

Notes

1. This article is an abstract of the author's Ph.D. thesis to be published shortly (in German) by Hans Carl Verlag, Nuremberg.
2. A comprehensive list of names is included in the work; in this article, however, not more than three examples will be given for each type of name mentioned.
3. Supplementary information has been obtained from printed parish registers.
4. Place-names to which an affix such as Great, North, King's, Lower, etc. was added have been dealt with under their principal form.
5. Closely related to this type of name, though not a locative surname in the strictest sense, is the patronymic type 'place-name + son', e.g. Claphamson, Clappinson (with assimilation /ms/ to /ns/) 'the son of a man from Clapham'.
6. There is also a locative surname with the phonetic spelling *Nuttle*.
7. The local forms of pronunciation of some place-names mentioned above are /bi:fəθ/ for Beeford, /saepswəθ/ for Sawbridgeworth, /deintrɪ/ for Daventry; /snu:ks/ for Sevenoaks is now obsolete, and an analogy to *Driffill* is found in the local pronunciation for Heathfield So, which is /hefl/.

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STUDIES ON PLACE-NAMES AND ANGLO-SAXON MIGRATION: A COMPARISON
OF *-INGAS*, *-INGA-* NAMES IN ENGLAND WITH THEIR PARALLELS ON THE
EUROPEAN MAINLAND¹

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a list of parallels between the *-ingas* folk-names found in the *-ingas/-inga-* place-names in England and those found in the names of the Continental homelands. Some of these parallels have been noted occasionally, e.g. Poynings Sx (*Puningas* 960),² which goes back to a folk-name, OE *Pūningas*, and is, as Ekwall has shown,² identical with *Pūning*, south-east of Münster, Westphalia (*Puningun* 9th). Systematic investigation into the material provided by the volumes of the English Place-Name Society, Ekwall, Dammarks Stednavne, Förstemann, etc.³ reveals that the coincidence of a number of *-ingas* folk-names in England and the possible Continental homelands⁴ is too close to be a matter of mere chance. Accidental correspondence is particularly improbable if a folk-name occurs only once on both sides of the North Sea and is adjacent to similarly unique name formations. In the case of Poynings, which is a formation of an unrecorded personal name **Pūn(a)* with the suffix *-ingas*, its German cognate *Pūning* is situated near a place called "Tering" (lost) in Ascheberg, south of Münster, Westphalia (*Terrengen* 12th), which shows similar early spelling to those of East and West Tarring Sx, not far from Poynings (E. Tarring: *Terring(e)* 1275; W. Tarring: *Terringes* 941 (c.1300)).

For another group of German place-names obvious parallels can be noted in E. Anglia. The area around the modern city of Lingen, north-west of Osnabrück, Lower Saxony, was known as "in pago Sahslingun" in a charter of the late 9th/early 10th century. "Sahslingun" is the dative plural of a folk-name, Gmc. **Sahslingōz*, and so exactly corresponds to OE **Seaxelingas* in the Norfolk place-names Saxlingham Nethergate, Saxlingham Thorpe (*Sexlingham* 1046 (14th), *Saxlingaham* 1163), and Saxlingham near Holt (*Saxeling(h)aham*, *Sexelingaham* 1086). It is worth noting that either within or at least in the immediate vicinity of this mid-Ems "pagus" there is a place called Messingen, south-east of Lingen (*silva Masingorum* 9th, *Massinga* 1000). Its name goes back to a folk-name, Gmc. **Masingōz*, which is identical with the folk-name, OE **Maessingas*, in Great and Little Massingham Nf (*Masingheham* 1086) and in Messingham Li (*Maessingaham* 1067 (12th)). About 25 kilometres south-east of Messingen we find the place-name Mettingen (*Mettinge* 1088); it corresponds to Mettingham Sf (*Mettingaham* 1086), near Bungay. A further parallel occurs in Erpen (*Arpingi* 852) near Dissen, south-east of Osnabrück, and Erpingham Nf (*Erpingaham* 1086), north of Aylsham.

