THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEANINGS OF CERTAIN ANGLO-SAXON TERMS

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PRELIMINARY NOTE

Original Settlement of Saxon England.

As many of the terms which will be dealt with in this paper are names or parts of names of various types of inhabited places, the connotation of these terms is dependent largely on the circumstances under which those places came into existence. The circumstances are those of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England.

In all cases of the conquest and settlement of a country by invaders from other countries there are circumstances common to all of them. If the native inhabitants survive in the districts conquered they have to be held in subjection by disarmament and the occupation of strategic points by the invading race. In Britain this had happened in the Celtic conquest. If the invaders do not survive in the conquered region but are killed off or migrate to unconquered regions of the country, and if further the frontiers between them and the new settlers are not of a nature to prevent easy passage, the conquerors have to establish on those frontiers as efficient a system of defence as is possible. That is what happened in the case of the Teutonic invaders of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, but not in the cases of the smaller kingdoms of East Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Sussex. In the cases of Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria the conquests were by stages, and an early frontier was replaced by a later, and so forth. In the cases of the other smaller kingdoms the conquests were made all of a piece, once and for all, to the frontiers of these kingdoms as they were in aftertime. Moreover the frontiers were strong relative to the circumstances of the time. The Fens, the forest of Essex and Hertfordshire, and the Andredsweald which extended far north into Surrey, were wide stretches of difficult country, which made raids from outside them difficult for the unsubdued Britons on the far side of the frontier. Apart from this the Mercians from the north struck south into the south-east Midlands, and the West Saxons struck north into the south, and later the south-west, Midlands, and covered the small kingdoms of the SE. and S. from attack by the surviving Britons.

The result was that the settlements of the invaders in these kingdoms differed in certain respects from those in Wessex, Mercia and Northumbria. In these latter kingdoms the defence of the frontier for the time being had to be provided for. It could not be left to chance. It had to be organized. And that organization had to aim at such military efficiency as economic circumstances permitted.

1. The military circumstances forbade a go-as-you-please settlement where squatters, individual or in bands, seized after the conquest on lands they fancied. They would have been liable to annihilation by British raiders from beyond the frontier.

2. Hence the settlement had to be an ordered one dictated and organized by the government. The cultivable lands of Roman times were *allotted* to the settlers.[1]

3. This would be all the easier as such settlements in village communities had been the basis of that economic system in that Germany from which the invaders came. Caesar and Tacitus make that quite clear by their references to the strip system of cultivation which implies the existence of village communities.

4. From a military point of view the settlements would have to be as large as possible, *but*

5. The economic system forced on them by the circumstances of the time limited the size of communities because such settlements had to be self-supporting in respect to the necessities of existence, i.e. had to have about them land within easy reach for the purpose of cultivation.

6. This was necessitated by the primitive nature of the means of communication—Roman roads, many of them out of order, and circuitous ridgways.

7. Incidentally that is why the Anglo-Saxons did not at first occupy the Roman towns. They would have required more land for their inhabitants than could, owing to the distance of its outlying parts, be cultivated from one centre of residence.

8. The necessity for a self-supporting community is shown by the precariousness of the supply of the necessaries of life in those days. (Cf. the awful list of famines in the Saxon Chronicle and elsewhere.)

9. The largest unit of settlement seems to have been of 10 hides where the area of cleared land permitted it. When the

[1] This is shown by, *inter alia*, the fact that communities which had not any mead, hay land, on their allotment were awarded a piece of it on the land allotted to some neighbouring community. As mead was at least six times as valuable as arable land, it may be assumed that the settlers on the land from which the allotment was taken would not have accepted its alienation except on compulsion by the central government.

cleared area was too small for a community of that size, the 5-hide unit was adopted. But that the 5-hide unit was rarer than the unit of 10 hides is shown by the occurrence of *Fifhide* as a place name in the forms Fyfield, Fivehead, etc., a name, as being a proper name, given for distinctive purposes, and one which would have been useless for such purposes of distinction had the 5-hide unit been common.[1]

10. When things had settled down and the British were practically confined to the W. and SW. of Britain, in Wales and Cornwall, settlements of the squatter type became possible and, apparently, common, either in small cleared spaces dating from the Roman period not previously occupied, or in clearings made by the squatters themselves.

11. In the smaller kingdoms of the E. and SE. the settlement seems to have taken both forms, settlements of squatters and also village communities, the latter of which may have been due to the settlers having been accustomed to such communities in Germany, or, it may be, to government organization.

12. As the village communities, especially after the imposition of Danegeld, formed basic fiscal units in the country, it seems probable that, when the squatter-settlements attained, owing to the influx of newcomers, to a certain size, the settlement was officially converted into an official village community. Sometimes another course was taken, especially in the case of small settlements in a forest region, namely to block a number of small squatter-settlements into one community (parish), as, for instance in the case of East Meon in the extreme W. end of the Andredsweald or St. Mary Bourne which was in Doiley Forest in Hants. Meon is in E. Hants.[2]

In the volume of Essays and Studies by members of the English Association issued in 1922 I published a paper on the meanings of certain Saxon terms which had been either mistranslated or imperfectly translated in Saxon lexicons of both English and German origin. I have since then done a good deal of work in relation to the Saxon Age, and I have not had occasion to modify the views expressed in that paper, though

[1] J. H. Round believed that the 5-hide unit was the basic unit of Saxon village communities. He argues unfortunately from the Worcester series of charters, not having known that that series is for certain local reasons exceptional. Had he examined other county series on this point he would not, I think, have taken this view.

[2] I have inserted this introduction in order to avoid repetition of the same explanation in relation to different terms. I am quite aware that what has been said here will appear novel to many readers. Yet what has been said here describes circumstances which have been common to many such conquests in the history of the past. Many writers of the history of Saxon England have dealt with the topography of the conquest: but none, so far as I know, have visualized its effect on the subsequent settlement.

I am now able to add some further information as to the meanings of certain words with which that paper dealt.

The words with which I deal in the present paper are in many cases far more common than those dealt with in the previous one, and form some of the commonest elements in English place names. They have been dealt with in the books of the Place Name Society and by Professor Ekwall in his *Dictionary of English Place Names*. My reason for dealing with them is not that I disagree, except in a few instances, with the meanings attached to them by those authorities, but because I feel that I can in some cases carry the connotations further, and in some cases show their meanings in a more precise form.

Abbreviations

B.—Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum.*
K.—Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus.*
P.N.S.—Place Name Society.
E.—Ekwall.
B.T.—Bosworth and Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Lexicon.*
S.—Sweet's *Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon.*
C.—Clark Hall's *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.*

Some General Characteristics of Topographical Terms.

A very important part in the study of the Anglo-Saxon settlement in England is played by place names. This has been greatly advanced by the scientific study of such names that has been carried on by philologists since the beginning of the present century.

The vast majority of place names are formed of two elements, a termination showing the type of the place itself or the nature of the locality in which it stands, and secondly an initial term showing some special distinguishing feature of it. It is the final element which is the more important for historical and archaeological purposes, for, if its meaning can be discovered, it shows in most cases the nature of the original settlement at that place and the stage in the settlement of the region in which the place was founded. The first element in the name may also be important as helping to show the precise meaning of the second, the generic, element.

It is the case in all languages that terms or names start life with a single meaning or connotation; but as time goes on, acquire other meanings because the objects to which they are applied become connected with some idea which was not uppermost in the minds of those who gave the original name. For instance the ending in -wick (A.S. *wic*) was applied originally

to the land of the community where the butter and cheese were made. It thus became associated in men's minds with the 'making' or 'manufacturing' of something, and later was applied to places where salt was made. -ton was originally a farmstead, but when farmhouses came to be built in groups it came to mean 'village', and that is its invariable meaning where it appears in the charters as an uncompounded term.

It is in respect to these added connotations of Saxon terms and their modern derivatives that the matter of this paper will carry Saxon lexicography a little further than it has gone hitherto.

There are certain place-name endings which imply in most of the cases in which they occur that the places to which they are attached were founded in the first stage of the Saxon settlement in Britain, and others which imply that the places to which they are applied belong to a second, or even a third, stage in the settlement. There are other endings which leave the time of foundation quite uncertain, e.g. -bury and -borough, which merely imply that the places named were near a camp or a barrow. Names ending in -ford, -wood, -stoke, etc., come in the same category.

