MARGARET GELLING, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester University Press: Leicester, 1992, x + 221 pp., 78 figures. £45.00 hardbound, £15.99 paperback.

For those whose acquaintance with the West Midlands is little more than as a district 'sodden and unkind' best seen from an express train, Dr Gelling's book comes as a mind-opening surprise; and for those who know the area, it will be a highly-valued handbook to the sub-Roman history of the area down to the time of Domesday Book. For both groups she presents a lucid and persuasive account of the West Midlands during that period once known as the Dark Ages. Using the slender historical records of the area in that period, and drawing on her own work in place-names, and that of others in archaeology, numismatics, church history, field patterns and settlement studies, she tells a coherent story of the changes which took place in language, religion, administration and the landscape of the West Midlands during that time, and sets the area into the broader context of national history.

Dr Gelling's book is the fourth regional volume of the acclaimed 'Studies in the Early History of Britain', under the General Editorship of Professor Nicholas Brooks, and is companion volume to Pauline Stafford's book on the East Midlands. For the purposes of her book, Dr Gelling has defined the West Midlands as comprising the pre-1974 counties of Cheshire, Shropshire, Stafford, Hereford and Warwickshire, lying west of the Danelaw. She defends her exclusion of Worcestershire on the grounds that pre-Conquest records are so much more abundant there that treatment of the county would be out of scale with the others. Nevertheless, she gives some attention to the sub-kingdom of the Hwicce, since part of Warwickshire fell within their sphere.

The West Midlands become peopled with long-familiar names—Vortigern, Penda, Offa, the Lady Æthelflæd and Edward the Elder. The incoming peoples—the Anglian pagan settlers, the Danes, the Norse, become named groups in real places: the Magonsæte perhaps in 'Maund' on the River Lugg; the Dunsæte along the Wye south of Hereford; one Thorstein, perhaps a leader of the Norsemen who settled in Wirral; and a Danish aristocrat Waga (originally Vagn?) whose estate included Wooton Wawen in Staffordshire. No doubt to the satisfaction of those of us who live in the north and west of England, she gives recognition to a people 'archaeologically invisible': the Welsh-speaking and probably Celtic Christian descendants of the Romano-Britons. These people were neither exterminated nor driven west, but co-existed peacefully with the incomers, their Welsh

speech finally disappearing by the end of the ninth century. There will be some regret that modern opinion requires that we cease trying to read history and real places into the Welsh elegies of the *Canu Heledd* cycle, and to accept them solely as splendid poetry written at a later date than the events they portray.

I found the sub-headings very helpful, and the book is very well illustrated, especially in the provision of maps, some from her own work and others taken (with generous permission) from work by scholars in other fields of study. It seems a little grudging, with such an abundance, to air any grumble, but two groups of maps are less helpful to the reader than they might have been. Her discussion of the anomalies on the diocesan boundaries is illustrated by two very useful maps (Figs 40 and 41) depicting sections of these boundaries, but they might have gained by having inset maps of the counties to aid location. Similarly, if the dark-age enclosures illustrated in Fig. 45 had been marked on Fig. 43a, the discussion of their relationship to Offa's Dyke would have been more meaningful.

Her examination of the physical landscape of the area as the Romano-British period ended draws especially on her own particular specialism, that of English place-names. County by county, she maps the *lēah*-names and discusses the probable distribution of ancient woodland as indicated by that complex element which was in use over long periods, and changed meaning in the course of it, from 'woodland' through 'clearing' to 'pasture' and 'meadow'.

The linguistic evidence for the existence of the native British people is drawn from place-names surviving (albeit modified) from the Romano-British period, British river, hill and woodland names, hybrid Welsh/English names, names incorporating the elements *walh* and **Cumbre* by which the English referred to the British, and *ecles* names referring to a church or Christian community. Despite her conviction that these people were continuing to form the main stock in the area, she finds the linguistic evidence nearly as disappointing as the archaeological. She adds in this section an interesting examination of the name Lyme, which is incorporated into the names of a number of settlements on the Pennine foothills of Cheshire and Staffordshire.

Most of the finds thought to indicate the earliest and pagan period of Anglo-Saxon penetration—the brooches, cemeteries, and burial mounds bearing *hlāw* place-names—are concentrated in the Avon valley in South Warwickshire, and suggest that there was only limited penetration westward by this period. Since there is no evidence for an overwhelming body of incomers, Dr Gelling argues that the absorption of the West Midlands into what became English Mercia was achieved, not by conquest, but by alliances between English and Welsh during the seventh century; the army which Penda led in his earliest-recorded victory in 628 was probably composed of

the Welsh people of the West Midlands. Between that time and his death in 655, the tax list called the Tribal Hidage shows that Penda established the core of Mercia in what became Staffordshire, and extended its borders far to the south into Wessex, eastwards to the Wash, northwards to the Humber and the Mersey, and west to the borders of Wales, perhaps rather as a loose federation than a single kingdom.

Drawing on studies of the Welsh annals and English records, she discusses the boundaries, rulers and peoples of the sub-kingdoms of the Mercian hegemony, and the gradual conversion to Christianity of the pagan English. To define the extent of Celtic Christianity in the area, Dr Gelling examines the distribution of *ecles* place-names, and that of churches with circular churchyards which are 'vaguely agreed' to be 'Celtic' features, and offers her own observation that many of the churchyards in Shropshire are both circular and raised. The boundaries between the sees of Lichfield and Hereford, and Worcester and Lichfield, are thought to relate to the early sub-kingdom of Mercia, and are therefore of great significance, especially where they divert from obvious physical boundaries like the River Severn.

