMES.

Of the town- and village-names of Berkshire, some forty are best explained as containing an OE. personal name as the first element. Some of these, indeed, can be explained only by accepting a personal name, even if such a name is not found elsewhere: and to reject this course involves a juggling of words, and a postulation of other sometimes unsupported OE. words which the name-forms hardly warrant. Professor Zachrisson of Uppsala, in his recent stimulating work on English place-names,¹³ while deploring the wholesale interpretation of place-names by means of personal names, is inclined to carry his theory too far, and in two at least of the Berkshire names he deals with, is misled by lack of topographical knowledge. His contention that "we have all been more or less wrong in our estimation of the frequency of personal names in English place-names,"¹⁴ and the lines of investigation he suggests, form, however, a salutary warning against postulating a personal name when in despair as to the meaning of a place-name. But, as I have said, some names can best be explained as personal names, even though they might have other meanings. As an example, Professor Zachrisson explains Coleshill as from OE. **coll*,¹⁵ 'head, hill,' and says the place is not on a river.¹⁶ The facts, however, are these: the name occurs c. 995 as *Colleshylle*, and the river Cole close by (a modern back-formation) appears in AD. 931 as *Lenta* (B. 675). The etymological arguments by which, to avoid tautology, he supports **coll*, involve too many postulations and too much word-juggling, and the simple explanation of the name as 'Col's hill' is more logical.¹⁷ (See p. 111.)

¹³ *English Place-Name Puzzles*, Uppsala, 1932.

¹⁴ *ib.* p. 60.

¹⁵ An asterisk thus means (a) an assumed word, or (b) not found independently.

¹⁶ *ib.*, 9.

¹⁷ A name *Cola* appears in the ASChron., s.a. 1001; and a *Cola forda*, 'Col's forð' in a Worcestershire Charter. (B. 391).

In the pages following, the names are arranged under their suffixes (sfx.) in alphabetical order, and the abbreviations used are the same as on page 109 with the addition of

EPNS = *Introductory volumes to the Survey of English Place Names* (Cambridge, 1929 and 1930).

TN. = *Testa de Neville*, or Book of Fees, c. 1272.

TE. = *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, c. 1291.

VE. = *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535.

ME. = Middle English.

1. Sfx. -BURGH, -BYRIG, 'fort.'

BUCKLEBURY. DB. *Borgeldeberie*, *Borchedeberie*; AD. 1240 *Burghildebury*, from an OE. female name Burghilda, and the sfx. -byrig.

2. Sfx. -COTE, 'cottage.'

BUSCOT, DB. *Boroardescote*; TN. *Burwardescot*; TE. *Burewardescot*, answering to OE. *Burgweardescote*, 'Burgweard's cottage.'

CLAPCOT, in Wallingford. DB. *Clopecote*, = OE. *Clapecote*, *Clapancote*, 'Clapa's cottage.' The name Clapa appears in the ASChron. s.a. 1046.

DIDCOT. VE. *Dudecote* = OE. *Duddecote*, a female personal name. (cf. EPNS. I. 178); the name occurs also in *Dudenbyrig* in Uffington (A.I. 70). and the masc. *Dudda* in the ASChron., s.a. 833.

3. Sfx. -CUMB, 'combe.'

LETCOMBE. DB. *Ledencumbe*, *Ledecumb*, = OE. *Leodancumbe*, from a personal name Leoda, which is probably a shortened form of Leod(w)ulf (ASChron., s.a. 982) or Leodweald (*ib.*, 738).

4. Sfx. -DUN, 'hill.'

ABINGDON. OE. *Abbandune* (AD. 821, B. 366); TE. *Abendone*. 'Abba's hill'; the same name occurs also in *Abbanbeorh*, 'Abba's barrow' (AD. 964), East Hendred. The first element has nothing to do with 'abbey,' in spite of the story that the name was changed from Seofecesham when the Abbey, having

moved from Bayworth, was refounded at Abingdon about AD. 687.

5. Sfx. -FELD, 'open land.'

WINKFIELD. OE. *aet Winecan felda*, (AD. 942, B. 778); DB. *Wenesfelle*. From a personal name Wineca.

6. Sfx. -FORD, 'ford.'

BASILDON. Though this name in its present form goes back to OE. *Bestlesdun*, 'Bestel's hill,' DB. *Bastedene*, in AD. 699 it was called *Bestlesforda*, (B. 100), 'Bestel's ford.' The name Bestel occurs also in Bisham.