THE TERMINATION *-ING*

It is commonly stated that the termination *-ing* is applied to the very earliest Teutonic settlements in this country, settlements earlier than those in *-ton*. That it belongs in the majority of cases to the first stage of settlement seems to be certain. That it implies a settlement anterior to one in *-ton* is almost certainly not the case. The settlement of the Anglo-Saxons was throughout regulated by the government of the time; and all that *-ing* implies is that the persons settled in an *-ing* community were all of the same family or clan. The possibility of the establishment of settlements of that particular type would be obviously much greater at the time of the first stage of settlement in any region than at a later time. But that some of these *-ing* settlements were made at a period later, perhaps much later, than the first settlement of a region is shown by their position on the map.

It has been rightly assumed that *-ing* names are family or clan names. It is impossible to say in any individual case whether they are one or the other, though it may be safely assumed that both are represented in the *-ing* names in this country.

The basic meaning of the termination *-ing* is 'associated with'. In most cases the association is with an eponymous ancestor. But the Saxon Chronicle[1] shows that the family association might in usage go no further back than the father, and that *-ing* in such cases must mean 'son of' rather than 'of the family of'.[2] Most of the *-ings* in English place names contain the name of the ancestor from whom the family or clan is descended. They are at least family names,—primitive surnames.

But in the case of some of the *-ing* families the name is not derived from that of an ancestor but from the locality at which the family lived. The Waldings were so named because they or their family predecessors lived near a wood (*weald*). The Dunings were a family which lived near a hill (*dun*). And some of the names of this type originated after, perhaps long after, the settlement in England.[3]

There are, as everyone will know, a great many place names in England which terminate in *-ington* or *-ingham*. About these there has been much speculation. A certain number of these names, as is shown by their old forms, did not originally contain the *-ing* element. In them the modern *-ing* is a corruption of the weak genitive in *-an*. A number of these exceptional cases occur in Sussex. There are a few, a very few, instances of other corruptions of *-ing*.

The distribution of *-ing* in village names in the various old kingdoms of the heptarchy is at first sight curious. The largest numbers are 23 in Sussex and 16 in Essex, in the two smallest kingdoms of the series, lands which were almost certainly conquered in one rush of invasion. The smallest number, 5, is in Wessex, a land conquered in stages of which the latest must have been many years later than the first. This supports the suggestion already made, that the *-ing* names are more likely to have come into existence at the first rather than at subsequent settlements in the Teutonic invasions. In the large area of Mercia *-ing* names occur 14 times. In only 3 cases is it found in what, though later part of Mercia, was originally a West Saxon conquest, the land of the Hwiccas, i.e. Gloucestershire, the greater part of Worcestershire and part

[1] In the opening sentences of the Parker MS. the descent of Cerdic of Wessex is traced back to Odin: 'Cerdic was Elesing. Elesa (was) Gewising. Giwis (was) Wiging. Wig (was) Freawining,' etc.

[2] It is just possible that some of the *-ing* places were founded by an individual with an *-ing* family name. E.g. Basing in Hants is called in one charter *Basinges*. a genitive singular instead of the plural in 'a' which is the form of such names usual in the charters.

[3] The late Professor Zachrisson of Upsala was the first to distinguish this class of names.

of Oxfordshire. In NW. Mercia, probably the latest conquest of that kingdom, no *-ing* name is found.[1]

The ending occurs in Kent charters in combinations which are absolutely exceptional and consequently very remarkable. It occurs 16 times as an attribute of *lond*, 'land'. It also occurs 27 times as an attribute of *denn*, 'swine pasture'.[2]

In the *lond* series the *-ing* attributes seem to be in all cases patronymics.

Some of the names survive at the present day, but the larger number do not. The use with *lond* can be partly explained. The charters show that the lond's referred to were not strips scattered over the lands of a parish (village community) but composed of a single area of land in, as it were, a ring fence. In no single case in which their identity can be determined at the present day do they form more than a part of the area of a modern parish (village community). That they were units in the primary settlement of the kingdom of Kent, there is no reason to doubt. Possibly the original *hams* of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex were units of the same type which grew later into village communities. The kingdoms of East Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Sussex contrast with the other three kingdoms of the heptarchy in that they were (1) conquered all of a piece, whereas the others were conquered piecemeal; (2) that they had frontiers, the Fens, the great forest of Essex and Hertfordshire, the Andredsweald and the Forest of Bere which cut them off from the unconquered Britons. They were not under the necessity of providing for frontier defence by setting up village communities of a size that would afford some protection from raids by the unconquered Britons while not so large as to make that absolute economic necessity impossible,—the supply of necessities from the ground they owned and cultivated. So in Kent units of land of small area allotted to individual families were possible; and these are the *lond*'s of the charters.[3]

The *-ing* element in the *denn* names is a much greater difficulty. These *denn*'s were at the time of the charters all of them dependencies of some village community in the county. If the names

[1] The complete series of *-ing* settlements in the various kingdoms is as follows: Sussex, 23; Essex, 16; Mercia, 14; Kent, 11; Northumbria, 10; E. Anglia, 8; Wessex, 5. These are all village names. At the same time I do not remember finding, except in Kent, any local, i.e. non- village, name in *-ing*.

[2] These *denn*'s are nearly all of them in the Kent part of the Andredsweald.

[3] I do not mean to imply that the *lond*'s are the type of all the grants of land made to settlers after the Jutish conquest. The system of establishing village communities may have been followed also, for it is almost certain that that system was brought from Germany by the Teutonic conquerors. The point is that the '*lond*' system of settlement—the settlement of individual families would have been ill the changing conditions of the Wessex frontier fatal to the settlers.

in the charters are examined, it will be seen that the majority of them are the names of families which go back to an eponymous ancestor. In some cases the family names are of an indeterminate origin. They may go back to names peculiar to the Jutish branch of the Teutonic family. These *denn*'s were at the time of the charters dependencies of some village community or of some *lond* in the county of Kent. It would be contrary to all the evidence which the charters afford with respect to land law, which was law founded almost entirely on custom, to suppose that these *denn*'s were originally the property of families whose names are attached to them, and that these families had been ousted from them later in order to provide pasture for land-units (village communities) in the county in which they are situated. It is true that the charters deal only with lands which are part of the lands of the village community, and that the grant or rights in the swine pastures would only be the grant of such a share in them as went with the chartered lands,—the *bocland*. But whatever may be said, or be obscure, about *bocland*, this at least is certain—that it did not interfere with the rights of the holders of *folcland* save when the family of the holders had died out or their land had been forfeited for public or private crime.

The only conjecture which seems to fit the circumstances is that the *-ing* names are the names of families which were entrusted with the care of the swine pastures in this and that *denn* so that, if the office was hereditary, it was natural that the nameless and more or less indefinite regions of the forest should be named after those who had the custody of them.

It has been said that some of the *-ing* family names are derived from the localities in which the families lived or had lived. The locality may have been in Germany. In other cases it may have been in England. In this latter case it cannot be assumed absolutely that the *-ing* name under such circumstances dates from the first settlement of the Teutons in the region.

It is noticeable that *-ing* names do not have any attributes, though as has been said already, they are themselves very frequently attributes of *-ton*, *-ham*, and other terms.

TUN (-ton of Pl. N.)

B.T.— (1) Enclosure. (2) Town. (3) Residence or farm.
S.—(1) Enclosure. (2) Village. (3) Town. (4) Dwelling.
C.—(1) Enclosure. (2) Farm. (3) Dwelling. (4) Village. (5) Town.

The ' o ' form of the term, *-ton*, makes its appearance first in dated documents in the first half of the eleventh century, the last half-century of the Saxon Age. After the Conquest the ' u ' and the ' o ' forms exist for some time side by side, the latter being by far the more common. The ' u ' survives till the second half of the thirteenth century, and after that disappears.

Its earliest connotation was no doubt ' enclosure '. The connotation ' farm ', derived from the earlier connotation, was no doubt due to the farmhouse with its farmyard being the most common form of enclosure known to the old Germans. The extension of the meaning to a ' village ' would arise from the farmhouses being grouped together in the area of the cultivated land.[1] The village community was a German institution at least as old as the time of Caesar. It was to the Saxon conquerors of England a recognized institution.

In the Saxon charters, the earliest of which are a century or two after the conquest, the term *tun* occurs very rarely in an uncompounded form. Where it does occur it refers to the village the lands of which are the subject of the grant.[2]

What is certain is that it was very largely used in the naming of villages established in the first settlements after a conquest of a region ; and as these had a military as well as an economic intent, it may have acquired the connotation of a ' military settlement '. But, when the danger from the British was thrust back to the Welsh marches, this connotation would quickly pass away except on that border. It is noticeable that *-ton* names are frequent in west Shropshire and west Herefordshire.