A valuable chapter discusses early and more recent archaeological studies made of Offa's Dyke (generally agreed to be a planned unitary work), and considers its dating in relation to land boundaries and peoples (the *sǣte*-names) along it, and the questions of who did the work, and what might have been its function. She also outlines her recent study of 'Burton' place-names, which she suggests may indicate another planned system of defensive settlements or rallying points, but of earlier date. Such a firm administration of Mercia as this implies might also have given rise to the many *-tūn* settlement-names, among which she instances the recurrent types of names like Ashton, Thornton, Ollerton, or Acton, and questions their significance.

The last four chapters take the story from the coming of the Vikings, recorded by history but also by their distinctive place-names, to the time of Domesday Book. These two centuries saw the development of our shires and shire towns, and the reconstruction of some settlements as open-field nucleated villages, especially in the Warwickshire Feldon, but further west and in the hills, hamlets and isolated farmsteads (such as the *-hope* settlements of Wenlock Edge) remained the typical settlement pattern.

There is a helpful account of recent developments in the study of churches, their origins, their place in the landscape, and the sculptural remains often associated with them, and a useful definition of terms now accepted to distinguish minsters and their *parochiae* from the churches of parishes. A discussion of the frequent omission of churches from Domesday Book leads to a discussion of county maps showing Domesday hidage figures for every parish. This provides a summary to a very readable and stimulating book, and a valuable synthesis of work in many fields through which Dr Gelling has

shed much light on a region of the country during a period in which written records are sparse.

M. A. ATKIN

FRAN COLMAN, *Money Talks: Reconstructing Old English*, Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 56, Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin and New York, 1992, 391 pp., £65.

It is ten years since Fran Colman gave us an abstract of her thesis on the moneyers' names of Edward the Confessor in *Nomina*, and this volume has been eagerly awaited. Moneyers' names form a large part of the *onomasticon anglosaxonicum*, but their publication in Searle, from lists compiled in the nineteenth century and earlier, mainly out of Hildebrand's systematic collection and the British Museum Catalogue, not only perpetuates mistranscriptions, but lacks the precision of dating and location that can now be given to the material. This volume, then, completes the reconsideration of the personal names on the late, post-Reform (c.973) coinage, which was prompted by Dolley's revitalisation of Anglo-Saxon numismatics.

The main drift of Colman's argument is towards the use of the coin-legends as evidence for the phonology of Old English on the eve of the Conquest. Colman's data are specifically restricted to the period 1042–1066, though in fact most of the forms cited here are paralleled under Æthelred and the Danish dynasty; a comparison might yield interesting results. She examines the variant spellings which co-exist for the same name, to try to deduce the quality of the sounds which they represent, very properly warning that the centralised die-cutting that was almost total in the Confessor's reign interferes with the diatopic variation implied by the siting of the mint. Her argument is that elements in names act in a different way phonologically from their lexical counterparts, both through juxtaposition and stress, and through disassociation from the common word. Further, she is persuaded that 'forms of name-elements show more variation than tolerable for representation of common words'. This implies that the coin-forms Colman has under review, and manuscript records of the names, act identically. This may in fact be the case, and the author may have thought it too obvious to mention, but I have sometimes wondered if coin-forms do not themselves vary more, not only than their lexical counterparts, but than their written equivalents. Naturally, the numerous dies of a prolific moneyer are bound to provide more chance of evidence for variation than, say, the record of an individual as a subscriber to charters. Nevertheless, it might be possible that there are reasons for greater variation on coins, which arise from the nature of their production—differentiation of dies, maybe? A case in point is the rash of dittography which both Colman and I myself have remarked on as having no

consistent phonological significance. This is not to return to the bad old tradition that coin-forms are too 'corrupt' to be of use phonologically. Colman demonstrates convincingly that, in most cases, the variations on the coins are philologically tenable.

Although its main purpose is to treat the material as a linguistic source, this work approaches the coins from a number of different directions, and is particularly valuable in making the corpus accessible for answering other onomastic queries. For example, the distribution of Scandinavian personal names is not one of its concerns, but the catalogue, in a 130-page Appendix, combined with the chapter which is an etymological dictionary, provides all the material for such an investigation. One slight hindrance is occasioned by the printing, not the arrangement; the names are arranged under their mints, which appear in alphabetical order, but the mint-name headings are set in a relatively insignificant type which does tend to disappear and make them difficult to find.

Cecily Clark believed that any influence of the Cnutian settlement, conspicuously absent amongst the moneyers of Cnut and his sons, might surface after a generation in the names of Edward's moneyers. It is true that, although there is no significant increase overall in the proportion of Scandinavian to OE names (except at York, where, after the middle of the reign, all the moneyers' names are Scandinavian), some single Scandinavian names do appear at mints which hitherto had none, such as Colswegen at Hastings, Spraceling at Winchester, Thurcil and Thurstan at Warwick, Swerting at Wallingford. It has to be said, however, that although this Scandinavian presence may be new for the mints, it was seldom lacking in the same areas; for example, Toca (Scand. *Tóki*) is found in the Thames Valley at Cricklade under Æthelred and Cnut, and Onlaf on the south coast at Lewes under Æthelred. Colman follows the *British Museum Catalogue* in giving Gillecrist to Taunton, but before accepting this as further evidence of increasing Scandinavian onomastic influence in the south-west, one hesitates a little at the mint-signature TAH—is Tamworth not a possibility? A moneyer of that name strikes for Harthacnut at Chester, and the distribution of these Hiberno-Scandinavian names in *Gille-* is otherwise confined to Yorkshire and Cheshire.

