

The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names

This alphabetical dictionary is a totally new compilation based on the archives of the English Place-Name Society and reflects recent scholarship and new research in the subject. It contains entries not only for English cities, towns and hamlets, but also geographical features such as rivers, streams and hills, as represented in the *Ordnance Survey Road Atlas of Great Britain* (1983). The dictionary provides a reflection of contemporary England, as well as its historical past.

Every place-name entry has:

- a unique National Grid reference number
- a list of historical spellings
- the age and meaning of the name and its etymology (pre-Indo-European, Indo-European, Celtic, Primitive Welsh, Anglo-Saxon, Old Norse, Old French, Middle English, Modern English)

Where appropriate, a commentary is provided on:

- comparable names
- the problems, history and significance of the name for settlement, economic and social history
- the development of the language
- its variant pronunciations and spellings

This is a major new reference work relevant to geographers, historians and historical linguists worldwide, as well as anyone interested in the history and settlement of England seeking an authoritative account of English place-names.

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The Cambridge Dictionary of
English Place-Names

Based on the collections of the
English Place-Name Society

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Preface

During the course of the seventeenth annual conference of the then Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland at Christ's College, Cambridge, in March 1985, discussions took place among a group of scholars about the desirability and feasibility of compiling a new dictionary of English place-names to replace Ekwall's ageing *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, the fourth and final edition of which appeared in 1960. The new work would be based on the published and unpublished collections of the English Place-Name Society and stored in electronic form. A further planning meeting was held in Cambridge in September of that year, attended by the late Professor John McNeal Dodgson of University College London, Dr Margaret Gelling of Birmingham University, Dr Peter Richards of Cambridge University Press and myself, and in December approval was given by the Syndics of Cambridge University Press for a new dictionary under the joint editorship of Dr Oliver Padel, then of the Institute of Cornish Studies, Dr Alexander Rumble of Manchester University and myself, with Professor Dodgson and Dr Gelling as advisers, to be completed within three years. Owing to pressure of work both Dr Padel and Dr Rumble were obliged to withdraw from the editorial team, to be replaced at a later date by Dr John Insley of Heidelberg University. Another grievous early blow to progress was the untimely death of Professor Dodgson in 1990.

The scope and rationale of the *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* differs from that of Eilert Ekwall's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, its standard predecessor. There is, as there must be in all selective works of reference, an element of subjectivity in the choice of names to be treated. In the case of Ekwall's *Dictionary* preference was given to names with some claim to antiquity. He aimed to include 'the chief English place-names . . . names of the country, of the counties and other important divisions, towns (*except those of late origin*), parishes, villages, some names of estates and hamlets, or even farms *whose names are old and etymologically interesting*, rivers, lakes – also names of capes, hills, bays *for which early material is available*'.¹ Ekwall included 'most of the [English] names listed in Bartholomew's *Gazetteer*', but some were omitted 'either because of the insignificance of the places or because no early forms were available'. Many hill-names in the Lake District, for example, were omitted because they were either 'comparatively late' or 'self-explanatory'. This bias, justified by the circumstance that contemporary spellings of names are unreliable guides to etymology and that names now sharing identical spellings can often be shown by early forms to have different origins, can be traced back at least to Allen Mawer's decision in his pioneering work on the place-names of Northumberland and Durham (Mawer 1920), to confine his attention 'rigidly, with some half dozen insignificant exceptions' to names found in documents dating before 1500.

By contrast, the present work aims to reflect the onomastic situation of present-day England and the selection of names for inclusion is made regardless of their antiquity or

¹ Ekwall 1960.ix (my italics). Cf. Watts 1993.7–14.

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modernity. In this it reflects the practice now universal in the volumes of the English Place-Name Survey of including every name in current use as well as former names now lost or in desuetude. In this dictionary lost names are only included in so far as they are needed to make sense of contemporary names. As a basis of selection we have taken the totality of the names in England of whatever age or kind – settlements, districts, towns, villages, antiquities, rivers or other natural or man-made features – which appear in the *Ordnance Survey Road Atlas of Great Britain* first published in 1983, and we are grateful to the Ordnance Survey for making their county indices available to us. As a corollary of this bias towards the contemporary situation we have adopted the revised 1974 counties rather than the ancient historical counties, though these are given in the references at the end of each entry and every name is accompanied by its unique National Grid four-figure reference. The dictionary thus attempts a synchronic presentation of English place-names, a snapshot of the names in use today for whatever purpose of human activity, administration, industry, services, commerce, travel, planning, leisure or education.