But that *-ton* became the most common generic term for a village is shown by its being an element in the names of villages which did not exist even in the time of Domesday, and that does more than suggest that it was applied to village communities which came into existence in the centuries immediately preceding the Norman Conquest. So it must not be assumed that the ' *-ton* ' element in a place name is *necessarily* evidence for the early settlement of the district in which it occurs.

The hidage of places in the charters with *-tun* names does however emphasize the probability that places with the *-ton*

[1] Far-fetched ideas do not lead to the development of the meanings of terms. The ideas must be more or less obvious, due especially to what is associated more or less intimately with the object to which the term is applied. The development here was due to the practice of building farmhouses in groups—in villages. Hence the new application and implication of the term *tun*.

[2] The reason for its rarity is this—that it occurs in the *surveys* attached to grants ; and, as the village was in the vast majority of cases established as near as possible to the centre of the arable land, it did not come in as a boundary landmark.

name ending were of early foundation. The early decimal form of hidage tended to disappear in consequence of additional clearings on the lands of village communities. But in the charters, some centuries after the first settlement, the *-tun* communities belong for the most part to the 10- and 5-hide series. (See Table I.)

TABLE I

Hidage of places with *tun* names mentioned in the charters

County	10 Hides	5 Hides	Multiple of 10	Multiple of 5	Other Hidage.
Worcs.	5	7	1	0	8
Wilts.	8	2	3	3	3
Hants	4	3	1	2	3
Somerset	5	4	0	0	1
Gloucs.	1	5	0	0	1
Berks.	4	1	2	2	2
Oxon	0	3	1	0	0
Dorset	0	3	2	0	0

In considering the numbers in the table it is necessary to remember that the *tun*'s represented there are only those whose lands were the subject of grants, and also that those which show multiples of 10- or 5-hides were made up of two or more communities of 10- or 5-hides or both. This blocking together of the lands of several communities was resorted to by the monasteries for administrative purposes.

The *-ton* names so far dealt with are those of modern parishes. But it is the case that in all counties there are *-ton* names which are applied to places which have never attained the parochial status. These are mainly farm names, which shows that the connotation 'farm' persisted for long side by side with that of 'village'. In the N. of England the form 'town' is applied sometimes to farms—another example of the same survival.[1]

Another point worthy of notice is that of the *-ton*'s of the present day, but a small percentage are on land which was heavily or moderately forest-covered at the time of Domesday in 1086. The rest are all on land which had been cleared before that time. (See Table II.)[2]

[1] In Derbyshire the term 'town' was in the 70's of the last century applied to the group of houses which formed the village in the parish. In the parish of Risley the name was applied to a very small group of about 12 cottages and houses, the only group in the parish.

[2] I have been all through the statistics of woodland and forest stated or implied in the Domesday Book. It has taken me three years. I had to make many thousands of statistics of numbers. It is not likely that any publisher will accept so dry a subject for publication. Domesday is the only complete record of the forest land of England at any date, except perhaps the returns presented to parliament in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

TABLE II

Percentages of modern *-ton* names which are those of places that stand on sites which were forest-covered in A.D. 1086

Distribution in the Saxon Kingdoms

Kent	23	Mercia (excluding Herefordshire and the Danelagh)	29	East Anglia ..	29
Sussex	7			Essex	27
Wessex	19				

It is necessary to take into account the possibility that some of the *-tons* in forest land in 1086 may have been on sites which had been cleared in the forest in Roman times. Finally *-ton* is never found as a place name without an attribute.

The attribute, as in the case of other place name endings, is either descriptive or personal (including individual and family names). Taking the whole of England the personal attributes stand in a ratio of about 1 : 2 to the descriptive. They form, as a fact, 37 per cent of the whole.

Of the personal attributes in the charters only the individual names stand to the family names in the ratio of about 3 : 7. The actual percentage is about 28 per cent.

Of the personal attributes it is only possible to guess that the names of the individuals are in some cases those of the military commanders of communities founded at a settlement immediately after the conquest, in others names of the heads of the communities who had become so by grant of *bocland*. But the large preponderance of descriptive attributes suggests perhaps—one cannot say more than this—that the village communities were originally communities of holders of land subject to no burdens save labour on the holding of the head of the community for so many days in the year. It would be the natural position for ex-soldiers of the invading armies which had won the land.

HAM AND *HAMM*

Ham. B.T.—'house', 'dwelling'. S.—'house', 'dwelling'. C.—'house', 'dwelling', 'manor', 'estate'. P.N.S.—'farm', 'manor'. E.—'village', 'estate', 'manor', 'homestead'.

Of these various meanings 'house' and 'dwelling' seem to be the most probable, in fact certain. That it ever meant 'estate' or 'village' is doubtful, though innumerable *ham*'s did become villages. There is nothing in the charters to warrant the translation 'manor' or its equivalent in Saxon times.

Hamm. B.T. do not seem to recognize it as a topographical term. S.—'dwelling', 'enclosure'. C.—like B.T. P.N.S.—'enclosed possession', 'fold'. E.—'meadow', 'enclosure'.

Hamm may be taken first, as its meaning is more easily determinable than that of *ham*. It means an enclosure with a permanent fence, a feature which played no part in early Saxon times except as a *haga*, the fence which surrounded woodland where there were wild animals and the swine were pastured.

The *hamm* was the outcome of that movement towards several (private) ownership which is so marked during the Saxon period. It is most noticeable in respect to the hayland (mead) of communities. So far has it gone that the charters of the ninth, and later centuries note the fact that the mead of certain communities is common, showing that that form of tenure had become rare in respect to the mead. Yet originally the mead had been communal property, and the year's crop of hay had been divided among the holders in the community. Later the mead was divided into lots apportioned to each holder, who took the hay from his own lot. Not unnaturally he fenced in the land allotted to him. These *maed*'s were always near a stream or river,—watermeadows, and the field name 'ham' is commonly applied to them in Tithe Awards of the nineteenth century. Hence some writers have supposed that *-ham* and the A.S. '*hamm*' meant watermeadows. As a fact both the ancient and modern terms were applied also to fenced land not near any sort of stream.[1]

The original connotation of the term *hamm* was certainly 'fenced-in enclosure'. As this fencing was the result of the land concerned having become private property it is possible, though not probable, that the term acquired the further connotation of estate.[2]

It is improbable that *hamm* ever meant a 'fold'. That was *fald*; and the Saxon language does not employ synonymous terms except when a Latin name has got into the language.[3]

Ham means a 'house' or 'dwelling', and there is no trace of any development of its connotation.

The distribution of *-ham* as a place name ending is very significant. It differed from *-ton* in this respect—that, whereas that ending was attached to the names of places officially organized immediately after the original conquest of a region *-ham* was apparently a name applied to small unofficial settlements made originally in cleared lands which were too small for the establishment of a village community.

[1] For *hamm* in this connexion see (B. 674, K. 1102), etc.

[2] P.N.S. as will be seen above ascribes the meaning 'estate' to *ham* with one 'm'. I venture to think that *ham* never had that meaning, and that in the passage from the translation of Bede there is the mistake commonly made by Saxon scribes of confusing *ham* and *hamm* by omitting the second 'm' of the latter.

[3] E.g. *aewielm* and *funta*, a big spring, and *Ofer* and *ora*, a bank or slope.

It is possible that some of the *-ham* names are derived from *hamm* owing to the tendency of scribes to confuse the two terms in copying the old documents on which the modern enquirer is dependent for the old forms of names.

But, whether derived from *ham* or *hamm*, in practice the settlement seems to have been a settlement in some pre-Saxon clearing not large enough to support a village community. Such settlements, as has been said already, were not possible near the frontier for the time being, unless it was of the marked physical type formed by the fens and forests which cut off the four kingdoms of the E. and SE. of England from the rest of the country. In these the *-ham* settlement could develop, especially in East Anglia. Also it is probable that all these kingdoms were conquered at the first rush of the conquest. But the point is that in them such small settlements of individuals could be made without great danger from outside.