Colman's linguistic approach occasionally cuts across some more familiar onomastic interpretations. For instance, in her etymologies she makes little reference to the original byname formation, and ignores the difference in onomastic function between, on the one hand, *-stān* and *-gār* as variable dithemes, and *-líthr*, *-coc* in *Sumarlíthr*, *Wuducoc* as items in what are usually regarded as monothematic names. This is because her argument is that all second items in 'complex' names behave in the same way as those in obscured compounds (e.g. 'fireman', 'blackbird'), and are more likely to suffer change and phonological reduction.

It is a mark of the vicissitudes which have befallen the publication of this volume, and its long time in the press, that some of the individual interpretations Fran Colman attributes to me are not my last word. Several of her suggestions have been gratefully accepted in the second volume of the Index to the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, and attributions coming closer to Colman's own of *Ladmaer* and *Godleof* appeared in my study of the Cnutian moneyers in *Anglo-Saxon England* 16. All in all, personal-name scholars will find this volume a most reliable and accessible guide to a large and valuable source of late Old English material.

VERONICA SMART

ADRIAN ROOM, *The Street Names of England*, Paul Watkins: Stamford, 1992, xiv + 258 pp., £14.95.

This is a very readable introduction to English street-names. It begins with a discussion of common generics—*street*, *road* and so on—and goes on to categorise the different types of street names under the following headings: self-descriptive names; field and water names; directional names; religious names; trading, occupational and national names; names of buildings and structures; names from inns; names of personal origin; commemorative and propitious names; and thematic names. Many instances are given of each type. Separate chapters are devoted to Roman roads and to names of bridges; and the book concludes with some practical advice on studying street names. There is also an appendix of place-name frequencies in London and Greater Manchester.

During the course of the book, Room covers around 3,500 street names, giving a brief indication of the meaning of each. In general, this information is accurate and reliable, agreeing closely with the findings of the English Place-Name Survey and other sources listed in Room's bibliography. Nevertheless, there are occasional errors. According to p. 116, '*Catlins Lane*, Ruislip, west London, is so called from a farm originally known as St Catherine's End Farm'. This is mentioned as a probability—not a certainty—in EPNS XVIII, 47; but EPNS XIX, lvii, subsequently notes that 'Cattlin's Lane takes its name from Catherine Fm in Eastcote rather than from Catherine's End Fm in Ruislip'. On p. 55, Room derives Shoe Lane in London from 'a field or portion of land that was originally shoe-shaped'. This is the explanation given in Ekwall's *Street-Names of the City of London* (1954, pp. 110–11). More recently, however, C. Hart has demonstrated that the name actually refers to an endowment of land to provide footwear for a monastic community (*JEPNS* 4 [1971–72], 6–11).

So far as the classification of street-name types is concerned, there are a number of anomalies. Names derived from churches do not appear with those of other buildings (Chapter 8), but with religious names (Chapter 6); whilst names derived from religious groups, such as Moravian Place, appear with trading, occupational and national names (Chapter 7). River-names would seem to belong in Chapter 4, 'Field and Water Names', but in fact appear in Chapter 5, 'Directional Names'. Names of personal origin are the subject of Chapter 11; but names of royalty are treated as commemorative names (Chapter 12). It is only fair to admit, however, that in all probability, no two scholars would agree on every aspect of a classification system. This is a brave attempt to identify characteristic patterns of street naming.

Room's style is clear and concise, explaining the history and derivation of a wide range of street names in terms easily comprehensible to a non-specialist. Particularly useful is a comprehensive index to all street-names mentioned within the text. The book is attractively presented; and like others from the same publisher, it is both well produced and reasonably priced.

CAROLE HOUGH

NORNA-RAPPORTER 43. *Namn og Eldre Busetnad*, edited by Tom Schmidt, Uppsala, 1990, 289 pp.
NORNA-RAPPORTER 45. *Analogi i Navngivning*, edited by Gordon Albøge, Eva Villarsen Meldgaard and Lis Weise, Uppsala, 1991, 244 pp.
NORNA-RAPPORTER 48. *Sakrale Navne*, edited by Gillian Fellows-Jensen and Bente Holmberg, Uppsala, 1992, 294 pp.
(NORNA-förlaget, St Johannesgatan 11, S-752 21 Uppsala, Sweden.)

The papers in NORNA-RAPPORTER vols. 43 and 48 were presented at the fifteenth and sixteenth NORNA symposia, held in Norway and Denmark respectively, and those in vol. 45 at the 10th Nordic Congress of Onomastics in Brandbjerg, Denmark. These regular meetings, and the resultant publications, provide an excellent forum for the exchange of ideas and information about research in progress. The clear pursuit of an overall theme in each publication benefits the reader, and there are helpful summaries in English or German. The organisers of the two symposia chose particularly challenging themes, and contributors to the volumes do not hesitate to question the status quo and present both new material and new ways of considering material collected and analysed by earlier scholars.