This bias towards the present means that we include such features as new towns. It is as important and as interesting to know that that most convincing of modern place-names, Peterlee in County Durham, a new town founded in 1948, as well as conforming to the historical pattern of names ending in *-ley* or *-lee*, brilliantly preserves the name of Peter Lee, the Durham miners' leader of the 1930s, as to know that Peterborough, formerly in Northamptonshire and now in Cambridgeshire, is the **burh** or fortified enclosure built by Abbot Eadwulf in AD 963 around the reconstituted monastery of St Peter originally called *Medeshamstede*. Another such snapshot to contain the very ancient as well as the very modern could encompass Egglecliffe, a parish in County Durham, perhaps containing Primitive Welsh ***egles**, 'a church, a Christian community', and Eaglescliffe, the seventeenth-century folk-etymology of the same name adopted for the early nineteenth-century station and junction on the Stockton to Darlington railway line and thence transferred to a modern housing development.

Diachronic considerations are no less important in the Cambridge *Dictionary* than in its Oxford predecessor. But once again the presentation is different. Dr Richard Cox, in an important paper in *Nomina* (1988–9), questioned the value and validity of the term 'hybrid' in the study of the place-names of the Hebrides. He pointed out that from a linguistic point of view the term might be valid – patently many names do contain elements derived from more than one language not only in the Hebrides but also in England – but the term is not valid with regard to an *onomastic* analysis of such names. Onomastic analysis concerns itself not just with the linguistic components of a name but also with the structure of those components and how they function as names. The Hebridean name *Loch Lacsabhat*, for example, may be regarded as hybrid since the first component is the Gaelic word for lake while the second represents Old Norse *laxavatn*, 'salmon lake'. Etymologically the name may be regarded as a combination of Gaelic and Old Norse elements but this is not necessarily evidence of true hybridisation, i.e. contemporary contact between the two languages because the onomastic structure of the name is not appellative + appellative but appellative + *place-name* and the true translation of the contemporary name is not 'lake salmon lake' but 'lake Laxavatn'. There are two diachronically separate stages in the evolution of the name Loch Lacsabhat, first the Norse name *Laxavatn*, then, after the period of true language contact, the Gaelic name *Loch Lacsabhat*. Both stages participate in separate synchronic systems.

The extension of this principle of separate synchronic systems to compound place-names whose elements come from the same language has sharpened understanding of

the structure of English place-names and led to new perceptions only half adumbrated in Ekwall's *Dictionary*. While Ekwall glosses the Lancashire place-names Pendlebury and Pendleton as '*burh* by *Penhill*' and '*tun* on *Penhill*' respectively, he explains Pendle itself as Welsh **pen** 'top, hill' with the addition of an explanatory Old English **hyll** 'hill'. A better presentation would have been 'Pen hill, hill called *Pen*' in which the Welsh element **pen** functions less as an appellative than as a pre-existent place-name. In the same way, we now see purely English names such as Keysoe in Bedfordshire and Cassio in Hertfordshire not as hypothetical personal name + appellative ('Cæg's hill-spur') but as *place-name* + appellative, 'the hill-spur at, of or called *Cæg*, the Key', from Old English **cæg**, 'a key', used topographically of a hill shaped in some way reminiscent of a key.