Regarding the two concentrations of name parallels within fairly limited areas, the supposition of an accidental correspondence, based on the same linguistic background of the Anglo-Saxons in their Continental homelands and in Britain, becomes less and less likely. On the contrary, we may reasonably speculate that some name transfer may have taken place, such as can be observed in practically every modern migration process. If this turns out to be true, we may be in a position to locate at least some of the starting points of Anglo-Saxon tribal units more precisely than hitherto. One major difference from modern name transfers such as York - New York, Orleans - New Orleans, etc. has to be noted, however. In modern times emigrants have transferred established place-names, whereas the Anglo-Saxons seem to have taken the names of their tribal units with them.

In the case of "Sahslingun"-Saxlingham, the likely course of events would be that a folk named **Sahslingōz*, located in the mid-Ems region, is

split up in the migration period and some of its members migrate to Britain. While their settlement in Norfolk becomes known as "hām of the **Searlingas*", the other part of the folk remains in the homeland, where its name is later used to define a certain region. In other examples, e.g. Messingen, the folk-name on the Continent may develop into the name of a village, and in this process it may even be compounded with an element completely different from the one with which its English cognate forms a place-name. The following examples are evidence of it. The folk-name **Sunningas* occurs in the lost "Sunninges" Mx (675 (13th)) as well as in the Berkshire names Sonning (*Soninges* 1086, *Sunningas* 1146), Sunninghill (*Sunningehull'* 1190), and Sunningwell (*ad Sunningwellan* 811 (c.1200)). It is also to be found in the possible Anglo-Saxon homelands in the place-name Sünninghausen (*Sunninghusun* 9th), east of Beckum, Westphalia. The **Gēatingas* of Eaton Fm Sr (*Getinges* 675) and possibly Yattendon Brk (*Etingedene* 1086, *Yetingedene* 1220) are obviously contained in Gettrup (*Gatingthorpe* 10th), south-west of Münster, Westphalia. Pangbourne Brk (*at Paeginge burman* 844 (c.1240)) is a compound with an OE **Pāegingas*, a folk-name which also seems to be part of the place-name Pentrup (*Paingthorpe* 10th, *Paginthorpe* 10th-11th (12th)) about five kilometres south of Gettrup. And finally, Tooting Sr (*Tottingas* 1067) may be associated with Tetekum (*Tottinghem* c.900) about ten kilometres south-west of Gettrup.

