

REFLECTIONS ON A REVERSE DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES

Reverse dictionaries of any kind are a rare species in lexicography; there is one for the English language (as well as one each for Russian and German, viz. M. Lehnert, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der englischen Gegenwartssprache* [English subtitle: *Reverse Dictionary of Present-Day English*], Leipzig 1971, based on various Modern English dictionaries and word-lists.

A reverse dictionary of English place-names could be a novel contribution to English toponomastics. What can you expect from such a dictionary? Entries in a reverse dictionary are listed in reverse alphabetical order; thus the first entries in Lehnert's dictionary are a, baa, sahaa, maa, taa, etc., and the last entries are sizz, buzz, fuzz. His dictionary claims to be indispensable for decyphering spoilt words in dispatches and books, when the first letters of a particular word are missing; it will be useful for the linguist working on types of word-formation and on the frequency of particular suffixes and word-terminations; it can also be a dictionary of eye-rhymes.

As to a reverse dictionary of place-names, such a work could serve similar purposes; a simple list of names arranged in reverse alphabetical order will present the frequency of all modern place-name terminations. Given the etymology of the second element of the name in addition to that list the dictionary will also show the phonological development of place-name elements in unstressed syllables and it will indicate which place-name elements have become homophonous (or rather homographs) in that position. Having in turn a list of homograph place-name terminations the reader will be able to trace the various origins of these endings, whose etymology may be disguised and have become uniform either by regular sound changes or by folk etymology; thus modern -ington-names can be traced to their respective etymologies, viz. -an-tun (i. e. gen. sing. n-class), -ing(a)tun, -n-tun (n being part of the root of the first element), etc. With a county reference with each name the geographical distribution of linguistic phenomena (morphological or phonological) can be illustrated. Such a list will also indicate which first elements go with any particular second place-name element.

Time permitting, the present writer would like to take up the task of compiling a reverse dictionary and invites any suggestions that could be helpful.

KLAUS FORSTER

University of Erlangen

GILLIAN FELLOWS JENSEN, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*. Academisk Forlag: Copenhagen, 1978, xxiv + 406 pp. + 14 maps. No price stated.

This has been a long, hard read; at times I have only been kept going by the knowledge that everything published by Dr Fellows Jensen must be read and digested by anyone intending to keep abreast of English onomastic studies. The book is full of interesting and significant material, but the presentation is probably calculated to appeal more to Scandinavian than to English scholars. English readers expect something to be left to the imagination, and prefer the author to have a definite thesis. The Scandinavian tradition (at any rate as represented in onomastic studies) is that all points, even the most obvious, must be laboured, and all interpretations, even the most improbable, must be explored.

Dr Fellows Jensen's previous book, *Scandinavian Place-Names in Yorkshire*, was written from a definite point of view. There she accepted Professor Kenneth Cameron's findings in his work on Viking settlement in the East Midlands, and sought to demonstrate that these were valid for Yorkshire. Since then she has retreated, not so much to a different or opposing position, as to an attitude of overriding caution. One instance must suffice to demonstrate the reluctance to draw conclusions or to adopt a definite stance. On p.341, after a section which presents the results of a fascinating exercise in Domesday statistics, she says:

In summary it can be said that the assessments reveal that the English-named vills tended to be rated higher than the býs and the býs higher than the þorps, while the vills with hybrid and scandinavianised names tended to have the same kind of assessments as the vills with English names. This is also true of the býs in some areas. The suggestion has earlier been made that the differences in assessment might reflect differences in age, with the youngest vills having the lowest assessments. This is not the only possible explanation, however, nor even the most likely one. What the assessments actually reflect is differences in the value of the resources available to the vills. At some stages of development marginal land for grazing sheep or the supply of wood for fuel or building must have been as valuable as the best arable land. An instance of this is provided by the exceptionally high assessments of some of the þorps on the Yorkshire Wolds, assessments which probably reflect their exploitation of sheep. For the dating of settlements, then, the evidence of the assessments is of limited value.

For my part I shall cheerfully accept the tables on p.338 as confirmation of the general soundness (which is not to say the 100 per cent validity) of Cameron's findings.

Professor Cameron's conclusions probably were more definite and more simple than the evidence warrants; a new synthesis usually is. But Dr Fellows Jensen seems to me to have leant over further than the evidence requires in her determination to explore every conceivable alternative explanation to Cameron's for the presence of a dense layer of Scandinavian

names in parts of the East Midlands, though she offers no challenge to his belief that there were a great many Scandinavian peasant settlers and that there was widespread use of Scandinavian speech. Cameron concluded that it was necessary to postulate a wave of Danish peasant immigrants who colonised areas of land which were not being cultivated by the English, and he considered that the activities of these immigrants would account for a high proportion of the names in bý. The "Grimston hybrid" names he regards as belonging to old-established English villages taken over by Danes who may have been disbanded Viking soldiers, while the þorps represent later expansion of settlement, using for new farms and hamlets a word introduced by Scandinavian speakers. Dr Fellows Jensen agrees about the Grimston hybrids and the þorps, but wishes to modify the theory that the býs represent colonisation of large areas of potential arable land. She contends that "most of the býs result either from fragmentation of old estates, with the detachment of small units of settlement from their old estate centre, or from reclamation of land once occupied by the English but subsequently deserted and allowed to run to waste".

Reclamation and colonisation are not entirely different processes, so the serious modification of Cameron's thesis consists of the emphasis placed in this study on the evidence for the splitting of large estates and the creation of new smaller units, some of which may have names in bý. Attention is also drawn to evidence that some names in bý are most likely to be new Scandinavian names for English villages which have been taken over by the Vikings.

As Dr Fellows Jensen points out at the beginning of her Summary (p.368), Cameron's thesis goes against the grain of recent thinking about settlement history, because it requires belief in a major expansion of settlement between c.870 and 1086. This is contrary to the tenor of "recent studies which have suggested that the Vikings must have arrived in an England that had already been extensively settled and brought under cultivation by the English and whose parochial and administrative boundaries were largely of pre-Viking and possibly pre-English origin". I am cited in the footnote to this passage as one of the authors of these recent studies, and it is true that I believe in a substantial degree of continuity between pre-English and Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns. But in Introduction to the Place-Names of Berkshire, the work cited here, there is a section entitled "New Settlements?" in which I drew attention to a belt of territory in central Berkshire, where all the parish-names end in -field or -hurst. I believe this territory to have been brought under cultivation comparatively late in the Anglo-Saxon period, and had it been in eastern England there might well have been some names in by and þorp. One of the other authors cited in this foot-note is Peter Sawyer, who is the arch opponent of any thesis which postulates the formation of new settlements in the middle or late Anglo-Saxon period. Professor Sawyer's views on this topic seem to me extreme, and in need of at least as much modification as those of Professor Cameron. If extremist views are left aside, there may be scope for an accommodation between supporters of a reasonable degree of continuity and those whose study of the linguistic evidence leads them to postulate a good deal of colonisation or reclamation of land between 870 and 1086.

Such an accommodation should perhaps be attempted in one comparatively small region at a time. Suitable areas might be a county, or one of the three divisions of Lincolnshire. Professor Cameron's methods were admirable for getting a general picture, which could be refined by more detailed work. When Dr Fellows Jensen was also looking for a broad,

general picture, as in her book on Yorkshire, the application of Cameron's methods and some additional ones to another large area produced a coherent book; but when she is trying to refine earlier conclusions the choice of an enormous area does not lead to coherence. Most of the parts are excellent, but the reader is at a loss to know what to make of the whole.

The book is in two main parts, the slightly longer one consisting of the onomastic material with analyses of the four classes of names: those in bý, those in þorp, other Scandinavian names, and the Scandinavianised and hybrid names. The second main component is a discussion of the distribution and historical significance of the material. The first part will be an extremely useful work of reference, especially pending the publication of the place-name surveys of Leicestershire, Rutland and Lincolnshire. Some comments on etymologies offered in this section will be made at the end of this review.

The second major component of the book is a remarkably thorough study of the conclusions which historians have drawn or may legitimately draw from this material. Dr Fellows Jensen is particularly strong on numerical analysis, and the tables she provides to show the frequency and status of settlements with different types of name are a major contribution. They are all useful, but perhaps the most welcome are nos. 6 and 7 (pp. 283,284) which show the frequency of personal names in place-names in tūn in the East Midlands and elsewhere in England, and no. 9 (p.338) which shows Domesday assessments according to name-type. I had carelessly assumed that the Brighton/Edgbaston type of name was fairly common everywhere, and it came as a salutary shock to realise that this is not the case. There are only two in Oxfordshire, three in Huntingdonshire and one in Surrey. (I was driven to check my own analysis in The Place-Names of Oxfordshire to confirm that there are indeed only two specimens in that county.) As Dr Fellows Jensen observes (p.282) "the element tūn was not compounded particularly frequently with personal names in England". Perhaps I have been acutely aware of such names as Brighton and Edgbaston not because they are common but because they are rather rare.