Namn og Eldre Busetnad (Names and Early Settlement) and *Sakrale Navne* (Cultic Names) both deal with early periods of naming for which evidence is scarce and difficult to interpret. Several of the articles in *Namn og Eldre Busetnad* caution against assuming that continuity of settlement structure necessarily underpins the place-nomenclature of any district. Mats Widgren, for instance, in 'Fossil fields, farm boundaries and toponyms: Some examples from Östergötland and Västergötland, Sweden', suggests a re-assessment of Magnus Olsen's conclusions about Iron-Age settlement patterns. This call for further scrutiny of Olsen's work is repeated in *Sakrale Navne*, particularly by Eva Nyman in 'The Bohuslän parish-name *Harestad*'. Arne Thorsteinsson's article on 'Settlements and Settlement Names in the Faroes', in *Namn og Eldre Busetnad*, introduces a variation on the traditional view of settlement in the Faroes, suggesting that our twentieth-century conception of right of ownership of territory seized in an original land-taking is flawed. The same point regarding flawed understanding of early periods of history is made by Bjørn Myhre in 'How Old are the Farm Boundaries?'

Also interesting are the detailed studies in *Namn og Eldre Busetnad* which make use of archaeology, pollen analysis, etc., as well as place-names. Examples are Lil Gustafson's 'Analysis of Farm Boundaries in Kvikne, Hedmark' and Trond Løken and Inge Særheim's 'The Prehistoric Village at Forsandmoen'. The volume concludes with a more abstract article entitled 'The Function of Place-Names in the Cultural Landscape', which relates the development of place-names to the changing settlement structure which is a recurrent theme in many of the papers and ensuing discussions as recorded in the volume.

Sakrale Navne offers a similarly scholarly range of papers. Jørn Sandnes, in fact, contributed to both symposia volumes, as did Þórhallur Vilmundarson. The latter, in 'Cultic Names or Not?', cautions against interpretation of names as 'cultic' which may have had more to do with landscape and the weather in their inception than with heathen gods. The note of caution is echoed by other contributors, such as Per Vikstrand in 'The place-name *Hov*. Does it have a cultic significance, denote a topographical feature, or both?' Many papers refer to the necessary distinction between place-names created from terms for and names of pagan gods and those created from terms for cultic sites. Thorsten Andersson concerns himself with the latter and offers a categorisation of gradations of cultic and secular significance in the place-name elements used. His desire to impose order on what is known about cult-site terminology is taken a step further by Stephan Brink, who asks the reader to question the theoretical basis of existing belief about the cultic element **al* in Scandinavian names. Bente Holmberg is similarly rigorous in her approach to 'the subtantive *as* "heathen god" as a place-name element' and, unlike Brink's, her conclusion is that the element may be more widely found than had hitherto been imagined.

No volume on cultic names would be complete without reference to lake and river names, provided here by John Kousgård Sørensen. Other articles include a useful survey of cultic personal names by Eva Villarsen Meldgaard

and a short article by Henrik Obertin Bertelsen on a grammar of place-names intended to help the reader understand the role played by their component parts. Post-symposium papers by Botolv Helleland, Gillian Fellows-Jensen and John Kousgård Sørensen all stress the need for further research and re-evaluation. This admirable volume goes a long way towards providing the impetus for such research.

Analogi i Navngivning (Analogy in Naming) addresses a much wider topic, at least in chronological terms. In fact, W. F. H. Nicolaisen, in 'Scottish Analogues of Scandinavian Place-Names', suggests that 'analogy is the driving force which powers naming', whatever the century. Nicolaisen was referring to place-names but personal names are equally formed by analogy, as Gulbrand Alhaug points out in his detailed analysis of 19th- and 20th-century Norwegian feminine names. Other articles on personal names in literature and real life point to the same impulse to respond, by imitation or analogy, to cultural influences from outwith or within a society. Articles on place-names also generally emphasise the significance of analogy but Svavar Sigmundsson, in 'Analogy in Icelandic Place Names', argues that instances of analogy are difficult to prove, whereas he believes that it can certainly be shown that some names were given to places without attention to their situational appropriateness. Other contributors, such as Vibeke Dalberg, Botolv Helleland and Lars Huldén, consider the effect of analogy on the form of place-names rather than on their topographical application. Nicolaisen's article was mentioned above and of further interest to Scottish readers is the article, 'Traces of Scandinavian Settlement in the Central Lowlands of Scotland', by Gillian Fellows-Jensen, who considers the numerous parallels between Scandinavian names in the Central Lowlands of Scotland and those in the English Danelaw and proposes a tentative chronology for the Scottish names.

As one reads, increasing familiarity with the NORNA RAPPORTER style of presentation makes ensuing volumes more accessible. The three volumes here reviewed all have merit and deserve to find readers outside Scandinavia.