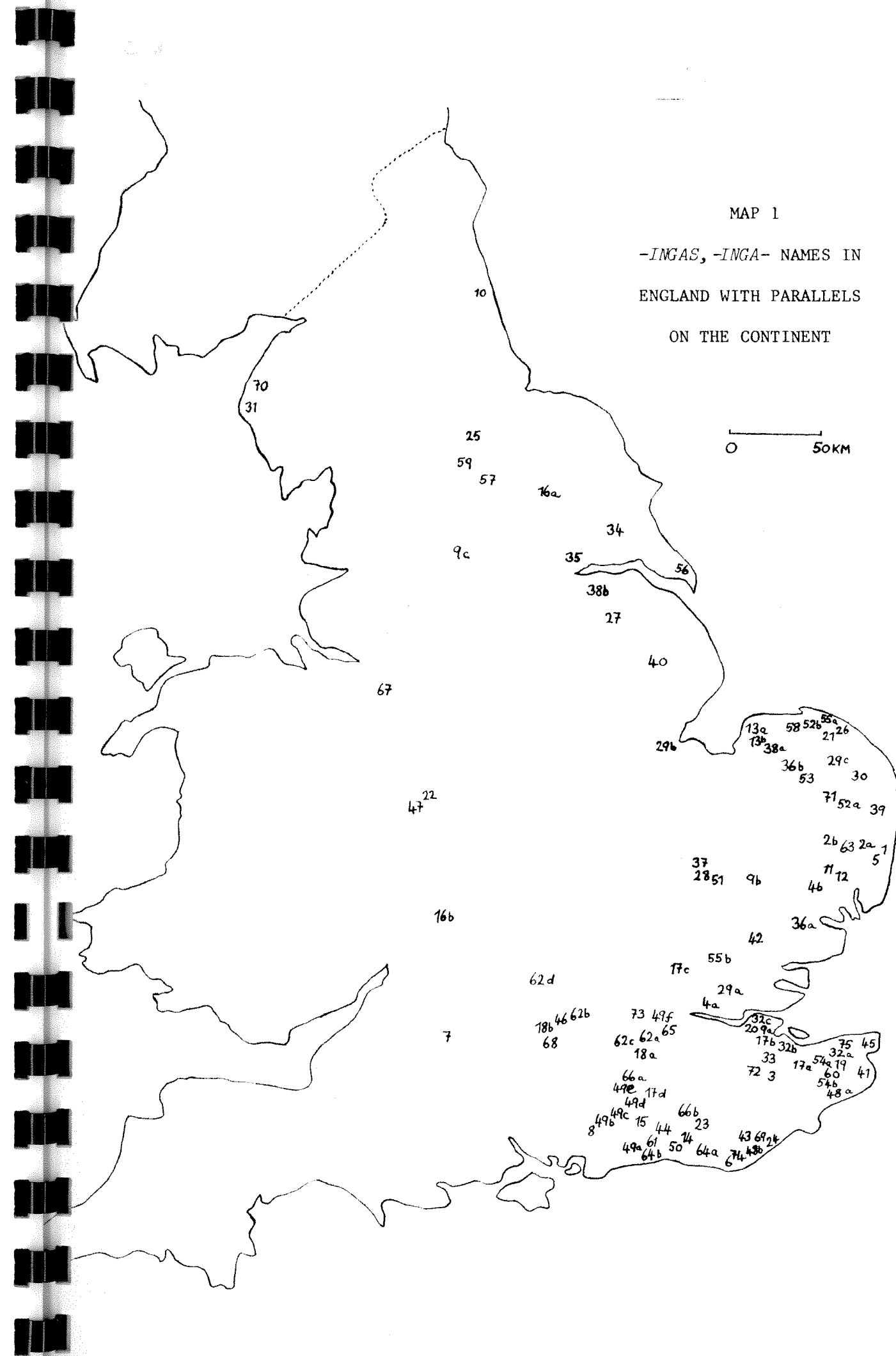
Once again, therefore, we may note a collection of name parallels out of two fairly limited regions on both sides of the North Sea which allows the speculation whether the Continental area may not have been the starting point of a number of Anglo-Saxon tribal units during the migration period. The following list itemises some of the most characteristic parallels out of the mass of material collected for investigation.

