THE SUSSEX PLACE-NAMES IN DOMESDAY BOOK WHICH END IN "-INTUN."

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The Old-English word *tun* occurs very frequently as the final element in English names of places. It indicates the existence of an enclosure which had originally been made for purposes of self-defence. In Old High Dutch the corresponding word *zun*, which is the forerunner of the modern German *zaun*, means a "hedge." The O.E. verb *tynan* means "to enclose" and is derived from *tun*. In the additions made to the Saxon Chronicle at Canterbury we are told that when King Ida made Bamborough his chief residence it was first "betyned," or "enclosed" by him with a hedge, and afterwards with a wall. The dative or locative case of *tun* is *tune*, and that is what we find in Domesday Book when the return of manorial particulars demanded by the surveyors was made by an English steward. When the steward of a manor happened to be a Norman, he wrote "*tone*," for the simple reason that there was no long *u* in Norman French.

The ending *tune, tone*, is a frequent one in those parts of Domesday Book which relate to South-Eastern England. In "Chenth," which has about 970,000 acres, there are about 50 examples. In "Hantescire," which has about 1,048,000 acres, there are about 55. In "Sudsexe," with about 939,000 acres, there are no fewer than 115 instances.

If we refer to the map of Sussex prepared by Mr. Salzmann in order to elucidate the Great Survey of 1086, and published by him in the Victoria History of the county, we cannot fail to be struck by the fact that it would not be inexact to assert that one fourth of our

county was uninhabited in the reign of King Edward the Confessor. This reduction of inhabited acreage increases the disproportion of the endings in *tun*, when the figures for Sussex are compared with those for Kent and Hampshire.

This large disproportion appears to me to indicate that the degree of hostility shown toward the Saxon invaders by the Roman provincials was much greater in Sussex than it was in either of the neighbouring counties. Both the Saxon Chronicle and Henry of Huntingdon give us good reasons for supposing that this was actually the case. It is the fashion now-a-days to deny the authority of these documents, and to refer to them superciliously. But there is one fact with which, when we consider it in conjunction with its necessary consequences, all Sussex folks are concerned: I mean the definite statement that Ælle was opposed with such determination by the people of the Weald, and of Anderida, that when at length he succeeded in taking Anderida he put all its inhabitants to the sword. Now when we reflect that the invader either brought his thralls in along with him, or selected them from amongst the conquered population, the consideration should immediately present itself that if Ælle acted in this way he could not have acquired many thralls and serving-men. Well, some years ago I had occasion to examine the statistics of serfdom supplied by Domesday Book, and I found that, out of 283,000 persons enumerated therein, no fewer than 25,000 were *servi*, or thralls; that is to say, nine *per centum*. In "Chenth," I found the percentage was nine also. In "Sudrie," it was 10. In "Hantescire," it was 16; but in all "Sudsexe" there were only 420 slaves out of 10,410 persons enumerated; that is, only four *per centum*. Our phrase, "We wun't be druv," would appear, therefore, to have had full and honourable meaning in the county one thousand five hundred years ago, and the statement made about Ælle in the Saxon Chronicle obviously receives a considerable measure of support from the statistics given in Domesday Book some six hundred years later than the date of his invasion.

There is yet another circumstance revealed by the perusal of Mr. Salzmann's map. It is this: Stretching across the county from east to west there is a band of place-names ending in "*-intune*" which may be said to hug the line of the South Downs. Now the ending *-intune* is neither Old English nor Old Saxon, and the elucidation of it will lead to a much more curious and surprising result than the statistical examination we have just now made.

This ending is not confined to "Sudsexe." It is found in several other counties, and one early and important instance of it occurs in Berkshire. I refer to "Afintune." This place-name was considered by the late Professor Skeat in his book on "The Place-Names of Berkshire." Professor Skeat said: "The nominative is Afintun; but I cannot explain it. As a guess I would suppose it to be short for Afingatun, *i.e.*, the *tun* of the Afingas, or sons of Afa . . . But the frequent absence of g in all the earlier examples suggests that Avin or Aven may have resulted from the simple form Afan, genitive of Afa. In this case the meaning of Afintun would be 'Afa's town.'" "The weakening of *an* to *en*," continues the Professor, "and again of *en* to *in*, are both rather common."

The course of phonological attrition in Sussex was really *an*>*a*>*e*. Elsewhere *in* was weakened to *en*, and *en* and *an* were corrupted into *ing*. Moreover, where Sussex phonology is concerned it would be quite unsound to suggest that *-intun* of Domesday is a corruption of *-ingatun*. There is no reason to suppose that the syllable *ing* led a precarious existence in our county in Anglo-Saxon times. The reverse would rather appear to have been the fact. In the Great Survey of "Sudsexe" there are 33 names in *-inges*; 19 in *-ingeham*, *-ingeburne* and *-ingedune*, and seven in *-ingham* and *-ingore*. This means that 14 *per centum* of the whole number of Sussex place-names in the Norman record are compounded with the syllable *-ing*, and preserve it. In view of these facts there is no need to admit that the suggestion of corrupt pronunciation is even a possible explanation of the

eleventh-century form we are considering. Much less need we regard it as a real one.

