

## Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland

### Essay Prize

1. A prize of £50 will be awarded annually for the best essay on any topic relating to the place-names and/or personal names of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Man, and the Channel Islands.
2. Submissions are invited from all students and young researchers. The prize will normally be awarded to those who have not hitherto had work in onomastics published.
3. Essays should be about 5,000 words in length.
4. Entries should in some way make an original contribution to the subject.
5. One copy of the essay should be submitted to the Secretary of the Society in clear typescript, double-spaced, and including a bibliography of source-material used and of books and authors cited.
6. Entries will be judged by a panel appointed by the Chairman of the Society, and may be considered for publication in *Nomina*, the Journal of Name Studies relating to Britain and Ireland.
7. Entries must be submitted by 31 May. Provided an essay of sufficient merit be forthcoming, the winner will be announced at the Annual Name Study Conference in the spring of the following year.

Entries should be sent to:

The Secretary,  
Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland,  
21 Caledonia Place,  
Clifton,  
BRISTOL BS8 4DL.

## REVIEWS

ALAN EVERITT, *Continuity and Colonisation: the Evolution of Kentish Settlement*, Leicester University Press: Leicester, 1986, xxi+426pp., 16 maps, 15 tables, £47.50.

The tradition of landscape history in Kent has been much influenced by the work of J.E.A. Jolliffe and his follower K.P. Witney, with their emphasis on the evolution of settlement within the well-defined framework of early 'Jutish' territories. Alan Everitt's magisterial book belongs to this tradition but goes far beyond it, offering both a wonderfully perceptive analysis of the Kentish landscape in all its complexity and diversity and a mass of data for future scholars to build on. Many (though not all) of the research tools recently developed by archaeologists, topographical historians and place-name specialists are brought to bear on this remarkably undisrupted landscape, and the maps are models of clear presentation of complex geographical data.

Belief in 'the regional structure of the county and its contrasting countrysides or *pays*' creates a conceptual framework for the whole book. Some readers may have an uneasy sense that this hypothesis (like others) has been allowed to become self-fulfilling, but in many respects the model carries conviction, notably in its broad distinction between core areas which developed through the interaction of neighbouring communities, and peripheral areas made up of *denns* and other outliers which never developed an independent manorial structure of their own. The contrast drawn between the structured topography of, for instance, the Foothills and the 'meaningless' topography of the Weald may reveal a basic truth about the organization of the early English countryside which should be explored in other regions.

Anglo-Saxon Kent is likely to have been more influenced than many parts of England by legacies from the pre-English past. The case made here for the association at least of early churches with Romano-British sites is very strong and persuasive, though the re-adoption of conspicuous but deserted Roman structures (as distinct from real continuity in their use) is given insufficient weight as an explanation for some of the evidence. The proposed correlation of rural settlement with prehistoric and Roman sites is less persuasive (pp.95-103): random distribution scatters can all too easily assume a false significance, as has been abundantly shown in other counties. On the other hand, the frequency with which major estate centres bear Celtic place-names is indeed impressive (p.107). Given this emphasis on continuity, Professor Everitt's scepticism about the possible pre-English origins of the *lathe* boundaries is a little surprising. The system of *lathe*-type divisions (shared by Kent, Surrey and Sussex) is remarkably orderly, and it is not wholly implausible to interpret them as Iron Age territories or Romano-British *pagi*. This is not incompatible with Professor Everitt's view that the original 'Jutish' communities were small and tribal, for the accommodation of

fifth- and sixth-century tribal groups to existing land-divisions has been plausibly suggested in several other parts of England (see the essays in S. Bassett, ed., *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* [Leicester, 1989]).

Perhaps the best sections are those dealing with Downland settlement and with churches in the landscape. The attention hitherto focused on the Weald has been at the expense of the 'other larger, older and in many ways more interesting region of woodland pasture', the Downs. Although stable medieval settlement came earlier than in the Weald, the Downs remained part of the complex transhumant grazing systems normally thought characteristically Wealden. This was an 'outland' area, where services were light and strong seigneurial interests absent; hence the proliferation and subdivision of small thegnly estates in the late Anglo-Saxon period, reflected in the small size of medieval Downland parishes. The ecclesiastical structure of Kent is interpreted by reference to 'mother parishes', centred on minster churches near centres of secular power in the early-settled regions. This is fairly familiar ground; but the discussion of minor churches and chapels in areas of late colonization ('the church in the wilderness') is original and fascinating. Dispersed settlement, and an independent minor-gentry class, stimulated the proliferation of chapels-of-ease and manorial chapels, many of the latter gaining a quasi-parochial function in their communities. This demonstration of how blurred the line was between 'public' and 'private' places of worship, and how important a pastoral rôle was played throughout the later Middle Ages by humble (and often ill-recorded) chapels, could certainly be extended to other counties. Some chapels acted in their turn as settlement foci: a fact reflected in place-names incorporating the names of patron saints or elements such as *capel*.

Reservations must be expressed on two counts: the treatment of documentary sources, and the underlying model of rural settlement change. Professor Everitt's approach is that of a geographer rather than an historian: although he uses place-names and Anglo-Saxon charters, it is a pity that there is not more archival backing for his sensitive evocations of the later medieval human landscape. It would be wrong to cavil at the heavy use made of Hasted's eighteenth-century *History*, and of Ordnance Survey maps; but it is startling, in a work so concerned with detailed land topography, to find not a single Record Office reference and scarcely any references to modern editions of documents. Greater use of medieval sources might have added substance to the sometimes rather sweeping inferences from very late evidence.

Also regrettable is the failure to assimilate recent work on settlement morphology, above all Christopher Taylor's, which should have unseated once and for all the old assumptions about the stability of villages and the continuous progression of land-clearance. Yet here it is taken for granted that the late medieval villages at the centres of early territories are Jutish 'seminal settlements' (pp.75, 88-9); the 'establishment of minster churches in the old estate centres' is assumed without any thought that the true sequence may have been exactly the

reverse of this (p.92); and a revealing footnote glosses 'early Jutish estate-centres' as 'the *church* site, which is nearly always the crucial point to note in reconstructing early Kentish settlement' (p.363 n.22). It is unfortunate that this assumption, and arguments based on it, must now be considered so much less justifiable that it seemed when Professor Everitt was formulating his views.

The implications of this inspiring book extend far beyond Kent. Its concluding assertion that 'contrasting types of countryside lie at the roots of all English history' should stimulate the next generation of landscape scholars, one of whose tasks will be to test Professor Everitt's methods and conclusions. This reviewer has a strong sense that, despite methodological problems, time will vindicate the broad view of regional contrasts which he has given us.

JOHN BLAIR

**O.J. PADEL**, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-names*, Alison Hodge: Penzance, 1988, viii+214 pp., pb, £4.95.

'Abraham named that place Jehovah-jireh; and to this day the saying is: In the mountain of the Lord it was provided.' This sentence, in Genesis xxii.14, reminds us that the naming of places has from early times been a vital aspect of man's concern to master and domesticate his environment, and that remembrance of the occasion of naming and of the meaning of the name has, in very many societies, been a part of traditional lore. In medieval Ireland *dinnshenchas*, or the lore of places, was part of the body of knowledge which the professional *fili* or bard had to master during his apprenticeship.

In Ireland, as in the society which gave us the Book of Genesis, knowledge of place-names was the responsibility of learned men, but that knowledge, studiously acquired, was something to be shared, through tale and poem, with the community at large. The lore of places, although preserved by a few, had its place within an ocean of traditional tale and story which, in varying degrees, was shared by all.

Knowledge of place-names remains a responsibility of learned men, but it is no longer a matter of acquiring and transmitting traditional lore. It has developed into a highly complex science demanding many specialist skills as its practitioners seek to unravel the history and origin of a place-name for the first time. It follows inevitably that the place-name scholar has difficulty, unknown to his predecessors long ago, in sharing his knowledge with the community at large. The layman seeks a straightforward account, but it is often the case that there is no simple explanation of a particular name and, even where one exists, that the explanation lacks the appeal of a story of the colourful deeds of some mythical or legendary being. And yet interest in place-names is widespread and keen, and we, the experts, fight shy of popularizing what we know, leaving a thirsty audience with little more than what we call folk-etymology—often the shabby

remnants of the old lore.

Oliver Padel has shown us the way to make knowledge of place-names once again part of a commonly shared inheritance. His *Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names* is a brilliant feat of popularization. The core of his book is an alphabetical listing of all the 650 or so place-names which appear on the OS 1:250,000 map of Cornwall. He quotes two or three of the earliest forms for each name—a small selection from his own exhaustive archive—and follows this with a clear, succinct discussion—for example, under *Portscatho*:

'*Porthskathowe* 1592. "Harbour of boats", *porth* + *scath* plural; *scath* is thought to mean a particular type of boat, "large rowing boat", so that the harbour would be one specialising in that sort of boat. Pronounced "*Perscatha*" (or "*Scatha*" simply), with normal reduction of final *-ow* to *-a*, and of *Porth* to "Per"....'