The advances of the later conquests of Wessex went N. and W. and of Mercia NW. The advances would be gradual with a succession of frontiers. It is a remarkable fact that the percentage of place names in *-ham* relative to the total number of place names in a county[1] show generally speaking a gradual decrease from E. to W.[2] This supports the view that the *-ham* settlements were of the type above mentioned. It is possible indeed to form some general conception of the lines along which conquest proceeded in Wessex and Mercia and even in that part of the Northumbrian kingdom which lay in England.[3]

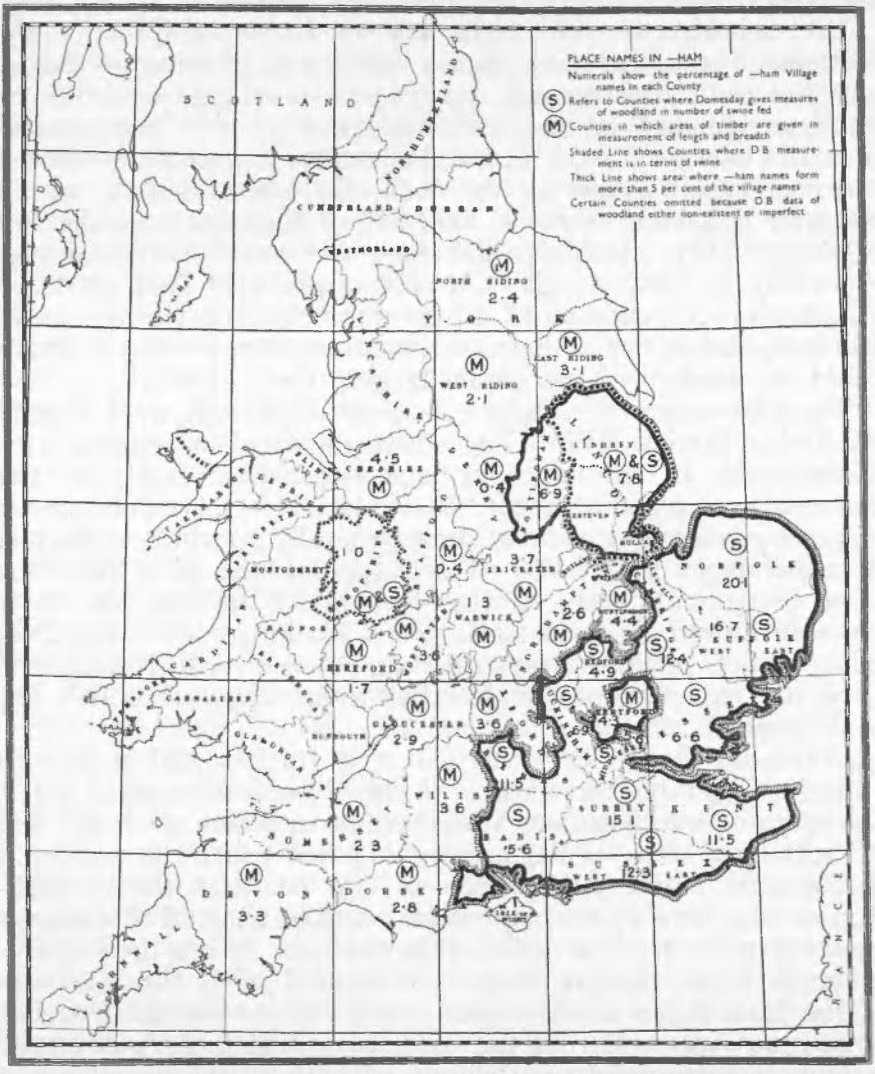
Domesday book seems to throw a further and most unexpected light on the nature of the *-ham* settlements. In it the areas of woodland are stated either in terms of length and breadth or in terms of the number of swine which the woodland would feed. Save in the case of two counties the commissioners who drew up the reports for counties adhered throughout their reports to the one or the other method. When the employment of these two methods is compared with the statistics of the percentages of *-ham* place names in the various counties it becomes apparent that the counties in which the percentage is highest correspond very closely with those the woodland of

[1] Only the names of villages come into the reckoning.

[2] See Table III and map.

[3] There is much more which could be said on this subject did space admit of it. One point may be mentioned. The case of Essex is exceptional in its percentage of *-ham* names, which, though not by any means very small, is smaller than might be expected. I think it was due to the extent and density of the forest land of west Essex. Even at the time of Domesday, in 1086, it was wide and extensive and there must have been very little population in that part of the county. Its density would mean that there were fewer small clearings than there were in other forests of that time, forests less dense than that of Essex.

which is reckoned in Domesday in terms of the number of swine fed in it.[1] The coincidence seems far too close for it to be regarded as the result of chance.



MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE NAMES IN -HAM

It affords evidence which seems to make it possible to arrive at a more precise determination of the nature, if not of the meaning, of *ham*. It was, at least in many cases, the house or plot of land of one who either owned swine or tended the swine of a neighbouring community. How far, if at all, the

[1] See Table III and map.

term was associated with the tending of swine is not in any existing evidence. It is not, of course, possible to say whether those who took up such lands were always associated with the rearing of swine.

TABLE III

Percentage of the number of *-ham* names among the total number of village names in the various counties

County	Kingdom	*-Ham* names	Percentage of *-ham* names in the county	Mode of measurement of woodland in D.B.
Norfolk	E.A.	127	20·3	S.
Suffolk	E.A.	78	16·7	S.
Surrey	K.	26	15·1	S.
Cambs.	M.	21	12·4	S.
Sussex	Su.	38	12·3	S.
Berks.	W.	19	11·5	S.
Kent	K.	47	11·0	S.
Notts.	M.	20	8·2	L. & B.
Lincs.	M.	48	7·8	S. and L. & B.
Bucks.	M.	14	6·9	S.
Essex	E.	29	6·6	S.
Yorks., E.R.	N.	20	5·7	L. & B.
Middlesex	M.	8	5·6	S.
Hants	W.	19	5·6	S.
Beds.	M.	7	4·9	S.
Cheshire	M.	11	4·9	L. & B.
Hunts.	N.	4	4·4	L. & B.
Herts.	M.	18	4·3	L. & B.
Leics. and Rutland	M.	12	3·7	L. & B.
Oxon	M.	8	3·6	L. & B.
Worcs.	M.	7	3·6	L. & B.
Wilts.	W.	11	3·6	L. & B.
Devon	W.	16	3·3	L. & B.
Gloucs.	M.	10	2·9	L. & B.
Yorks., N.R.	N.	12	2·9	L. & B.
Dorset	W.	8	2·8	L. & B.
Northampton	M.	8	2·6	L. & B.
Somerset	W.	11	2·3	L. & B.
Yorks., W.R.	N.	11	2·1	L. & B.
Warwicks.	M.	3	1·3	L. & B.
Staffs.	M.	3	1·1	L. & B.
Salop	M.	3	1·0	S. and L. & B.
Derby.	M.	1	·4	L. & B.
Northumb.	N.	15	8·5	No record
Durham	N.	12	4·5	No record
Lancashire. Hardly any population of Teutonic blood.				
Cumberland. Saxon names much superseded by Norse.				

Abbreviations: E.A., East Anglia; K., Kent; E., Essex; M., Mercia; Su., Sussex; N., Northumbria; W., Wessex; L. & B., length and breadth; S., Swine fed.
The records are purposely confined to village names.

In the case of the attributes of *-ham* the personal attributes amount to 53 per cent and the descriptive to 47 per cent of the whole. Of the personal attributes 39 per cent are family or clan names in *-ingham*. It is noticeable that, in the case of certain of the counties which contain 10 or more names in *-ham*

the names with personal attributes contain a larger number in the family or clan form *-ingham* than with the simple ending *-ham*. These counties are : Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Berkshire, the East Riding of Yorkshire. These are all regions which, with the possible exception of Berkshire,[1] were almost certainly in the first rush of the invasions of the kingdoms in which they lie.

The same phenomenon has been noticed in the case of the *-ing* settlements.[2] It is also noticeable that in Kent the *-ing* element is associated with swine pastures (*denn*'s).

COT (-cot, -cote, -cott)

All the lexicons translate *cot* by (1) 'cottage', (2) 'house', (3)[1] chamber'. The essential meaning is 'cottage'. 'House, is merely an incidental meaning owing to cottages having' as at the present day, been referred to as 'houses'. But *cot* had some special connotation even as it has at the present day. More than that, it almost certainly connoted the plot of land attached to the house, and of all forms of holdings in Saxon times it seems to have been the smallest. That is shown by the references to it in Domesday.

Some very remarkable facts come to light when a reckoning is made of its distribution in the various counties.

(1) Taking local as well as village names in England there are 552 cases of its occurrence of which no less than 324 are in the one county of Devon.

(2) In the county of Devon, of the 324 *cots*, only 4 have developed into village communities.

(3) In the counties within the areas of the kingdoms of East Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Sussex there are only 16 *-cot* names and only 2 of them have developed into village communities.

The ending *-cot* contrasts with *-ham*, the other term which implies either a small holding, or at any rate a land unit smaller than that of the village. *-ham* is peculiarly common in the kingdoms of the south-east, and *-cot* is peculiarly rare. Another contrast may be mentioned—that *-ham* has developed largely into village communities whereas very few indeed of the *-cots* have so developed.