The main aim of this essay, which occupies pp.231-372, is to explore all lines of enquiry which may throw light on the comparative dating of settlements bearing various categories of Scandinavian, Scandinavianised or hybrid names. Chapter VII sets the scene by analysing the distribution of the material. The first section, Introductory, offers a resumé of recent work on place-name chronology with a consideration of how this may be applied to the East Midland counties. There are two distribution maps, one showing early Anglo-Saxon burial sites and early Anglian place-names, the other showing tūn and lēah. For these maps (and for some others in succeeding sections) I feel that the area studied is too big. The symbols are necessarily large for the scale, the dots on Map 2 having a diameter of more than a mile. Each county needs a page to itself if a more sophisticated picture is to be presented than in earlier studies. Another criticism is that I do not feel that Dr Fellows Jensen allows sufficiently for the status accorded in recent studies to topographical settlement-names, particularly those which are derived from rivers.

Sections 2-6 of Chapter VII examine the distribution of hybrid tūns, other hybrids, býs, þorps, and other Scandinavian names. Section 7 is called "The significance of the Roman roads and river valleys". The statements on p.260, "With the dissolution of Romano-British society and the decline of the towns, the significance of the network of roads throughout England would have been lost" and "It is certainly doubtful

whether the Roman roads would have offered particularly attractive routes to the Viking settlers, who did not arrive in England until the roads had been left in a state of neglect for at least four centuries," do not command agreement. The Roman road network was important throughout Anglo-Saxon (and much of modern) history, but even if the roads had been only "long straight lines of overgrown agger" they might still have influenced immigrants; O.G.S. Crawford has some perceptive remarks on this in Chapter 7 of *Archaeology in the Field* (1953). This is not a serious criticism of Dr Fellows Jensen's view of the Scandinavian settlements, however, as I think it likely that all immigration in the late ninth century was by agreement with the men controlling the administration of eastern England, and immigrants would not have been choosing directions in an uncharted land. Section 8, "The nationality of the Scandinavian settlers," is an authoritative discussion of the evidence for West Scandinavian settlers among the predominant Danes, and for the presence of some Irishmen.

In Chapter VIII, "The age of the Scandinavian and scandinavianised settlement names and of the settlements they denote", the sections are divided into two categories: Section 2 discusses "Linguistic dating", while Section 3, "Non-linguistic dating", is divided into eight subsections, which examine documentary, historical, geographical or distributional, topographical and geological, geometrical, fiscal, administrative and archaeological evidence. Some of these subsections are divided again into (a), (b), (c), etc. There are splendid tables and some maps of the now familiar and always interesting type which show settlements in relation to drift geology. The only section which seems to have left some stones unturned is the one on "geometrical" evidence. This term refers to the comparison of the shapes formed by the boundaries of parishes and townships. Dr Fellows Jensen's conclusion is (p.332): "Since it seems unlikely that the parish boundaries would be able to reveal much about the age of most of the individual settlements ... no systematic examination of parish shapes in the East Midlands has been made here". While I am not suggesting that more work should have been done for the present book, I feel that it would be very interesting indeed to have a systematic study of parish shapes in a county or part of a county where there are Danish place-names. Here again, a smaller area would be appropriate to such a study.

Section 4 of Chapter VIII is entitled "Summary". Some of the points made in this have been mentioned in the earlier paragraphs of this review. It occupies only four pages, and it does not provide a conclusive or exhaustive summing up of the vast quantity of material in the preceding sections. Perhaps the author is as yet too close to her work to discern its full significance. Probably we must be given time to live with this book and use it for reference before its true bearing on the controversial topic of Scandinavian settlement is clear. My feeling at the moment is that Dr Fellows Jensen's position is much closer to that of Professor Cameron than to that of Professor Sawyer.

It remains to offer some points of the type which always suggest themselves to a toponymist when reading the work of a colleague:

p.14: "OE *cirice* never seems to have been compounded with *byrig* elsewhere." Chirbury, Shropshire, *Cyricbyrig* in ASC, has been overlooked.

pp.18, 53: Harrowby is derived from OE *Heregeard*, pers. name. It would accord better with the author's preferences to note that *heregeard* 'army enclosure' is a likely source of Herriard, Hants.

pp. 42, 45, 82: Corby, Earsby, Scrooby, Silkby. It seems unlikely that OE **corf*, **ēar*, or **scrof* were living words when *by* names were coined, and **sēoluc* is a rare term. A number of other instances could be cited in which the author's preference for appellatives rather than personal names as first elements leads to some unconvincing etymologies. That for Cosby (OE *cos(s)*, Scand. *koss* 'kiss' used in an onomatopoeic sense for the stream running along the village street) is one such. The fact that a postulated Scandinavian personal name is not recorded independently in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire is held to be against some derivations given by previous authorities, see, for example, the discussion of Mumby on p.60; but it does not seem to me unreasonable to assume that there were many Danish settlers with names which did not get into any record. In fact I should expect there to be less complete records of the personal names of immigrant Danish farmers than of the vocabulary available for place-name formation at this relatively late date. A number of etymologies which rely on toponyms rather than personal names are very convincing - those for Gaddesby, Grainsby, Kelby, Markby, Owersby, Ranby (LS), Rigsby, Saleby, Saltby, Skegby, Strubby, Thimbleby, Wragby, Stainsby and Thurnby in particular. For others, such as Bleasby, Mumby and Scawby, the topographical explanation seems rather forced, but this may only be a matter of taste. The discussion of Galby on p.148 ignores the occurrence of OE *gall* in place-names, and that of Ratby on pp.63-4 omits mention of the possibility that the first element is *Ratae*, the Romano-British name of Leicester.

p.89: Bridge Norton should be Brize Norton.

pp. 152, 294: Bourne (LK) is wrongly identified with Burnan ASwills 10. See *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Leicester 1979), p. 189.

p.153: Flagg. Another possibility is the dative plural of OE **flage* 'flag-stone'.

p.160: Scartho. Cormorants are not likely to be a regular sight at a spot three miles from the coast.

p.177: The discussion of *tūn* seems to me less sharply in focus than most sections of the book. Dr Fellows Jensen does not include 'estate' among the meanings, nor does she allow for names in *tūn* replacing earlier English names of a quite different type. She says "the names whose specific is the name of a DB tenant ... or a Norman pers.n. may in some cases simply represent the substitution of a pers.n. for an older element to mark a change of lord or tenant." We have better evidence, for which v. *The Place-Names of Berkshire Part III*, pp. 823ff., for the replacement by manorial names in *tūn* of earlier names like *Æscesbyrig* and Collingbourne, which did not have *tūn* as final element.

p.309: "the name of Auborne ... is an archaic topographical name that can have been transferred to the settlement at any period prior to the compilation of DB." As noted above, Dr Fellows Jensen does not take account of recent work which demonstrates the probability that names of this type are among the very earliest English settlement-names.

P.372: "There is no documentary evidence for the purchase of land by the Vikings from the English." The Oxfordshire charter by which King Æthelred sells Beckley and Horton to a Dane called Toti might be considered to be such evidence; see *The Early Charters of Eastern England*, Leicester 1966, pp. 190-1.

WALTER PIROTH, Ortsnamenstudien zur angelsächsischen Wanderung: Ein Vergleich von -ingas, -inga- Namen in England mit ihren Entsprechungen auf dem europäischen Festland (Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen Band 18), Steiner: Wiesbaden, 1979, 222 pp. + 40 maps, DM 46.

Dr. Piroth's thesis (which was reported in an English abstract in NOMINA 1 (1977), pp.27-31) is based on the assumption that there is in England and in northern Europe a body of place-name material which has been conclusively identified and classified by philologists, and which is therefore available for comparison between the two regions and use in support of historical hypotheses. From a comparison between names in England and on the Continent he claims to have established migration-age connections between certain parts of Europe and certain areas in England. The hypothetical connections depend on the supposed use of the same, or closely related, personal names, and the thesis must stand or fall on the success or failure to establish that the place-names cited do in fact contain these personal names.

As regards the English material, it was unwise to assume that a definitive study of names in -ing was available. Dr. Piroth has taken his examples mainly from E. Ekwall's English Place-Names in -ing, published in 1962, which is the second edition of a work first published in 1923. This does not provide the most modern overall view of the subject, and in detail it needs checking against works published since 1962 - a formidable body of literature. Such checking has not been systematically carried out. On pp. 16-17 (where the first sample of place-name material in the book is set out), Dr. Piroth lists a supposed Middlesex name Sunninges from BCS 34, but this is in fact the earliest spelling for Sonning Berkshire, and Ekwall's statement that the province referred to in the charter lay north of the Thames is a mistake. The error could have been noted either by checking the text of the charter or by looking up Sonning in The Place-Names of Berkshire. BCS 34 is a genuine charter, but it is clear from the documentation cited for other names listed on pp.16-17 that Dr. Piroth, like Professor Ekwall, does not attempt to distinguish between genuine and forged Anglo-Saxon charters. The manner in which the failure to evaluate Anglo-Saxon charters may lead to a wrong view of the evidence is seen in the discussion of Bensington, Oxfordshire. On p.34 Dr. Piroth follows Ekwall in citing as the earliest spelling Banesinga villa c.730; but this is from a forged charter (BCS 155) and it is doubtful whether it has any validity. Probably the post-Conquest forger added -a in Banesinga because he felt this made an elegant Latinisation. Other spellings (including Beonsincgtune from a genuine charter of 887) demonstrate that the name is an -ingtūn formation. This would not disqualify it as part of Dr. Piroth's evidence, since he does not distinguish between -ingas and -ing(e), or between -ingahām and the rare -ingatūn (as in Fssington, Staffordshire) and the quite different formations in -ingtūn. But a critical reader wishing to assess the likelihood of Bensington having a significant connection with the Dutch name Bensinghe-goet would benefit by knowing whether the English name is more likely to be an -ingatūn or an -ingtūn.

