SOME PLACE-NAMES OF ARCHENFIELD AND THE GOLDEN VALLEY
RECORDED IN THE BALLIOL HEREFORDSHIRE DOMESDAY*

The Balliol Herefordshire Domesday, the first of three items bound up as
Balliol College MS.350, is a twelfth-century transcript of the Great Domesday
Book folios for Herefordshire. A monochrome facsimile edition of the manu-
script, with a transcription of the text and introduction by V. H. Galbraith
and notes by James Tait, was published by the Pipe Roll Society in 1950.[1]
The manuscript was described by Galbraith in his introduction as 'no mere
official list, but a handsome book, finely illuminated', and consists of a
more or less faithful and unabridged transcript of the Herefords. folios of
GDB.[2] The transcript is written in two hands, the first running to the bottom
of fo. 4r and the second, responsible for most of the manuscript, from there
to the end. The first hand is not particularly distinctive, but the writing
of the second was described by Galbraith as being in the 'set or most formal
hand of the royal curia'. The text is in single column, allowing for wide
margins which take up almost one-third of the width of the leaf. In these
margins a third hand has entered, in red ink, the names of the DB holdings
given in the text, the number of hides at which they were assessed, and, occa-
sionally, the name of the 1086 tenant. Beneath these marginalia another scribe
or scribes, or possibly the same one, has added in red, and usually in a
smaller size of writing, the names of just over one-third of the tenants in
the reign of Henry II.

From comparison with the Pipe Rolls and the Red Book of the Exchequer,
Galbraith found that all but one of these rubricated personal-names referred
to people recorded as living at some time during the reign of Henry II (1154-
89). In addition to these names there are also a number of later marginal
additions, in black ink, of both personal- and place-names. These later anno-
tations are written in several less formal hands, but Galbraith established
that they could not have been written much later than the red marginalia, and
concluded that the text of the manuscript was written in the earlier part of
Henry II's reign, with the marginal additions in red and black having probably
been made piecemeal and over a period of time extending to the close of the
reign or even somewhat later, but not much if at all beyond 1200.

Discussing the possible origin and purpose of such an undertaking, which
appears to be a unique but unfinished attempt to bring the tenurial information
of Great Domesday Book up-to-date for a single county, Galbraith suggested that
the rather grand nature of the manuscript, together with the evidence of the

script, indicated a personal experiment originating in the royal <u>curia</u>. He
pointed out that much of the detailed information given in the marginalia could
have been available only to someone well acquainted with local conditions in
Herefords., and went on to argue that the mastermind behind the enterprise was
possibly Thomas Brown, <u>Thomas cognomento Brunus</u>, who was described in Richard
FitzNigel's <u>Dialogue of the Exchequer</u>, written <u>c</u>.1179, as an important figure
at the Exchequer. He is known to have had property interests in Hereford and,
as king's almoner, is the most likely source for a statement of royal oblations
which is found on a folio at the end of the Domesday transcript.[5]

The marginalia are clearly of great importance for the manorial history
of Herefords., since DBH helps to fill the gap between the Domesday Survey
itself and the feudal records of the thirteenth century. The manuscript is no
less important to the toponymist of the county, providing late-twelfth-century
forms for over 300 major place-names. This comprehensiveness is especially
valuable in a county such as Herefords. which is very poorly served for English
pre-Conquest material. Alexander Rumble has reminded us that 'there is room
for more study of the place-names as found in one particular source'.[3] DBH
would appear to be an excellent candidate for such a study, offering an oppor-
tunity to apply the source-based approach within a county framework. Such a
study would, however, clearly be beyond the scope of a paper such as this, and
I shall discuss here only one of the interesting aspects of this manuscript,
namely the light it sheds on the toponymic situation on the English/Welsh
linguistic border in Archenfield and the Golden Valley in the eleventh and
twelfth centuries, and in particular the evidence it provides for variation,
change, and loss of place-names.

The name <u>Archenfield</u> has been applied since at least the tenth century to
the district bounded by the rivers Wye, Monnow and Worm in south Herefords. on
the borders of Gwent. This English name, first recorded in the year 918, means
'open land of the people of Erging' (the Welsh name of the district);[4] and by
the time of Edward the Confessor the district to which it applied seems to have
been a semi-autonomous Welsh area subject to the English Crown but preserving
its native customs and language (<u>DB</u> [A]/1-10). Great Domesday Book records
that half a hide was held in 1086 by Hugh the Ass at <u>Etone</u> in <u>Sulcet</u> hundred
(<u>DB</u> 29/20). An addition in black ink, <u>St(ra)ngef</u>', which appears above the
DBH marginal form <u>Eatona</u> (DBH 71), was taken by Tait to refer to the name of
an unknown tenant, but it is clear that it represents the place-name <u>Strangford</u>
found in Sellack parish on the west bank of the Wye in the southern half of a