DOREEN J. WAUGH

CYRIL HART, *The Danelaw*, Hambledon Press: London, 1992, xviii + 702 pp., 73 maps, 92 tables, £47.50

This collection of studies in Danelaw history, geography and place-names is the fruit of nearly a lifetime's work. It is a remarkable achievement for one man, whose training was in another faculty and another profession, to produce a work based on the complex evidence of a period in which few early medieval historians can count themselves competent. The author has the inestimable advantage of knowing the sparse pre-Conquest historical sources for eastern England better than any other early medieval historian, because of his work over the past four decades on the *Early Charters of Barking Abbey*, *Early Charters of Essex*, *Early Charters of Eastern England*, *Hidation of Northamptonshire*, *Hidation of Cambridgeshire*, and *Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*. This is quite apart from the dozen or so articles published in the years between 1965 and the present on many different aspects of Anglo-Saxon history and Danelaw topography. Some of those articles are reproduced in the present volume, including ones on the Ealdordom of Essex, on Oundle, on the Origins of Lincolnshire, on the Church of St Mary, Huntingdon, two on Anglo-Saxon Charters, and others on Anglo-Saxon battles, biography and family history. There are twelve new ones: two general chapters defining the Danelaw and one on the St Paul's estates in Essex: five on 'Danelaw Institutions' (Sokes; Wapentakes and Hundreds; the Hide, Carucate and Ploughland; Carucation of Lindsey and the Carucation of Nottinghamshire): others on 'Danelaw and Mercian Charters of the Mid-Tenth Century', 'The Will of Ælfgifu', different battles, and 'The Earliest *Life* of St Neot'. There are seventeen appendices, ranging over thorny problems of assessment, royal grants, boundaries and topographical speculations, genealogy, biography and early monasticism. There is a remarkable number of illustrative maps, without which much of the text would be unintelligible, and an important number of tables which are supposed to help to make the detailed arguments on assessments more intelligible. There are two indices, of personal and place-names, which cover maps and tables as well as page numbers. None of this is for the faint-hearted. It is for the specialist historian or historical geographer; but linguists and readers of *Nomina* will find a great deal of important source material to help them in the elucidation of early medieval toponymical problems. This volume is, in fact, a quarry which is full of evidence relating to the people and places of eastern England in the formative late Anglo-Saxon and Conquest period.

It is indeed concerned with the area known later as the Danelaw, although the title of the book might better have been 'Danelaw Studies' or 'Studies in Danelaw History', for this is in no way a synthesis of the author's knowledge of the history of the area. The first chapter on 'What was the Danelaw' (or 'What is the Danelaw', as it is listed in the Contents!) does, however, provide a very useful summary for the benefit of the general reader or student. The next chapter, on 'The Eastern Danelaw', explores, as it says, 'some of the distinguishing characteristics of . . . the ancient kingdom of East Anglia'. These amount, first, to a consideration of Guthrum's kingdom, which is subdivided into sections on 'Christianity in the Eastern Danelaw', 'The Danish Dynasty and its Satellite Earldoms', 'Was Normandy settled from the Eastern Danelaw?', followed by an appendix on 'The Later Members

of the East Anglian Royal Dynasty'. The second section of this chapter is devoted to 'The Greater Towns': 1. Ipswich, 2. Thetford, 3. Norwich, and 4. The Town and Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, followed by an appendix on the Boundary (mis-printed as 'Bandary') of Stoke by Ipswich, and another on the Banleuca of Bury St Edmunds. The third section is on 'The Smaller Towns of East Anglia', and the fourth section on 'The Administrative Framework', subdivided into 'The Multiple Estates in East Anglia', 'Was the East Anglian Carucation imposed by the Danes?', 'The East Anglian Hundreds', 'The Letes of East Anglia', 'How Old were the Letes?', 'The Carucation of East Anglia; What was its Nature?', 'The Hidage of East Anglia', 'Measurement of Vills', with an appendix on Æthelwig of Thetford. The fifth section on 'The Economy' has a sub-section on 'The Early Economy of the Broadland' (un-numbered!). Yet none of these sections or sub-sections are listed anywhere—and this situation is typical of a large number of chapters—so that the reader does not find it easy to get back to any particular reference that he or she wants to check up on. Moreover, these themes are not indexed, and there is little in the way of cross-referencing.

Perhaps as a historian one can be permitted the thought that it is the real historian who will have to do the full synthesis, and some historian will do it some day. When he or she does, they will use much of this book as a source from which to draw their generalised conclusions. Indeed, all historians of the Anglo-Saxon period, and particularly those who have an interest in the Scandinavian impact on England, will be using this book and considering the theories and ideas presented in it for many years to come. A series of regional studies of this kind *is* the only way to proceed towards any general conclusions.

This is then an accumulation of one man's knowledge of a part of England which has not had much attention focussed on it from the historical point of view for some years. There have, in the intervening period, been very important studies of place-names and urban archaeology which the author uses (and in the case of the latter, uses very sensibly) to elucidate the origins of the East Anglian towns. In general, there have been enormous strides made in our understanding of the society and economy of late Saxon England, from charter studies, from numismatic studies and from Domesday studies. All this new information is brought to bear on the problem of the Danelaw, which has its own particular interest from the point of view of all three of these study areas. Of course, the basic question that is still being asked is, 'To what extent were the Danish raids, and even more, Danish settlement, responsible for many of the changes and developments which have been perceived in Anglo-Scandinavian England in the tenth and eleventh centuries?' As far as economic development is concerned it is now acknowledged that the impact of the Danes was rather significant. As far as social development is concerned,

and the impact which the Danes had on agriculture and rural society, the question is still very vexed. It is this area, and particularly the question of land assessment and the carucation of the Danelaw, in which Dr Hart is particularly interested, and to which he returns again and again in this book, in general discussions and in local specialised studies.