Dr. Piroth has taken from all classes of name which contain the syllable -ing- examples in which he considers the first element to be a personal name. The reader who wishes to make a critical assessment of the material will have to separate singular names from plural and make his own decisions about such matters as whether -ingtūn names were used in England early enough for them to have significant connections with continental names. But this lumping together of all names in -ing might just have been acceptable if one could rely on Dr. Piroth to give a sound opinion as to whether the first elements of the place-names he includes are in fact personal names. He seems to have chosen

English names mainly on the grounds that he has possible continental parallels for them. Many of his English specimens are not considered by modern place-name specialists (or indeed by Professor Ekwall) to contain personal names. On p.38 he lists English names in Billington with a note which suggests that recent German publications consider these to derive from a personal name; but it is not stated that Ekwall considered the singular names in the list to contain bill 'sword' used in a topographical sense, and some English authorities would prefer to derive the plural and the habitative examples from this word also. More startling is the inclusion of Clavering Essex and Docking Norfolk. For both names there are good Old English spellings (not derived from forged charters like Banesinga villa) which indicate that the names are singular; and the natural etymologies are 'place where clover/dock grows'; but Dr. Piroth sweeps aside both the Old English spellings and Ekwall in brief notes which declare that these are plural names with personal names as base. Eling in Berkshire is listed on p.50, and a reference is given to The Place-Names of Berkshire, but no mention is made of the rejection in that work of derivation from a personal name. Eling probably means 'place where there are eels'. Skipping to W-, I note that the list includes two examples of Wratting, which should be classed with Docking and Clavering as an -ing formation from a plant-name, and Wantage Berkshire, where he is obliged to reject all opinions later than Skeat (1911) in order to postulate a personal name as base.

It is possible that the authorities who supervised and examined this thesis were better informed about the continental names cited than about the English ones, but an English reader cannot be expected to take for granted that the continental names have been chosen on sounder principles. There is no way a reader could judge the validity of Dr. Piroth's conclusions about migration period connections between England and the Continent without first checking all his material, which would mean virtually doing the work again. If I were considering this I should want to adopt different methods, placing much greater emphasis on the distinctions between the various categories of place-name involved.

In fact it is doubtful whether a useful comparison of English and continental names can be made until much more critical work has been done on the material. For England we are greatly in need of a Ph.D. thesis devoted to separating plural names in -ingas from singular names in -ing(e). The whole question of the extent to which personal names enter into place-names is hotly disputed, and it is noteworthy that Piroth's bibliography includes no works by Dr. Gillian Fellows Jensen or Dr. Gillis Kristensson, both of whom have written on this topic in the last decade.

One can only ask those who direct post-graduate work in German universities to note that English place-name studies have not reached the stage where students (especially uncritical ones) should be encouraged to make mechanical analyses of material taken from secondary sources. I do not think that this thesis would have been passed in an English university.

MARGARET GELLING

THORSTEN ANDERSSON and KARL INGE SANDRED (edd.), The Vikings. Proceedings of the Symposium of the Faculty of Arts of Uppsala University June 6 - 9 1977 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; Symposia Universitatis Upsaliensis Annum Quingentesimum Celebrantis, 8), Almquist & Wiksell: Uppsala, 1978, 176 pp., no price stated.

This is an ably edited and neatly presented collection of papers (impressive for their celebration of scholarship and occasion, and some contribution to knowledge as well) with an eloquent and perceptive Introduction by Kristján Eldjárn, scholar and statesman.

The Proceedings are organised in three parts, reflecting three aspects of the Vikings, their life and times, viz. the Viking at sea, the Viking in the British Isles and the Viking at home (the Viking in West Europe and in Russia is rather under-represented save in the archaeological papers), 1. Scalds and Ships: Viking Seamanship in the Light of Literature and Archaeology ('seamanship' not in its more usual current usage here), pp. 21-77, five papers, 2. Scandinavian Influence on Language and Place-Names in the British Isles, pp. 79-130, six papers, 3. Viking Society in Scandinavia. Evidence of Settlement and Administration, pp. 131-176, five papers.

Section 1 contains Peter Sawyer, Wics, Kings and Vikings, pp. 23-31, Ole Crumlin-Pedersen, The Ships of the Vikings, pp. 32-41, Peter Hallberg, The Ship - Reality and Image in Old Norse Poetry, pp. 42-56, Peter Foote, Wrecks and Rhymes, pp. 57-66 (it is a credit to these and their subject that these three papers don't overlap more), and Lars Hellberg, Schwedische Ortsnamen und altwestnordische Dichtersprache, pp. 67-77. These papers deal with the Viking ship as an idea in imagery and allusion in scaldic verse, as an element in a life-style, or as an artifact and an archaeological object. Peter Foote's article indicates the need for, and urges work towards, a critical glossary of nautical terms in the scaldic poetry.

The most interesting in this set of papers, to the name-student, are Sawyer's and Hellberg's contributions. The former discusses the mercantile significance of the element wic in place-names, usefully recalls W. Vogel's article of 1935 (Hansische Geschichtsblätter 60, pp. 5-48) on the etymological relationship of this to OE wicing, OScaud vikingr, and might have made more of this relationship as a useful image of the forces driving the Viking impulse. As Kristján Eldjárn observes in his introductory paper, 'The work viking simply means pirate, and not all Scandinavians of the Viking Age were pirates, thank God. Nevertheless the name is not entirely unjustified, in spite of the irritation one may sometimes be tempted to feel owing to its misuse and over-use.' Hellberg traces the Swedish place-names which contain elements of the poetic nautical vocabulary of the Vikings, especially words for skippers and leaders - hersir, stýri (maðr), vísi - with a map (p. 75) showing the distribution (mainly coastal or riverside of course) of place-names alluding to the old Viking captains. It would be interesting to know if such a thing might be done for Britain.

Section 2 contains Kenneth Cameron, The Minor-Names and Field-Names of the Holland Division of Lincolnshire, pp. 81-88, Gillian Fellows-Jensen, Place-Name Evidence for Scandinavian Settlement in the Danelaw. A Re-assessment, pp. 89-98, Kristian Hald, A-Mutation in Scandinavian Words in England, pp. 99-106, Margaret Gelling, Norse and Gaelic in Medieval Man: The Place-Name Evidence, pp. 107-118, David Greene, The Evidence of Language and Place-Names in Ireland, pp. 119-123, Angus McIntosh, Middle English Word

Geography: Its Potential Role in the study of the Long-Term Impact of the Scandinavian Settlements upon English, pp. 124-130.

All these are very good. But most important for us just now are Hald's and Gelling's. To single out these papers means no disrespect to the others within the space of this journal. The evaluation of the place-name and field-name evidence for the location, intensity, characteristics and influence of the Scandinavian settlements in the half-dozen or so countries of the North-west Europe archipelago, is a continuing industry and all six contributors are the people most seen to be doing it. Here we have a good up-to-the-minute report and agenda. I would not choose to venture my life in the business of sorting out Scandinavians and Celts in the Isle of Man. Margaret Gelling's paper, however, lays down some pretty good guidelines across the minefield, and this is going to be one of the classic papers.

Hald's demolition of the long-standing distinction of the elements ODan hulm, ON holmr, by which since the 1920's we have followed Ekwall in determining that -hulme means Danes and -holme means Norsemen, orders and demands a new kind of analysis. Yet another classic.

Section 3 contains John Kousgård Sørensen, Toponymic Evidence for Administrative Divisions in Denmark in the Viking Age, pp. 133-141 (misprint on p. 6, for Typonymic read Toponymic), Sölve Göransson, Viking Age Traces in Swedish Systems for Territorial Organization and Land Division, pp. 142-153, Greta Arwidsson, Viking Society in Central Sweden. Traditions, Organization and Economy, pp. 154-160, Jakob Benediktsson, Some Problems in the History of the Settlement of Iceland, pp. 161-165, Charlotte Blindheim, Trade Problems in the Viking Age, Some Reflections on Insular Metalwork Found in Norwegian Graves of the Viking Age, pp. 166-176.