large S-shaped meander (see Map 1). The GDB name <u>Etone</u> is evidently identical
with that of another manor, given as <u>Edtune</u> in GDB (<u>DB</u> 19/7) but corrected to
<u>Eatona</u> in DBH (59); the place concerned can be identified as Eaton Tregoze (a
name lost in the nineteenth century) on the opposite bank of the Wye. It seems
likely that <u>Eaton</u> (appropriately enough from OE <u>ēatūn</u> 'riverine estate') was
once the name of an estate with land on both sides of the Wye. Although Eaton
Tregoze was an important manor in medieval times, its ecclesiastical centre
was on the 'Welsh' side of the Wye at Foy, east of Strangford. <u>Foy</u> is a trunc-
ated form of a Welsh name first recorded in the Book of Llandaf <u>c</u>.1130 as
<u>Lann Timoi</u> and <u>Lann Tiuoi</u> 'church of Tiuoi' (<u>LL</u> 231, 275).[5] <u>Sulcet</u> hundred,
with a unique name which has puzzled commentators,[6] should probably be linked
with Sellack, the parish to the west of Foy, which is <u>Lann Suluc</u> 'church of
Suluc' in the Book of Llandaf (<u>LL</u> 231, 275-7). Sellack is not mentioned by
name in GDB, but was probably subsumed under the entry for Baysham (<u>DB</u> 1/54).
Although Baysham is now only a hamlet in Sellack parish, in the Middle Ages
the parish was usually referred to as 'Baysham', presumably because the manor-
ial centre was there. By the sixteenth century the parish was being referred
to as <u>Beysham alias Cellach</u>, and it was the name of the church which finally
prevailed as the name of the parish. (Note the similarity to Eaton/Foy, where
too the manorial name was English and the parish name a truncated form of a
Welsh <u>Llan-</u> name.) A problem arises here in that Baysham is not stated in GDB
to be in <u>Sulcet</u> hundred but <u>in fine Arcenefelde</u> 'within Archenfield'. Perhaps,
however, one should interpret <u>Sulcet</u> not as a scribal error for <u>Suluc</u>, which
is quite possible palaeographically, but as a compound of <u>Suluc</u> with the OE
element <u>sǣte</u> 'settlers, dwellers'; the GDB form might represent a French pro-
nunciation [syltset] of an OE form <u>*Sul(u)csǣt(e)</u>. <u>Sǣte</u> is a not uncommon
element in group-, and later territorial, names in the West Midlands, where,
as Margaret Gelling has pointed out, it often seems to refer to groups occupy-
ing an area about the size of a later hundred.[7] One might cite as a parallel
the Domesday hundred of <u>Ruesset</u> in Shropshire, the first element of which is
probably OW <u>riu</u> (so spelt in place-names) 'a hill-side, a slope'.[8] Gelling
further observes that the feature described by the first element in such names
sometimes seems to lie on or beyond the boundary of the territory occupied by
the group in question. If <u>Sulcet</u> hundred is a name of this type, then it could
possibly be interpreted as 'dwellers by the boundary of Sellack' or even
'territory adjacent to Sellack'. <u>Etone</u>/Strangford was held in 1066 by a man
with an English name (GDB <u>Elric(us)</u> = OE <u>Æðelrīc</u> or <u>Ælfrīc</u>), and the hundred

Map 1

Parish boundaries (19th c.)
Hundred boundaries (1086)?
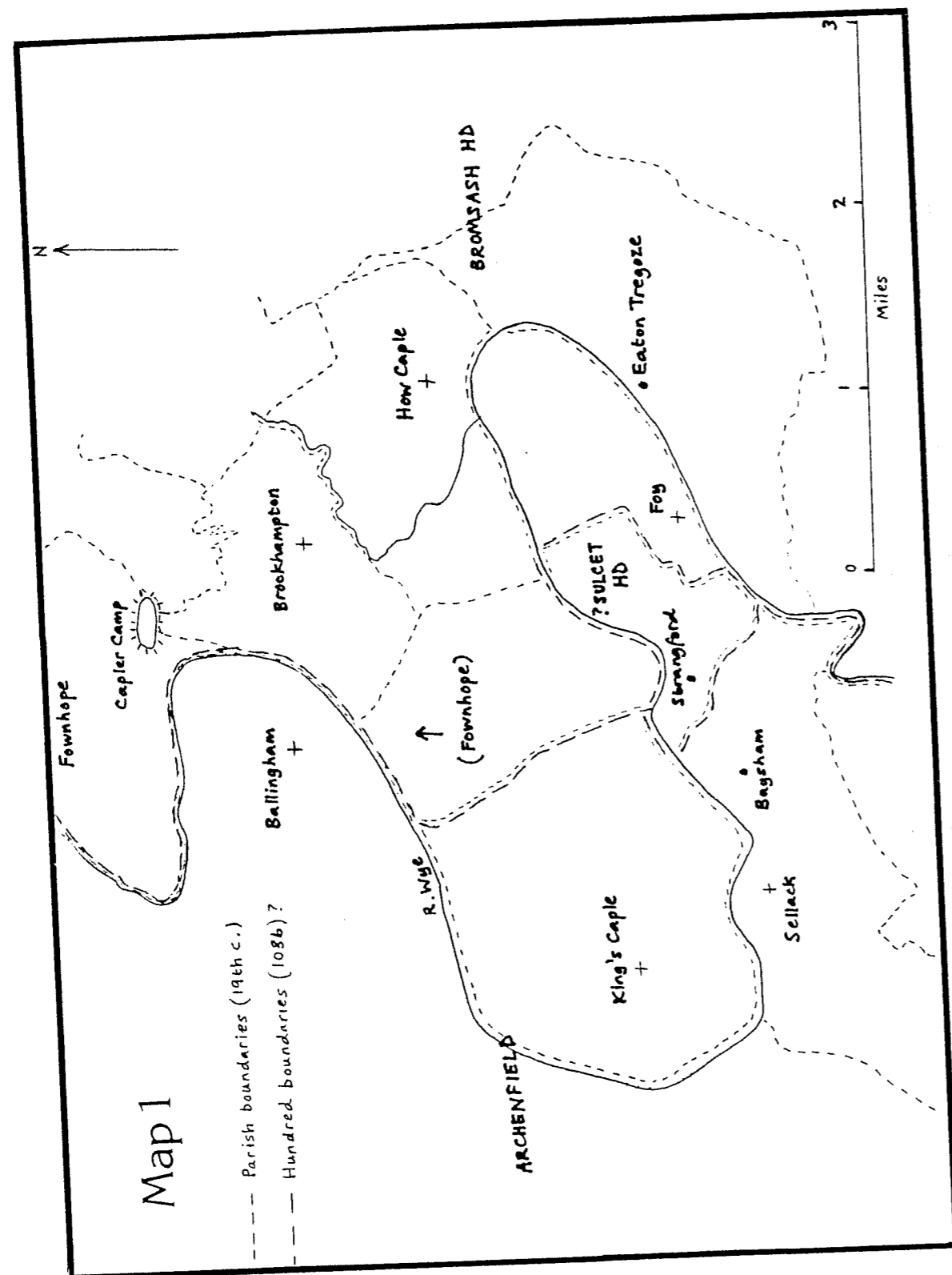
may have represented, as Frank Thorn puts it, an English manorial intrusion into Archenfield (DB 29/20 note). A Welsh presence is, however, indicated by the characteristically Welsh honey-renders mentioned in the GDB entry.