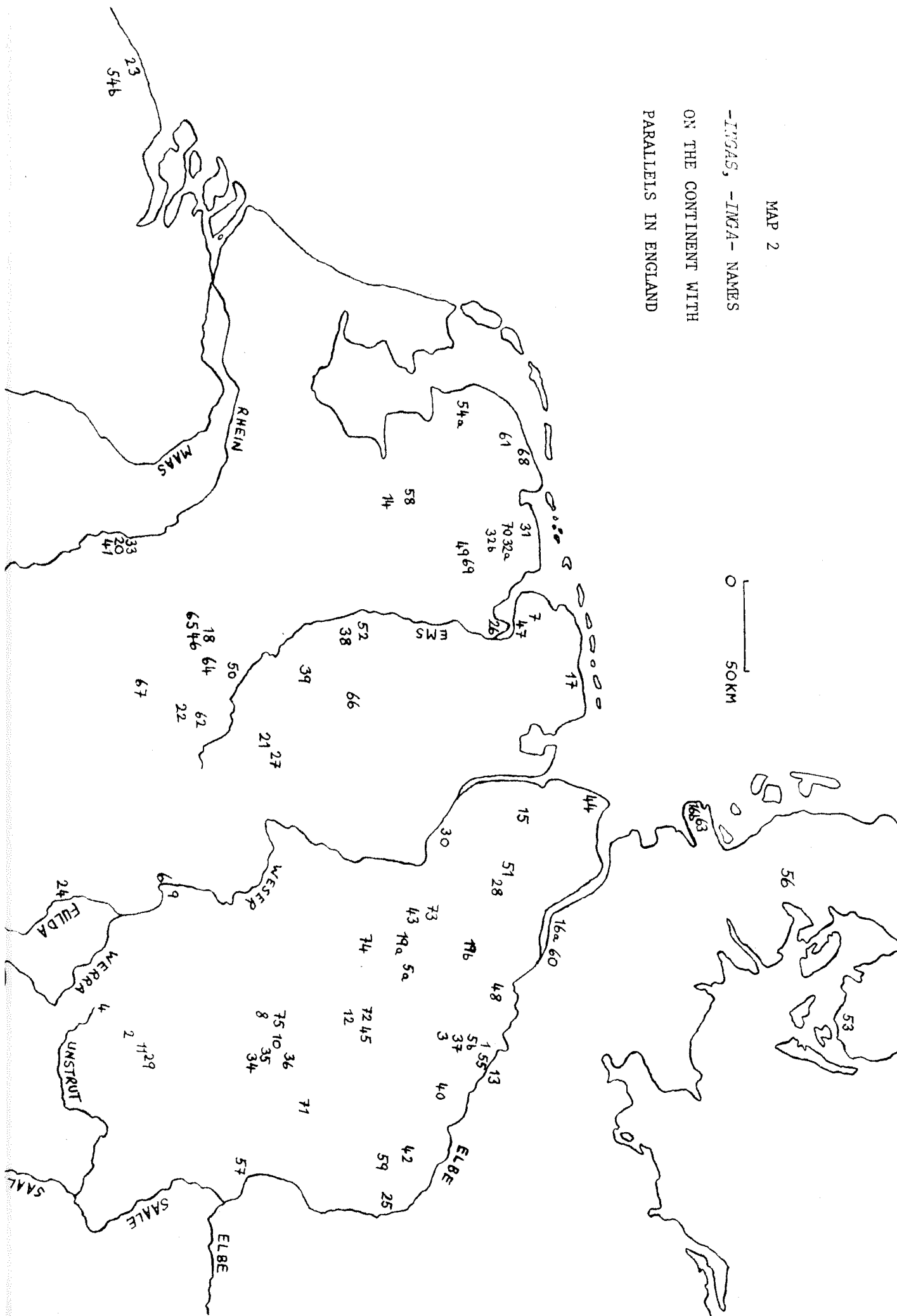
Selected List of Parallel Names

Only one or two of the oldest spellings are given in each case. The names are numbered to indicate their location on the accompanying maps, the English material being cited first, then after the colon the Continental parallel(s).

1 ALDRINGHAM Sf, Alrincham 1086, Alringeham 1199: 1 ELLRINGEN (near Bleckede), in Alaringi 892, Elringe n.d. 2a BADINGHAM Sf, Badincham 1086, 2b BEDINGFIELD Sf, Badingafelda 1086: 2 BODUNGEN (nr Nordhausen, Harz), Badungen 9th. 3 BARDINGLEY K, Beardingaleag 814: 3 "BARDINGE" (Lüneburg), Bardincpago 793. (Forms like *Bardinge* are to be interpreted as secondary folk-names in *-ingōz* which were used to name the inhabitants of certain districts. The district in question is the *Bardunga*, the area around Lüneburg. See P. von Polenz, *Landschafts- und Bezirksnamen im fröhmittelalterlichen Deutschland*, 1, Marburg 1961.) 4a BARKING Ess, to Bercingon 692, in Berecingum c.730, 4b BARKING Sf, Berechinge c.1030 (12th), Berchinges c.1050 (12th): BIRKUNGEN (nr Worbis), Bircunchen 1191, in Berckungen 1206.