Where the meaning is doubtful or unknown, he says so—openly. Throughout he carries lightly and easily a sure mastery of Cornish, Welsh, Breton and English philology, of the history of Cornwall, and of English and Welsh onomastic scholarship.

At the end of the book there are useful glossaries of Cornish, English, Old Norse and French elements and of Cornish and English personal names found in Cornish place-names. There is also an extensive and excellent introduction which condenses a great deal of information about place-names and about the Cornish language. The four pages on 'The study of place-names' are as good a presentation as I have seen of the principles of place-name study, whilst the short essay on 'Saints and place-names' should be required reading for all who dabble in the early medieval history of Wales as well as of Cornwall—for example, the comments on p.23 about saints who have been 'invented' from place-names and on p.19 about the frequency of saints' names in the toponymy of Celtic countries.

A reviewer in a scholarly publication is expected to list some corrections or additions. I have nothing to note other than to record my unstinting admiration and to recommend the book strongly to all readers of *Nomina*. However, in order to conform to standard practice, I will conclude with three morsel suggestions:

p.61. The derivation of *Burlawn* from *bod* 'dwelling' + a Cornish personal name *Lowen*, rather than from *bod* + an adjective *lowen*, could be supported by reference to *Lleweni* in Clwyd from a personal name *Llawen* + territorial suffix *-i*.

p.66. In discussing *Carne* it is stated that it is curious that one of the largest barrows in Cornwall should be described, not as *crug* 'barrow', but as *carn*, which normally refers to a natural pile of rocks. In Welsh *carn* and *carnedd* in place-names refer often to cairns, barrows, tumuli or to the supposed burial mounds of legendary or historical personages.

p.76. In discussing *Cubert* in Cornwall, named after St Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, it is said that the same saint is honoured at Gwbert in

Cardiganshire. This may be so, but in that case it is surprising that there is no recorded example of the Welsh *Gwbert* before 1801.

†BEDWYR LEWIS JONES

G. COPLEY, *Early Place-Names of the Anglian Regions of England*, British Archaeological Reports: British Series 185, Oxford, 1988, 174pp., £10.

The work here formally under review is the second part of Dr Copley's large-scale study of those place-names which have a spatial relationship to archaeological remains of the early Anglo-Saxon period. The first part, *Archaeology and Place-Names in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (1986) was reviewed *ante*, XI, 166-9, in my opinion less enthusiastically than it deserved. In that review Dr Barrie Cox asserted (pp.167, 169) that the study had been undertaken with the purpose of re-establishing something of the status which an earlier generation of scholars assigned to *-ingas/-inga-* names. There is no warrant for this assertion, and in fact it is the absence of bias or preconception which I find most impressive in Dr Copley's work. He was a pioneer of the open-ended interdisciplinary study of Dark Age history, and during the long years until retirement allowed him to return to the writing of books he absorbed the considerable output of new material dealing with all aspects of the subject. As Dr Cox says in his review (p.169), the synthesis of this material has not led to the finding of the philosopher's stone which would permit a simple identification of the earliest English place-names. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the author was looking for any specific answer, as opposed to hoping that one would emerge from the study; and the failure of this to happen is in no sense Dr Copley's failure. He presents the evidence without undue bias towards either the older or the more recent theories.

During the years which followed the rejection of the theory that *-ingas* compounds denoted primary English settlements, various attempts were made to find another category, equally clearly-defined, which would fill the vacancy. None of the possibilities which were put forward proved wholly satisfactory, however, and I believe the main significance of Dr Copley's work to be that it releases us from the obligation to pursue this search. This does not mean that there is no discernible chronological pattern in English place-names. The work of the last two decades has established that there are certain types which are likely to have been favoured by the earliest English speakers; there are others, particularly those in *-tūn* and in *-lēah*, which must, for the most part, have originated in the Middle Saxon period; and there are some types which can fairly be regarded as related to the expansion of settlement in late Anglo-Saxon times. But it is not advisable to be dogmatic about the exclusively early, middle, or late origin of any specific type, and place-names cannot have the same sort of significance as

archaeological sites when shown as dots on distribution maps.

I agree with Dr Cox that the prevalence of *-tūn* in names associated with early Anglo-Saxon sites is a side-effect of the large-scale replacement of earlier types by *-tūn* compounds, rather than constituting evidence for large-scale early use of *-tūn*, as Dr Copley suggests. Another criticism is that in his plea (on p.5 of the volume under review) for the primacy of some *-ingas/-inga* names Dr Copley does not make the necessary distinction between the use of names like *Hastings* and *Sunning* as tribal names, and their transference to settlements. As tribal names it is certainly reasonable to envisage them as direct imports from the Continental homelands, but settlements which use the tribal names are in some instances demonstrably on the boundary of the tribal territory, and most of them are probably not primary. However ancient the tribal name *Sunningas* may be, the settlement called *Sunning* should not be put on a map as a dot purporting to show the precise position of a homestead established by fifth-century settlers.

Points of this sort may be mulled over indefinitely, but the general measure of agreement which emerges from three different approaches to place-name chronology—Barrie Cox's analysis of names recorded before c.730 (*JEPNS* VIII, 13-66), my consideration of names in relation to administrative status in the Introduction to *The Place-Names of Berkshire* (EPNS LI, 829-33), and Dr Copley's archaeological analysis—is impressive, and far more significant than points of difference such as the precise chronological status of *-hām* and *-tūn*.

Leaving aside the contribution made by Dr Copley's two books to the ongoing debate about English place-name chronology, the catalogues of early Anglo-Saxon sites will be of value to archaeologists and historians. Discussions of archaeological finds and of place-name etymologies are consistently critical and judicious, and show an impressive command of the most recent work in both fields.

MARGARET GELLING

STEPHEN COLEMAN and JOHN WOOD, *Historic Landscape and Archaeology: Glossary of Terms*, Conservation Section <Bedfordshire> County Planning Department: Bedford, 1985 (revised reissue 1988), 60pp., pb, £1.95.

MARTIN SPRAY, *Peak District Place Names*, J.N.M. Publications: Winster (Matlock), 1989, iv+40pp.; 3 maps, pb, £3.25.

The *Glossary of Terms* compiled by officers of Bedfordshire County Planning Department is a useful compendium of expressions in the context of landscape history and archaeology. The headwords (upwards of a thousand words and phrases) relate to archaeological features, types of document, social, religious,

agrarian and legal practices, architectural styles, and such details of early life as monetary units and weights and measures. The wide range of the glossary may be judged from a random selection of groups of contiguous terms: *Ley(s)*, *Leywite*, *Liberate Rolls*, *Librate*, *Lince*, *Livery of Seisin*; *Pightle*, *Pikes*, *Pill*, *Pillory*, *Pillow Mound*; and *Seisin*, *Selion*, *Sequestration*, *Seneschal*, *Serf*, *Serjeanty* (the last batch contains the only instance detected of faulty alphabetical order). Economy is achieved by use of cross-references. From *Chancery Rolls*, for instance, the reader is directed to 'see also' *Charter Rolls*, *Patent Rolls*, *Close Rolls*, *Fine Rolls*, *Liberate Rolls* and some others, each of which categories is succinctly explained. Some very familiar terms are excluded: *Meadow* and *Wheatouse* are in, but *Pasture* and *Barn* are not, though a place is found for *Tithe Barn*, and two senses of *Farm* are distinguished. Definitions and comments make clear the differences between items in such pairs as *Dower* and *Dowry*, *Warren* and *Freewarren*, *Inn* and *Beerhouse*, and *Cartage* and *Cartbote*.

Some items might have been given a more extended annotation, and at least one term is left undefined. *Estate* is explained merely as 'Legally, the interest which a person has in his property', but this hardly fits in with the first sentence of the comments on *Manor*: 'An estate held by a lord who had certain rights of jurisdiction ...'. *Berewick* is defined as 'A detached or outlying member of a multiple estate', but *Multiple Estate* itself is omitted. The cross-reference from *Andon* (or *Andenae*) to *Doles* is not helpful, as there is no mention of the expression under either *Doles* or its 'see also' companion, *Lot Meadows*. These are but slight blemishes on an otherwise exemplary publication, which may be recommended to peripatetic (and other) researchers as a more portable vade-mecum than, say, Adam's *Agrarian Landscape Terms* or Richardson's *Local Historian's Encyclopedia*, both of which are acknowledged as sources of information.