This English intrusion onto the 'Welsh' side of the Wye is mirrored, in the northern half of this meander, by a Welsh intrusion onto the 'English' side, where the Domesday manor of Cape (King's Caple) was stated in GDB to be in fine Arcenefelde (DB 1/55); in later medieval times it was and remained in the deanery of Archenfield. Five Welshmen were mentioned in connection with the Domesday holding and it appears to have been linked with Sellack parish over the Wye, for not only were both estates held by the same tenant and sub-tenant in 1086, but there were also later manorial links and, from 1334, King's Caple is recorded as a chapelry dependent on Sellack.

The element contained in the name Caple also features in two other names in DB: Capel (How Caple), a five-hide episcopal manor (DB 2/14), and Caplefore (DB 2/15). In a DBH marginal note Caplefore is called Brochamtona (DBH 26), which identifies it as the present-day parish of Brockhampton-by-Ross. Again DB records a Welsh presence on the eastern bank of the Wye: there were said to be five English hides and three Welsh hides there. The element in question here was explained by Ekwall as Norman-French capele 'a chapel', but since the three settlements concerned cover an area of about ten square miles, it is perhaps better to regard Caple as being derived from the unrecorded, but reasonably well-established, OE *cape 'a lookout place', possibly with a derivational suffix -ol or -ul.[9] This would be an appropriate name for a point on the tongue of elevated ground within the Wye meander here. The same element probably also enters into the name of Capler Camp, an impressive Iron-Age hill-fort just north of Brockhampton, for which no early forms have yet been found. This may have been the original 'lookout place', but Capler perhaps derives from the GDB form Caplefore itself, possibly 'ford at/near/in Caple'. At all events, the name Caple must have applied to a fairly large area in late Anglo-Saxon times. Here, as with other Herefordshire estate-names, we find recorded in DBH a shift away from topographical settlement-names towards such forms as Brochamtona incorporating habitative elements such as OE tūn.

Moving now upstream and crossing the Wye again, we find DBH providing evidence on the borders of Archenfield both for the replacement of Welsh names by English ones and for the encroachment of English and, later, Norman administrative and tenurial arrangements in an area formerly solidly Welsh. One of

the places said in GDB to be within Archenfield is called there Mainaure (DB 1/58). This represents OW mainaur 'multiple estate', to use the term favoured by Glanville Jones, who has argued for the great antiquity of some of these estates in Wales. The GDB form is repeated in the margin of DBH, but a later annotation in black ink adds the form Birches (DBH 20), an English name referring to Much and Little Birch, distinguished as such from the late thirteenth century (see Map 2). They are both small parishes, and Professor Jones believes that the estate recorded here may also have once included the two holdings, totalling seven hides, called in GDB Westuode (DB 1/61) and Westeude (1/62), the larger of which was held in 1086 by St Peter's, Gloucester.[10] This name does not appear to have survived the Middle Ages, but in the late medieval History of St Peter's the abbey's holding is called Westwode in Jerchenffeld in Lawaran,[11] implying that some at least of it was in or near Llanwarne, some two miles south of Much Birch. Like one of the GDB forms, the DBH ones have a medial -e- (Westewde, Westeode, Westewod(a)), which suggests that the OE form of the name may have been (be) westan wuda '(estate) to the west of the wood'. This would accord well with early medieval evidence of an extensive tract of woodland running N.-S. from a few miles south of Hereford, probably as far as Pencoyd (Welsh pencoed 'end of the wood'), the parish to the south-east of Llanwarne. The name of the parish north of Pencoyd and east of Llanwarne, Harewood (Harewuda DBH 19, nemus de Harewuda 1138) also indicates the presence of woodland east of 'Westwood' (see also below).

The hundred heading under which this estate is entered in GDB is that of Wormelow (Wermelau) hundred (DB 1/61), which in 1086 was co-extensive with the manor of 'Westwood' and seems to have been an English administrative inroad into Archenfield before the Norman Conquest. The specific of the hundred-name is derived from the name of the River Worm, probably representing an Old Welsh name meaning 'the dusky one',[12] and the generic is OE hlāw 'a mound'. This mound, probably artificial, was the meeting-place of the hundred (DB [C]/3) and survived until recent times as Wormelow Tump. It was prominently sited on a summit beside the (?Roman) road from Hereford to Monmouth at the junction of three later parishes, and it may have been the focus of Professor Jones's putative multiple estate consisting of 'Westwood' and the Birches.