5 BECKLING Sf, Becclinga 1086, Beclinges 1183: 5a BECKLINGEN (nr Celle), Bekelinge 1231, 5b BECKLINGEN (nr Bleckede), Beklinge n.d. 6 BEVERINGTON Sx, Bevrington 1086: 6 BEVERUNGEN (nr Hötter), Beverungun 9th. 7 CANNINGS W, Caningan maersc 1010 (c.1120), Cainingham 1086, Caninges 1091: 7 CANUM (E. Frisia), Kaningham c.900. 8 COCKING Sx, Cochinges 1086: 8 KÜCHINGEN (Braunschweig), Cochigge 12th/13th, Cogginge c.1200. 9a COOLING K, Culinga gamaere 778, Culingas, Culingaboc 808, 9b COWLINDGE Sf, Cvlinge 1086, Culinges 12th, 9c CULLINGWORTH YW, Colingauorde 1086, Culingeworth' 1208: 9 "CULINGEN" (lost, nr Beverungen), Culingen 900.





MAP 2
-INGAS, -INGA- NAMES
ON THE CONTINENT WITH
PARALLELS IN ENGLAND

10 CRAMLINGTON Nb, Cramlingatuna 1150: 10 CREMLINGEN (Braunschweig), Cremlinge 1302. 11 CREETING Sf, Cratingas, in Gratingis 1086: 11 GRATZUNGEN (nr Nordhausen, Harz), Graczinge 1184. 12 CRETINGHAM Sf, Greetingaham 1086: 12 "GRETINGE" (nr Gifhorn), Greetinge 1022 (a tribal name like "Bardinge" above). 13a DERSINGHAM Nf, Dersincham 1086, Dersingeham 1166, 13b SANDRINGHAM Nf, Santdersingham 1086: 13 LAND DARZING (Blekedede, Elbe-Neuhaus), Dirtzinke 1230, Dertsingen 1258. 14 DITCHLING Sx, Dicelinga 765 (c.1300), aet Diccelingum 880-5 (c.1000), Diceninges 1086: 14 DIKNINGE (Drenthe), Dickeninghe 1333, Dycklinghe 1459 (a parallel first noted by Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing*, 2nd ed. (Lund 1962), 33).

15 DRUNGWICK Sx, Duryngwyk 1279, Duringewike 1338: 15 DURING (nr Bremerhaven), Duringe 1202. 16a EASINGWOLD YN, Eisincewald 1086, Esingewald 1169, 16b Isbourne R. Wo, Esegburna 777 (16th), Esingeburna 930 (c.1200): 16a ESINGEN (Elmshorn), Esinge 1285, 16b ESING (Eiderstedt), Esing 1579. 17a EASTLING K, Eslinges 1086, AEslinge 11th, 17b ISLINGHAM K, AEslingaham 759-65 (c.1150), 17c ESSENDON Hrt, Eslingadene 11th (12th), 17d ISLINGHURST Sr, Eslinghurst 1235: 17 ESENS (E. Frisia), Eselingis 1310. 18a EATON FM Sr, Getinges 675, 18b YATTENDON Brk, Etingedene 1086, Yetingedene 1220: 18 GETTRUP (nr Münster), Gatingthorpe 10th. 19 UPPER ENSINGE, LOWER ENSDEN K, Ensingges 1226: 19a EINZINGEN (Fallingbostel), Entzinghe 1299, 19b INZMÜHLEN (nr Winsen, Luhe), Entzinge 14th.

20 "EOHINGA BURH K, 774: 20 EHINGEN (Duisburg), Eing 1165, Eingin 1221. 21 ERPINGHAM Nf, Erpingham 1044-7, Erpingaham 1086: 21 ERPEN (Osnabrück), Arpingi 852, Erpinken 1163. 22 ESSINGTON St, Esingetun 994, Eseningetone 1086: 22 ASSEN (nr Münster), Asningsel 9th. 23 FLETCHING Sx, Flescinges 1086: 23, VLISSEGEM (Ostend), Fleskengem 988 (13th), Flessingehem 1072 (15th). 24 GENSING Sx, Genesinges 12th: 24 GENSUNGEN (nr Kassel), Gensinge 1085.