DUXFORD, in Hinton Waldrist. DB. *Dudochesford* = OE. *Duducesford*, from a personal name Duduc, which occurs in the ASChron., s.a. 1049.

FRILFORD. DB. *Frieliford* = OE. *Frithelaford*, from the personal name Frithela, which occurs also in *Frithelabyrig* in Hinksey (B. 1002). Professor Stenton points out that the name is associated with that of Seofeca, a counsellor of King Eormannic. (EPNS. I. 188).

7. Sfx. -HAM, 'farm.'

BISHAM. DB. *Bistesham* = OE. *Bestlesham*, from Bestel. (See Basildon).

FRILSHAM. DB. *Frilesam*, 13th cent., *Fridelesham*, = OE. *Frithowulfesham* from a personal name Frithowulf which occurs in the ASChron., s.a. 854.

SEOFECESHAM (lost), the supposed ancient name of Abingdon before it was changed in the 7th century. The name Seofeca occurs also in Seacourt; and it is by no means certain that this change of names really took place. The authority for the story is no earlier than the 13th century; and Seofecesham was probably nothing more than a place near by whose name caught the fancy of the monkish writer.

WITTENHAM. OE. *Witennam*, *Wittenham*, *Witthenham*, *Wittanham* (AD. 862, B. 504, 505); *Witteham* (AD. 1052, A.I. 461); DB. *Witcham*; VE. *Wittenham*. Undoubtedly from a personal name Witta, which was borne by a Suevian king who occurs in '*Widsith*' (EPNS. I. 188); it also occurs in the

ASChron. in the genealogy of the Kings of Kent as Witta, son of Wecta, son of Woden. It is therefore a 'heroic' name.

8. Sfx. -HLEAW, ' (burial) mound.'

CHALLOW. OE. *Ceawanlaewe* (AD. 947, A.I. 138); DB. *Ceveslaue*; TN. *Chaulawe*. From a personal name *Ceawa*, which occurs in Berkshire in Chawley (Cumnor), OE. *Ceawanleah*; and Chawridge (Winkfield), OE. *Ceawanhrig*.

9. Sfx. -HOLT, 'wood.'

SPARSHOLT. DB. *Spersolt*, *Spersold*, = OE. *Spāēresholt*. This may be from a personal name *Spaer*; or OE. *spaer*, ME. *sparre*, 'balk of timber, pole, spar,' indicating some kind of enclosure, would in this case make an equally good alternative.

10. Sfx. -HRICG, 'ridge.'

CURRIDGE. DB. *Coseridge* = OE. *Cusanhrig*, 'Cusa's ridge,' from a personal name *Cusa*, which occurs in Cheseridge (Compton), AD. 1311 *Cuserugg*; and in an OE. name *Cusanweoh*, 'Cusa's sacred place' in Surrey. (*Antiquity* I. 155).

11. Sfx. -HYLL, 'hill.'

COLESHILL. OE. *aet Colleshyll* (AD. 995); DB. *Coleselle*; TN. *Coleshull*. From a personal name *Col(a)*, which occurs in the ASChron., s.a. 1001; in a Worcestershire charter, *Col forda* (B. 391); and possibly in Coles Pits (Coxwell), and Coll Well¹⁸ near Dorchester (Oxon).

12. Sfx. -IG, 'isle, island.'

CHOLSEY. OE. *aet Ceolesege* (ASChron., s.a. 1006); DB. *Celsei*., Perhaps from a personal name *Ceol*, shortened from a name like *Coelwulf* (which occurs in the ASChron., s.a. 611). Zachrisson prefers OE. *ceole*, 'throat, gorge, valley,' (p. 13).

HINKSEY. OE. *Hengestesie* (AD. 821, B. 366), *Hengestesige* (AD. 956, B. 1002). From the personal name *Hengest*, which is in turn from OE. *hengest*, 'stallion.' This is another 'heroic' name, and refers to either the Hengest who fought at Finnesburh, or him who was called in to Britain by Vortigern. (EPNS. I. 187).