Of these, although, again, all are excellent in their particular sphere, name-studies are particularly touched by John Kousgård Sørensen's and Sölve Göransson's pieces. Sørensen gives us a first-class discussion of the Danish administrative-region terms sysse, kind, hund, and various reductions of herred. This article, and those in Section 2, ought to be read immediately before or after the same scholar's paper, 'Place-Names and Settlement History', in Names, Words, and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement, ed. P.H. Sawyer, Leeds 1979, pp. 1-33. He is showing now as one of our foremost theoreticians. Göransson provides a range of footnote and reference to technical journals in historical geography which will serve as a useful guide to this reviewer who has to deal with 'sun-fields' and 'rope-doles' in Cheshire. The articles by her and by Greta Arwidsson are at once encouraging and admonitory. They show how much we have in common in the way and the work of relating terrain and division and nomenclature; they challenge us to keep pace. The section ends on the true Viking note, and rounds off the collection, with Charlotte Blindheim telling out the loot, trade-goods, small-change, and presents brought home, that turn up in Norway. She puts Kaupang (King Alfred's Ohthere's Sciringesheal) into its multi-faceted context. The map on p. 172 of insular metalwork finds in Vestfold Fylke will make a useful extra aid to the teacher of Old English who reads Ohthere's account.

But that good illustration is exceeded by Figure 1 (p.158) of Greta Arwidsson's article, the very symbol of the tremendous (and sustained) energy of the Viking tradition, a rune-stone (U 947, Falebro, Danmark parish, Uppland) whose abiding presence is, itself, an assertion of the continuing values of Old Scandinavia. Indeed, this strong, erect and graceful monument standing out in the snowy fields of Sweden might well be seen as a symbol of the venerable but still vigorous northern seat of learning which is congratulated by, and is to be congratulated for, this book.

P.H. REANEY, The Origin of English Surnames, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, first published 1967; paperback re-issue 1980, xix + 415 pp., £3.75.

With name-studies currently making vast strides, this unaugmented, indeed uncorrected, bargain-price re-issue of a book now nearly fifteen years old raises the question what popularization should mean.

Inevitably, some points here now need annotation. Some tentative observations have since been confirmed, as with 'OE women's names show a stronger tendency to persist than those of men' (p.106; cf. Speculum LIII, 223-51) and likewise with the note that the King's Lynn names in the 1166 Pipe Roll show a more old-fashioned distribution than those of the 1148 Winchester survey (p.102; cf. NOMINA III, 13-14, and see also below). Reaney's own wish to see the various 'national' name-vocabularies elucidated by further basic research (see, for instance, pp. 99, 118 and 130) is gradually being fulfilled, for instance, by Bo Seltén with his work on East-Anglian materials and especially by Gillian Fellows Jensen and by John Insley with theirs on the Scandinavian element in English. Likewise, the chronology of surname-fixing, the appearance of forms in -s and in -son, the nickname-use of terms of rank and occupation, and women's surnames could all now be treated more precisely in the light of the thriving English Surname Series, and especially Richard McKinley's contributions, which are also beginning to reveal local naming-variations.

Less happily, some material that passed muster in 1967 no longer does so. Continental background studies newly available, Flemish as well as French, are putting post-Conquest English naming into clearer perspective. Admittedly, some blurring of focus had arisen from notions such as 'Until well into the thirteenth century, at least, French was the language of all educated people, whilst the lower classes spoke English' (p.178). But the main blanks concerned the dependence, now so much easier to trace, of English naming-patterns on continental ones: thus, the way that the once-dominant Continental-Germanic forms lost favour, especially for women's names, to 'Christian' ones was duly noted but nowhere linked with French and Flemish patterns; and the -l-, -n- and -t- diminutives were treated on the same footing as the characteristically English abbreviations like Dawe, Gibbe and Hobbe, with only stray notes acknowledging the former as imported and sometimes specifically Picard in form (e.g., pp.153/n.4, 155.n.1). Newly available English material includes the twelfth-century Canterbury rent-rolls published by William Urry in 1967; these have disproved several assertions, such as that in Atwell-surnames the 'earliest' documents show 'French or Latin' prepositions (p.49) and that the 'earliest' records of Middle English occupational terms and nicknames show 'French' definite articles (p.34). Most importantly, Olof von Feilitzen's Winchester onomasticon published in 1976 now provides more accurate statistics of the landholders' names TRE, c. 1115 and in 1148: whereas here the occurrences of Old English / Scandinavian / 'French' forms were estimated as: TRE - 173 / 6 / 20, c. 1115 - 85 / 18 / 167, and 1148 - 147 / 79 / 596 (p.107), von Feilitzen, who subdivides the categories more subtly, gives figures equivalent to: TRE - 265 / 11 / 35, c. 1115 - 68 / 11 / 149, and 1148 - 182 / 67 / 663 (Winton Domesday, p.185). Likewise for King's Lynn 1166 and for Newark 1177 the corresponding statistics, here given respectively as: 81 / 50 / 83 and 64 / 43 / 167, might be amended to: 47 / 29 / 60 and 49 / 42 / 267 (for the latter, and for the Winton Domesday, more sensitive analyses would separate out the women's names, which show the usual Old English bias

already mentioned). Of course, in judging as in compiling all such statistics some leeway must be allowed for ambiguous forms; but the discrepancies here seem too great to be thus explained away.

Calculation was indeed nowhere this book's strong point, as further appeared in the attempts to measure medieval population-movements by means of toponymic surnames. All such attempts, as Peter McClure has recently shown, must face the problems created by the non-uniqueness of some 60% of place-name forms (see Economic History Review XXXII, 167-82, esp. 169-70, and also Local Historian XIII, 80-6). Even though himself originally a toponymist rather than an anthroponymist, Reaney here fell into a dubious methodology, which deprived of full weight his comments on medieval immigration into Norwich and into London. In this sphere too McKinley's work and that of George Redmonds have been contributing towards more accurate understanding.

On a human level much must be forgiven a writer who died in the very year of publication, especially one grappling with such a plethora of often ambiguous detail; but compassion cannot cure the prematurity of a book embarked upon not only in awareness of how much basic research remained to be done but also with imperfect command of the data accessible. Points are laboured which no sensible reader would contest. Alternative etymologies are sometimes proposed without cross-reference, as for Barker (see pp. 177 and 209) and for Furzer (see pp. 190 and 201), and for Brock even within a single paragraph (see pp. 263-4). Some material might have been better arranged, with trades, for instance, grouped according to sense rather than to suffix (incidentally, although other obsolete by-names are often listed, the -wife-compounds parallel to those in -man seem to be omitted) and with nicknames marshalled in closer accord with their chapter-headings. Time and again the lost control betrayed itself syntactically, often in confusions of signifiant with signifié such as 'William is the most popular name ... until the end of the thirteenth century when he gives place to John' (p.131) and 'the conspicuous exception of the dog and the horse, though these, too, were once nicknames' (p.262), as well as a reference to 'intermarriage between men of English and Danish descent' (p.329).

These flaws run together and merge with the major one carried over from the earlier Dictionary of British Surnames (for criticism of which by Redmonds and by von Feilitzen, see Conference at Erlangen, pp. 78-9 and 83-4), where the method had been baldly to cite, without pretence of proving any linkage, various medieval forms supposed to underlie present-day surnames. This book therefore abounds in unsupported assertions, such as 'The accusative Faucon [from the CG name Falco] may sometimes be the origin of Falcon, though this is usually from the name of the bird' (p.139; cf. the similar misuses of 'obviously', 'usually', 'invariably' in comments like those on Harkus - p.3, Stirrup - p.43, Drewes - p. 138, and so on), with no indication of any basis of assessment. Hardest to forgive is the authoritative tone in which the uncertainties are propounded.

Methodology was further undermined by flaws more basic still. Sources were inadequately criticized, with little note taken either of the orthographical characteristics or of the social limitations presented by certain classes of document. Indeed, spelling and pronunciation often got slapdash treatment. Name-study being a branch of philology, orthographical and phonetic checks are bypassed only at peril; yet here, perhaps to propitiate the 'general' reader, phonetic notation was eschewed and

spelling treated cavalierly (an occasional yogh pops up unannotated; ye is several times blandly printed for pe; -wereste is cited without explanation as a form of -wright - p.207; and 'OE y', together with its assorted reflexes, is mentioned casually, with no definition attempted - p.30). That 'general' reader must often have been reduced to chanting credo quia impossibile est; but, worse, the lack of rigour often ensnared its author. Time and again disparate forms were collocated without a hint of how the modern one might have evolved, in defiance of regular phonological and substitutional patterns, from the medieval: thus, ME bouker 'flax-dresser' is suggested as an alternative etymon for Booker (p.197; admittedly, MED encourages confusion); Bunney is attributed to OFr. bugne (pp.11 and 242), Cowle(s) to (Ni)Col rather than to 'hood' (p.154), Estridge directly to OFr. estreis (p.50; but cf. Norfolk Archaeology XXXVI, 60), Rook to oak (p.50; but, pronunciation apart, cf. Fr. Corneille from the same avian group), Soanes to son (p.81), and so on. Laxity is compounded by inconsistency: some unco-ordinated alternative etymologies have already been quoted, and others include that of Jekyll, which on p.148 is attributed to Old Breton Judhael but on p.149 to Judicael. Similar vagueness vitiates some attempts to link apparently toponymic surnames with specific places, a process tricky enough even when phonology is respected (see, for instance, pp.45-6). It must all bewilder any tyro anthroponymist. Yet, before digging this pit for himself as well as for his readers, Reaney had most admirably explained how, for all surnames except those of a few privileged families, oral transmission had been the rule and that its laws must therefore be respected.