The numerous *-cots* in Devon as compared with their rarity in other counties suggests that the occupation of Devon by the West Saxons was not of the same nature as the occupation

[1] Berkshire may have been conquered in the same campaign. At any rate its conquest must have come early in the invasion of the West Saxons.

[2] See the notes on *-ing* names.

of other regions of England by the Teutonic invaders, in other words that it was not due to conquest but to percolation. These small and isolated settlers could not have taken up their abode on the borders of Celtic Cornwall had the Saxon settlement in Devon been one of conquest. It looks as if the settlement was due to percolation of a region from which the British inhabitants had fled. Perhaps the fugitives were part of that number of Celts who fled to Brittany in consequence of the Saxon invasion. It is possible that the flight took place after the campaign against 'three British kings'[1] decided by the battle of *Deorham* (Dyrham in Gloucestershire) which took place in A.D. 577, a campaign which might well suggest to the Celts of Devon that they would be the next to be attacked.

The fact that the Saxon settlers in Devon did not fear to settle on the frontier with the unsubdued Celts of Cornwall on the other side of it, and further that the Wessex government allowed them to do so, may be explained by the further fact that Devon seems to have been part of that region of Britain which the Belgae of Gaul, who were not a pure Celtic race, and in Gaul had been distinguished from the Celts, had occupied in the last half century B.C., whereas the Cornish were Celts from Spain who had come to Cornwall in the fourth century B.C. Their feelings towards the neighbouring Belgae were probably hostile; and that accounts perhaps for the flight of the Devonian Belgae to Gaul (Brittany) because, if attacked by the West Saxons, they had no place of refuge in Cornwall.

The setting up of small settlements in England whether *cots* or *hams* raises one question which must be faced. It has been already said that the Teutonic invaders found it necessary to set up their original settlements as self-supporting communities. Men had to live on what they could grow, and the question arises as to how the settlers on new lands lived through at least the first year of their settlement. They must have been dependent in this first instance on somebody else, either a village community or an individual holder in some neighbouring community, probably on terms of some payment in kind.[2]

[1] The three Romano-British 'kings' were almost certainly those of the three Roman towns of Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester, and the conquest of Bath must have included the conquest of N. Somerset, which was therefore not occupied by percolation as has been suggested by one writer.

[2] Of the *-cots* in Devon the attributes of which can be satisfactorily explained 74 have personal, 184 descriptive attributes; and only 1 no attribute at all. Only 4 have become village communities. The last is a striking feature of the statistics from which may be perhaps drawn the conclusion that these squatters were from the beginning subordinate as tenants to larger holders of land. But the position is admittedly obscure.

WEORTH, WORTH, WYRTH (-worth)

B.T.—'a close', 'enclosure', 'a house with surrounding land', 'courtyard'. S.—'enclosure adjoining house', 'courtyard', 'farm'. C.—'courtyard', 'street' or 'lane'. P.N.S.—No definite expression of opinion. E.—(1) 'enclosure', (2) 'enclosure round a homestead'.

Of these suggested meanings 'enclosure' and 'farm' are, no doubt, in a general sense correct; but they fail, as in the case of so many interpretations of topographical terms in the lexicons, to show how a *worth* differed from the other enclosures or farms implied by other Saxons terms.

Some light is thrown on its meaning by a comparison of the attributes applied to it and other terms in place names.

TABLE IV

Percentage of attributes attached to certain common terms which appear in the Saxon charters

	Personal		Descriptive	No attribute
	Individual	Family		
Worth	70	24	5	1
Tun	10	23	67	0
Wic	2	9½	79	9½
Ham	31	11½	55	2
Stoc	18	2½	38	41
Cot	11	11	69	11

TABLE V

Relative percentage of Personal and Descriptive attributes attached to the above terms on the modern map

	Personal	Descriptive
Worth	74½	25
Tun	28	72
Wic	26	74
Ham	41	59
Stoc	32	68
Cot	27	73

In the charters the number of names is but a small proportion of those in the country, and it is an accident that only one *worth* without an attribute appears in Table IV.

Also the increase in the number of descriptive attributes in the *-worths* of Table V is due to the fact that in later times attributes practically always descriptive, were added to unattributed names for purposes of distinction. Cf. in Berkshire: Longworth, Highworth, which were originally *Worth*. Domesday shows other examples of the same thing.

What is remarkable about *Worth* is that in the charters it has personal attributes in 94 per cent of the cases of its appearance in them, and in 70 per cent of the cases of the names individuals in the genitive case are added to it. This implies that *-worths* were originally in private ownership, for if that was

not the case, and the name were added merely for distinctive purposes, why should not such names be equally common in the case of other place-name terminations. That, as the table shows, is far from being the case. Also the contrast with *-wic* is very remarkable. That termination has in the charters only 2 per cent of personal attributes in the instances in which it occurs in them ; and no one who knows anything about place names would dispute the fact that *wic*'s were originally communal property. The increase in the number of personal attributes with *wic* in later times is explained clearly in the charters, namely that the practice of dividing them up among individual holders had gone far before the Saxon Age ended.

If any conjecture can be made as to the distinguishing feature which differentiated *-worths* from other settlements it is that they were not made, like the *tun*, *ham*, and *cot* settlements, on land which the new comers had found already cleared but on clearings made by individual owners at a period later than the original conquest. The occurrence of *worth* as an uncompounded place name suggests the possibility that they were originally put by the government in dependence on some neighbouring village community. As to the establishment of property rights by the person who did the clearing, it is a very common feature of customary land law among peoples in an early and middle stage of cultural development that any land, hitherto waste, which any individual brings into cultivation becomes his property.[1] Cultivation by clearing in woodland or forest spaces used by communities for rough pasturage, the *leah*'s, does not seem to have been treated as reclamation of waste. Unfortunately little more can be said about it. The distribution of *-worth* names in the various Saxon kingdoms does not throw light on its meaning, though it does show that it was a type of community which might spring up in any part of the country, for the instances in the various kingdoms have to one another a ratio correspondent, generally speaking, to the ratio between the areas of the various kingdoms.

TABLE VI

-Worths in the old Saxon Kingdoms

East Anglia	..	10	Sussex	..	4	Northumbria	
Essex	..	2	Wessex	..	33	(excluding Durham	
Kent	..	5	Mercia	..	89	and Northumberland)	23

[1] Unless a change has been made in recent years, the rule holds good, with certain reservations, in England. If any one cultivates a piece of land on a common he acquires a freehold right to it if he is not ejected from his illegal acquisition within 30 (I believe) years.

In Greece, at any rate in 1892, a peasant cultivator of waste land acquired the ownership of that land against all except the government, and the government could not claim it except for public purposes such as the making or diversion of a road. It may be the law now.

Mercia has indeed more than its share,—it is not possible to say why. But it is noticeable that it is absent from the frontier districts of Herefordshire and Shropshire, the Welsh Marches, which indicates what has been already said—that *worth*'s were not originally community settlements. Individuals would not have liked to settle in so dangerous a region ; and in any case the government would not have allowed it.[1]

Worth was a term of a meaning sufficiently distinctive to be used without an attribute as a place name.

It is probable that *worth*'s were originally treated in the administrative system as members of some neighbouring village community until by accretion of newcomers they attained to the community size. The original *worth*'s must have been single continuous areas of land, not in strips as in places founded *ab initio* as village communities. The *-ingworth* forms of the place name imply merely that the family name rather than the personal name of the original settler became attached to the place.

WIC (-wick, -wich, -week, -wyke)

The evidence on the meaning and nature of *wic*'s is more clear than that relating to many Saxon place name endings.

B.T.—(1) ' dwelling place ', ' abode ' ; (2) ' place where something remains ' ; (3) ' temporary abode ', ' camp '. P.N.S.—(1) ' dwelling place '. ' abode ' ; (2) ' dairy farm ' in D.B., especially in Essex. S.—(1) ' dwelling ', ' village ' ; (2) ' camp ', ' street '. E.—(1) ' dwelling ' ; (2) ' village ', ' hamlet ', ' town ' ; (3) ' farm '.