There are only two or three instances of *-intune* in Berkshire, and their fewness countenances, if it does not justify, Professor Skeat's remark that it is not very material whether we equate Afin- with Afan-, or with Afinga-. In "Chenth" there are nine cases only. In "Sudrie" there are only four. In "Hantescire" there are 12. In "Sudsexe," however, there are no fewer than 28 instances of *-intune, -intone*; that is to say, one-fourth of our local names in *-tun* present the grammatical form *-in* which that master of Old English, Professor Skeat, admitted he could not explain. It should, I think, be admitted that these considerations set the question of the Sussex place-names in *-intun* upon a higher plane. It is not reasonable to regard them as casual or accidental; and it should, I submit, be recognised that we have a definite grammatical form to deal with. If we may reason from analogy, that grammatical form must be the possessive case of the personal name which furnishes the prototheme of the place-name itself: to wit, *Achin-tone, Alin-tune* and *Babin-tone*, would respectively mean at the *tun* of Aco, of Alo, and of Babo. But to which Germanic dialect are we to turn in order to discover therein a masculine possessive ending *-in*? The possessive singular masculine endings of proper nouns of the weak declension in the different Germanic dialects are: Gothic, *-ins*; Old High Dutch, *-in, -en*; Old Saxon, *-un*; Old English, *-an*; Old Norse and Old Frisian, *-a*. The reply to our question must therefore be that the Sussex genitive singular masculine *-in* belongs to an Upper German dialect which was either Suevic or Alemannic.

Again, in Domesday Book, the Middlesex name Kensington appears as "Chensitun." There is a common scribal error here, and the *n*-stroke, which should appear above the *i*, was omitted from the transcript. We may, therefore, read *Chensintun*. Now the medial contact of *n* with *s*, which we find in "Kens-," was not preserved in either Old English, Old Saxon, or Old Norse. All three dialects suffered this *n*

to fall out. It was preserved, however, by the Goths, the Vandals and the Almains. In *Chensintun* we find it side by side with Alemannic *-in*.

Thirdly, in the work of the Anonymous Cosmographer of Ravenna, which was compiled in the seventh century from materials which are believed to have been collected in the sixth, we are told that there was a "Croucingo" in Northern Britain, near the Wall of Severus. This means the "Go" or "Gou" of Crouco, *i.e.*, his district or principality. This, also, is Alemannic, and the *-in* in "Croucingo" is the same as the *-in* in "Alintun."

Fourthly, in addition to the 28 names in "Sudsexe" in *-intun*, we have seven names in *-enton*, *-endon*. These would appear to present the alternative Upper German ending of the masc. gen. sing., namely, *-en*. This presentation, however, is not quite certain.

When taken by themselves the reasons I have advanced furnish strong presumptive evidence that Sussex received a colony of Almains in the fifth century. It may be recalled that it was only in Sussex that a race of kings who did not derive their origin from Woden was ruling in those early times.

We must now turn from philological and linguistic evidence and address the necessary question to the historian, namely, Is there documentary evidence that the Almains reached the Britannias? The reply is in the affirmative. There is sound and unimpeachable testimony to the fact, but it has been neglected by students of our origins.

According to Sextus Aurelius Victor, who was consul in A.D. 373, and who wrote the "De Cæsaribus" about that time, Constantine the Great was proclaimed Emperor at York soon after the death of his father, Constantius Chlorus, which occurred on the 25th July, A.D. 306. Foremost among his supporters was an Almain king named Crocus, or Crogus. Crogus had been in alliance with Constantius Chlorus and there need be no doubt but that he was the leader of auxiliary Alemannic troops in the Britannias, and that Croucingo, Craucester (now Cra'ster) and the Cair Greu (or City of Crōg) of the

Welsh Triads, preserve the memory of his name. The alliance with Crogus, and the introduction of the Almains into the Britannias, no doubt date from A.D. 300, in which year Constantius Chlorus defeated the Almains near Langres with great slaughter. About eighty years later Ammianus Marcellinus, who was contemporary with the Emperors Julian and Valentinian, tells us that the Almains of the Britannias were flourishing in numbers and in power, and that the Emperor Valentinian had put them under the rule of Framări, the king of another Almain tribe dwelling near the Rhine, and called the Bucinobantes. This took place in A.D. 372, and Ammian wrote his "History" in about A.D. 390.