25 GILLING, WEST YN, Ingaetlingum c.720 (10th), Ingetlingum c.730: 25 GETHLINGEN (nr Osterburg, Altmark), Getling 1254, Getlingen 1334. 26 GIMINGHAM Nf, Giming(h)eham 1086: 26 JEMGUM (E. Frisia) in Gimingham 900. 27 GRAYINGHAM Li, Graingeham 1086: 27 "GRAINGUN" (Herford, Melle), in pago videlicet Grainga 852 ("Graingun" is an *-ingōz* name like "Sahslingun" below). 28 HASLINGFIELD Ca, Haslingefeld 1275-9, Heslingefeld 1086: 28 HEESLINGEN (nr Zeven), Hasalinge 988, Haeslinga 1014. 29a HAVERING-ATTE-BOWER Ess, Haueringas c.1140-50, 29b QUADRING Li, Guedhauringe 11th (12th), Quadheuringe 1086, 29c HAVERINGLAND Nf, Heuringalanda 1086: 29 HAVERUNGEN (Nordhausen, Harz), Haverunge 1188.

30 HEMBLINGTON Nf, Hemelingetun 1086: 30 HEMELINGEN (Bremen), Hemelinge 1238. 31 HENSINGHAM Cu, Hensingham, Hunsingham c.1170: 31 "HUNSINGE" (Groningen), Hunsinge n.d., Hunsengeland 1325 (a tribal name like "BARDINGE" above). 32a HERSDEN K, Hersing' 1270, HERSING MARSH K, Hersingge 1327, HARSYNG GT MARSH K, Mochel-, Litelhersinge 1397: 32a HARSENS (Adorp, Groningen), Hersingi 11th, Hersengen 1160, 32b HARSENS (Roderwolde, Drenthe), Hersingen 13th. 33 HUCKING K, Hugginges 1195, Hukinges 1226: 33 HUCKINGEN (Duisburg), Hukengen 1218-31. 34 KIPLING COTES YE, Kibblincotes 1190, Kiblingecotes 1279: 34 KÜBLINGEN (Schöppenstedt), Cublinge 1200 (14th)

35 KNEDLINGTON YE, Cnyllingatun 959, Knedlington 1285: 35 KNEITLINGEN (Schöppenstedt), in Knetlinge 1135. 36a LANGHAM Ess, Laingaham 1086, La Wingeaham 1130, Lauhingeham 1138-48, 36b LONGHAM Nf, Lawingham 1086: 36 LAUINGEN (Königslutter), Lauingi 822-75, Lauingi 888, in Lawinge c.1200. 37 MADINGLEY Ca, Madingelei 1086: 37 MEDINGEN, ALTENMEDINGEN (Lüneburg), Medingen 1162. 38a MASSINGHAM Nf, Masingeham 1086, MESSINGHAM Li, Maessingaham 1067 (12th): 38 MESSINGEN (Lingen), silva Masingorum 9th, Massinge 1000. 39 METTINGHAM Sf, Metingaham 1086: 39 METTINGEN (nr Osnabrück), Mettinge 1088.

40 MINTING Li, in duobus Mentinghes 1086, in Mintingis c.1115, Muntinges 1218-19: 40 MÜTZINGEN (nr Dannenberg), Mutsinghe, Muntsinge n.d. 41 MONGEHAM K, Mundelingeham 761 (c. 1400): 41 MÜNDELHEIM (Duisburg), Mundulingheim 947, Mundilinchheim 956. 42 NAYLINGHURST Ess, Neilingaherst 12th: 42 NEULINGEN Arendsee, Altmark), Neylinghe 1271. 43 NUNNINGHAM Sx, Unnyngeham 1296, Noningham 1327: 43 NUNNINGEN (Fallingbostel), Nunninge 1224. 44 OAKENDEAN Sx, Okyngedenn 1279: 44 "OCCINGE" (lost, nr Bremerhaven), Occinge 1072.