The interpretations in Martin Spray's booklet on Peak District place-names are considerably more laconic than the comments in the Bedfordshire work. An introductory note to the dozen pages comprising the place-name list explains the sequence of separate expressions, and even with the aid of the eight-page glossary many readers may gain only a slight understanding of the significance of the names. Early forms and interpretations are derived, the author acknowledges, from Ekwall and the EPNS volumes, but severe summarizing interferes with intelligibility. Nearly all the entries need considerably more comment than they receive; a substantial amount could have been added without increasing the number of pages, as headwords and interpretations (arranged in two columns) occupy only about half of the available printing area.

The explanation of *Monyash* is a fair sample of the mode of procedure: "Many ash trees", *manig*, *æsc*. Maneis DB'. In the entry for *Abney*—"Abba's well-watered land", personal name, e.g. Habenai DB"—not only does the telegraphic style obscure the general sense, but no help is given about the 'well-watered land' component—is it perhaps (the uninstructed reader may ask) *enai* or *ney*? Without

at least this assistance, he or she cannot consult the glossary. Moreover, *Abbeneia* 1200 P might have been a more persuasive form than the DB spelling to point to the personal name. On the other hand, *Castelii* [sic] *de Pec* 1173 is selected as the early form for *Peveiril Castle*, whereas the DB entry *Terri castelli Willi peurel* (in *Pechesers*) would have been a more telling reference. *Brough* is another name to suffer from this austere annotation: '*Brough "Fort"* (Roman *Navio*), *burh. Burc* 1195'. The reader might be forgiven for thinking that *Navio* had something to do either with the formation of the name *Brough* or with its interpretation. The addition of '-on Noe' to the headword would have helped to clarify the geographical and historical relevance of *Navio* and the connexion of the latter with the river-name. There would have been a great gain in clarity if the tabular arrangement had been abandoned, allowing room to paraphrase or quote rather than condense Cameron's observation: 'the village is situated close to the site of the Roman camp, *Navione*' (*PN Derbys.*, 50).

Even longer annotations are not always as lucid as they might be. *Barber Booth*, for instance, receives the comment:

'formerly Whitmoreley Booth, "Summer cowshed (or shelter) at white moor pasture", *hwit, mor, Leah*, (later *both*). Whitmoreley 1579. Barber Booth 1675, from local family name. There were several other booths in the area' [though length marks are not used on elements in the text, they are found in the glossary].

The eight-page glossary of place-name elements is followed by some practical notes on 'A place for names in schools' (based on the author's own experience) and a substantial bibliography.

Martin Spray's general intention was undoubtedly good, and his enthusiasm both for his chosen area and for promoting greater interest in place-names shines through his text. But he has been greatly restricted by the tabular style of presentation adopted in the booklet and has been enabled to advance his cause by only a slight degree. Two of the three fold-out maps face away from the text, so that the operations of looking up the names and consulting the maps are entirely separate. The text is set in unrelieved Garamond bold. For place-name elements, the use of thick underlining, rather than italic, does not improve the general appearance of the printed page. The publishers wish us to know that 'they cannot be held responsible for alterations, errors or omissions', but they are surely to blame for inappropriate typography and layout in what might otherwise be an interesting handbook for walkers and climbers in a landscape well supplied with topographical features reflected in a great variety of place-names.

JOHN FIELD

**GWILYM T. JONES**, *The Rivers of Anglesey*, Research Centre Wales—University College of North Wales: Bangor, 1989, 99pp., pb, £6.50.

Gwilym T. Jones is a geographer who has been working on the fords of Anglesey. In the course of his research he found that he needed a fuller description than had hitherto been available of the rivers of Anglesey. The result is this valuable bilingual production, *The Rivers of Anglesey*, published by Research Centre Wales at the University College at Bangor.

In it Jones provides a map of the dense drainage network of Anglesey and an 86-page gazetteer of 108 rivers identified from cartographic sources, other documentary evidence, and oral testimony. Some twelve or so have old well-established names such as *Alawa* (< *alwa* 'water lily'), *Briant* (possibly < Brythonic *Brigantia*, the name of a goddess), *Dulas* (< *du* 'black, dark' + *glas/glais* 'river'), *Ffraw* (compare *Frome* in Dorset and in Herefordshire), etc. The names of the majority, however, are made up of a river generic plus a geographic designator—the name of a medieval hamlet or modern farm or parish through which the river flows, a ford on its course, the place where it discharges into the sea, etc. The most common current generic, naturally, is *afon*; then *nant*, defined by Jones (p.83) as denoting a fast-flowing river or stream occupying a ravine or narrow dingle; then *ffrwd* 'stream'. There are a handful of instances of *gwter* (< English *gutter*) and one example of *trans* (p.23; < English *trench*), both referring to watercourses which have been artificially modified.

Jones's study shows the importance of rivers as boundaries between medieval commotes and parishes. It also reveals very clearly how unstable minor river-names can be, with stretches of the same river often acquiring a number of different names from adjoining farm-land. In this context the toponymist would have welcomed an index of the alternative river-names referred to within Jones's discussion of the 108 rivers.

Gwilym T. Jones is not an historical linguist, as his over-concern about orthographical variants of names shows. He has, however, included in his entries on individual rivers a discussion of the meaning of its name or names. One can quibble with some of his onomastic observations—*swtan* in *Porth Swtan* and *Afon Swtan* (pp.43-4) refers to 'whitting-pout', not to 'whitting'; compare Northumberland dialect *sooter*—but users of *The Rivers of Anglesey* will find Jones's interest in toponymy a welcome addition to what is an excellent, well-researched monograph on local geography.

†BEDWYR LEWIS JONES

HYWEL WYN OWEN, *Enwau Lleoedd*, Canolfan Astudiaethau Addysg (CAA), Faculty of Education, University College of Wales; Aberystwyth, 1990, 72pp., no price stated.

*Enwau Lleoedd*, literally Welsh *enwau* 'names' and *lleoedd* 'places', breaks new ground in toponymic studies. It is an introduction to place-name study aimed particularly at school children and their teachers, and published as part of a project sponsored by the Welsh Office to provide teaching resources in the Welsh language.

Dr Owen says that his aim is to encourage and develop a healthy interest in place-names amongst teachers of history, geography, environmental studies, and amongst their pupils. He has succeeded admirably. In 19 well-organized chapters he provides a clear and informed introduction to Brythonic and Early Welsh names in England; to Scandinavian and Norman names in Wales; to urban names which refer to past economic activity and environmental conditions; to names transferred from Wales to America, Australia and Patagonia; to the influence of the industrial revolution, of religion and of agricultural practice on place-names; to the names of inns; to field-names, etc. The book has an attractive format and is well endowed with maps and photographs.

Dr Owen involves young readers actively in the study, listing well-thought-out tasks which they can undertake, always encouraging their curiosity, and writing within their range without being condescending. He ends by showing the pupil how to build up his/her own archive of field-name forms according to a standard recording pattern.

There is talk of commissioning Dr Owen to produce an English version of *Enwau Lleoedd* for non-Welsh speaking school-pupils in Wales. Some enterprising publisher or educational body should invite him to adapt his innovative book for teachers and pupils in England also.

†BEDWYR LEWIS JONES

W.T. BEETSTRA, *Toponimen en toponimyske eleminten yn Fryslân: In analytyske bibliografy ca.1835--1980*, Fryske Nammen VII, Fryske Akademy: Ljouwert [Leeuwarden], 1987, x+293pp., Dfl.40.00.

R.E. KÜNZEL, D.P. BLOK and J.M. VERHOEFF, *Lexicon van Nederlandse toponiemen tot 1200*, 2nd edn, Publikaties van het P.J. Meertens-Instituut voor Dialectologie, Volkskunde en Naamkunde van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen VIII, P.J. Meertens-Instituut: Amsterdam, 1989, 495pp., Dfl.49.00.

At least as far as toponymics is concerned, the Netherlands have reason to be envious of England. There is no organization comparable to the EPNS, and

consequently no series exists which surveys the traditional eleven provinces (Flevoland, the twelfth province, consisting of three huge polders reclaimed from the former Zuyder Zee since 1940, was only recently established) in a way similar to the county surveys of the EPNS. An exception of sorts to this situation can now be made for the province of Friesland. Commissioned by the Frisian Academy, W.T. Beeststra has listed and analyzed practically every note, article and book dealing in one way or another with Frisian place-names from 1835 up to 1980.