As far as this reviewer can assess, most of his general conclusions seem well-founded in his knowledge of the sources and the previous secondary literature, and above all, in his geographical understanding and topographical consideration of many of the places concerned. Much of the detailed argument relating to specific application of Domesday statistics is beyond a general understanding, and requires specialised expertise with Domesday evidence. The conclusions drawn in the new studies of carucate and ploughland are startling. That the carucate is peculiarly Danish and in some way resulted from the Danish settlement of East Anglia has been acknowledged since J. H. Round wrote *Feudal England*. But that the Danish ploughland was sufficiently established in the early tenth century to have formed the model for a new assessment structure established by Edward the Elder in Wessex and Mercia in *c*.920 goes quite beyond anything suggested or dreamed about by previous historians of Anglo-Saxon England. The trouble with using Domesday statistics for understanding the complexities of territorial assessments is that Domesday is a record of many different kinds of territorial assessments, spanning many centuries. Moreover, the changes and developments did not happen in the same way in every shire, and one of the great values of Dr Hart's work is to show just how differently the situation had developed in different parts of the Danelaw. The problems of adjusting his own theories about the ploughland to more recent theories about a new ploughland assessment, which it has been argued the Conqueror was trying to implement in 1086, are not fully resolved. Moreover, it is in trying to follow his arguments, which are scattered throughout the different chapters, without any index to help one trace the various places, that frustration with this book begins to set in. In this respect, the lack of cross-referencing between his discussion of 'Ploughlands: A Final Word' (which we can be sure it is not!), on p. 334, and 'The Lindsey Ploughlands', on p. 373, is quite detrimental to the value of the discussion. This is particularly the case when he is assessing, in both places, the important contribution made by Sally Harvey to the problem of the ploughlands—and which he seems grudgingly to accept.

There are other bold assertions about the relationship of English and Danish land divisions and social structures which may or may not stand up to further scrutiny. One cannot help but note that, even when Dr Hart is taking up an idea of H. M. Chadwick's, he uses the phrase, 'One is forced to the inexorable conclusion that . . .', whereas the original idea had been presented with a more cautious, 'I am inclined to believe that . . .'. Dr Hart knows well

the dangers of too strong assertions; as he himself says in his Preface, 'There can be no finality in Anglo-Danish studies . . .'. Certainly his essays in Danelaw history will not be definitive for all time to come. But they help to further our knowledge and understanding of many aspects of early society in eastern England, and are a strong re-statement of the strength of the Danish element in that society, which is certainly overdue and needed a fresh airing.

BARBARA CRAWFORD

WOLF-ARMIN Freiherr von REITZENSTEIN, *Lexikon bayerischer Ortsnamen: Herkunft und Bedeutung*. Zweite, verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage. Verlag C. H. Beck: Munich, 1991. 467 pp., 6 maps. DM 48.00.

Viewed from a historical perspective, the modern German *Land* of Bavaria, *Freistaat Bayern*, is a composite structure, having acquired its present boundaries only in relatively recent times. The medieval territorial state of the Wittelsbachs was confined to Upper and Lower Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate. The acquisition of Franconia and Bavarian Swabia took place under Napoleon, and the Coburg region became Bavarian only in 1920. Historically, the area south of the Danube belonged to the Roman province of Raetia, while further north, large areas of Franconia were really opened up for settlement only in the Carolingian and medieval periods. Before the Christian era, there were Celtic settlements as far north as southern Thuringia, while in the medieval period we are concerned not only with speakers of various Old and Middle High German dialects, but also with Slavonic peoples, who settled in Upper Franconia.

This complex and heterogeneous history is reflected in the material presented by Reitzenstein. His book, here reviewed in its second edition, is a dictionary of more than 1,000 major names with early forms and etymologies. As such, it is eminently useful, given the accuracy of its documentation and Reitzenstein's competence as an etymologist. The Introduction could have been more detailed. Reitzenstein provides us with a useful grapheme-phoneme correspondence for early spellings, indicates the various linguistic layers and has some discussion of morphology. This last may be adequate for relatively infrequent elements, such as Romano-Celtic *-(i)ac(um)* or Slavonic *-ici*, *-ovici*, but it is clearly not enough when we come to the major elements of Bavarian toponymy. A more detailed discussion of the morphology and semantics of such German elements as *-dorf*, *-stadt*, *-heim* and *-ing(en)* would have been called for. This would not only have enhanced the value of the work as a dictionary, but would also have made it a major tool for comparative work by English and Scandinavian toponymists. In this context, the absence of an

index of names according to element is an important omission, which makes the typological analysis of individual name-types a laborious business.

This being said, Reitzenstein's dictionary is full of fascinating material providing illuminating comparisons with English place-names. For example, Thetford (Norfolk) and Little Thetford (Cambs), both of which belong to OE **þēod-ford* 'the people's ford', i.e. 'chief ford', have an exact parallel in Dietfurt [an der Altmühl] (Upper Palatinate), which reflects the corresponding OHG *diotfurt*. Again, the first element of Fladbury (Worcs), an unrecorded OE feminine personal name **Flǣde*, is paralleled by that of Fladungen (*Fladungen* 1031) in Lower Franconia. Here Reitzenstein suggests a masculine personal name, OHG **Flado*, or a substantive, OHG *flado* 'a small piece of flat land, a flat field', but a feminine personal name corrrresponding to OE **Flǣde*, OHG **Flāda*, a short form of such names as OHG *Gundiflāt* (compare such Frankish feminine names of the Merovingian period as *Ansflēdis*, *Audoflēda*, *Meroflēdis*, etc.), would seem more appropriate.