So carping a review may have given an impression that this is a useless book. Far from it: for a critical reader qualified and willing to make independent checks it offers inspiring hints (see the second paragraph above) as well as good principles and often-illuminating detail; and at least one recent monograph would have been the better of more diligent attention to it. In its endeavours to link naming-practices with social history it is salutary as well as admirable. What it is not is a safe guide for that 'general' public for name-studies whose existence is attested by the queries and theories so often canvassed in letters and notes published in magazines. Of course popularization must not be delayed until a subject be codified to full scholarly satisfaction (if indeed that ever happens): workers in related fields such as genealogy and local history must know both what we can tell them and, more urgently, what we need them to tell us. That is the point: wisdom lies in not trying to devise 'answers' when none as yet exist but in admitting ignorance and going on to define it. Had they been served up plain, as 'Contributions Towards' surname-history, the collections used here and in DBS would have been invaluable; each time the error lay in aspiring to an unjustifiable degree of codification.

CECILY CLARK

M. MULON et alii (edd.), Dialectologie et onomastique: actes d'un colloque tenu à Loches (mai 1978), Société française d'Onomastique: Dijon, 1980, iii + 211 pp. [not available through booksellers; apply to Madame Mulon at the Archives Nationales (about £6)].

Not only dialectology but also local studies in a wider sense are here linked with forms and distributions of place- and personal names. Many contributions, however fascinating in their own right, barely concern us as Anglicists; but those arising out of field-work for the French dialect-atlases may entertain our own field-workers (notably a lively account of chasing terms for a certain formidable weed - called in English, according to Harrap, 'rest-harrow').

Other topics concern us more closely. Some notes on present-day Norman surnames may have points for those of us dealing in their medieval equivalents. And several pieces recall themes from our own Keele conference: Henri Guiter uses Gallo-Roman -acum place-names to show the antiquity of the Occitan/Catalan boundary crossing Roussillon; A. Nouvel, in 'Des pierres qui chantent', having pointed out that the common French place-names hitherto usually taken as compounded with 'sing' (Chantemerle, and so on) include many forms with semantically, not to say biologically, unlikely second elements, goes on to suggest alternative etymologies based on pre-Indo-European *kan-t- 'stone'. That article, and passing references elsewhere to place-names like Passavant and Toutlemonde, remind us that not all by-names looking like phrase-nicknames can safely be taken as such.

Interest is often indirect. A theme perhaps more French than English is the folkloric aspect of naming explored by Jean-Claude Bouvier: inclined though English philologists have always been to fight shy of folklore, perhaps we might, especially those of us dealing in nicknames, profit from scanning a wider cultural background. Dialect-variants of occupational surnames are used by Gilbert Salmon to show how self-contained the Franco-Provençal area still remains. Several contributors stress the relevance of local pronunciations, especially for throwing light on minor place-names. Taken as a whole, this symposium might suggest an analogous theme for a conference of ours - provided that enough dually-qualified dialecto-onomasticians could be mustered.

In concluding, let us hope that this volume's appearance under the imprint of the Société française d'Onomastique (and in a format like that of our own NOMINA) may herald the re-emergence of the Revue internationale d'onomastique, for too long under a cloud since its publisher's untimely death.

CECILY CLARK

EDWARD MACLYSAGHT, The Surnames of Ireland, Irish Academic Press: Dublin, 1980, £2.70.

This is the fifth edition of a work which first appeared from Helicon, Dublin, in 1964 under the title A Guide to Irish Surnames and passed through an intermediate stage under its present title in two editions from Irish University Press (Shannon, 1969 and 1973). The fourth edition appeared in 1978 and it is a testimony to the usefulness and popularity of this work that another edition has been required so soon. The page size is about 2 cm. larger in each direction than in the third edition and the price has jumped from £1 to £2.70, thanks to inflation, but the pagination and lay-out are identical in both editions. The Introduction, Appendices and Map are identical apart from the addition on p. 304 of a half-page list of Addenda to the information already supplied on twelve names in the body of the work and five others not mentioned there, though only one of these has a cross-reference in the body of the work to this list of Addenda. The only major change is the omission of the Bibliography of Irish Family History, a valuable list of sources occupying 64 pages in the third edition. A brief note on the back of the title page tells us that this is to be transferred to a new composite volume which will include reprints of the author's More Irish Families (1960) and Supplement to Irish Families (1964).

For almost a quarter of a century Dr MacLysaght has been the great authority on the surnames of Ireland, a worthy successor to Rev. Patrick Woulfe whose Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall (Dublin, 1923) was a real advance on the still earlier work of Sir Robert Matheson in that he established the original Irish forms of a vast number of surnames belonging to the native Irish surname system and also the gaelicizations of Anglo-Norman names. Matheson had distinguished over 2000 Irish surnames and listed these with their numerous local variants as used in the last decade of the last century. MacLysaght has raised the total to more than 4000 surnames and in this work has tackled the problem of listing names alphabetically which sometimes appear with and sometimes without the prefixes Ó and Mac. Woulfe avoided this problem because his primary list is based on Irish spellings which retain the original prefix, and the more recent anglicized forms with or without prefix are to be sought in a preliminary reverse index to his basic list. MacLysaght, however, takes the English spelling as the basis for his list, adding the Irish spelling after this where the name is of Irish derivation or has an established Irish form. This may make it easier for readers with no Irish to use the book without consulting a reverse index, as they must do with Woulfe, but it highlights the question of the prefixes. In the present reviewer's opinion the scheme used by Dr MacLysaght in his first edition - the Guide to Irish Surnames of 1964 - was superior to that used in subsequent editions down to that here reviewed. In the Guide the prefix, whether bracketed to indicate frequent dropping or not, was thrown out into a separate column before the main body of the name, which made the book much easier to consult than the present edition and its immediate predecessors in which Ó-names, Mac-names and non-prefix names are jumbled together in a single list which appears to jump about the alphabet between M, O and whatever letter follows the prefix. If the book reaches another edition, which is highly likely, consideration might be given to the desirability of reverting to the 1964 lay-out of the material.

One larger question remains to be discussed: is this or any other work yet published really a record of all the surnames of Ireland, however good it may be when compared to the scanty and uneven representation of Irish names in a book like Reaney's Dictionary of British Surnames? Each of the scholars mentioned above has built on the work of his predecessors but no one has really got down yet to assembling a complete list of all the surnames of whatever

origin that actually occur in the whole of Ireland. The material for such a list exists in the electoral registers for both political entities in Ireland but so far only the surnames of the eleven northern counties - excluding the county borough of Belfast - have been abstracted and, of these, county lists for only three counties have been published so far. The lists published by Dr Brian Turner in 1974 and 1975 give over 1400 surnames for Leitrim, over 2000 for Fermanagh and over 3200 for Tyrone. Naturally there is overlap between one county and another but it is already clear that if county lists were compiled for each of the 32 counties the total would be far in excess of the 4000 surnames in Dr MacLysaght's collection. His coverage is geographically uneven, as a glance at his map will immediately confirm, and one gets the impression that while native surnames are well represented many well-established names of intrusive origin fail to appear. In comparing Dr Turner's Tyrone list with the present volume we find under the first three letters of the alphabet just under 200 names - not counting minor spelling variants and variants with or without final s - that are not included in Dr MacLysaght's book, while taking the first 120 Mac-surnames in Turner's list, so as to ensure representation of names of Irish origin, one third of these do not occur in MacLysaght's list. Among known surnames from east Ulster - many belonging to individuals whom the present reviewer knows personally - the following do not occur in Dr MacLysaght's book: Bean, Blue, Bonugli, Boomer, Bracegirdle, Capper, Clotworthy, Clulow, Essory, Farrant, Fullalove, Gabbey, Hifle, Hozack, Leeburn, Loudan/Lowden, McClumpha, McGannety, McWha, Mawhirt, Milhench, Milsopp, Miscampbell, Miskimmin, Nimmons, Nummie/Nummy, Orange, Pink, Presho, Refaussé, Ringland, Sandford, Sargaison, Scarlett, Shufflebottom, Titterington, Trash, Trouton/Troughton, Truesdale, Twinem, Wadsworth, Wardrop, Wasson, Watterson, Yannarelli, Zebedee.