TUBNEY. DB. *Tobenie*, and the associated OE. *Tubba forda* (AD. 965, B. 1169), and also the modern Tubworth Close and Barn (= OE. *Tubbanwurth*). From a personal name *Tubba*,

¹⁸ Though this might be from OE. *Col*, 'cool.'

which Stenton suggests is a shortened form of OE. *Tunbeorht*, *Tunbeald*, or the like. (EPNS., I. 173). The former occurs in the ASChron., s.a. 852.

13. Sfx. -ING-.

This somewhat difficult sfx. occurs in the names under review with additional sfxes. *-denu*, 'valley,' *-ford*, and *-tūn*, 'farm,' and has the form of *-inga-* and *-ing-*:¹⁹

(i.) *-inga-*.

SHELLINGFORD. OE. *Scaringaford* (AD. 931, B. 683); *Xalingeford* (post-Conquest superscription to B. 683); DB. *Serengeforde*; TN. *Schalingeford*, *Shallingford*. From a personal name *Scara*, with sfxes, *-inga-* and *-ford*.

YATTENDON. OE. *Gēatingadenu*; DB. *Etingedene*. From a personal name *Geat*, a name which occurs in Woden's genealogy in the ASChron, Nennius, Asser, and other chroniclers, and also in the place-name *Geates-cumbe*, now Yatscombe Farm, between Cumnor and Hinksey. This name is connected with the ethnic *Gēata*, just as *Swāēf* is with *Swāēfe* (Suevian). The last sfx. is OE. *-denu*, 'valley.'

These names in *-inga*, which is genit. plur. of the 'folk-suffix.' *-ingas*, are to be interpreted as 'belonging to the people (rather than 'sons') of So-and-so,' and Shellingford is therefore 'the ford of the people of *Scara*,' Yattendon, 'the valley of the people of *Gēat*.'

(ii.) *-ing-*.

ARDINGTON. DB. *Ardintone* = OE. *Eard(wulf)ingtun*, from a personal name *Eardwulf*, which is found also in Ardley (Oxon), OE. *Eardwulfesleah* (EPNS. I. 37), and occurs in the ASChron., s.a. 795.

BRIGHTWALTHAM. OE. *Beorhtwaldngtune* (AD. 931, B. 743); DB. *Bristoldestone* (with r-metathesis and inserted s as in *Bristowelle* for OE. *Beohrt wyll*, 'clear spring,' now Brightwell). From a personal name *Beorht-weald*, *-wold*, which is found also in a Harwell charter (K. 648), and occurs in the ASChron., s.a. 690).

BRIMPTON. OE. *aet Bryningtune* (AD. 944, B. 802); DB. *Brintone*. From a (shortened) personal name *Brūn*, *Bryni*, with

¹⁹ See EPNS. I. 50-53 : II. 41, 42.

the rare ending in -i; which seems to occur also in Bryning, Lancs. (Zachrisson, p. 21).

The sfx. *-ing-* in these names is now interpreted as indicating a past association of a place with the person whose name forms the first element, so that these three names mean 'the farm which once belonged to Eardwulf (Beorhtweald, Bryni).' (See EPNS. II. 42).

14. Sfx. *-LEAH*, 'grove, clearing.'

WADLEY = OE. *Wadanleah*, 'Wada's grove or clearing,' and the name (though OE. *Wād*, 'woad' is possible but unlikely) is that of the father of Weland (Wayland), who carried his son through the Groenasund to apprentice him to the dwarfs. (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, I. 376). This name, together with *Beadhildae*²⁰ *byrgels* ('Beadhild's burial place') in Woolstone, and Wayland's Smithy (OE. *Welandes Smiththan*) in Ashbury, form another group of 'heroic names.'²¹

15. Sfx. *-ORA*, 'slope.'

BAGNOR. DB. *Bagenore* = OE. *Baganora*, from a personal name Baga, which is probably the same as the name Bagga in OE. *Bagganleah*, Bagley Wood, and *Bagganwurth* (AD. 956, B. 971).

CUMNOR. OE. *Colmenora* (AD. 985, A.I. 401); DB. *Comenore*. From a personal name Colmen, which is possibly the same as Cylme in the Harwell charter (AD. 970, K. 1273) with a sfx. *-n*.

16. Sfx. *-TŪN*, 'farm.'

CHILTON. DB. *Cilletone* = OE. *Cilletūn*, *Cillantūn*, from a personal name Cilla, which also may occur in the place-names Childrey, Berks; Chilling, Hants; Chilla, Devon.