The book is divided into three parts: the main part comprises pp. 1-227, where the place-names are listed in alphabetical order, together with the explanations that have been given of them and bibliographical references as appropriate. Here a critical note must be struck. When there is more than one interpretation of a place-name, Beeststra fails to indicate who gave which interpretation. Also, the order in which explanations are presented suggests superiority, but this is not so. Thus it is clear, e.g., that the first explanation of *It Reaklif* ('red cliff') as 'named after the fiery pot of the god Stavo' is a pseudo-explanation invented by an imaginative Romantic in the nineteenth century. In this case it is quite obvious, but what about all the others? Often entries contain information about other spellings, usually older ones. Here it would have been helpful to have had some indication as to the relative age of each form. An advantage of this part of the book is that it lists both the Frisian and the Dutch forms of the place-names, with cross-references leading to the present-day Frisian forms.

Part Two (pp.229-59) is an alphabetical list of Frisian place-name elements, again provided with bibliographical references. A valuable feature is the occasional indication of the productivity of certain elements. Thus, for example, one learns under *-um* that 16.8% of Frisian place-names contain this element, though it cannot be established with certainty whether *-um* is a reduced form of OFris *-hēm/-hām* 'homestead' or a dative plural ending.

Part Three (pp.261-86), finally, lists the sources used for this welcome tool. I am sure that place-name students outside the Netherlands will have a hard time in tracing the often obscure periodicals. (Yet I know by experience that the Frisian Academy, Doelestrjitte 8, Ljouwert, is always helpful.) I therefore hope that Beeststra's bibliography will soon lead to compilation of a more definitive and inclusive survey of Frisian place-names. It must be borne in mind, though, that in the past Friesland was much larger than the present-day province. Consequently the area containing Frisian place-names and place-naming customs is larger than the contents of the book would suggest.

A similar remark must be made about the *Lexicon* of Dutch toponyms up to 1200. It contains only place-names in the Netherlands and does not treat Dutch toponyms in Flanders, which is a pity, because the present-day frontier does not coincide with the language border. The reason for this regrettable restriction is that the book forms part of what should have been a series

involving all the countries where Continental West Germanic has left its toponymic legacy and intended as a sequel to Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. The project foundered, but the present book contains what was meant to be the Dutch contribution. This observation does not, however, impair the value of the *Lexicon*. Some 2000 place-names are gathered here, all of them provided with the forms in which they were recorded before 1200. Most are still in use, though some entries appear in a spelling deviating from the official one, e.g., *Bokstel* (NBr) instead of *Boxtel*. Each entry specifies the geographical location, that is to say, larger places are referred to the province in which they are situated, smaller ones are located in terms of relative distance from a larger one. Sometime further commentary is given on the source or the localization. Also, each entry has, when possible, been provided with etymological explanation. Nevertheless, some 25% of the names remain without one, a fairly high proportion. A register of the names and an index of the second elements and suffixes completes this handsomely produced book. Along with Maurits Gysseling's wider-ranging two-volume *Toponymisch woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West-Duitsland voor 1226* (Brussels, 1960), the *Lexicon* will be an indispensable tool for the study of place-names in the Low Countries, and consequently of place-names in a wider West Germanic context. The second elements are of particular importance for this purpose, and the present index of them provides an opportunity to do something which Barrie Cox did for Old English place-names some time ago (*JEPNS VIII* [1976], 12-66).

I would like to end with a critical note concerning the etymologies in the *Lexicon*. First, with respect to the term 'Old Dutch' (*oudnederlands*), the authors confess on p.12 to not having made things difficult for themselves. For every district of the Netherlands where Standard Dutch is now the 'official' language, they have projected this situation into the past. Thus, with etymologies for place-names from east and north of the IJssel river, where Low German dialects are spoken up to the present day and nine centuries ago a variety of Old Saxon was certainly the current language, it is odd to seem them classified as ODu (*onl.*), instead of OS (*os.*). One cannot simply superimpose the present-day situation onto the past. Secondly, the authors have refrained from employing any kind of standardized Old Dutch or Old Frisian. Thus, *-thorp* is, according to the Introduction (p.11), sometimes found in place-names as *-thorpa*, *-thorpe*, *-dorp*, etc. Instead of normalizing all these forms to *-thorp* in the etymological explanations, the authors give the form which occurs in the document as though this were the standard form. There is no reason to assume an ODu *\*thorpa* 'secondary settlement' on the basis of such a combination as in *Edesthorpa* in a Latin charter. This policy has not been rigidly observed however: *Algothesdorpe* is said to have ODu *-thorp* as its second element (p.61). Similar remarks could be made concerning many other forms. However, it is clear that here we have a work of prime importance. Dutch place-name studies have been greatly advanced by it, and it is my hope that it will be followed by other works

covering the place-names up to 1500. How much a lexicon like this was needed is plain from the fact that the first impression (1988) was sold within a year. It is good to realize that this is an indication of the popularity of toponymic studies in the Low Countries. Certainly, the *Lexicon*, as well as Beetstra's book, also deserves to find its users outside the Netherlands.

ROLF H. BREMMER Jr.

GERALD VAN BERKEL and KEES SAMPLONIUS, *Het Plaatsnamenboek: De herkomst en betekenis van Nederlandse plaatsnamen*, Van Holkema and Warendorf: Houten, 1989, 215pp., pb, Dfl 30.50.

This book by Van Berkel and Samplonius is a welcome concise dictionary of Dutch place-names, intended to replace Jan de Vries's *Woerdenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandse plaatsnamen* (1962). The latter never saw a reprint, perhaps owing to the criticisms levelled at its imperfections. Unlike De Vries' dictionary, its successor excludes the Dutch place-names in Belgium.

A short Introduction opens the book (pp.7-13). On pp.7-8 the four main periods from which Dutch place-names may survive are summarized:

- (i) prehistoric names, including river-names such as *Rijn*, *Maas* and *IJssel*, usually simplex forms of uncertain etymology, such as *Zeist*, and a number of probably Celtic names, all of them found south of the Rhine;
- (ii) early historic names, including those of Roman origin (e.g., *Utrecht* < Lat *trajectum*; *Kesteren* < Lat *castra*), probably a number of names compounded with *-lo* 'grove on high sandy spot' (cf. OE *-lēah*) and *-haar* 'sandy ridge' (cf. OE *hearg* 'sacred grove'), and perhaps some names in *-ingen* (< dat. pl. *-ingum*);
- (iii) early medieval names (dating from before c.1000): most names in *-ingen*, and most habitation names, such as those compounded with *-heem*, *-hem*, *-um* (< *\*haim*, cf. OE *-hām*), *-inghem/-egem*, *-ikem*, *-zaal/-sele/-sel* 'dwelling, house' (cf. OE *-sele*, *-sæl*) and the like;
- (iv) Late medieval names, often indicating the reclaiming of the coastal and inland marshlands, in, e.g., *-rode/-rade* 'clearing' (cf. OE *rooem*) and *-veen* 'fenland', and, of course, names revealing the mastering of drainage techniques, such as *-polre* 'polder', *-dijk(e)* 'dike', and *-sluis* 'sluice, lock'.

Curiously, any reference to the Frisian substratum in place-names along the coast is absent.

In their Introduction, the authors aptly illustrate some of the pitfalls lurking for students of Dutch place-names. Here, as elsewhere, one is struck by a bookish style that smells of a bygone era. Also, one would have liked some suggestions for further reading. It is stated that the introduction is based on information provided by Professor D. J. Blok (p.7), but the only item with Blok's name in the Select Bibliography (pp.214-15) does not contain what is presented in

the Introduction. Such features do not serve to attract the wider audience at which the book is aimed, whereas cover, format, lay-out and price do support this aim. I hope that a second edition will provide the opportunity for revision so as to make the book more consistent and more coherent. Let me illustrate this with a few suggestions.

The authors nowhere state how they define a place-name. In their Introduction they mention such ancient river-names as *Rhine*, etc.; but no river-name, nor indeed any water-name, has found a separate entry. In the Introduction *Neer* is said to be possibly of Celtic origin, in the entry itself such information is wanting. The book discusses some 5000 names, for which the *Grote Topografische Atlas van Nederland* (1987) served as the main source. Names not included in this atlas have not been treated. But why are district-names not included? Thus a place-name *Holland* 'hollow land' is given, but one looks in vain for the county-name *Holland* (< ODu \*holt- 'forest') which gave The Netherlands its unoffical name. Islands are treated unequally: entries are given for the Frisian island-names *Terschelling*, *Ameland* and *Schiermonnikoog*, but not for *Texel* and *Vlieland*. I could not find any information on the names of the many (former) islands of *Zeeland* and *Zuid-Holland*. Etymological treatment varies: sometimes a reconstructed Germanic form is given, sometimes not where it would be expected, e.g., for *Maasbree*, in which the second element is said to be *bree* 'muddy soil', unfamiliar to me and untraceable in any current dictionary, etymological or other. Being generous with etymological information would not daunt the intended audience, witness the popularity of the etymological dictionary of Dutch by De Vries and De Tollenaere or the dictionary of personal names by Van der Schaar; these pocket dictionaries have seen many reprints and revised editions. Revision of the *Plaatsnamenboek* implies expansion, but the authors could gain space by allotting separate entries to frequent place-name elements, such as *-lo*, which is repetitively glossed in well over one hundred entries. Separate entries for elements would also secure a uniform explanation, something wanting now.