45 OZENGELL K, de Osingehull' 1240: 45 OESINGEN (Celle), Osinghe 1391. 46 PANGBOURNE Brk, at Pegingaburnan, Paeeinghe burnan 844 (c.1240): 46 PENTRUP (nr Münster, Westphalia), Paingthorpe 10th, Paginthorpe 10th-11th (12th). 47 PATTINGHAM St, Patingham 1086, Pattingeham 1158: 47 PETKUM (E. Frisia), in Pettinghem 900. 48a PEDLINGE K, Pedling' 1240, 48b PEELINGS Sx, Pellinges 1086, Pedlinga 1185: 48 BAHLBURG (nr Winsen, Luhe), Padelingeborch 1352. 49a POLING Sx, Paling' 1156-58, Palinges 1199, 49b LIMBO FM Sx, Palinga schittas 953 (15th), 49c PALLINGHAM FM Sx, Palingham 1233, Palyngeham 1299, 49d PALLINGFOLD Sx, 1593, 49e PALLINGHURST FM Sr, Palynghurst 1461, 49f RAVENSCOURT PK Mx, Palyngewyk 1270: 49 PALINGE (Zuidlaren, Drenthe), Osterpalinge 1284.

50 POYNINGS Sx, Puningas 960: 50 PÜNING (Münster, Westphalia), Puningun 9th. 51 SAWSTON Ca, Salsingetune, Selsingetona 970 (17th): 51 SELSINGEN (nr Bremervörde), Selcingen 1219. 52a SAXLINGHAM, NETHERGATE, THORPE Nf, Sexlingham 1046 (14th), Sasilingaham 1086, 52b SAXLINGHAM Nf (nr Holt), Saxelingaham, Sexelingaham 1086: 52 "SAHSLINGUN" (nr Lingen), Saxlinga c.820, in pago Sahslingun 10th. 53 SCARNING Nf, Scerninga 1086, Scerninges 1199: 53 SKERNINGE (Amt Svendborg), Skerninge 1372. 54a SELLING K, Setlinges 1086, 54b SELLINGE K, Sedlinges 1086: 54a SENSERHUIZEN (Wonseradeel, Frisia), Sedlingi 855 (10th), 54b ZEDELGEM (Bruges, Flanders), Sillengem 1080 (11th), Sedelingem 1089 (parallels first noted by Ekwall, *op.cit.*, 15).

55a SHERINGHAM Nf, Siringeham 1173-4, Sciringham 1209, 55b SHEERING Ess, Sceringa 1086, Schiringa 1181: 55 SCHIERINGEN (nr Bleckede, Elbe), Schieringe n.d. 56 SKEFFLING YE, Esceftelinga 1150-76, Sceflinges 1204: 56 SCHAFFLUND (Flensburg), Schafteling 1543. 57 SLENGFORD YW, on Sleaninga forda c. 1030: 57 SCHLENINGEN (lost, nr Magdeburg), Slenninge 1335. 58 SNORING Nf, Snaringa, Snaringes 1086: 58 SNARING (Uffelte, Drenthe), Snaringe 1439. 59 SPENNITHORNE YN, Speningetorp 1086: 59 SPANINGEN (nr Stendal), Speninge 1322.

60 STELLING K, Stellinges 1086: 60 STELLINGEN (Hamburg), Stellinge 1350 (a parallel first mentioned by W. Laur, 'Namenübertragungen im Zuge der angelsächsischen Wanderungen,' *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, 15, 1964, pp. 287-97). 61 STEYNING Sx, aet Staeningum 880-5 (c.1000), Staninges 1086: 61 STIENS (Leeuwarderadeel, Frisia), Steninge n.d. 62a "SUNNINGES" Mx (lost), 675 (13th), 62b SONNING Brk, Soninges 1086, Sunningas 1146, 62c SUNNINGHILL Brk, Sunningehull' 1190, 62d SUNNINGWELL Brk, ad Sunningwellan 811 (c.1200), Sunningauville 821 (c.1200): 62 SUNNINGHAUSEN (Beckum, Westphalia), Sunninghusun 9th. 63 TANNINGTON Sf, Tatintuna 1086, Tatingetona 1168: 63 TATING (Eiderstedt), Tating 1352, Tatinge 1445. 64a TARRING, EAST Sx, Toringes 1086, Terringes 1291, 64b TARRING, WEST Sx, Terringes 941 (c.1300), Terringes 1086: 64 "TERING" (lost, Ascheberg, nr Münster), Terrengen 12th.