The present considerations are concerned with its meaning in Saxon times in England. The meanings above cited suggest that some of the interpreters of the name have adopted without personal examination of the evidence the views of their predecessors in Saxon lexicography. In the translations ' dwelling place ', ' abode ', translations which might be applied to *tun*, *ham*, and other terms, the implication is that the Saxon language was prone to synonymous terms. It was not. Synonymous terms are the outcome of late stages of a language, when, in

[1] It has been frequently stated by writers that *-ton* names, the names of settlements which were *ab initio* community settlements are significant of early conquest by the Teutons. It has been so frequently stated that it has become an article of faith. As a fact the *-ton* settlements are not most numerous, but least numerous in those counties which can be reasonably supposed to have acquired a position of security at the outset of the conquest of , of the regions in which they lie. In Cambridgeshire, Berkshire, Middlesex, Essex, Buckinghamshire, and Surrey the numbers of *-ton* names of villages range from 27 to 15. In the remaining counties there are 5 with over 100 such names, 3 with 90, and 4 with 80. The Saxon-founded *-tons* where settlements of some size were needed for the security of the inhabitants.

west Europe at any rate, there were large borrowings from Latin and from contemporary European languages, some of which are no more than synonyms of native words. Another general point is this. Races the members of which live within limits so circumscribed as those within which men lived before the days of easy transit and communication were peculiarly minute in their nomenclature of the physical and other features of the limited region in which they lived and which they knew.[1] They had distinctive names for all types of them[2]. An A.S. *wic* meant specifically a 'dairy farm' where the butter and cheese were made. Hence came a further idea derived from the fact that it was that place in the village community which was most connected with the 'making' of something. So it came to be applied to Droitwich in Worcestershire (called *Sealt-wic* in Saxon times), and to Northwich and Middlewich in Cheshire because at these places salt was 'made' for use.[3] A further connotation arose from topographical causes. The village of a Saxon village community was naturally placed for convenience of labour as near as possible to the centre of the ploughland on which the inhabitants did by far the greater part of their work.[4] Hence any other features of the economy of the village community were separated from the village by the breadth of the ploughland. And so the *wic*'s which were situated on the hay land were ordinarily at some distance from the village. Hence the idea of distance or separation from the village became associated with the term *wic*, and when some village communities, or probably in most cases their manorial lords, developed cultivation outside the community bounds, such areas came to be called *berewic*'s, literally 'barley wicks'.

Place names show clearly that the *wic*'s were originally communal property from which each holder in the community got a share of the annual hay crop. The communal ownership is shown by the fact that the attributes of *wic* are very rarely

[1] Darwin notes this in reference to dwellers on the remote islands of the South American coast.

[2] E.g. in Saxon '*comb*', '*healh*', and '*trog*' all meant a 'hollow'; but the hollows were of different kinds.

[3] One authoritative writer denies the connection of *-wich* in Cheshire with the making of salt, saying that there were other *-wichs* in the county which had no connection with salt manufacture. Of course there were, because Cheshire had, like other counties, its dairy farms. If he had read the Domesday of Cheshire he would have found that it refers to places where salt was made as *wic*'s pure and simple.

[4] Exceptional cases may be found in the chalk districts where few streams exist, some of them not perennial and others perennial only on their lower courses which might not traverse the ploughlands. Wells of ordinary depth would not reach water where the chalk was deep. The Saxon charters, and even the parish boundaries of the present day, show that the cornlands of the village communities of the Berkshire Downs were on the S. slope of the range, whereas the villages are on the N. side where there is water.

personal and nearly always descriptive, a great contrast to the attributes of *worth*. (See Table VII.)

TABLE VII
Attributes of *wic* and *worth*

	Personal	Descriptive	No Attribute
In the charters:			
Wic	0	5	0
Worth	17	4	0
In modern place names:			
Wic	42	125	28
Worth	157	40	10

It is probable that originally no personal names were attached to *wic*. The change came about in this way. The strips of arable fields had originally been allotted to different holders in the community every year. That was apparently abolished before the Teutons came to England, and each strip became the personal property of some holder—a family.

When the Teutons first settled in this country the meads in their settlements, the hayland of the *wic*, were common property. But long before the end of the Saxon period the tendency was to substitute for common mead a mead divided into lots which became the personal property of landholders in the community. Before the end of the Saxon period that had become the rule rather than the exception as is shown by express statements in the Saxon charters that the mead of this or that particular community is *gemaene*, 'common'.[1] Had not communal ownership of the mead become exceptional these references to it would not have been made. The acquisition of definite areas in the mead caused the new owners to fence them in and form *hamm*'s. Hence the frequency of the field name *ham* in watermeadows.[2] It also led to the attachment of personal names to many *wic*'s for the term *wic* came to be applied to the individual lots as well as to the mead as a whole, though, strictly speaking, the *wic* was the building where the cheese and butter were made together with the byres for the shelter of the cattle. Sometimes a dwelling was added, hence the Wickhams (*Wic-ham*) of the modern map.

[1] The following charters assert or imply the existence of a 'common mead':—
B.783. K.396. 'And the mead is common as it was before.'
B.1066. K.487. 'And the mead is common'.
B.1216. K.543. 'Of the common mead 16 acres' (*aeceras*).
B.942. K.1199. 'and Coda's mead besides.'
B.1142. K.1253. 'the mead which on the west side of Wantage Brook belongs to the 10 hides.'

[2] See notes on *ham*, p. 77.

STEDE (-stead, -sted)

B.T.—(1) 'place'; (2) 'site'. Also various meanings not topographical. S.—'place'. E.—'place'. Otherwise rather vague. P.N.S.—Leave the meaning somewhat a matter of uncertainty. S.T.R.—'place'. Otherwise vague. 'Place' is a term used by lexicographers as a general translation of various Saxon terms. But *stede* to the Anglo-Saxons meant a definite and distinctive kind of place, and the question is what kind of place it was.

The first test which can be applied to it is its distribution as a place-name ending in the various counties of England. (See Table VIII.)

TABLE VIII

Counties	No. of occurrences of *stede*
Essex	17
Norfolk, Kent	12
Suffolk, Somerset	11
Bedfordshire	10
Surrey, Sussex, Berkshire	6
Hampshire, Hertfordshire	5
Lincolnshire	2
Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Middlesex, Huntingdonshire, Lancashire, Cumberland	1

It does not occur in other counties.
It is always compounded with some other term.
It is found with a personal attribute in 8 cases; with a descriptive attribute in 104.

In the charters *stede* occurs 49 times, in only one case with a personal and in 43 with a descriptive attribute. In 5 cases the attribute is doubtful.

In the statistics in Table VIII certain noticeable facts stand out. Stead names are most common in the old kingdoms of East Anglia, Essex and Kent. But they are also common in Somerset and Bedfordshire. They are fairly common in what was the earliest conquered region of Wessex (Hants and Berks.), and also in Sussex and in Hertfordshire. This distribution has its noticeable features; but no definite conclusion can be drawn from them.

More definite is the contrast between the numbers of personal and descriptive attributes used with it. The immense preponderance of the descriptive attributes shows that steads were communal property originally.

Undoubtedly the term survives in the modern terms 'steading', 'farmstead', and 'homestead'. But so far as 'farmstead' is concerned, it was not applied to any farmsteads which might be attached to a farm house in a village, for the

original *stede*'s were obviously away from a village. Also it was exceptional for it to have a dwellinghouse attached to it, or the name *hamstede*, a steading with a house attached to it, would not have come into existence.

As a place name it is never found in an uncompounded form. In that respect it contrasts with *worth*, and still more with *stoc*. This would seem to imply that it was not a sufficiently distinctive term to stand without some attribute in place-name nomenclature. So far it is only possible to say that *stede*'s were buildings for the shelter of cattle pastured outside the boundaries of the community the members of which owned them. The grazing grounds were usually in the more open parts of woodland, or the drier parts of marshes. The wide stretches of grassland typical of the chalk downs of the south of England were largely under the plough in Saxon times. The Saxon farmer cultivated light dry soil wherever he could find it, as the Saxon charters of Berkshire show. These *stede*'s must have been largely in the partially open spaces in the woods, the *leah*'s of Saxon charters. Cattle farming on any scale was impossible for the Saxon farmer or even for the English farmers of post-Saxon times until economic circumstances altered greatly. They had no artificial grass. Cereal, not pastoral, farming was the Saxon farmer's main pursuit. He was pre-occupied by the need of providing food for himself and his family, and by the fear of lean years and even of years of famine. Moreover in those days of difficult and very slow lines of communication the export of cattle abroad presented great difficulties and cannot have been a paying proposition except perhaps for those who lived near the ports of the E. and SE. coasts. So the steads of this part of England, the E. and SE. where the name is most common may have been due to such a trade.

LEAH (-ley, -ly, -leigh, -lee)

B.T.—'lea', 'meadow', 'untilled land'. S.—'meadow', 'field'. E.—(1) 'glade', 'a place in a wood where the trees thin out'; (2) 'clearing'. P.N.S.—'clearing'. But the term 'clearing' is applied to land covered with brushwood.