Three other holdings are mentioned in GDB as forming part of, or being called, 'Westwood'. One part (DB 1/61), held by Roger de Lacy, is unnamed in GDB but is called Wrmenton' in a black marginal addition in DBH (20). Another part (DB 1/61), again unnamed in GDB, where it is described as held by Ralph

Map 2
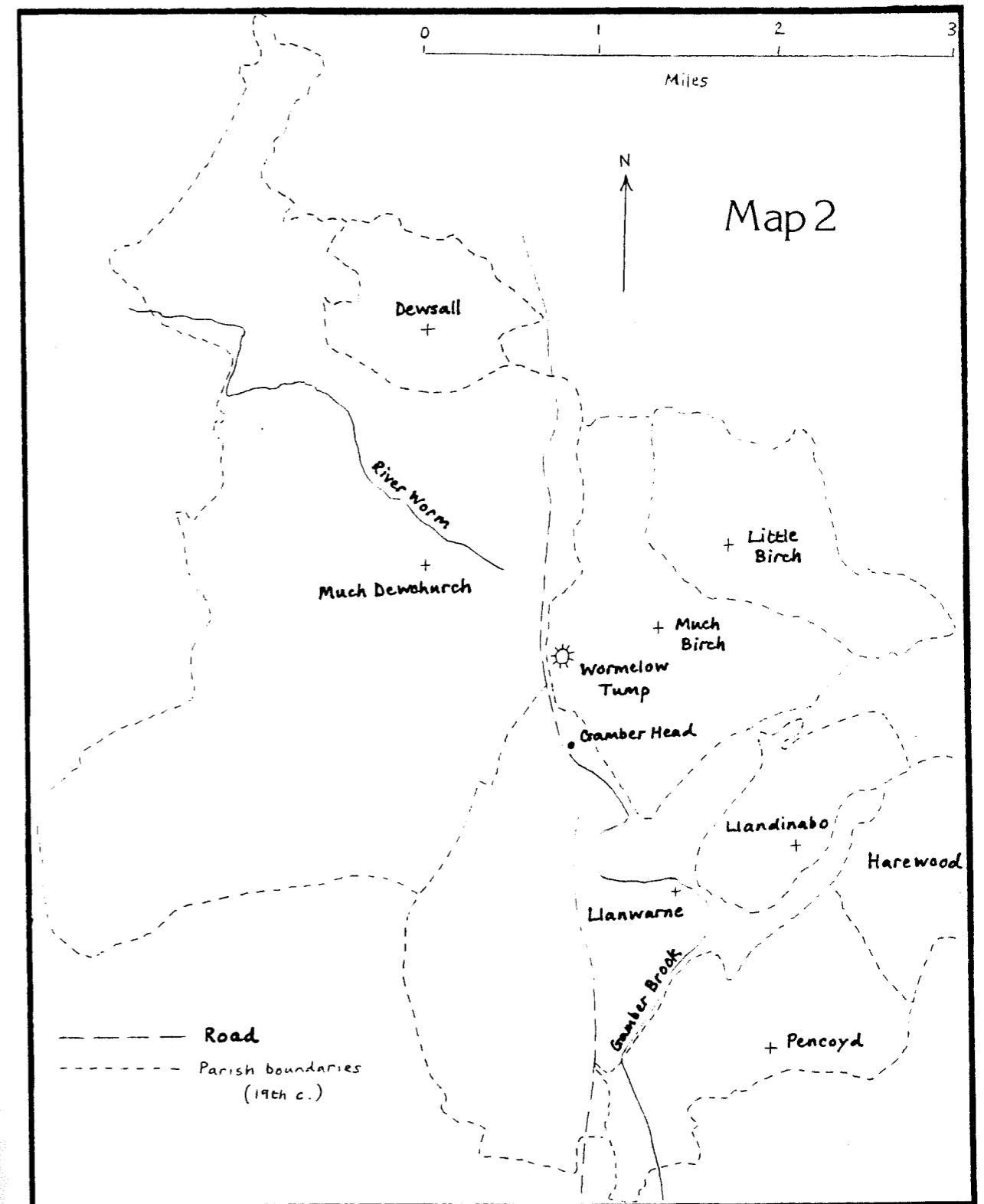
de Salcey, is annotated in black in DBH (21) as Wrmoton'. This - another lost name - appears in the thirteenth century as Wermiton, Wirminton and Wurmeton, evidently a -tūn or -ingtūn formation on the name of the river. The exact position of these lost 'Worm(ing)ton' manors is still unknown, but presumably they lay on or near the River Worm, probably in or near Much Dewchurch, whose English name, recorded from c.1225, is probably a translation of an older Welsh name Lann Deui Ros Cerion 'Dewi's church by Ros Cerion ["Ceirion's moor"]',[13] recorded in the Book of Llandaf (LL 275). The fourth holding, one hide held by Ralph de Tosny, is called Westeude in GDB (DB 1/62) and Westewod' in a marginal note in DBH (21), but a further DBH marginal annotation adds Dewiswell', 'Dewi's well', identifying it as Dewsall north of Much Dewchurch. On the map the parish of Dewsall very much gives the impression of having been carved out of a larger unit including Much Dewchurch. As well as supplying new names for these three subordinate holdings in 'Westwood', that is, the two 'Worm(ing)tons' and Dewsall, DBH (20) also has a black marginal note Villa Asmacun at the beginning of the 'Westwood' entries. This has defied conclusive explanation, although David Walker has ingeniously suggested that Asmacun might be a corruption of Latin ad victum in the phrase ad victum monachorum 'for the sustenance of the monks'.[14] Other plausible explanations are that it is a scribal corruption of Wrmeton or the like, or that it is a miscopying of Asmatun for *Æscmantūn, a lost OE place-name meaning 'Æscmann's estate'.[15] There is also the possibility that Asmacun might represent a Welsh personal-name, and that Villa Asmacun might be either a noun phrase 'estate of Asmacun' or a translation of a Welsh place-name consisting of a habitative element such as tre(f) and a personal-name. The name, if such it is, appears opposite the phrase in the main text Una ex his [sc. vi hidis] habet waliscam consuetudinem and may refer to a Welsh settlement rather than to an alternative name of the 'Westwood' estate itself.