Explanations are on the whole well-informed, but occasionally unnecessarily banal. It is an asset of the book that entries are liberally cross-referenced. By far the most frequent word is 'probably'—indicative of the state of the art. It is hoped that a future revision will also see an improvement in this respect.

ROLF H. BREMMER Jr.

**MATS WAHLBERG**, *Bebyggelsenamnen i Våla härad i Uppland*, Institutionen för nordiska språk—Uppsala universitet: Uppsala, 1988, 154pp., price not stated.

The doctoral thesis entitled 'The Settlement Names of Våla Härad [district], Uppland', which is presented in this volume, is divided into three parts, two of

which have already been published as articles elsewhere:

Wahlberg, Mats, 'Ortnamn på Ås(e)-', in Thorsten Andersson, ed., *Nordiska Namnstudier: Festschrift til Harry Ståhl 22 September 1985* (Uppsala, 1985), 310-23 [this volume was reviewed by Niels Lund *ante*, XI (1987), 181-2]; the paper was reprinted in *NoB* LXXIV (1986), 125-38.

Wahlberg, Mats, 'Vida och Veda', *NoB* LXXV (1987), 140-54.

The main section of the present volume has not previously been published. It follows the pattern of earlier volumes in the Swedish place-name series, covering the district of Våla, now part of Heby municipality in the county of Västmanland. It is designed for reference and is definitely not the kind of book which one reads sequentially. Names are presented in alphabetical order within the four parish divisions of Harbo, Huddunge, Nora and Ostervåla, each section beginning with a detailed introductory comment on the name of the parish itself. I found the explication of the name *Harbo* particularly interesting because of light it shed upon a similar name which I have recently been considering, and that is to cite only one instance of the valuable comparative material to be found in this book.

Information is presented throughout in a standard format, leading to ease of interpretation once one has become familiar with the system of abbreviations used. The names listed are taken from the 1879 land register, and early forms and the sources of these are included when available; one notes that it is obviously rare to find references prior to the mid-fourteenth century, and such early names are given special mention in the introductory section (pp.7-28). One minor point of irritation is the use of question and exclamation marks in lieu of authorial comment on early forms and dates (e.g., 1 *Berg*, p.31), although one understands that this was done in the interests of brevity. Information about the taxable value of the land at specific points in time is also included, followed by a suggested etymology and a very useful comment regarding the situation of the name. One regrets the absence of distribution maps, with a single very welcome exception, which gives a clear picture of the distribution of older settlement names (p.11).

A great deal of thought has obviously gone into the suggested etymologies and Wahlberg is not given to proposing doubtful interpretations. If the etymology of a name is uncertain, he will say so and, when appropriate, will point to more than one possible interpretation. This is a work of impressive scholarship and it deserves a place on the reference shelves of all who are interested in Scandinavian place-names, whether in Sweden or elsewhere, because it provides both the detailed local commentary and a wealth of comparative material.

DOREEN WAUGH



PETER HALLARÅKER, ARNE KRUSE and TERJE AARSET (eds), *Stadnamn i Kystkulturen*, NORNA-Rapporter XLI, NORNA förlaget: Uppsala, 1989, 158pp., price not stated.

*Stadnamn i Kystkulturen* ('Place-names in the coastal culture') is a report of a symposium held at Volda, Møre og Romsdal, Norway, in May 1987, containing papers by Stefan Brink (Uppsala University), Lars-Erik Edlund, Sigurd Fries (Umeå University), Peter Hallaråker (Møre og Romsdal District High School), Benet Holmberg (Institute for Navneforskning, Denmark), Else Britt Lindblom (Gammelstad, Sweden), Oddvar Nes (Bergen University) and Rob Rentenaar (P.J. Meertens-Instituut, Holland), with the discussions and a summing up by Vibeke Dalberg (Institut for Navneforskning).

The main discussion concerns the dating of coastal names along the Swedish coast of Bothnia. An old coastal culture dating back to the Iron Age is reflected in a number of names of obscure origin and high antiquity (*Tarv*, *Totra*, *Tynnerö*), in the fjord names in *-ånger* from *Enåger* in Hälsingland north to *Lövånger* in Västerbotten (Vb), and in a system of river-names with the suffixes *-ån*, *-iön*, *-(l)ö*, *-þō(n)* and *-nō(n)*. On formal grounds, although their dating is fraught with uncertainty, these suffixes are likely to be mainly Proto-Scandinavian rather than Proto-Germanic and so to belong to late pre-historic times.

The absence of settlement names in *-vin*, *-hem* and *-sta* in this area is not to be thought of as indicating the lack of a settled agrarian population so much as a take-over by later settlers of these old nature names originally given by Nordic speakers travelling along the coast in search of fish, plunder, or trade in pre-historic times. North of Skellefteå, however, the situation is different. There the ancient names are mostly of Finnish origin and were only later overspread as a result of Nordic colonization from the fourteenth century onwards.

A long-standing land-upheaval is a major feature of the coast in the Gulf of Bothnia (about three feet in the last century). *Boteå* (*Angermanland* = Å) < *\*bot* 'bay' (ModIcel *bót*), *Medelpad* (M) < *\*padhi* 'waterway', an important communication route between Selånger, Sättna and Indalsälven, *Nora* (A) < *nor* 'sound', and *Njurunda* (M) < adj. *\*nerhw-* 'tied together' are all inland places today although possessing littoral names. *Obbola* (Vb) < *\*uppburthr* 'something cast up' (ModIcel *uppburður*) was originally part of an old archipelago. By calibrating place-names with contour lines it is possible to suggest either a *terminus ante quem* or *termini inter quos* for their coinage. *Täfteå* (A), earlier *Täfte* 'enclosing bay' < *\*täft* 'enclosing' + *-iþō*, must date back on such grounds to the first millennium A.D., possibly to c.500 A.D. By drawing detailed maps along different contour lines it is possible to reconstruct earlier states of the coastline and so to demonstrate not only that many inland names in *-ö* 'island' must have arisen within certain approximate dates, but also that the reconstructed earliest shape of these islands when they first appeared often confirms their

etymology (e.g., *Mjoön* < *mior* 'narrow', *Småson* (*Småholmson* 1721) < *små* 'small', *Kälkholmen* < *kialki* 'beetle', all off Luleå, Norrbotten).

Other papers deal with more familiar topics: the way names spread along a coast (whether given from the sea by sailors and fishermen as navigation marks, by landmen, or by coastal travellers) and the existence of a ready-made coastal onomasticon; the methodological problems of collecting and registering names orally; the aims and methodology of constructing an interdisciplinary coastal atlas (in this case of the Danish island of Fyn, casting light on such types as *Draeby* < ODan *\*draegh* 'place where one can drag a ship over land', and *Snekkeled* < ship-term *snekke* + *led* 'channel, water-way', or perhaps rather 'waterway with a fish-trap', cf. OE *\*snegga* in *Snegeyare*, the name of a medieval fish-weir on the Tyne, see *ante* VII, 40-1); the recorded forms of Scandinavian littoral toponyms in sixteenth-century Dutch nautical charts and the changes they undergo in transference from one language to another. And finally Oddvar Nes provides a fascinating account of the place-names encountered on the bus and boat excursion from Volda to Runde.

VICTOR WATTS

L. PETERSON and S. STRANDBERG (eds), *Studia Onomastica: Festschrift till Thorsten Andersson den 23 februari 1989*, Almqvist and Wiksell: Stockholm/Lund, 1989, xxiv+454pp., price not stated.

This Festschrift is a tribute to a man who holds a unique position in Scandinavian name-studies. Over fifty articles reflect Thorsten Andersson's many contacts and his wide scholarly interests in all areas of onomastics; his own work ranges from Scandinavian district-names to anthroponymy and socio-onomastics (a bibliography appeared as NORNA-Rapporter XL, see below p.lxx). Most of the articles here are by Scandinavian scholars; all these have English summaries. There are also contributions in English and in German by scholars from Belgium, Britain, Czechoslovakia, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States. (The papers are all being reprinted in *Namn och Bygd* from Volume LXXVII on.)

Although some contributors concentrate on theoretical generalities, most consider specific toponymic subjects. A handful deal with anthroponymy, and a few with personal names as elements in place-names. Two discuss runic names. Doing justice to such a collection is an impossible task, and I have therefore concentrated on some articles which may be of particular interest to readers of *Nomina*. With one exception, these deal with names involving contact between a native language and an incoming Scandinavian one.