The Surnames of Ireland, good though it is, is not yet anything like a complete collection of all the surnames of Ireland. What we still need are the following things:

1. The abstraction from the electoral lists of all surnames in the 21 counties not covered by the Ulster survey of eleven counties, now almost complete (apart from Belfast) after more than twelve years of work. These eleven counties contain two-fifths of Ireland's population, so the remaining three-fifths could probably be covered in eight or ten years if resolutely taken in hand and organized from the three colleges of the National University with student assistance; Dublin could in the first instance be omitted for the same kind of reasons that Belfast has so far been omitted.
2. County lists for all 32 counties should be then compiled, followed by a composite surname list for all Ireland.
3. A list of spelling variants of all surnames should be drawn up similar to that made by Matheson but covering the much larger number of surnames we now know to exist.
4. A system of surname classification by frequency of distribution should be worked out for all surnames used in Ireland whether they are of native or intrusive origin.

In establishing a comprehensive onomasticon of surnames occurring in Ireland the foundations laid by Dr MacLysaght's work will be invaluable.

G.B. ADAMS

DAVID DORWARD, Scottish Surnames, William Blackwood: Edinburgh, 1978, pp. 70, £1.00; and Scotland's Place-Names, William Blackwood: Edinburgh, 1979, pp. 61, £1.25.

These two booklets are part of the 'Scottish Connection' series, which Blackwoods launched a few years ago. Although they are intended for popular readership, the books in this series are written by well-established writers and scholars, often specialists in their particular fields. For example, David Murison's contribution to the series, 'The Guid Scots Tongue' is both scholarly and readable, which is just what one would expect from a man who was until recently editor of the Scottish National Dictionary. David Dorward's credentials are somewhat less imposing, perhaps, since he is described in both booklets as being 'an administrator among scholars and occasionally aspires to being a scholar among administrators at St. Andrews University'. He admits that his onomastic studies form part of his recreation, which is no discredit to him.

Despite the humorous drawings by that doyen of popular Scottish illustrators, John MacKay, these two booklets contain a good deal of useful and easily-accessible information, aimed very much at the reader who knows nothing whatsoever about either subject. The place-names book deals with the most common elements alphabetically, and displays a competent knowledge of derivation, with a fair amount of humour. Sadly, Dorward's Gaelic renderings occasionally betray his ignorance of the language, such as cur an choire air for 'put the kettle on' when any Gaelic speaker would say cur air an coire (p.11) and his mis-spellings gobher for gobhar (p.9). Scrutiny by a Gaelic scholar would have avoided such simple mistakes which for this reviewer rather spoiled what is essentially a very competent little book. There is a brief chapter on further reading, which is also accurate and practical.

The booklet on Scottish surnames covers about 400 names, mostly those which occur most frequently in Scotland, but also including names which had famous bearers, or those which illustrate unusual historical features. Again, the historical background seems accurate, and the style is as pacy as in the place-name booklet. However, similar inaccuracies in the Gaelic translations of names, like mac gille bhuidh for mac gille bhuidhe and mac gille rhuadh for mac gille ruaidh (p.37) mar what is otherwise a useful publication. A list of the 100 commonest surnames in Scotland is appended. Sadly, there is no reading list or bibliography.

Both of these booklets are good value for money, and are undoubtedly good for the lightweight end of the market, but if they run to second editions, it would be good to see the Gaelic renderings corrected.

IAN A. FRASER

JOAN GREATREX (ed.), The Register of the Common Seal of the Priory of St Swithun, Winchester 1345-1497, Hampshire Record Series II, Hampshire County Council, Winchester, 1978: xl + 312pp. + 2 plates, map, £4.50.

This volume is a welcome addition to the few printed sources concerning the administration of Winchester cathedral priory. The new Record Series of which it is part represents a no less welcome revival of record-publishing for Hampshire, which has been without a county record series since the demise of the Hampshire Record Society at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Register of Common Seal 1345-1497, of which Dr Greatrex provides an English summary, is the earliest of a group of surviving manuscript registers, covering between them some 500 years, into which were copied documents which had been either authenticated or ratified by the use of the monastic chapter's Common Seal (an impression of which is illustrated as the frontispiece of this edition), and later by that of the Henrician dean and chapter. This particular Register contains 519 items, in roughly chronological order mainly covering the terms of office of 8 successive priors 1362-1498, with a few stray documents from the priorates immediately before and after this period. The individual items relate to varying aspects of priory business and provide much important information for anyone concerned with the detailed history of the cathedral priory as an institution, as well as a certain amount of primary material for students of English names.

Among the many items of historical interest are some illustrating the process of election of both priors and bishops of Winchester. Items 158-70 concern the election of Prior Shirebourne in 1415 after the resignation of Prior Neville (six days after Neville's arrest had been ordered by the king); Neville had in 1404 actually been elected bishop by the monks (items 65-9) but the Pope, perhaps wisely, had chosen Henry Beaufort instead (item 76). Other items (208-10) record the activities of several known humanists within the diocese in the early fifteenth century, their presence being also revealed by some examples of humanistic script in the Register (e.g. Plate II). Item 29a shows the master mason William Wyneford, responsible for Bishop Wykeham's renovation of the cathedral fabric, in receipt of a corrody in 1399 which included a room, board, robes, a horse, and up to 3 gallons of beer a day. There are some very detailed leases of manors, mills, and stock. An Index of Subjects brings together references to these and many other themes of monastic and episcopal administration. The Introduction includes (pp.xxix-xxxiii) a discussion of the usage of such Latin status terms as servitor, valectus, famulus, and armiger when applied to particular officials. Appendix I is a list of Obedientiaries of the priory c. 1360-1524; Appendix II is a revised list of surviving Obedientiary Rolls, correcting and expanding Dean Kitchin's list of 1892.

Place-names occur as integral parts of the documents copied into the Register. The name-forms of identified places have been modernized by the editor, although unusual spellings are obligingly given in the notes. Most of the unidentified places - and thus those of which the MS. name-form is given in the text - are minor ones, and it is a pity that these unidentified minor names, or at least an indication of their presence in an item, are not included in the Index of Persons and Places, since they are scattered through the Register and relate to several different counties (Berks., Bucks., Hants, Somerset, Surrey, Wilts.) in which the priory or the bishop held lands. Place-dates are also omitted from the Index for no apparent reason.

The spelling of surnames and bynames, apart from those of priors and bishops, is given in the MS. form. The main use of such a text as the Register

for those interested in English personal-names is however not as a source of name-spellings on which to found an etymology - as such it is rather late - but rather as one more source of information for the biography of individuals within a limited social context, such biography being essential for a proper study of personal-name usage at different times. Usages capable of being studied with the aid of such biographical material include those with regard to women's surnames before and after marriage(s); the use of aliases; and the development of a particular byname into an hereditary surname, either as a temporary or a permanent phenomenon. Items 91, 147, and 218 reveal, for example, that the family name of John Farnham, one of Bishop Beaufort's familiares, was Cristemasse (his brothers being called Richard, Robert, and William Cristemasse respectively) and that John had presumably acquired his alias because of his employment in the bishop's service at Farnham Castle, of which he became doorkeeper in 1414; also the fact that his wife Agnes had two sons called John and Thomas Algoud suggests that she had previously been married to someone whose surname was Algoud. Item 447 reveals something of the choice of fore-names among a family of unfree status (*nativi*) in the manor of Cheriton, Hants, in 1488: here one member of the family of Anghnell' or Avenell' has the same fore-name as his grandfather, two others the same one as their respective fathers, and another the same one as his brother (all common occurrences in medieval Winchester families). Among the persons of note who are named as office-holders, lessees of cathedral estates, or as witnesses are leading citizens of Winchester such as Mark le Fayre (five times Mayor between c. 1398 and 1414 and several times M.P.); Thomas Chaucer, who was probably the son of Geoffrey Chaucer and was granted the office of constable of Taunton Castle in 1406; and the chronicler Thomas Rudbourne (author of the *Historia Major Wintoniensis*: Dr Greatrex is however wrong in giving, in item 316, n.5 and on p.249, Cotton Galba A.15 as the manuscript of this work; Galba A.15 is the *Epitome*, a summary of the *Historia Major*, and probably by John of Exeter, while Rudbourne's work survives in two manuscripts, Lambeth Palace 183 and Corpus Christi College Cambridge 350).

Two general quibbles may be made about presentation. Firstly, the (very useful) notes are not easy to consult, printed as they are in a block at the end of the text. Secondly, the map of priory estates is not drawn to the standard one might expect, being apparently reproduced from one drawn with a felt-tip pen, having two places spelled wrongly ('Houghton' for Houghton, and 'Crondal' for Crondall) and a key irrelevant to the present volume. These apart, the volume is carefully edited, with very few proofing errors and at an attractive price. It augurs well for the success of the new Hampshire Record Series.

ALEXANDER RUMBLE

D.J. STAGG (ed.), *A Calendar of New Forest Documents 1244-1334*, Hampshire Record Series III, Hampshire County Council, Winchester, 1979: xii + 330pp. + one plate, two maps, no price stated.