I have discussed this last example at some length because it illustrates rather well the complicated patterns of variation, creation and loss that affected place-names in this period of changing political and administrative fortunes on the English/Welsh border. DBH contains two more examples of apparent name-change or variation in Archenfield, both of which present difficulties of interpretation. GDB lists an unnamed holding in Archenfield held TRE by one Werestan (OE Wǣrstān) (DB 1/52). A black marginal addition in DBH (19) calls this Meiner Reau. The first element here appears again to be OW mainaur, but what of the qualifying element? Professor Jones suggests 'very tentatively'

that it stands for Welsh fro [vro], the lenited form of bro 'vale, lowland',[16] and that the whole phrase means 'lowland multiple estate'. He has, however, taken the marginal annotation to refer not to this holding of Werestan's but to the previous DBH entry relating to Ballingham, part of which does lie on relatively low ground in a loop of the Wye. Close attention to the facsimile, however, shows that it is Werestan's holding which is referred to. This entry has a further black marginal addition in DBH, Harewuda, referring probably to the foresta mentioned in the text. This is Harewood, recorded as a royal forest in the twelfth-century Pipe Rolls, so it seems likely that Meiner Reau was centred not on Ballingham but in or near Harewood, which is several miles south and by no means occupies a lowland site. A further difficulty raised by Professor Jones's interpretation is that it is very hard, unless one assumes gross scribal or phonetic corruption, to see how Reau could represent Welsh fro. One could perhaps accept the loss of the initial fricative, but the spelling ⟨eau⟩ in twelfth-century French orthography would have indicated at least a diphthong, if not a triphthong.[17] It may be suggested that the form Reau here stands for either an OW personal-name, perhaps Reu, which is recorded twice in the Book of Llandaf (LL 169, 201), or for the OW common noun riu 'hillside, slope', which would fit the topography near Harewood. If this is accepted, then Meiner Reau 'hillside estate' would of course mean the opposite of the 'lowland estate' of Professor Jones's interpretation.

The second difficult name appears in GDB as Lagademar, applied to a place which is said to have belonged to Archenfield TRE (DB 1/50). The text of DBH repeats this form, but a black marginal annotation to it reads Garwi (DBH 19), which appears to denote the present parish of Garway in the far west of Archenfield by the River Monnow. Similar forms are attested from the twelfth century (Garou 1138, Garewi 1189) and become common in the thirteenth. Garway is called Langarewi in 1199 and has been taken to be the place called in the Book of Llandaf Lann Gu(o)rboe and Lann Gu(o)ruoe (LL 162, 164-6, 192) 'church of Gu(o)ruoe' (with the name of the church's first priest, who is referred to in the same text),[18] though Egerton Phillimore, while accepting that the name Garway may have had the same origin, cited evidence that it is unlikely to be the Lann Gu(o)ruoe of the Book of Llandaf.[19] Even if one accepts this origin, however, the GDB form Lagademar presents problems. Bannister cited a 'traditional' identification of the form with the Archenfield Licat Anir (with ni for m; variants Amr, Amir) of the Historia Brittonum ('Nennius'), c.830.[20] This, despite the fanciful etymology retailed there of a spring by the burial mound

of 'Anir the son of Arthur', is more prosaically interpreted as 'source (OW licat, literally 'eye') of the Am(i)r', a stream or river apparently identical with that called Amyr, Amhyr in the Book of Llandaf (LL 174, 200), usually taken to be the Gamber Brook.[21] The source of this stream is at Gamber Head (SO 4929) less than a mile south of the site of Wormelow Tump. The association in the Historia Brittonum of the place called Licat Anir with the burial mound of 'Anir' could well be explained by the nearby presence of the large mound recorded as a hundred meeting-place in GDB and the fact that Amhyr was also an OW personal-name.[22] Despite the phonetic plausibility of identifying GDB Lagademar with Licat Anir/Am(i)r (OW c = [g] and t = [d]), there remains, however, the difficulty that Garway is several miles west of Gamber Head, which anyway would probably have lain geographically within the Domesday manor of 'Westwood' discussed above. It may be necessary, therefore, to reject the identification of Lagademar with Licat Anir and to consider whether Lagademar might represent another place-name containing OW licat or an OW name consisting of lann and a qualifying element, such as an OW personal-name in Cat-. The latter supposition would, of course, imply that the Garway holding could apparently be referred to by two distinct Lann-names in the twelfth century.[23]

The other area of Herefords. which is worth looking at for evidence of name variation is the Golden Valley, the fertile valley of the River Dore (see Map 3). The name of the valley has a rather complicated history. It appears in the Book of Llandaf as Ynis Stratdour (rectè:(yn) Istratdour), Istratour and Estrateur (LL 76, 32, 42), the first element of which is OW (i)strat 'broad valley' and the second the name of the river, Dour [Dovr], from late British *Dobra 'the water(s)'.[24] The form Estrateur suggests that already by the twelfth century Welsh scribes had begun to interpret the spelling Istrat(d)our [əstrad(d)ovr] 'Dore Valley' as though it were Istratour [əstradoyr] 'Golden Valley', through false segmentation of the phrase and misinterpretation of the ambiguous OW spelling <ou> as [oy] rather than [ov].[25] In the immediate pre-Conquest period the west bank of the Dore appears to have been the western limit of English penetration; the date of the English takeover is unknown, though it was probably later than the mid-eighth century, when the Book of Llandaf states that the Welsh king Ithel restored to the surviving tenants lands in the Golden Valley ravaged by the English.[26] In GDB the area is called once Stradel hundred, but in other cases Vallis Stradelei and variants, and Frank Thorn has suggested from