The exception is Stefan Brink's paper, 'Ett bidrag till onomastisk teori: bosättningsonomastik.' Brink opens by stressing the need to see a place-name not just in linguistic terms but as referring to a unique geographical entity, this

semantic peculiarity being what distinguishes onomastics from linguistics. The core of his article is devoted to habitative names, and he points out that all too many studies have been carried out without the necessary grasp of settlement history. He then puts forward a theoretical framework for the development, expansion, or contraction of permanent settlements. Names and naming customs, he shows, vary according to these fluctuations. In particular, the generics used in field- and farm-names vary regionally and temporally according to fashion and to dominant agricultural patterns; the productive period of a generic depends above all on demographic variation.

In 'Amounderness and Holderness' Gillian Fellows-Jensen takes names of administrative areas—a special interest of Thorsten Andersson's—as her starting-point. Most Scandinavian names of English administrative districts are primary ones of hundreds or wapentakes. Some of these must, however, have been district names before being adopted for the artificial administrative units. In highland areas a river valley will give its name to the district, whereas in many lowland ones the rivers are seen as boundaries, not as unifying features. *Amounderness* and *Holderness*—district names in Lancashire and Yorkshire—stand apart from these two types of name. Both have previously been taken as primary landscape names, thought to contain Scand *-nes* 'promontory', the specifics being respectively the personal name *Agmund* and the common noun *hqldr* 'freeholder'. Fellows-Jensen shows convincingly that both names may well contain OE *hernes(s)* 'obedience; district in subjection to a secular or ecclesiastical authority'. The present forms of both show subsequent Scandinavianization.

In 'The Scandinavians in Norfolk: observations on some riverside place-names in Norwich' Karl Inge Sandred emphasizes how the lack of archaeological evidence for the Viking presence in Britain makes onomastic evidence vital. He looks to the banks of the River Wensum for Danish influences in Norwich. After a brief discussion of *Conesford* (< ODan *kunung* + OE *-ford*), he presents eleven names, mostly now lost, of wharves or landing-stages, all containing the generic *-staiþe*. Taking each in turn, he considers whether the generic represents OE *stæð* 'bank, shore' or the cognate ON *støð*, ODan *stath*, 'landing-stage, wharf'. That it is in this latter, Scandinavian, sense that the term figures in the Norwich names is shown by their early contexts: in Latin four of the places are described as *cayum*.

The question of possible Scandinavian influence on other Germanic languages is the subject also of Arend Quak's paper, 'Wikingen in Flandern'. Thus far no evidence—direct or indirect—has been found to support theories of Viking colonization in the Low Countries. Quak cites a study by A.C.F. Koch in which personal names from the small town of Snellegem near Bruges were taken to contain the deuterotherme *-raun* 'raven' (*Naamkunde* XVI [1984], 183-200); according to Koch, the *-au*-spellings in a thirteenth-century copy of a lost tenth-century original represent an original *-ab-*, so pointing to ON *-hrafn*. Quak, however, argues that the *-raun* forms may be due to incorrect expansion of Latin

abbreviations, and that *-rau-* in the copy represents original *-hraban*, a personal-name element common in West Frankish, whereas dithematic personal names in ON *-hrafn* were rare. He also shows that other names and name-elements found in the same document are of Frankish origin. All in all, no specifically Scandinavian names or name-elements can be identified, and Quak concludes that the names of the Snellegem peasants show no Scandinavian influence.

Karel Roelandts considers the same question with more extensive data, demonstrating that native Flemish developments satisfactorily explain several place-names previously held to contain Scandinavian elements, e.g., *Brugge*, *Londerzeel*, *Gottem*, and names in *-holm/-hulm*. Furthermore, the masculine name *Heming/Haming* is shown not to be exclusively Scandinavian. Roelandts holds with Quak that Scandinavian origin is unlikely for the names in *-raun*. Finally, he shows that in Flanders *Thorsten*, undoubtedly Scandinavian though it is, is a late import, possibly *viâ* England or Normandy.

W.F.H. Nicolaisen discusses the reliability of place-name maps, defending against recent criticisms those he published in the 1960s and '70s. Chronological conclusions have been drawn from the distribution of certain toponymic generics of Scandinavian origin. Nicolaisen does, however, concede that these maps should be used with greater care than he himself had sometimes shown, and that in their interpretation local details and other background information ought to be taken into account; but he still holds that such maps are valuable tools, saying:

'... without the potential they offer for time-oriented interpretations, we would be forced back to an era of lists and individual etymologies, and surely nobody would want that to happen.'

The present reviewer fully accepts the value of place-name maps, but believes that the basis of all onomastic studies must be thorough etymological interpretation. Indeed, as the majority of contributions to *Studia onomastica* have shown, the 'lists and individual etymologies' still have their partisans.

TOM SCHMIDT

S. CARLSSON, *Studies on Middle English Local Bynames in East Anglia*, Lund Studies in English LXXIX, Lund University Press: Lund, 1989, 193pp., price not stated.

Stig Carlsson's book is the latest of the Lund Studies in English to explore the considerable body of linguistic evidence which can be found in Middle English bynames. Though primarily concerned with Middle English names, it also contains a section on ones of French origin. Like several previous works from Lund, it is based on material from Norfolk and Suffolk. Many of the bynames discussed have already been dealt with in books by Löfvenberg, Reaney, and others, but Carlsson often gives examples earlier than any previously cited, and in

some instances breaks new ground: see, for instance, the comments on the byname *atte Pidde*. He has obviously taken note of the localities where bynames occur in the sources used, and this has enabled him to throw additional light on the meaning or origins of some of them. Occasionally a more extensive acquaintance with medieval East Anglia would have produced some further evidence: the byname *atte Spitelhous*, which is noted at Wicklewood (Norfolk) in 1332, is very probably from the hospital at Wymondham, two or three miles away, an institution well-known at the time. Such instances are, however, few.

An assumption appears to be made that bynames must have arisen at the places where they are listed in the sources searched. No doubt this was so in many instances, but the medieval population was never entirely static and by the mid fourteenth century some East Anglian names had already been hereditary for two or three generations, a fact which would increase the possibility of movements away from points of origin. Some of the bynames listed by Carlsson were obviously hereditary from the evidence which he himself provides; see, for example, the cases of *Spitelhous* and *Turfpet*. Some other names, *Maisnilgwarin*, for instance, were those of long-established landed families which had had hereditary names from at least the twelfth century; the example in question was probably indeed taken from a French place-name (see further below).

There is no reason to dissent from the explanations given by Carlsson for most of the names under consideration, but doubts must arise in a few examples. For instance, the *Henry de la Huse*, mentioned at Freshingfield (Suffolk) in 1268, seems clearly from the sources cited to be the same as *Henry de la Hose*, mentioned at the same place at the same date, but two different explanations are given for the name; in fact, the true origins of this name, which has a wide variety of variants in East Anglia and also elsewhere, are difficult to determine. Again, different explanations are given for the name of *Alice atte Rowe*, in the 1327 subsidy roll for Norfolk, and of *Alice in the Wro*, in a subsidy roll for the same county a few years later; but these almost certainly refer to the same individual, especially considering how rare it is to find women in the subsidy rolls. One or two other cases seem doubtful. The byname *atte Kent*, for instance, is stated to be from the river Kennet, in this case the river so named on the Suffolk border; bynames from rivers were, however, rare in England, while a byname from the county of Kent was already common and widespread by the fourteenth century. Where the surname *Maisnilgwarin* is concerned, the writer does not appear to have considered the suggestion of French toponymic origin put forward by Reaney (*DBS*, 229), or at least the point is not argued; furthermore, two different explanations are given for the forms *Maisnilgwarin* and *Meynewarin*, even though these are simply variant forms of the name of one family.

There are also signs that the author's knowledge of English history is not always complete: it is said, for example, that the Pipe Rolls cover the period 1165–1214, but this is merely the period covered by the Pipe Roll Society's printed volumes at the time when presumably the book was being prepared.

Despite these criticisms about particular points of detail, Carlsson's book is a useful addition to the growing body of work on the linguistic material to be found in Middle English bynames, and will take its place in the considerable body of scholarship on the subject produced at Lund.

RICHARD MCKINLEY

RICHARD MCKINLEY, *The Surnames of Sussex, English Surnames Series V, Leopard's Head Press: Oxford, 1988, xiv+483pp., £19.*

This latest volume in the English Surnames Series opens up the unbroached area south of the Thames, linking Sussex styles with those of the contiguous counties of Kent, Surrey and Hampshire, and at the same time setting them in the wider context of medieval English ones as a whole. Format and approach follow the established pattern.