IDSTONE, in Ashbury. Lysons (*Berks*, p. 236) give an alternate form Edwinstone, as if from OE. *Eadwīnestūn*.

KENNINGTON. OE. *Cenigtune* (AD. 956, B. 971); DB. *Chenitun*, *Genetune*. From a personal name which may be OE. *Cēning*, for DB. forms of this type in -i often go back to OE. names in *-ing*. (EPNS. I. 114).

²⁰ Reading *Beadhildae* for the *Beahhildae* of B. 491.

²¹ See my 'Traces of Ancient Paganism' in *Berks. Arch. Jnl.* XXXVII (1933)

STEVENTON. OE. *to Stifinghaeme gemaera* (AD. 964, B. 1142); DB. *Stivetune*; TE. *Stiventon*. The OE. name must have been *Stifantūn*, from a personal name *Stifa* (Styfa, Stufa). The name *Stuf* occurs in the ASChron., s.a. 514; Zachrisson (p. 2) rejects it on account of the doubtful authenticity of this part of the Chronicle, when dealing with the name *Stetchworth* (Camb.), DB. *Stivicesuorde*, and he suggests OE. *Styfic*, 'stump.' This word is inadmissible in the case of *Steventon* on account of the OE. form, and a name like *Stifa* is required.

UFFINGTON. OE. *Uffentune* (AD. 941, A.I. 70); DB. *Offentone*. From a personal name *Uffa* (not *Offa*).

WOOLSTONE. DB. *Olvricestone*; *Wlfricestun* (A. II. 213); TN. *Wulvricheston* = OE. *Wulfricestūn*, from a personal name *Wulfric*, which is well attested, and occurs also in the Kennington (B. 971) and Welford (B. 877) charters.

WOOLHAMPTON. DB. *Ollavintone* postulates an OE. *Wulflafentūn*, from a personal name *Wulflaf*.

17. Sfx. -WURTH, 'farm.'

CHADDLEWORTH. DB. *Cedeneorde* = OE. *Ceaddanwurth*, from a personal name *Ceadda*, which occurs in Bede, H.E. III. 23, and ASChron., s.a. 664.

DENCHWORTH. OE. *Deniceswurthe*, *Denceswurthe* (AD. 947, A.I. 138); DB. *Denchesworde*; TN. *Dencheswurth*; VE. *Dencheworth*. From a personal name *Denic* or *Denec*.

PADWORTH. OE. *Peadanwurthe* (AD. 956, B. 984); DB. *Peteorde*. From a personal name *Peada*, which occurs several times in the ASChron., s.a. 655-675.

SEACOURT, in Wytham. OE. *Seofocan worthe* (AD. 956, B. 1002); DB. *Seuacoorde*; TN. *Sevekesworthe*. From a personal name *Seofeca*, a man associated with *Frithela*. (See above *Frilford* and *Seofecesham*).

SUGWORTH. DB. *Sogoorde* = OE. *Suganwurth*, from a personal name *Suga*, which seems to survive in the modern surname *Sugden*.

Of the 35 personal names in this list, the following occur more than once in Berkshire :

Abba (2) : Abingdon, E. Hendred (*Abban beorh*).

Bag(g)a (3) : Bagley, Bagnor, Bagworth.

Bestel (2) : Basildon, Bisham.

Ceawa (3) : Challow, Chawley, Chawridge.

Cilla (2) : Childrey, Chilton.

Col (2) : Coleshill, Coles Pits.

Cusa (2) : *Cheseridge*, Curridge.

Dude (2) : Didcot, Uffington (*Dudenbyrig*).

Frithela (2) : Frilford, Hinksey (*Frithelabyrig*).

Gēāt (2) : Yatscombe, Yattendon.

Seofec (2) : Seacourt, (*Seofecesham*).

Wulfric (3) : Kennington (W's *broc*); Welford (W's *gemaere*), Woolstone.

The ' heroic ' names are grouped as follows :

Group I. N.E. Berkshire : Frilford, *Frithelabyrig* (Hinksey), Seacourt, *Seofecesham* (Abingdon), Wittenham, Hinksey.

Group II. NW. Berkshire : Wayland Smith, *Beadhildae byrgels* (Woolstone), Wadley.

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