Map 3
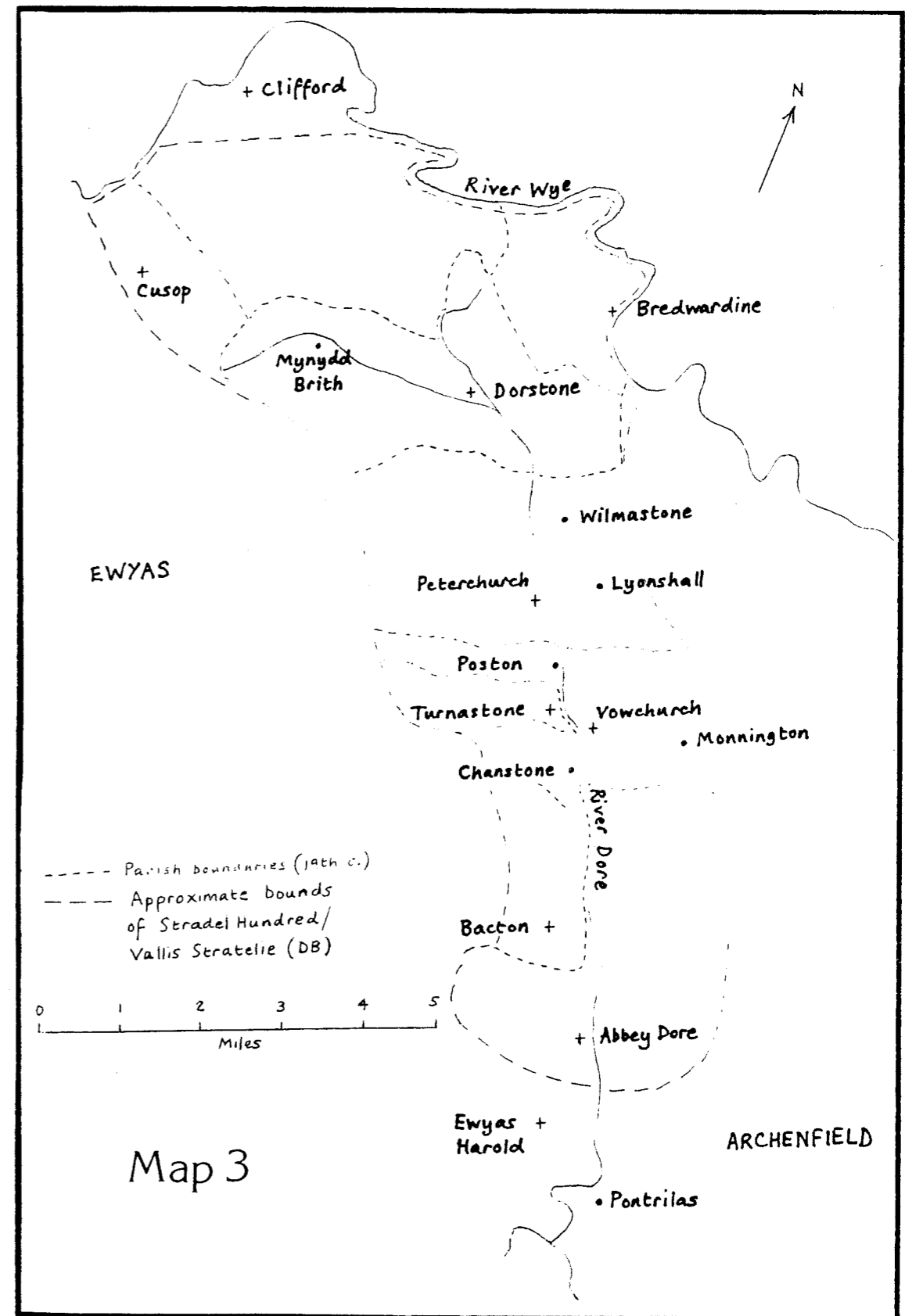
palaeographical evidence that the scribe seemed uncertain of the correct administrative designation of the area (DB 2/54 note); GDB also states specifically that it contained only 56 hides (DB 25/7). There also seems to have been some variation in the English form of the name itself in post-Conquest sources. The normal form recorded in the Pipe Rolls of the late twelfth century is Strada, probably a latinization of OW (i)strat, while other early sources give such forms as Stradelie and Stradelei, suggesting a second element lēah, or Straddele, Straddale, pointing to (i)strat plus ME dale 'valley'. Twenty named Domesday holdings and two that are unnamed are stated to be, or can confidently be inferred to have lain, in Stradel hundred or the Golden Valley; of the twenty named holdings, five represent places not actually in the valley itself but beyond the Dore watershed in the Wye Valley. There is also one place, Pontrilas, which lies geographically in the Golden Valley but was administratively in Archenfield in 1086.

There are two striking facts about these twenty-three holdings. The first is that no less than thirteen are described as 'waste' TRE. This can be ascribed to the very troubled state of the southern Marches in the twenty years before the Norman Conquest, when there was almost constant warfare between the Welsh and English. The situation on the border in the 1050s had resulted in the building in Herefords. of some of the first Norman castles in England, one of which was almost certainly Ewyas Harold near the junction of the Dore and the Monnow.[27] The other notable feature here is the nature of the DB place-names themselves, and the apparently very low survival rate of many of them. Thirteen of the twenty-one named DB manors have OE tūn as their second element and, of these, eleven have as their first element an OE personal-name. These are GDB Alcamestune (DB 29/10), Almundestune (DB 29/9), Burcstanestune (DB 23/3), Edwardestune (DB 10/18), Elnodestune (DB 10/17), Elwistone (DB 1/56, later Pontrilas[28]), Wadetune (DB 10/18) and Wluetone (DB 29/7) (all lost names), and Wilmestune (Wilmastone, DB 29/8), Bachetune (Bacton, DB 10/16) and Manitone/Manetune (Monnington in Vowchurch, DB 19/1;4) which have survived. Another, Dodintune (Dorstone, DB 23/2), possibly has a personal-name as first element, and Poscetenetune (Poston, DB 14/6) apparently has as its first element a folk-name in -sǣtan.[29] Some of these first elements show variation between a personal-name in the genitive and a singular -ing formation on a personal-name base. Of these eleven place-names with a personal-name as first element, seven were apparently lost by the twelfth century, because they have not been traced in other sources, but in five cases