Reitzenstein's material allows interesting typological comparisons to be made. Some place-name types still await full-scale comparative investigations. An example of this is the element *-stadt* < OHG *stat* (f.) 'place, dwelling-place', which is cognate with English *-stead* (OE *-stede*) and Danish *-sted* (ODan. *-stath*), etc. The genuine *-stat*-names in Bavaria are early and are usually compounded with personal names, e.g. Ingolstadt (Upper Bavaria), *Ingoldestat* 806 (9th), containing OHG *Ingold*, *Ingolt*, and Münnerstadt (Lower Franconia), *Munirihestat* 770 (9th, printed edn of 1607), containing OHG *Munirich*.

The *-ing(en)*-names are of especial interest for English toponymy on account of the continuing discussion about the significance of *-ingas*, *-inga-* in English place-names. In Bavaria, we find the nominative plural type in *-inga(s)*, e.g. Dingolfing (Lower Bavaria), *Dingoluuinna* 770 (11th), *Thinolfingas* 773 (12th), *Tinguluinga* 833, containing the OHG personal name *Thingolf*, *Tingulf*, *Dingolf*. As we would expect, monothematic personal names are common as first elements in such names, e.g. OHG *Auto* in Altötting, OHG *Gudo*, *Cuto* in Gauting and OHG *Tuzo* in Tützing (all in Upper Bavaria). Extended monothematic personal names containing the diminutive suffix *-ilo* are also frequent. Examples are OHG **Bladilo* in Plattling (Lower Bavaria), OHG **Scirilo* in Schierling (Upper Palatinate), OHG *Truhtilo* in Treuchtlingen (Middle Franconia) and OHG *Tutilo* in Tittling (Lower Bavaria). It is interesting to note that the *-ilo*-names *Ōdilo* and *Tassilo* occur among the names of the Agilolfing dukes, who ruled Bavaria from the end of the sixth century to 788. Dithematic personal names, such as OHG *Thingolf* in Dingolfing, are relatively infrequent as first elements of the *-ing(en)*-names. Other examples include OHG *Guntram* in Gundremmingen (Swabia) and OHG **Truhtmund* or **Truhtmuot* in (Wasser)trüdingen (Middle

Franconia). Genuine *-ing(en)*-names containing descriptive terms are not certainly attested in Reitzenstein's material. The Bavarian *-ing(en)*-names cannot be seen in isolation. In a German context, they should be compared in the first instance with the *-ingen*-names in Württemberg, but in the general context of Germanic onomastics, their relevance for the situation in England is obvious. Reitzenstein has provided us with a readily-accessible corpus for comparative purposes, and it is to be hoped that those involved in research into early English names will draw upon it. The same is true of his material for the names in *-heim*, though it should be remembered that this name-element is less frequent in Bavaria than in the areas of heavy Frankish settlement on the Middle Rhine.

There is a fundamental difference between the areas of early settlement in Upper and Lower Bavaria, Swabia and the southern and western parts of Franconia on the one hand, and the areas of Carolingian and medieval colonization in northern and eastern Franconia on the other. In northern Franconia, we find secondary place-names of a seignorial character formed from the element *-hausen* < OHG *hūsun*, dative plural of *hūs* 'house'. An example of this type is Elfershausen (Lower Franconia), *Adalfrideshusom* 780–802 (1607), *Adalfrideshusa* 953, whose first element is the OHG personal name *Adalfrid*. In eastern Franconia, north and east of Bamberg, there is a noticeable Slavonic element in the toponymy. Here we find such names as Mitwitz (Upper Franconia), *Minvwizc* 1266, a compound of the Slavonic personal name **Min* and the collective suffix *-ovici*. We also find hybrids, such as (Markt) Taschendorf (Middle Franconia), *Toschendorf* 1285 (1407), a compound of the Slavonic personal name *Toš* with OHG, MHG *-dorf*.

In the course of this review, it has been possible only to pick out particular aspects of the Bavarian place-names treated in Reitzenstein's dictionary. There is, of course, much more. Roman settlements are preserved in such names as Passau, while Kempten reminds us of the Celtic settlements of the pre-Christian era. We also find 'Old European' river-names, such as Iller and Isar. Naturally there are detailed entries for the names of such cities as Augsburg, Munich, Nuremberg, Regensburg and Würzburg. The forms are carefully chosen and there is a comprehensive bibliography. Reitzenstein has presented us with an admirable piece of scholarship at a reasonable price. It is exactly what its title says—a dictionary of Bavarian place-names. A list of elements with short discussions would certainly enhance the work, but we can be grateful to Reitzenstein for having provided us with such an accurate and well-documented survey. It is to be hoped that it will be widely used not only in its native land, but also by toponymists in England and Scandinavia.