Geography and history combined to make medieval Sussex idiosyncratic. Unlike most counties previously surveyed—with the partial exception, that is, of Oxfordshire—it was all but free of Scandinavian influences. Its long Channel coastline did, on the other hand, lay it open to Continental ones, Flemish as well as French, that stemmed as much from mercantile contacts as from post-Conquest settlement. Inland, by contrast, the Weald kept it isolated until well into modern times; toponymical bynames found here seldom therefore originate from other counties. As for emigration out of Sussex, the present remit has allowed no more than a glance at the byname evidence; but in medieval London, at all events, Sussex toponymics were notably scarcer than ones from the neighbouring counties (see, e.g., E. Ekwall, *Studies on the Population of Medieval London* [Lund, 1958], p.lx).

Among regional onomastic markers, modes of patronymic formation have long been recognized. In Sussex, the asyndetic mode characterizing twelfth-century usages remained dominant, so that forms in *-s* were rare until after 1500 and ones in *-son* hardly seen except as imports; the three contiguous counties show usages partly related. A less-recognized form of regional variation involves skewed distribution of standard terms for universal occupations: *smith*, for instance, proves relatively scarce here—evidently, as McKinley indicates, because in Sussex ironworking skills were so widespread as to lose identificatory value (pp.228-9; this would, besides, have limited call for full-time practitioners). Minor local quirks include an unexplained tendency for bynames usually ending in ME unstressed *-e* to acquire a *-y*, e.g., *Leggy* beside *Legge*.

From the outset, the strength of this series has lain in its socio-onomastic approach; and here too socially-based patterns are brought to the fore. Perhaps because isolation meant stability, Sussex usages exemplify with particular clarity the general contrastive distribution between—to use the reviewer's terminology rather than the author's—the two sorts of locative byname. Toponymical

formations, no matter whether the place-names concerned were native ones or exotics, were characteristic, first, of landholders and, later, also of burgesses; among bondmen they were rare. Conversely, it was mainly the humbler countryfolk, serfs and smallholders, who were labelled by topographical phrases in *-atte*; that this is more marked in Sussex than in any county previously surveyed seems due to local preference for this mode over the patronymic one favoured among some peasantries elsewhere (did this preference, in turn, reflect richer small-scale variation in the landscape?). Within the general pattern, local idiosyncrasy further asserts itself in interchanges, for the same individuals, between phrasal styles and synonymous compound terms in *-er* and in *-man*, so that, e.g., *atte bridge* varies with *bridger* and/or *bridgeman*; both latter styles, as well as sharing the same social distribution as the phrasal one, seem virtually confined to the more southerly counties. As for what may have underlain the formal variation, that remains unexplained.

Readiness to admit perplexity serves the author particularly well over nicknaming, in so far as it precludes the sort of mechanical etymologizing that mars much recent work in this field. Nor does a resultant tentativeness at all detract from the truth of the perspective:

'It is especially difficult to be sure of the significance of some compound surnames which occur independently in different parts of the country and which seem, therefore, to be derived from phrases which were in general use over a large area, and which presumably had some generally understood meaning or implication. ... For example, the rare name Strokehose. ... It must be suspected that "strokehose" was a phrase in general use in south-east England, that it conveyed to contemporaries some fairly precise impression of an individual so nicknamed, and that the surname was not merely a soubriquet bestowed on someone who had a habit of stroking his lower garments' (p.362).

The relevant fascicule of the *Middle English Dictionary*, when subsequently published, failed to afford any enlightenment on this point. Meanwhile, the socio-linguistic perspective adopted here gets nearer to the motivation behind the naming than any purely lexical one ever could.

Sadly, the weak point is again philology (cf. John Insley's comments *ante*, VI [1982], 96-7; also the present reviewer's *ante*, III [1979], 113). Treatment of pronunciation, the basis of all linguistic analysis, is hamstrung by refusal to adopt the International Phonetic Alphabet; in all future volumes in the series, this system, which a single-page key makes accessible to all, must be used throughout. Awareness of pronunciation would enable phonological probabilities, and with them likely etymologies, to be better assessed than at present they are. Especially often confused are reflexes of the Old English voiced palatal and velar spirants. Thus, *Fagger/Vagger* is guessed to be a variant of *fayre* (p.266): etymologizing this admittedly difficult name depends upon whether <gg> represented /g/ or /dʒ/, and in the latter event might involve the *fadger* 'flatterer' here virtually

dismissed. Again, *Judwin* is claimed, regardless of the difficulty posed not just by substitution of /dʒ/ for the /g/ expected before a back vowel but indeed by initial /dʒ/ in any form supposedly of Old English origin, to be a variant reflex of OE *Goldwine*. Examples could be multiplied. Nor is the principle observed of interpreting spellings in the light of usages in the particular documents concerned. So an obeisance towards dialectology predictably collapses (pp.15-19), leaving any neophyte likely to suppose vowels free to interchange at random. Much in need of annotation are the various reflexes of OE /y(:)/, as in, e.g., developments from OE *bȳdel* (pp.261-2). If, as may be surmised, these reticences arise partly from fear of putting 'the general reader' off, they are self-defeating; for only by recourse to all technicalities can the points at issue be clarified and the uninitiated reader be assisted. In future, therefore, the introductory chapters to volumes in this series must deal with orthographical and phonological history as well as with dialect.

Analogous bowdlerization obscures the surname-forming rôle of Old English personal names. Sometimes a potentially relevant name is seemingly overlooked, as when the surname *Elmer* is considered without mention of OE *Ælfmǣr* and such realizations of it as *Elfmǣr*, *Elmǣr*, *Elmer* (p.162; for *El*-forms in the Domesday texts, found in Sussex as well as in Kent, Surrey and Hants, see *PND*, 148-9). Such mention of these names as is made is often circumlocutory to the point of euphemism: thus, 'It has been held that the surnames Lemmer and Lemm are both derived from an Old English personal name ...' (p.165, OE *Lēofmǣr* being left unspecified); and so almost consistently. Not only are Old English names seldom cited but, when they are, often they masquerade under nonce-spellings, sometimes Latinized ones, sometimes not: e.g., 'The personal name Brithmer or Bricmar' (p.311; OE *Beorhtmǣr*) or 'the personal names Aluunus, Goduinus, Vluuardus and Aluuardus' (p.301; OE *Ælfwine* or, perhaps less probably, *Æðelwine*, *Ealdwine* or *Ealhwine*; *Godwine*; *Wulfweard*; *Ælfweard*). Why standardized citation-forms are avoided, and indeed why the customary italicization of specimen forms is eschewed, is left unexplained. Introductory chapters ought in future to include—in addition to the matters already requested—a digest of the principles and history of Germanic, and therefore Old English, personal-naming; for, once the reader may be assumed conversant with the concept of 'name-themes', then items like *Ælf-*, *Beorht-/beorht-*, *-mǣr*, *-wine*, and so on may confidently be introduced.

In one uncharacteristic lapse, prosopographical as much as etymological, a Continental-Germanic name borne by a recent immigrant is mistaken for a native one:

'The personal name Saefrith (or Seffrid) was that of two bishops of Chichester in the 12th century. ... In this case the use by two bishops of a rare Old English name ...' (pp.312-13).

But Bishop Seffrid I (1125-1145), previously abbot of Glastonbury, was a brother of the archbishop of Canterbury Ralph d'Escures (see D. Knowles *et alii*, *The*

*Heads of Religious Houses* [Cambridge, 1972], 51) and his name, taken from his own father's, is thus a reflex of CG *Sigefrid*, *Seifrid*.

In several other ways too, presentation might be improved. An additional index, of topics treated, would greatly help those readers more concerned with general principles than with particular names. In addition to the various matters already suggested, the introductory chapter needs to include analysis and criticism of the source-materials available and an exposition of how their character governs methodology; better still, a companion handbook might be provided for the whole series (an encounter with some amateur surname-enthusiasts has convinced the reviewer not only of the need for such a researcher's manual but also of the likelihood of its finding, if appropriately marketed, a ready sale). That is by no means to imply that either source-criticism or methodology is disregarded here: problems of both sorts are judiciously aired, but piecemeal, as occasion arises, instead of being the subject of systematic prolegomena—and, without an index of topics treated, there is little way of tracking the mentions down. So anyone not already knowing what a 'subsidy roll' is, let alone that it is by definition a dog-Latin document, might well sometimes get befogged, especially when expected spontaneously to recognize which forms cited were current vernacular ones and which documentary constructs. Again the lack of precision seems due to fear of being over-technical, and again it is misguided, because the less experienced the reader envisaged, the greater the need to give explicit descriptions and to use terms compatible with those found in standard reference-works. Not only, therefore, ought name-forms always to be precisely specified but place-names ought to be referred to the historical—and EPNS—counties rather than being trendily described as, e.g., 'Bellingham (Greater London)' (p.17; *rectè* 'Kent': see J.K. Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent* [Uppsala, 1934], 6-7, and M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* [London, 1984], 48-9). If only findings were given in all their full-blooded technicality, these surveys would at one and the same time strengthen our discipline and implant understanding of it in the public mind.