On the evidence of the charters the translations given by Ekwall are in accord with the view which will be taken here. But the 'untilled land' of Bosworth and Toller comes into account.

Leah is one of the commonest terms in the Saxon charters, especially in the surveys giving the bounds of land grants. That shows that *leah*'s were a common feature of the outlying parts of the land of a village community. Originally the term

is applied to the lands of a village community which were not under cultivation. No doubt this untilled land was very similar in character to many village commons of the present day, an area with trees, brushwood, gorse, and brambles growing on it, interspersed with grass. As the untilled land of a community, it stood in contrast to the tilled land, called *ierthlond* or simply *lond* in the charters. Except for that part of the year when the crops were off the land and the cattle pastured on the stubble till the winter ploughing began the *leah*'s were the sole pasturage of the community, unless, as was possibly the case, the cattle were, for purposes of manuring, pastured on the mead after the hay was gathered in.

But, especially in the early days of the Saxon settlement, village communities near extensive woodland in which were more or less open spaces suitable for the pasturage of cattle used them for that purpose, especially in the later Saxon times when the forest and woodland, originally exploited indiscriminately by all communities within reach, was, as one Saxon charter shows, divided up into lots apportioned to each village community, lots which, if this charter gives a picture of what ordinarily occurred, might become part of the land of the community. Such spaces in woodland, as being more easily cleared, were later brought under cultivation, and this took place on so large a scale that they attained to the size of village communities, and *leah* acquired the additional connotation of 'clearing'.

TABLE IX

The New Forest, perhaps the best known forest in modern England, together with the co-terminous Forest of Melchet to the N. of it, with its near neighbour and probably co-terminous Clarendon Forest just inside the Wilts. border, shows the close connection of the place-name endings -ley (-leigh), -stead and -field with woodland. In the above forest lands there are the following places the name of which appear even on a ½ inch map (Bartholomew) :—(1) Village names : E. Grimstead, W. Grimstead, W. Tytherley, E. Tytherley, Sherfield English, Ibsley, Burley, Minstead, Rhinefield ; (2) Local names : Canefield, Cowesfield, Embley, Studley, Gorley, Bentley, Purley, Bradley, Wilverley, Hromsley, Vereley, Ridley, Blackhamsley, Hincheslea, Ripley, Shirley, Heathfield, Ossemsley, Bushley, Ipley, Culverley, Woodfidley, Sowley.

As the connection of these place-name endings with forest and woodland is important to establish beyond doubt I append statistics from the Andredsweald.

	Ley	Stead	Field	Worth	Ham	Fold
In Surrey ..	33	10	14	1	3	5
In Sussex ..	53	13	48	16	32	26
In Kent ..	4	2	7	1	1	0
In Hants ..	4	0	1	1	1	0

This list includes local as well as village names.

Another striking instance of a number of -ley names within the bounds of a former forest are in NW. Worcestershire in what was formerly the S. part of Kinver Forest.

There is really no reason to doubt that *leah* meant originally land of the same character as the typical common of modern

times. Such areas might, as the charters show, be found on the lands of most village communities, and were used as rough pasturage. As the village itself was usually surrounded by ploughland, these *leah*'s were as the charters show, on the boundaries of the lands of the village communities.

Put briefly the conclusions with regard to the meaning of *leah* are : (1) that it meant originally ' untilled land '. a meaning applied perhaps in the first instance to the untilled land of parishes (village communities), and applied at the same time, or later to more or less open spaces in woodland, owing to their being of a similar nature. (2) As the woodland *leah*'s were very frequently cleared the term came to denote and connote a ' clearing '.

STOCC, STOC (-stoke, -stock)

These two terms were confused even by Saxon copyists, and one modern authority has expressed a doubt as to whether they were not really the same word. It will be assumed here that they were two distinct words.

All lexicographers who accept *stocc* as a separate word translate it as ' log ', ' trunk of a tree '. There is no evidence which runs counter to that view. Apart from that it is very doubtful whether it is in any case the origin of the endings -stoke and -stock in English place names.

As regards *stoc* Ekblom in his *Place Names of Wiltshire* states roundly that he does not believe that the term has any of the meanings suggested for it by previous writers. When the meanings given for it in the lexicons are examined the remark of Ekblom seems justified. But Ekblom does not venture on a constructive suggestion as to its meaning.

E.—(1) ' monastery ' ; (2) ' dairy farm ' or ' cattle farm '. The first of these meanings rests on the somewhat slender foundation of the fact that one writer uses it of one monastery.[1] For the second there is really no foundation whatever. B.T. and P.N.S.[1] translate it by ' place '. The number of Saxon terms they have given the same translation would take a long time to count. S. does not venture at any guess as to its meaning except in a compounded form.

It is easy to criticize predecessors in this venture ; but, as a fact any attempt to give the specific meaning of the term amounts to no more than a guess.

The instances of its use in English place names, where it takes indifferently, as it would seem, the forms *-stoke* and *-stock*, are remarkable in various ways.

[1] And in that case it may be miswritten for *stow*, a sacred place.

It occurs without any attribute in a far larger number of cases than any other place name, viz. 67 times as against 15 of *wic* and 10 (traceable) of *worth*.[1]

The frequent occurrence of such names without an attribute suggests two things: (1) that *-stoc* was a term with a very distinctive meaning; (2) that it indicated a place dependent on and attached to some village community, a possibility supported by such interrelated names as Callington and Calstock in Cornwall, Chard and Chardstock in Somerset, and Basing and Basingstoke in Hants.

That the terms *stoc* and *stocc* are connected in meaning seems very probable indeed. Is it that the 'o' of *stoc* is a long o (ō) due to vowel change from a short 'o' in *stocc*? Such *ablauts* occur in other cases, and in two of them, *yfer* and *ofer*, and *thyrn* and *thorn* the change from 'o' to 'y' implies a change from the denomination of a single object to the denomination of a collection of objects of the same kind.[2] If this is the case, then *stoc* is a collection of stumps or logs or something formed from such a collection. Thus it might mean a stockade, a meaning which has in the past been both suggested and rejected by various writers.

Burh is a term very common in the charters. In nine cases out of ten it means an earthen 'camp', to use the word by which they are designated on the modern map. But in two cases, or perhaps four,[3] *burh* is used in reference to a Saxon fort. Such forts were surrounded by an earthen rampart surmounted by a wooden stockade. The *stocs* may therefore have been originally forts erected in the time of some war, and, after passing out of military use, taken up as residences by new settlers. This is of course a conjecture.

FELD (-field)

E.—'open country', 'land free from wood', 'plain'. P.N.S.—'wide stretch of land devoid of timber or brushwood'. S.—'field', 'plain'. B.T.—'pasture', 'plain', 'open country'.

'Pasture' and 'open country' may be accepted as interpretations of the meaning of *feld*; but they do not give the whole of its meaning. That it was associated with woodland is shown

[1] These are calculated from the oldest forms of *-worth* names available. To some of them attributes, nearly always descriptive, have been added in later times for purposes of distinction, e.g. in Berkshire Longworth, Highworth, Aldworth (Old). In other counties D.B. mentions *-worths* without an attribute which have been given attributes since 1086.

[2] See later *thyrn* and *yfer*.

[3] B.1068. K.1229; B.1076. K.1320 are certain examples. B.629. K.1096 and B.393. K.1038 are possible examples.

perhaps by its connexion with the areas of the New Forest and the Andredesweald. The statistics of woodland and forest which may be found in Domesday point to the same connexion. It was an area, usually on the edge of a forest, where the ground was all but free from timber or scrub, and large areas of grass prevailed—far more grass than could be found on a *leah*. The connexion of the name with the *edges* of woodland and forest is shown very markedly by the large number of -field names between Reading and Basingstoke, on a stretch of land at what was originally the west edge of Windsor Forest.[1] The majority of the -fields were on the edges of forest land, as in the present case, regions where the forest would be giving out. They were not, so far as can be seen, mere open ground, but ground which was open in contrast with the neighbouring or surrounding woodland for there were 'fields' right inside many of the stretches of woodland which Domesday will disclose in other counties to those who examine it carefully.

Terms connected with Agriculture.[2]

Aecer. It is always used in the charters of a strip of ploughland. Its breadth was 22 yards, nowadays 1 chain. That was probably an exact measurement. The *aecer* was ploughed in two ridges having furrows on their outer sides and a furrow in between them. These furrows were for drainage purposes, and with a view to the drainage being as effective as possible, a standard distance between them was adopted, measured by a rod, or pole, the *gierd* of the Saxon charters. This was an actual pole which determined the distance from the summits of the ridges of the *aecer* to the furrows on either side of it. In a few cases in surveys attached to charters the *gyrd* is used as a measure in a landmark such as makes it possible to test its length at the present day. In these cases the *gyrd* works out at an average $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards. As a fact the *gyrd* or pole was always $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards long.[3] As the *aecer* was always 2 ridges wide and the ridges were of a set width the *aecer* had always a breadth

[1] Burghfield, Shinfield, Arborfield, Stratfield Mortimer, Stratfieldsaye, Stratfield Turgis, Swallowfield, Heckfield, Sherfield-on-Loddon.