The third volume of the Hampshire Record Series makes available a group of documents of substantial value to historians of Hampshire, to scholars with a general interest in the medieval royal forests, and to students of medieval place-names and personal names. The documents calendared here include records of Forest Proceedings (including some material relating to other Hampshire forests), Inquests and Accounts, Rentals and Surveys of some of the Forest bailiwicks, and extracts from the Hampshire lay subsidy roll of 1327-8. The edition includes an Introduction, two maps, three Appendices (giving selected transcripts, extracts from the published Pipe Rolls, and a list of officers of the New Forest), a glossary of technical terms, and two indexes, one of persons and places, the other of subjects. The maps are of a good size, and are clearly drawn, one showing the boundaries and bailiwicks of the New Forest at about 1300, and the other showing the vills listed in the subsidy roll. It is a pity, however, that room could not be found for a map indicating all the identifiable New Forest localities named in the documents. The Introduction discusses, amongst other things, the relationship between common law and forest law, the scope and composition of the forest courts, and the extent and exploitation of the Forest. There are also a few remarks on personal names and place-names.

There is a wealth of names in the Calendar, including evidence for innumerable place-names that are not to be found in Domesday Book or in Ekwall's *Dictionary of English Place-Names*. One informative entry in the 1280 Pleas of the Forest (Calendar item no. 195) reads:

It is presented that the abbot of Beaulieu has newly made a certain pond outside the king's wood of Suthle, and has enclosed a certain water so that it has overflowed upon the king's land for five furlongs in length and half a furlong in width to the damage of the forest and all the country, and by the water they destroyed the road to a marlpit to the damage of the vill of Badesle. The abbot attends and shows warrant therefore he is acquitted.

Here we have a sufficiently early form of the minor place-name Sowley (in South Baddesley) to provide an etymology, and also an account of the origin of the modern Sowley Pool, which is indeed over half a mile long. I think it is also worth mentioning New Forest place-names that bear the mark of disafforestation in the affix *purlieu*: Brune's Purlieu, Dibden Purlieu, Hale Purlieu, and Ogden's Purlieu. The scope of the Calendar apparently ends at too early a date for the affixes to occur in the Calendar documents but Mr Stagg points out the use of the term as a generic in a royal document of 1305 and discusses its meaning (Introduction p.35). The term is not in Smith's *Place-Name Elements*.

A consideration of the anthroponymy of the New Forest would require more space than a review allows, and must await a more suitable occasion for discussion in depth, but I should like to respond briefly to Mr Stagg's own remarks in the Introduction. First, Mr Stagg makes the point that 'a comparison between the occurrence of names included in the Subsidy Roll (557-69) and those contained in the other documents, suggests that within the New Forest very few families can have escaped documentation and that

the record is therefore reasonably complete' (p.35). I cannot understand the function of the subsidy roll in this calculation. In general, the county subsidy rolls recorded only a small proportion of the householders of a vill, and not even all of the wealthier ones. This seems to be as true of the New Forest subsidy lists as any others. The extent for Lyndhurst (c.1300, Calendar item nos.402-7) gives 43 tenants, roughly half of them free, half of them customary. The subsidy list for Lyndhurst (1327-8, Calendar item no.557) records only 13 persons. Perhaps I have misunderstood Mr Stagg, but in no way can this subsidy roll be used to gauge the completeness with which other documents record the names of New Forest families. Since there are not extents for all the New Forest bailiwicks and manors, I would reach the opposite conclusion to Mr Stagg, that a substantial number of New Forest families are probably not documented in the Calendar.

Second, Mr Stagg observes that the surnames 'in most cases appear to be hereditary although there are some aliases and other exceptions' (p.35). Having studied the Calendar closely I am convinced he is right, and I hope to justify this conclusion in print some time in the near future, as part of a general discussion of New Forest surnames. Third, Mr Stagg comments on the problem of identifying the same name in different spellings. This is a difficulty which always faces the conscientious indexer of medieval names, who cannot be expected to have the necessary philological expertise to make the best decision in every case. The matter is further complicated by the unreliability of scribes. The earlier Forest Proceedings in particular seem to give a fair number of mistaken forms, either original to the documents themselves or through the process of transcription for the Calendar. The name-student will find some doubtful groupings in the index of names, such as Arny grouped with Arneis, Saleman with Selyman, and Doggecherl with Doggethel, Doggefel, and Doggeved, but given the difficulties, Mr Stagg has done an excellent job, providing cross-references for all forms grouped under the same head, listing under each New Forest vill-name the surnames of all persons associated with that vill, and identifying New Forest localities with an O.S. grid-reference wherever possible. The index is admirably full and to a high standard of accuracy. I have noticed only one omission: Robert son of Andrew (item 396). A few identifications are missed: Brut (162 et passim) should have been grouped with Bret; Alreschute (438 'unidentified') should have been identified as Aldershot in Hampshire. Mr Stagg has also shown excellent judgement in the deciphering of name-spellings, and I have come across only a handful of doubtful renderings, most of which are no doubt the fault of the scribe. The surname Ate (318) should probably read Ace (a Norman personal name); the son of Alec would make better sense as the son of Alot (a diminutive of Norman Alis, Alice); William Askevil (65) is surely an error for William Asketil (as in 64); Ellis le Cap'tir of Sharprix (64) should certainly be read as Ellis le Cartir (cf. Ellis le Carect of Sharprix in 69); atte Confold (504) should read atte Coufold; Dameine (584) should read Dameme ('Dame Emma'); Donce (327) should read Douce (personal name Douce, Dulcia); Edierna (24) should be Odierna (personal name Hodierna); le Estrmeyn (71) is surely for le Escriueyn (OFr 'scribe'); Gondegrom (583) should read Goudegrom ('good groom'); Ellis le Outyer of Minstead (64) is better read as Ellis le Cutyer (cf. Elyam le Kutier 50); Walter Samold (481) is rather Walter Damold ('Dame Maud', as at 482, 483, 499); and le Thurl (610) is perhaps for le Churl.

The care with which the edition has been produced is illustrated in the delightful frontispiece, Jean Main's witty silhouette of a stag chased

by hounds and huntsmen across a background photograph of a wooded part of the New Forest. The idea is repeated on the dust-jacket, with the editor's name boldly superimposed below the chase, but he need have no fear of baying critics. This is a Calendar of admirable accuracy and clarity in transcription, translation, presentation, and production, and Mr Stagg and the Hampshire County Council are to be jointly congratulated on achieving such high standards. If the Council is to be criticised it is only for undue modesty on behalf of the Record Series. Nowhere in the volume or on the dust-jacket is there any information about previous or future volumes in the series, or about the price of this or any other volume. The General Editor should be urged to rectify this for all future publications.

PETER McCLURE

P. ERLEBACH, Die zusammengesetzten englischen Zunamen französischer Herkunft, Anglistische Forschungen 137: Heidelberg, 1979, 166 pp., 62 DM.

This publication is a revised, enlarged and up-dated version of Prof. Erlebach's Ph.D. thesis, printed in a limited edition in 1969. It deals with phenomena of word-formation in compounded English surnames of French origin, thus excluding names formed by derivation (e.g. Butler), apheresis (e.g. Prentice < aprentis), combination of definite article + noun (e.g. Labey) or preposition + noun/place-name (e.g. Aladent < a la dent). For the author's own abstract in English see English and American Studies in German. Summaries of Theses and Monographs. A Supplement to Anglia, 1969, pp. 14-46.

The material has been taken from the well-known dictionaries and monographs on English surnames by Bardsley, Baring-Gould, Ewen, Harrison, Matthews, Reaney - Reaney's revised dictionary of 1976 being the main source - and Weekley, and is supplemented by names taken from DNB and the Birmingham and Bristol directories.

Part I gives a general introduction to the principles of name-giving, types of by-names, medieval documentation of names and the historical background of French names in England, as well as a short account of the principles of word-formation, in particular compounding.

Due to the rather linguistic (as opposed to onomastic) approach of this study the traditional classification of by-names is substituted by two large classes, viz. toponymical by-names (dealt with in part II) and non-toponymical by-names (part III); the latter, also called nicknames in this publication, include by-names of the patronymic class (e.g. Fitzwilliam) and nicknames (e.g. Bellamy); apparently there are no compounded occupational by-names of French origin in English.

In part III, to which I would like to turn next, Prof. Erlebach lists all types of word-formation occurring in non-toponymical French surnames; for each type a basic sentence of the deep structure, from which the name derives, is given (see examples below) and an alphabetical list of all names is added. The more important types are:

1. adjective + determinatum (noun, adjectival noun or personal name), e.g. Prudham (basic sentence: 'he is a prud homme, i.e. a brave man'), Beaubras (basic sentence: 'he has a beau bras, i.e. a nice arm').
2. adverb + adjective /participle, e.g. Malvenu (basic sentence: 'he is mal venu, i.e. not welcome').
3. adjective + adjective, e.g. Richbell ('he is rich and bel', i.e. rich and beautiful').
4. genitival compounds:
 - a) patronymics derived from a personal name or occupational term (e.g. Fitzjohn, Fitzclerk, the basic sentence being 'he is the son of _____').
 - b) metaphorical genitival compounds, e.g. Visdelu ('he has the face of a wolf'), Brazdifer ('he has an arm of iron').