a DBH marginal note provides a different name for the holding. GDB Edwardestune becomes Villa Huardi (DBH 42), probably here not a name but a descriptive phrase, 'Huard's estate', though the phrase might be a translation of a place-name such as *Huardestun which did not become permanently attached to the place. A man named W. Huard' holds Poston in DBH (54), so this holding may have been near there. Wluetone is annotated Rob(er)ti Turuei i(n) Lenhal' in DBH (70), identifying it as in or near Lyonshall in Peterchurch. Turuei here may be a mistake for Turnei, since a Robertus de Turnai is recorded in the Pipe Roll of 1185 for Herefords., and he, an ancestor or a descendant may have given his name to the parish of Turnastone, about two miles south of Lyonshall; the name of this place is first recorded in 1242 as Thurneistun,[30] and Lyonshall is said to pertain to Turnastone in an inquisition of 1250. Elnodestune has a marginal note i(d est) Stradel W. Ebrois in DBH (42). Like Villa Huardi, this may not be a genuine place-name but rather denote 'the holding of W. Devereux in the Golden Valley', though again one cannot rule out the possibility of a transient name such as 'Stradel Devereux'. Frank Thorn has suggested from tenurial evidence that this may have been the later Chanstone in Vowchurch, first recorded as Cheinestun' (with the French family name Cheney as first element) in 1242 (DB 10/16 note). Against Almundestune in the DBH margin has been written S(an)c(t)i Pet(r)i, which identifies it as Peterchurch, a major settlement with a large Norman church. No other forms of its later name have been found before 1271, when it appears as ecclesia beati Petri in Straddele; the first English form that I have found is Peterescherche in 1302. A priest with a church is mentioned in the GDB entry. GDB Dodintune is glossed in DBH i(d est) Dorsinton', which shows that the estate was Dorstone, another major settlement and later parish. Dorsinton' may be a singular -ing formation on the OE personal-name Dēorsige, though later forms such as Dorston from 1321 probably show that the name was influenced by that of the River Dore on which it lies. Interestingly, Bannister cited a Dudintone as a farm- or field-name in Dorstone in the mid-thirteenth century,[31] which perhaps indicates that the manorial centre of the estate had shifted from a settlement called *Dud(d)ingtūn to another called *Deorsigingtūn.

Besides these changes affecting names in tūn, DBH also records one change in a topographical settlement-name. GDB Ruuenore (DB 23/4) is given in a red marginal note as Rugenoura in DBH (64), probably from the OE elements rūh 'rough' and ofer 'slope, hill, ridge'. A later marginal note in black adds above this name Fagemeneda, containing OE fāg 'variegated, coloured,

bright' and ME <u>munede</u>, a loanword from OW <u>minid</u> 'hill'. A. H. Smith postu-
lated the use of such a loanword in place-names in the Forest of Dean to
denote 'a piece of waste or open ground in the forest',[32] but the sense here,
as in other examples in Herefordshire and Shropshire, is probably that of the
Welsh original. The name <u>Rugenoura</u> was apparently lost early, but <u>Fagemeneda</u>
survived until recently as <u>Vowmynd</u>, the name of a chapelry dependent on
Dorstone. Its official name now is <u>Mynydd Brith</u> or, in an over-cymricized
form on the O.S. maps, <u>Mynydd Brydd</u>; this Welsh form means 'variegated hill',
and is an exact translation of <u>Fagemeneda</u>. It would be interesting to know
when and how the Welsh name arose, whether as a translation of the English
name, as the model for the English name, or as an independent formation des-
criptive of the site. Bannister observed that the minor names in Dorstone in
the mid-thirteenth century were almost entirely English,[33] whilst in his day
(1916) most of them were Welsh. It is probable that there was a certain
amount of medieval and post-medieval Welsh re-immigration into the Golden
Valley, but to trace the detail of such movements we shall have to await a
full collection of the minor names of the area.

   Looking at the Golden Valley names recorded in GDB and DBH as a whole,
it is clear that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was an except-
ional degree of instability in major settlement-names, with the prevailing
late Anglo-Saxon pattern of settlement-names composed of a personal-name and
<u>tūn</u> and/or -<u>ingtūn</u> being replaced by a more mixed naming pattern, with church
names such as <u>Peterchurch</u> and <u>Vowchurch</u> making an appearance and also, signi-
ficantly, names consisting of a French family name plus <u>tūn</u>, such as
<u>Turnastone</u> and <u>Chanstone</u>. This is also a marked feature of Ewyas, the dis-
trict to the west of the Golden Valley, still Welsh in 1086, where the names
<u>Walterstone</u> and <u>Rowlstone</u>, both parish-names, and <u>Gilbertstone</u> in Longtown
take their names from followers of the Lacy family, the first Norman lords of
Ewyas. The English names themselves, of course, largely supplanted a Welsh
pattern which, despite difficulties of identification, can be glimpsed in the
Book of Llandaf. It seems possible that the extreme transience of many of
these OE settlement-names could be due to the fact that at the time of DB
they had relatively recently replaced Welsh names and had not established
themselves firmly enough to survive the thorough Normanization of the area
which had begun even before 1066.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

<u>ASC</u> = C. Plummer and J. Earle, eds, <u>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</u>,
           2 vols (Oxford, 1892-99).

DB = Domesday Book, when used to refer generally to the records of the
           Domesday Inquest.

DB = F. and C. Thorn, eds, <u>Domesday Book, 17: Herefordshire</u> (Chichester,
           1983). References are to the numbered chapters and sections of
           this edition.