JOHN INSLEY

WARE, WYE, WATFORD

Paul Jennings

I never know whether to be surprised or not when I am told that foreigners find English extraordinarily difficult. On the one hand it is less rational, more 'given', than, say, French or Spanish, which have the air of being mental constructions; and it is more manifold, more European, than, say, German. On the other hand there is, surely, about most English words an ultimate rightness which ought to strike everyone, including foreigners, as the final perfection reached in man's art of naming. I don't mean the obvious, satisfying onomatopoeia of words such as *bang*, *dribble*, *snivel*, *splotch* (all my French dictionary can do for splotch is *grosse tache*—I ask you!); for there is a more subtle, allusive onomatopoeia in words which have nothing to do with actual sound: *sausage*, *elation*, *leaf*, *humdrum*; if boredom made an actual noise, that's what it *would* sound like; *hum*, *drum*, *hum*, *drum*.

Our island is the home of a magical aptness, the ancient tussocky fields are the nearest approach, so far, to that ever-new Garden of Eden in which, as Mr W. H. Auden recently reminded us, Adam's first task was to give names to the creatures. If anyone doubts this, let him consider the very names of our towns. For they not only describe places. They carry wonderful overtones, they seem to have been drawn from some huge, carelessly profuse stock of primal meaning, to have come out of the very bag from which Adam got his names. Let me illustrate with a few examples from this vast English treasury of subconscious meaning:

This piece is reprinted, with the kind permission of Mrs Celia Jennings, from Paul Jennings, *The Jenguin Pennings* (Harmondsworth, 1963). It was first printed in the 1950s in his column, 'Oddly Enough', which appeared weekly in *The Observer* from 1949 to 1966. His essay suggesting the hidden meanings of English place-names has since been widely imitated; but this first example by 'the most consistently original comic writer of our century' deserves reprinting. Paul Jennings died in 1989; *The Paul Jennings Reader*, edited by Griff Rhys Jones, is in print, published by Bloomsbury Publishing Ltd.

babbacombe n. An idle or nonsensical rumour. 'It's just a lot of b.'
barnstaple n. Mainstay, keystone. 'Mrs Thomas is the b. of our committee.'
bawtry adj. Used of windy and rainy cold weather. 'A b. day.'
beccles n. Ailment of sheep, cf. the Staggers, the Twitches, Quarter-ill, the Jumps.
bovey tracey adj. Headstrong, wilful. 'None of your b.t. ways here, Miss!'
brasted adj. (colloq.). Term of humorous abuse. 'The b. thing's come unstuck.'
buckfastleigh adv. (arch. and poet.). Manfully. *'Aye, and right buckfastleigh, lad'* (Hardy).
cromer n. A mistake, bungle. 'You made a c. there.'
dunstable adj. (arch.). Possible. *'If 'tis dunstable he'll do't, my lord'* (Shak.).
dungeness n. Uninterestingness. 'A suburb of extraordinary d.'
erith v. (obsol.). Only in the third pers., in old proverb 'Man erith, woman morpeth.'
glossop n. Dolt, clot. 'Put it down, you silly g.'
holyhead n. Hangover.
ilkley adj. Having large elbows.
kenilworth n. A trifling or beggarly amount. 'He left her nobbut a kenilworth in his will.'
kettering adj. from v. **ketter** (obsol.). Like the flight of a butterfly.
leek adj. Very cold.
lostwithiel n. Ne'er-do-well.
lowestoft n. A subterranean granary.
lydd adj. Useless, defunct, inactive.
maesteg adv. (Welsh). Musical direction to Welsh choirs to sing *maestoso* but at the same time brightly.
manningtree n. A gallows.
midhurst n. Maturity, fruition. 'His career was in its m.'
morpeth see **erith**.
pershore adv. (arch.). Certainly, for sure. *'Pershore thou'rt damn'd'* (Webster).
priddy adj. Neat.
rickmansworth n. (legal). Ancient nominal rent paid to lord of manor for hay. Always paired, in mortgage documents, with—

stevenage n. (legal). Ancient nominal rent paid to lord of manor for stones.
thirsk n. A desire for vodka.
uttoxeter n. A charlatan, usually a quack doctor.
wembley adj. Suffering from a vague *malaise*. 'I feel a bit w. this morning.'
woking pres. part. of v. to woke (obsol.). Day-dreaming.

Medieval Prosopography

Medieval Prosopography is the first publication devoted to research into medieval prosopography (collective biography). Issues include articles, review articles, reviews, research notes, information on large and team projects, and news of conferences and publications. Prosopography is the focal point, but family history, genealogy, charter research and network analysis may also be covered; essays have focused on French and English history, on methodology, on comparative studies of women and the family, on Anglo-Norman studies, and on Austria, Byzantium, Italy, the Lombards, Moravia and late Roman history. Of interest to scholars in history, literature and other fields.

Send inquiries, submissions and requests for subscriptions to:

MEDIEVAL PROSOPOGRAPHY
Medieval Institute Publications
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, MI 49008–3851
U.S.A.
Telephone (616 387–4155
Fax (616) 387–4150

Subscription information:
$10.00 per year through to vol. 11, no 2 (Autumn 1990), back numbers $5.00 each; $20.00 per year beginning with vol. 12, no 1 (Spring 1991), back issues $10.00 each.
Multiple-year orders accepted.
VISA and MasterCard welcomed.

ISSN 0198–9405