5. sentence-names and imperative-names, e.g. Debney < dieu le benesi ('God bless him'), Brulebois ('burn the wood').

Most of these by-names, however, are not genuine Anglo-Norman names, i.e. names formed in Anglo-Norman England, but by-names brought over from France, where they had been well-established and maybe even hereditary. Thus the process of word-formation, as discussed in part III, did not take place when naming a person in England, but when naming a person in France.

This publication being a study mainly on French word-formation becomes even more evident in part II, in which Anglo-Norman by-names are dealt with that derive from place-names in France. Even if these place-names were first used as by-names in Anglo-Norman England, their types of word-formation, which are discussed along a similar line as explained above, are in fact basically French and may be of greater interest to the French toponymist than the English anthroponymist.

However, it is interesting to note that different principles of transformation from the basic sentence to the surface structure (i.e. the compounded by-name or place-name) operate in French and English and that a method of description laid down for English word-formation is not always applicable in French.

Prof. Erlebach's study will be valuable for the student of comparative linguistics, when read in conjunction with H. Helferich, Bildungstypen englischer Zunamen germanischen Ursprungs (diss., Mainz 1971), which is a similar study on English by-names of Germanic origin.

KLAUS FORSTER

Grímnir. Rit um nafnfræði I, ed. by Þórhallur Vilmundarson, Ærnefnastofnun Þjóðminjasafns (Reykjavík) 1980, 144 pp., 7,200 Icelandic krónur plus postage.

In these days of economic stringency and cultural philistinism, when established onomastic journals have had to resort to primitive and unattractive methods of publication in order to survive, it is pleasant to be able to welcome the appearance of a new Icelandic journal whose production is worthy of its contents and a credit to the editor, the publisher and the printer.

The journal takes its title from the by-name, "the hooded one", assumed by the Norse god Odin on a visit to King Geirröðr. The king, who does not recognise the disguised Odin, places him between two fires. After he has spent eight nights in this uncomfortable position, Odin is brought a drink by the king's son, Agnar. He then relates the names of the dwellings of the gods and other names from their world, concluding with a recital of the by-names of Odin. When Grímnir finally reveals his identity, the king stumbles on his drawn sword and is killed and Agnar inherits the kingdom. We are to understand that Grímnir, whose blue cloak is reflected in the dark-blue cover of the journal, is the place-name scholar. The fires between which he is placed are on the one hand the burning necessity to record all Icelandic place-names before they are lost to posterity and on the other hand the need to interpret the names correctly and to pass on these interpretations to the public. The evil king and his compassionate son represent forces in society, some of which put the cultural inheritance of Iceland at risk, while others provide the hard-pressed scholar with the means of living.

Grímnir I, which is copiously illustrated with photographs and maps, contains three articles (two with English summaries), a short review section (pp. 45-49), an account of the activities of Ærnefnastofnun, the Icelandic place-name institute (pp. 50-56), and contributions to a dictionary of Icelandic place-names (pp. 57-140), all items the work of Þórhallur Vilmundarson. Two of the articles deal with individual names. The specific of Helkunduheiði is assumed to have developed from *halkna- and to refer to the boulders which are strewn over the heath and not, as previously thought, to have any connection with the Old English adjective hellcund "devilish" (pp. 7-21), while the specific of Sængurfoss is taken to be a waterfall-name *sangr rather than sang f. "eiderdown" (pp. 37-44). The third article, which deals with the creation of new names and the care of existing names in Iceland (pp. 24-36), is reprinted from NORNA-Rapporter 13 (Uppsala, 1978).

Of greatest interest to most readers of Nomina will be the dictionary entries and it is to be regretted that English summaries of these have not been provided. Most of the entries deal with names for which Þórhallur proposes a different interpretation from the one(s) earlier accepted and many of the interpretations he rejects derive from Landnámabók (The Book of the Settlers). The name Ketilsstaðir, for example, is found no less than 14 times in Iceland and Landnámabók tells that the first settler at one of these places was a man called Ketill. This personal name was common in Iceland and Norway in the Viking period and it has therefore been assumed to be the specific of all the Ketilsstaðir-names. Þórhallur, however, points out that the appellative ketill "cauldron" is frequently used in Iceland for hollows in the landscape and that some of the Ketilsstaðir-names may thus have taken their specific from a natural feature, while others may refer to places where cauldrons used in the production of cheese, salt or tar were found (pp. 105-10).

Two Irish personal names that have been thought to be recorded in Icelandic place-names have now been removed by Þórhallur from the corpus of settlement-period personal names. He argues that Brjánslækur did not originally contain Brjánn (= Brian) but must have begun life as *Brandslækur and derived its name from the lignite (surtarbrandr) which is found in the neighbourhood (p. 71), while Dunkaðarstaðir, an older name for Dunkur, is shown to be more likely to contain a river-name *Dunkuð or a waterfall-name *Dunkaðr than an Irish personal name Dunkaðr (= Donnchadh) (pp. 77-79). There is no other evidence for the use of the name Donnchadh in Iceland, while Brian does make a couple of appearances in the fifteenth century and is borne by a few present-day Icelanders.

Of interest for the study of Danelaw place-names is Þórhall's discussion of the name Náttfaravík (pp. 119-25). According to Landnámabók Náttfaravík derives its name from the first settler there, a man called Náttfari, but the narrative is unconvincing and the personal name not recorded elsewhere in Iceland or in Norway so Þórhallur suggests that náttfari "night-traveller" refers to trolls. The landscape around Náttfaravík is characterised by hills and rocks in grotesque formations and free-standing pillar rocks off the coast, claimed by local traditions to be trolls that were turned to stone with the arrival of the dawn. Nafferton in the East Riding of Yorkshire has been assumed to contain the personal name Náttfari, which is recorded in Sweden, but the suggestion that the specific refers to trolls is perhaps worthy of consideration. Within the boundaries of the parish of Nafferton lies the Iron Age cemetery known as Danes' Graves. This once contained over 500 small barrows that were 8-30 ft in diameter and 1 - 3 ft high and it is conceivable that the cemetery might have appeared to the Viking settlers as the work of trolls.

The dictionary entries are all well argued and clearly and elegantly presented, although they occasionally appear a little over-ingenious to the outside observer. It would be well worth the effort for those who have studied Icelandic to read these thought-provoking discussions for themselves.

GILLIAN FELLOWS JENSEN

ELIZABETH RAJEC, The Study of Names in Literature: A Bibliography, K.G. Saur Publishing Inc.: New York, 1978, xii + 261 pp. No price stated.

Students of literary onomastics now have a valuable research-aid in Elizabeth Rajec's bibliography, the most comprehensive so far produced and the first stage, its author assures us, of her project to provide an even fuller compilation. The present volume aims to reflect the width and variety of literary name-studies: it includes English and non-English authors, and its entries embrace studies in book- and article-form, authors' comments on their use of names, reviews, and a selection of general reference sources. A spot-check on the listing for Chaucer and Shakespeare reveals that there is also variety-in-depth, accurate transcription, and reference to studies published as recently as 1977. Minor complaints would be that there are one or two surprising omissions in the choice of authors (Thackeray is an example) and that the book's annotations can be disappointingly perfunctory, often merely summarising what is quite evident in the title of a study. A more serious complaint is that there is little initial attempt to set out the principles upon which the selection of items depends - so that we are left to speculate for ourselves upon the choice of authors who merit inclusion. As for the book's apparatus, it is useful without being fussy: the main listings are arranged by author in a single alphabetical sequence, followed by a detailed subject index. In most ways, then, the author makes good her claim to have provided 'a strong first step' towards a fully comprehensive bibliography of literary onomastics. One looks forward with anticipation to Elizabeth Rajec's subsequent steps in this direction.

OWEN KNOWLES

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

- Coghlan, Ronan, Irish Christian Names, Johnston & Bacon: London, 1979.
- Davies, C.S. and Levitt, J., What's in a Name?, paperback reprint of 1970 edition, Routledge & Kegan Paul: London and Henley-on-Thames, 1980.
- Dunkling, Leslie, Scottish Christian Names, Cassell: London, 1978.
- Field, John, Place-Names of Great Britain and Ireland, David & Charles: Newton Abbot, 1980.
- Handley-Taylor, Geoffrey, Pogg: being a fragmentary key to that elusive place together with some brief observations on the gentle art of pogging, published by the author, 1980, BCM Box 8455, London WC1V 6XX.
- JønsjØ, Jan, Studies on Middle English Nicknames: I, Compounds, Lund Studies in English 55: Lund, 1979.
- Rivet, A.L.F. and Smith, Colin, The Place-Names of Roman Britain, Batsford: London, 1979.
- Room, Adrian, Place-Name Changes since 1900: a World Gazetteer, Routledge & Kegan Paul: London and Henley-on-Thames, 1980.