But who were the Almains? it may be asked. They were really a conflux of Germanic tribes who had formed a league in the second century. Among these tribes were Germani, Alemanni, Suevi, Lentienses, Bucinobantes, Juthungi, &c. Ammian speaks of the last-named people as "pars Alamannorum," XVII. vi. 1. The Juthungi were a very warlike tribe and in a fifth-century list of barbarian auxiliaries in the Roman armies, known as the "Laterculus Veronensis," and published by Mommsen, they appear as "Jotungi." Now Kent was conquered by Jutes and Saxons, and it will be remembered that the Venerable Bede described them, together with the Angles, as three of the strongest races of Germania. I cannot now discuss the Jutish question, but I prefer to trust Bede, on the one hand; and on the other I would add that the most recent, and apparently the most convincing, argument brought against his authority is really the most conclusive proof that he is right. Before turning to this argument, which is an archæological one, I will quote Layamon, a very curious writer of the reign of King John.

In his "Brut, or Chronicle of Britain," which was written in about 1205, Layamon tells us that Horsa and Hengist led the Almains and the Saxons into the realm of Vortigern. He says nothing at all about the Jutes. Ammian's report about the Juthungi prevents us, however, from supposing that Layamon and Bede are at variance.

Both are right, and Bede is the more exact. Layamon also tells us that Horsa's successor was the Kaiser Cheldric, who was of powerful authority, he says, in Alemannia, and possessed that country. In addition to this, Layamon gives us to understand that Cheldric had been, or was at the time, employed in the service of the Roman empire. Now the Alemannic tribe of the Juthungas, like the other sections of the confederation, regularly contributed some hundreds of its young men to the auxiliary forces of the Roman army. In the last decade of the fourth century the "Ala Prima Juthungorum" was quartered at Salutaria in Syria, and the "Cohors Quarta Juthungorum" was stationed in Upper Egypt at Aphroditum. In the Thebaïd the "Ala Germanorum" lay at Pescla, and the "Cohors Nona Alamannorum" at Burgo Severi. We get these facts from the fourth-century document entitled the "Notitia Dignitatum," and they establish a connection between the Almains and Juthungi, and Egypt. This explains the archæological mystery of the Egyptian beads of amethyst which are found in comparative abundance in Kentish graves of the fifth and sixth centuries, at Sarre and elsewhere in East Kent. In Mr. Reginald A. Smith's contribution to the Victoria History of the County of Kent notes of these finds of Egyptian amethysts occur on page after page. They are also found in Alemannic graves at Gammertingen and other places in the Rhineland. There is no need to question the authority of Bede. The tribe of warriors whom he calls "Juti" were called Giuthones, Juthungi, Jotungi, Eutii, and Euthiones by earlier writers in Latin than himself.

The wavering between *t* and *th* is no impediment to the acceptance of this equation. In East Sussex we approximate closely to the Kentish dialect and the Hundred we call Dill to-day, was called Thille by our forbears in Saxon times, and La Thille by the Normans. Moreover, not only was it *The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Tenet*, that was compiled and published by Mr. John Lewis, of Margate, in 1736, but Nennius, who wrote in 837, called Thanet both "Tanet" and

"Tenet," in his *Historia Brittonum*. The last of these is more truly Kentish in dialect.

The Juti, or Juthungi, formed part of the auxiliary forces of the Roman army under Aëtius and they acquired possession of Cantium between 428 and 441. In the next generation they overflowed into Sussex under Ælle and his sons. This name presents no determinative feature, but both Cymen (<*Cūmin : *Gūmin) and Cissa (<Cīs<Cēs<Cens-; cp. Gensing) are Jutish.

The Jutes were Alemannic by race and language, as we have seen, and the band of place-names in "Sudsexe" which end in *-intun*, is the imperishable memorial of their inroad and colonization of our county.

The place-names in *-intun* and *-entun* are as follows, and I append those continental forms to which it seems to me the protothemes of these names approximate most nearly. They are drawn, through Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, from Paulus Piper's and Förstemann's lists :—

Achin-tone	Aco	Lodin-tone	Ludo
Alin-tune	Alo	Lovin-tone	Lubo
Babin-tone	Babo	Odin-tune	Udo
Bolin-tune	Bolo	Ofin-tune	Uffo
Botin-tone	Boto	Radin-tone	Rado
Calvin-tone		Rochin-tone	Rocco
Clotin-tone		Semlin-tune	
Dalin-tone		Serin-tun	
Eschin-tone		Sillin-tone	Sili
Esserin-tone		Sirin-tone	Sire
Fochin-tune	Folco	Tolin-tone	Thola
Herlin-tone		Tortin-tone	
Holin-tune		Totin-tune	Tuto
Horin-tone		Wilmin-tune	
Echen-tone	Ecco	Telen-tone	
Loven-tone	Lubo	Wigen-tone	Wiggo
Sillen-tone			