That these were really in the edge of the forest is shown by the fact that they were interspersed among a lot of -ley names: Whitley, Grazeley, Farley, Langley, Riseley, The Leas, Yateley, Hazeley, Hartley, Wespall, Mattingley, Hartley Row, and Bramley. Cf. the names in Table IX, p. 91.

[2] I dealt with the following agricultural terms in English Essays and Studies, the vol. issued in 1922: *aecer, andheafod, furh, gara, geat, gemaere, heafod, hlinc, land, raewe*. I propose here to make some additions to what I said there about some of them.

[3] It is perhaps needless to say that it was the pole which determined the measure not the measure which determined the length of the pole.

of 22 yards—a definite and accurate measure as the poles used in measuring were of a length which had become set and established by general experience in ploughing. The length of the *aecer*, a *furlang* (furlong), was not more than an approximate measure. It may be measured on a modern map. Where a parish boundary runs in steps with turns at right angles it shows that the ploughland of the parish either does, or did at one time, reach the parish boundary in that part of it. Where the step is long it means that it represents the side, not the end, of an *aecer*. Those steps vary in length from 180 to about 240 yards. Thus the areas of different *aecer*'s varied.

The connotation of *aecer* was extended by new ideas attached to it. (1) As an area of approximately the same average size, to the measurement of woodland; (2) as the commonest division of land, to the mead after it had been divided up in several ownership, *maed aeceras*, the *hamm*'s of the new proprietary lots.[1]

ANDHEAFOD

Heafod was the space (headland) at the end of each acre *aecer* where the plough was turned. 'Headland' has nothing to do with elevation. The *aecer* was, of course, ploughed lengthwise; but the headland was ploughed breadthwise in reference to the *aecer*. It was ploughed after the main body of the *aecer*. The space where the plough turned in ploughing the headland was the *andheafod*. This is shown by one or two of the references to *andheafod* in the charters. So there would be an *andheafod* at each corner of the *aecer*.

SHOT (? SCEAT)

Shot as a topographical term seems to be derived from the A.S. *sceat* which Ekwall interprets as a patch of land with trees and scrub upon it. He points out that as a place-name element its attributes are very often the names of trees or various forms of scrub. But various writers have asserted that 'shot' may mean a detached piece of land or of landed property. It is very common in field names, and in some cases this last meaning seems to be attached to it. But it occurs in field names in cases in which neither of these meanings can possibly be applied to it. A curious form of field name which seems to be confined to Berkshire describes a field a 'shooting on' so and so, e.g. 'field shooting on orchard'. The meaning

[1] See note on *wic*.

appears to be 'running down to'. Is 'shot' applied to a field on a slope?

HLINC (Lynch)

Hlinc in the charters is always a shelf of ploughland on the side of a slope or hill formed by ploughing always downhill. In the lexicons it is translated also by 'ridge'. 'slope'. 'rising ground'. meanings which are represented by other common Saxon terms, and probably were not meanings of *hlinc*.

FORIERTH

Forierth is translated in some lexicons by 'ploughland'; but, as *ierth* has that meaning, it may be assumed the *forierth* is a special form of *ierth*, in other words that the received translation is, like those of many other Saxon terms, not precise. The term is not common in the charters. But there is a landmark in a charter (B.601. K.1080) of Hardwell in Compton Beauchamp, Berkshire, which seems to show its meaning. The landmark runs thus: '*th'and langes thaere furh to anum andheafdum to anre forierthe and seo forierth gaeth in to tham Lande*': 'then along the furrow to a corner headland to a projecting piece of ploughland and the projecting piece of ploughland penetrates into that ploughland'.

There has already been occasion to refer to the step formation[1] in parts of many parish boundaries. This sometimes takes a very pronounced form[2] when it may be only a single *aecer* belonging to one parish projects into the ploughlands of the next parish. How such an adjustment between boundaries came to pass is difficult to say. It may have been the result of arrangements made between holders in the two neighbouring communities.

Certain additions and amendments to the views put forward in the paper on Saxon terms published in English Essays and Studies of 1922.[3]

Sand del. P. 52. Further instances of its use in the form Sandle in field names where the six inch map shows that a sand pit exists in the field called by that name confirm the translation 'sandpit'.

[1] See p. 95.

[2] Those who would like to see a striking example of this step formation might look at either the one inch or six inch map of the parish of Bucklebury in Berkshire between Newbury and Reading.

[3] During the twenty years which have passed since I published that paper I have published further series of the Saxon charters and have made long studies of certain features of the Domesday records. That has led to modifications in my views on the interpretation of a few of the terms dealt with in the paper of 1922. Fortunately the amendments are few.

Dun. P. 54. The term is there confined to the type of hill now called a 'down'. Further experience of its use in the charters shows that it was the generic name for a hill. *Hyll* seems to be used of 'hill' in the sense it is now used of a hill in a road.

Feld has been already dealt with in this paper.

Pyll (*Pol, Pul*). Whereas in the charters of the south and midlands this term is used of a pool in a stream, but not of any other form of pool. In the charters of the south-west it is used of the stream itself, it still appears in the map as a dialectic term in relation to the estuaries of small streams falling into the estuary of the Severn.

Rod. Further experience of the charters has led to the belief that *rod* means a way cut through a wood, what is now called a 'riding'.

Yfre. Undoubtedly, as laid down in the paper of 1922, an escarpment. To this may be added that the 'y' is an *ablaut* (vowel change) of the 'o' in *ofer*, 'bank', hillslope', the *ablaut* implying a change from a single individual object to a collection or series of such objects, for an escarpment can be regarded as a series of slopes. The same *ablaut* seems to be found in *thyrn.* (See later.)

Gerythra, Garethru, Hrythrum are oblique cases of a term which appears in the Wilts. charters. In the paper of 1922 it is pointed out that in the charter surveys it is closely connected with *yfer* 'escarpment'. (See above.[1]) In that paper no attempt was made to explain its meaning. But since that paper was published it has turned up in the course of reading the *Saxon Chronicle.* In the record of the *Saxon Chronicle* (the Parker MS.) under the year 891 is this passage: *and thrie Scottas comen to Aelfrede cyninge on annae bate butan elcum gerethrum of Hibernia:* 'and three Irishmen came to King Alfred in a boat without any . . . from Ireland.' Plummer in his edition of the *Chronicle* quotes from a Latin translation of the *Chronicle* the Latin, 'sine omni gubernatione humana' as the translation of *butan aelcum gerethrum.*

There does not seem to be any question but that the *gerethrum* of this passage is the word used in the charters. Plummer

[1] The references to it in the charters are as follows: (*a*) in the charter B.756. K.387 a charter on Swallowcliffe, Wilt., a landmark reads: *of tham crundele on tha lytla hwitan gerythra beneathan yfre on thane thorn:* 'from the quarry to the little white (*gerythra*) beneath the escarpment to the thorntree': (*b*) in the charter K.687, a charter of Fovant, Wilts., is the landmark: *of thaere yfre in on tha garethru:* 'from the escarpment to the . . .; (*c*) B.714. K.1115, a charter of Burcombe, Wilts.: *thonne west andlang hricges swa se herepoth sceat to tham beorge to scorte hrythrum: thonne forth be yfre oth hringwoldes troew:* 'then west along the ridge as the highway runs to the barrow to (the) short . . .; then on by the escarpment to Hringwold's tree'.

translates the term as 'steering oars'; but it is quite possible that the reference may be to oars generally. In any case the oars project from each side of the vessel just as side ridges run out more or less at right angles from a main ridge; and it seems exceedingly probable that the term is used in the charters to denominate such side ridges.

Gerithru is not mentioned in Sweet's dictionary, nor in Stratman. B.T. gives the meaning 'rudder', 'helm', or 'oar'; but does not attempt to translate the word in the charters.

Thorn, Thyrne. The lexicographers seem to assume that these are different spellings of the same term. It is possible however that the 'y' of *thyrne* may be an *ablaut* of the 'o' of *thorn.* Cf. *ofer* and *yfer* supra; and with the same change of meaning from the individual object, a thorn tree, to a series or collection of the same object, in this case a thorn thicket.