65 TOOTING Sr, Totinge 675, Tottingas 1067: 65 TETEKUM (nr Lüdinghausen, Westphalia), Tottinghem c.900. 66a TYTING FM Sr, Titinges 1197, Tutinges 1203, 66b TILLINGHURST FM Sx, Tytyngehurst 1296: 66 TÜTINGEN (nr Ankum, Lower Saxony), Tiutinge 977, Tutingen 1240. 67 WARMINGHAM Ch, Wermingham 1260, Warmengeham 1306: 67 WARMEN (nr Unna), Werminge 1197. 68 WASING Brk, Wawesing 1186, Waghasing 1220: 68 WAAKSENS (Westdongeradeel, Frisia), Wacheringe (*recte* Wachesinge) 8th (9th), Wasginge 945 (12th). 69 WILTING Sx, Wiltingham, Wiltinges 1086: 69 WILTINGE (Zuidlaren, Drenthe), Niewiltinge, Olde-, Westerwiltinge 1284.

70 WORKINGTON Cu, Wirchingetona c.1150: 70 WETSINGE (Groningen), Wirkingi 1000. 71 WRENINGHAM Nf, Wreningeham 1197: 71 "WRENINGEN" (lost, nr Magdeburg), Vrenigge c.1050, Wreninge (Wereninge) 1112. 72 YALDING K, Uuestaldingis 1078-9, Eldyng 1187: 72 ELDINGEN (Celle), de Eldinge 1340. 73 YEADING Mx, Geddingas 793: 73 JEDDINGEN (Visselhövede), in Geddinge c.1320(16th). 74 YEVERINGTON Sx, Geurington 1225, Yueringeton 1236: 74 "GEVERINGAWEG" (the way to Jeversen, Lower Saxony), 1013.

75 "YFINGA HO" K, 949: 75 UFINGEN (Wolfenbüttel), Uvingon 1022, Ufingun 1236.

Notes

1. This is an English abstract of 'Ortsnamenstudien zur angelsächsischen Wanderung. Ein Vergleich von *-ingas*, *-inga-* Namen in England mit ihren Entsprechungen auf dem europäischen Festland', awarded the degree of Dr. Phil. at the Fachbereich Geschichtswissenschaften, Johan Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt/M.
2. E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing*, 2nd edn. (Lund 1962), p.39.
3. The nature of this investigation, above all the time limit of about two years, made it necessary to limit myself to the easily accessible publications. This drawback was particularly felt with the place-names of Lower Saxony, on which no general work has yet been carried out. The material so far available is scattered among various periodicals and short articles or occasional notes, which are often hard to obtain. Some results of this thesis may therefore be only transient and further research will certainly be necessary.
4. The possible Continental homelands of the Anglo-Saxons are taken to reach from the tip of the Jutish peninsula to the mouth of the Rhine and beyond. If we follow Bede's statement in Hist. Eccl. I, 15 ('De Saxonibus id est ea regione quae nunc Antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur venere ...') and his account in V, 9, 10, 11, which allows us to define Old Saxony as the whole region dominated by the Continental Saxons in his lifetime and not only their original homelands, then we have to take into consideration an area which stretches far southward. In the south-west it either includes or at least reaches the territory of the *Boructuari* south of the Lippe (Westphalia), and in the south-west the border between Saxons and the neighbouring Thuringians roughly follows the river Unstrut, south of the Harz. All the Germanic emigrants of the area thus outlined who came to Britain in the course of the migration period are here regarded as Anglo-Saxons', whatever their ultimate tribal origin may have been.
5. Following Continental scholars like A. Bach (see especially *Deutsche Namenkunde*, Heidelberg 1952 ff., vol. II, i, pp.167 ff. and 184ff.) or M. Gysseling, *Toponymisch Woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West Duitsland (voor 1226)*, I, II (Brüssel 1960), names in *-ingi* are treated like *-ingas* names. The most recent discussion of this problem is to be found in a series of articles by J. McN. Dodgson in *Beiträge zur Namenforschung*, Neue Folge, 2 (1967) 221-45, 325-96, and 3 (1968), 141-89.

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