Any shortcomings noted here are nevertheless—and this must be emphasized—incidental and venial ones such as might be obviated by enlisting collaborators or advisers to supply any specialized skills needed. The great merit of the English Surnames Series, and of this addition to it, stands: in contrast with other recent works based on similar source-materials, these studies never lose sight of the special nature of naming, as distinct from common vocabulary, and so proceed consistently in terms of social status, of domicile and landholding, of migration-patterns, of economic activity, of gender and familial relationships, of types of milieu, and of ramification of individual clans. Etymology is not the core of the matter; still less so phonology. What is central is onomastic history; and that is honourably served.

†CECILY CLARK

ROBERT BELL, *The Book of Ulster Surnames*, Blackstaff Press: Belfast, 1988, 285pp., £6.95.

*The Book of Ulster Surnames* covers the whole province of Ulster (Northern Ireland together with Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan), and deals with the five hundred or so surnames most common there. Rarer names are omitted, so that there are no entries for some names of families prominent in Ulster for centuries: there is no entry for *Chichester*, for instance. No references are given to sources, and the book appears to rely heavily on secondary works, such as family histories. There is not a great deal of information about etymology, and what there is comes largely from standard sources, such as the dictionaries by Reaney, Black, and MacLysaght. For some names, no etymologies are given (see the entries for *Carson* and *Conlan*, for example). There is, on the other hand, much information about family histories, together with references to prominent Ulster individuals with any of the surnames listed. The author, who has charge of the Northern Ireland political collection at the Linen Hall Library in Belfast, has not surprisingly a good deal of knowledge of such episodes in Ulster history as the seventeenth-century Scots settlement and the earlier activities of gallowglasses in the province, and has deployed to good advantage a great deal of evidence on such subjects.

There is an obvious difficulty in dealing separately with the surnames of a limited area such as Ulster, in that many have never been confined to the province. Many of those discussed occur in other parts of Ireland, while many others are Scots in origin and still to be found in Scotland. This has led the author to pursue the history of some names outside Ulster, and there is in general a good deal about Scots families, though much less about English or Welsh ones. For many surnames, their distribution within Ulster is described; some of this information is based on work done by Dr. Brian Turner, but it is not always clear what basis there is for statements about distribution.

Where scholars interested in the linguistic aspects of surnames are concerned, the main value of the book may lie in the useful evidence given about the Anglicization of Gaelic names and about the variant forms of surnames in use during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is, however, a book intended chiefly to meet the needs and interests of amateur genealogists and family historians and of the large body of people who simply wish to find out something about their own surnames. For this quite sizeable constituency the book will be very useful.

Occasionally statements are made which might be questioned: *Robert*, for instance, is said to be an Old English personal name; elsewhere it is stated that 'In England *Miller* was originally *Milner*' (true in a few cases, but not in most); at one point, perhaps by a printer's error, Louis IX of France has been given as Louis XI (p.79). Such inaccuracies are, however, few, and not very significant for the general purpose of the book. The work will form a valuable addition

to the books on surnames available to amateur genealogists and family historians.

RICHARD MCKINLEY

**J. DOUGLAS PORTEOUS**, *The Mells: Surname Geography, Family History*, Saturnalia—Saturna Island Thinktank Press: Saturna Island (British Columbia), 1988, 93 pp.; 9 maps, price not stated.

The feat that this study of 'the history and geography of an ordinary family in an ordinary place' achieves is one of localization. The whole telephone directory was combed; each of the 82 subscribers called *Mell*—a contingent in London apart, clustered mainly in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire—was then sent a genealogical questionnaire. The births registers 1838-1979 and the (incomplete) Mormon indexes to the parish registers 1538-1850 were also combed (in the runs of unusual forenames, often taken from surnames, that assisted pedigree-building the author takes a merely pragmatic interest). Findings all implied distribution to have been in the Early Modern period centred more clearly still on the Humber-Trent areas. Pre-1538 records for that area suggested West Cottingwith, in Thorganby (south-east of York), as the putative cradle of the Mells. Whether or not a few occurrences, dating from the mid thirteenth century on, of what might (or might not) be related bynames could justifiably be taken as indicating the family's origins remain unresolved; but the main pattern is clear.

Any 'London' connection is less so. There would—as Ekwall showed over thirty-five years ago—be nothing out of the way in finding a family of Humberside origins domiciled in medieval London. More recent migration would be commonplace. Here, however, the evidence is doubtful. Even for the sixteenth century, Porteous's 'Greater London' incongruously embraces 'Bedfordshire, Kent, Suffolk, Surrey and Sussex' (p.27, note b); and it was in Kent, at Greenwich, that he found in 1637 his earliest 'London' Mells. Now, as he himself recognizes (p.19), in Kent as in several others of the south-eastern counties *mell* was the regular reflex of OE *mylen* 'mill', so that the forms in question might represent coincidental convergence, not evidence of migration.

Etymology is consistently the weak point. After canvassing half a score of assorted verbs as well as nouns, Porteous plumps for *meal* 'flour' as chief etymon of the surname *Mell*. Semantically, this is fine: *DBS* offers a *Meale* provisionally attributable to just such origin, and we may compare German *Mehl* and French *Farine*. Phonologically, though, there seems a problem; for in the term in question Yorkshire dialect normally shows a long vowel or a diphthong (see *Survey of English Dialects*, I/ii, 511). Nor, when rhapsodically adducing *mell* 'the last sheaf harvested' (for which *NED* offers no etymology) as another member of the same 'meaning cluster', does Porteous specify what links he assumes between the two terms. The main alternative etymon, viz. *mell* 'heavy hammer', with its wealth of metaphorical connotations, he likewise, albeit with

some strain, subsumes under the same 'conflated general meaning'.

Had this monograph but been confined to localizations and to the family history about which the author has inside knowledge, it might have been a classic of its kind. As things stand, it must partly serve as warning against getting out of one's depth.

†CECILY CLARK

**OAKHAM SURVEY RESEARCH GROUP**, *The Oakham Survey of 1305: A Translation with Commentaries*, Rutland Record Society: Occasional Publications Series X, Oakham, 1988, 55pp., £4.50.

This publication by divers hands gives an exemplary demonstration of how not to present an unpublished record. It is not just that offering only a translation leaves that record, in effect, unpublished. The translation is itself inept, showing, for instance, a retention of *de* in toponymical bynames and of *le* with occupational ones that risks giving any reader unversed in medieval documentary conventions an odd idea of linguistic usages among Rutland rustics of c.1300. The commentaries are in keeping, and much what might have been expected from a group corporately daunted by 'a return journey of over one and a half hours' to the nearest adequate library. Standard reference-works have been neither listed in the bibliography nor, it seems, consulted: thus, the (feminine) byname *Ladde* is glossed as 'ugly' (p.42), even though a glance at *DBS*, never mind *MED*, would have suggested a preferable alternative. Geographical and historical perspectives constantly fail. A mark is defined as '66.6 recurring pence' (to have said 'roughly the price of a present-day ice-cream' might have been as enlightening). Identifications of toponymical bynames include 'Bayeaux' and 'Mussgros'; some localizations, e.g., of Montfort-sur-Risle, are simply to 'France'. Knowles and Hadcock are credited with having published a book entitled *Medieval Houses of England and Wales*. The adjective *meretricious* is given an unusual sense (p.5, col.b). The pity of it is that the exercise has failed to benefit as it ought the enthusiastic WEA class involved; for modest scope is one thing, sheer sloppiness quite another.

†CECILY CLARK

**L. VAN DURME**, *Toponymie van Velzeke-Ruddershove en Bochoute*, Volumes I, II (i) and (ii), Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde: Ghent, 1986-1991, 304pp. and 776pp. respectively; 2 pocketed maps with I, prices not stated.

This monograph reports on an intensive study of a narrowly circumscribed district of East Flanders: Velzeke-Ruddershove and Bochoute, not far from Aalst. Based

upon source-material ranging from medieval cartularies to present-day oral information, it relates the toponymic patterns to each successive historical context from the Roman period on, at the same time linking them with the physical geography and with agrarian development. It thus in general exemplifies what sort of toponymic analysis might be feasible for other well-documented localities. For English toponymists, it offers the further interest of showing a partly cognate vocabulary deployed in the course of a partly similar agrarian history. For all comparative onomasticians, the 25-page bibliography of Flemish toponymics cannot but be in itself a most valuable research-tool.

†CECILY CLARK

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NI *Namenkundliche Informationen*  
 NRO *Nouvelle Revue d'Onomastique*

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