DBH = V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait, eds, <u>Herefordshire Domesday, circa 1160-</u>
           <u>1170, reproduced by collotype from facsimile photographs of Balliol</u>
           <u>College MS. 350</u>, Pipe Roll Society LXIII (n.s. XXV) for 1947 and
           1948 (London, 1950). References are to page numbers.

<u>DEPN</u> = E. Ekwall, <u>The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names</u>, 4th
           edn (Oxford, 1960).

<u>EPN</u> = A. H. Smith, <u>English Place-Name Elements</u>, 2 vols, EPNS XXV-VI
           (Cambridge, 1956).

EPNS = English Place-Name Society.

<u>ERN</u> = E. Ekwall, <u>English River-Names</u> (Oxford, 1928).

GDB = Great Domesday Book (for the printed text of the Herefords. folios,
           with translation and notes, see above under <u>DB</u>).

<u>LL</u> = J. Gwenogvryn Evans, ed., <u>The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv</u> (Oxford,
           1893). References are to page numbers.

ME = Middle English.

OE = Old English.

OW = Old Welsh.

1.   See list of References, <u>sub</u> DBH.

2.   The Herefords. folios constitute fos 179-87 of GDB.

3.   A. R. Rumble, 'The status of written sources in English onomastics',
     NOMINA VIII (1984), 41.

4.   <u>(on) Ircinga felda</u>, <u>ASC</u>,I, 98, <u>s.a.</u> 918.

5.   For the printed text of this source, see list of References, <u>sub</u> <u>LL</u>.

6. E.g., O. S. Anderson, The English Hundred Names (Lund, 1934), 163, n.1.

7. M. Gelling, 'The place-name volumes for Worcestershire and Warwickshire: a new look', in T. R. Slater and P. J. Jarvis, eds, Field and Forest: An Historical Geography of Warwickshire and Worcestershire (Norwich, 1982), 69-71.

8. See O. J. Padel, Cornish Place-Name Elements, EPNS LVI/LVII (Nottingham, 1985), 196-7.

9. See EPN, I, 80 and II, 54, and F. Noble, Offa's Dyke Reviewed, ed. M. Gelling, BAR British Series 114 (Oxford, 1983), 15; cf. DEPN, 86.

10. G. R. J. Jones, 'Early historic settlement in border territory: a case-study of Archenfield and its environs in Herefordshire', in Recherches de géographie rurale: hommage au Professeur Frans Dussart, 2 vols (Liège, 1979), I, 123-4.

11. W. H. Hart, ed., Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae, Rolls Series 33, 3 vols (London, 1863-67), I, 123.

12. See ERN, 471-2.

13. The interpretation of the Welsh name is that suggested by B. G. Charles in 'The Welsh, their language and place-names in Archenfield and Oswestry', in Angles and Britons: O'Donnell Lectures (Cardiff, 1963), 90.

14. D. Walker, 'The descent of Westwood in Llanwarne in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club XXXVI (1958-60), 192, n.3.

15. See DB 1/61 note.

16. See G. R. J. Jones, 'Early historic settlement', 126, and idem, Post-Roman Wales, vol. I,ii of H. P. R. Finberg, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales (Cambridge, 1972-), 307.

17. See M. K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French (Manchester, 1934), 446.

18. DEPN, 193, and H. P. R. Finberg, The Early Charters of the West Midlands (Leicester, 1972), 138-9, question the identification, but W. Davies, The Llandaff Charters (Aberystwyth, 1979), 103, 105, 113, accepts it.

19. See Phillimore's note in G. Owen, The Description of Pembrokeshire, ed. H. Owen, Cymmrodorion Record Series, 4 vols (London, 1897-1936), III, 273, n.1.

20. A. T. Bannister, The Place-Names of Herefordshire (Cambridge, 1916), 110; the text of Historia Brittonum used is that in Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auct. Antiquiss. tomus XIII: Chronica Minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1898), III, 130, 207.

21. ERN, 12. K. Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain (Edinburgh, 1953), 510, rejects Ekwall's etymology and regards a Celtic origin for the name as 'quite uncertain'.

22. See, e.g., an instance at LL 277.

23. Bannister, Place-Names of Herefordshire, 110, cited a Landmore in Garway recorded in 1585. Could this be a later development of Lagademar, assuming a not unlikely phonetic development [Lagədəmar] > [Lagdmar] > [Landmor]?

24. See Jackson, Language and History, 418, where he explains the English form as a borrowing of late OW Dōr (< early OW [Dovr]).

25. Although no other early instances of the name 'Golden Valley' have yet been found, Bannister, Place-Names of Herefordshire, 84, cited a Richard de aurea valle from c.1130. The misinterpretation was doubtless reinforced both by the appropriateness of the description and by the coincidence that a form such as Dōr would have suggested the French d'or.

26. See LL 192.

27. See ASC, I, 180, and DB 19/1 note.

28. The relationship between this name and the present Welsh-looking name of the place, Pontrilas, recorded only from the 18th cent. onwards, is uncertain. It is possible, as Bannister suggested, that Pontrilas is a development of an earlier Welsh form such as *Pont Tre(f) (H)eilas, which could have arisen as a partial translation of a form such as Leland's Ailstone Bridge. See A. T. Bannister, The History of Ewias Harold (Hereford, 1902), 129-30; idem, Place-Names of Herefordshire, 154-5.

29. See DEPN, 372.

30. A Ralph de Tornai was active in or near Turnastone c.1132; see A. T. Bannister, 'A lost cartulary of Hereford Cathedral', Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club (1914-17), 274. I have found two other pre-1300 forms of the p.n. with medial -ei-/-ey-.

31. See Bannister, Place-Names of Herefordshire, xiv, n.1.

32. See A. H. Smith, The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, 4 vols, EPNS XXXVIII-XLI (Cambridge, 1964-65), III, 218.

33. As above, n.31.