The distinction between earlier and later systems of names corresponding to changing perceptions of the landscape, its settlement, development, ownership and division is carefully observed. Names such as Great Bolas, Shropshire, are initially traced back to spellings like *Bowlas Magna* 1655, not to *Belewas* 1198. Great Bolas is a name in systemic contrast with nearby Little Bolas, *Parva Boulewas* 1342. Two names representing two separate settlements are evidenced from 1342, a different situation *onomastically* from that of 1198. A similar complexity emerges with manorial names – 'double-barrelled' or compound place-names reflecting estate division and feudal ownership – such as the Dorset Winterborne series, Winterborne Clenson, 'the W manor called Clenson, i.e. Clenston, the Clench family estate', W Houghton, 'the W manor called Houghton, Hugh's estate', W Kingston, 'the king's W estate', W Zelston, 'the de Seles W manor' together with the variants W Anderson, 'the St Andrew's W estate (from the dedication of the church)', W Stickland, 'the W estate called Stickland, earlier *Stikelane*, the steep lane', W Whitechurch, 'W with the white church': these represent a complex onomastic situation compared with that of Domesday Book (DB) where the manors are undifferentiated under the common name *Wintreborne* with the result that modern scholars cannot be certain of their precise individual identification. Later systems of such compound place-names, reflecting division and redivision of formerly unitary estates, are given separate and prior treatment to the discussion of their original simplex forms.

More importantly, compound place-names such as Beare Green in Surrey are inadequately treated if, as in the English Place-Name Society (EPNS) volume for Surrey, reference is made only to historical spellings such as *la Bere* 1263 and *Beare* 1497. These represent a simplex place-name meaning 'the woodland pasture' from OE **bær**. Onomastically and, indeed, historically, *la Bere* or *Beare* is a different name at a different stage from Beare Green, *Beare Green* 1816, 'the green at or called Beare'. In this dictionary, names in *End*, *Green*, *Row* and *Street*, like the manorial names, are treated as place-names in their own right and given their own run of spellings before analysis of their component elements. The attention given to these frequently late-appearing names has prompted the preparation of distribution maps which have thrown up interesting and surprising results illustrated in this dictionary and in Watts 1999.

Other systems of name-giving are also becoming increasingly recognised. It has recently been suggested, for instance, that place-names of the type Acton, 'oak-tree settlement', in Shropshire, were so named because they had a specialised function in the processing or distribution of oak timber in that county (Sa i.3). Many common place-names of this type must similarly have referred to specialised functions within a manorial estate or district economy. Shipton/Skipton, 'sheep farm', is an obvious example, Hardwick, 'herd farm', another, Ashton, 'ash-tree farm', a third. Many others deserve consideration as the implications of the perception that there is a difference between the

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etymological meaning of a place-name and its significance are realised. The *meaning* of the name-type Acton is ‘oak-tree settlement, oak-tree estate, oak-tree farm’ but the *significance* is probably not so often ‘farm built of oak, farm beside an oak tree’ or ‘farm among oak trees’ as ‘place where oak is worked’ or ‘where oak timber is obtained’. In the same way the place-name type Stanton/ Staunton/ Stainton, ‘stone farm or settlement’, will frequently have been significant not primarily because of soil conditions or buildings made of stone but because it had an economic function as a place of industry, as a source of stone for building or as an estate quarry. A great deal of the town and castle of Barnard Castle in County Durham is built of locally hewn stone, some of which must have come from the local village of Stainton where to this day there is an active quarry of high-quality stone.

This dictionary attempts, therefore, to say something about the historical, administrative, commercial or economic significance of names in addition to giving their etymological meanings. Furthermore, it focuses not just on origins but includes later developments of interest. For this reason significant sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century spellings are cited when they illustrate demotic forms of names and local pronunciations which differ from their conventional modern spellings, e.g. the form *Femsam* 1549 for Felmersham, Bedfordshire, or *Awmsburi* 1533 for Almondsbury, Gloucestershire, both of which anticipate the modern pronunciations [fɛmsəm] and [a:msbəri]² by over three hundred years.

Over a period of eighty years the science of onomastics has not stood still. First, there has been a great expansion in the quantity of manuscript sources made available in published form and much detailed scholarly detective work has been applied to it, such as Sawyer’s annotated list and bibliography of Anglo-Saxon charters (Sawyer). Second, there have been major advances in the understanding of place-names, in the interpretative strategies employed in their explanation, in knowledge of the languages in which they were formed, in awareness of the archaeological and historical contexts of their coinage, and especially in our understanding of the way in which the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian settlers perceived the land and landscape which they came to occupy and work.³ There is thus not only a disparity in the interpretations of identical place-name types as between Buckinghamshire (published in 1925) and Cheshire (published in 1970–97), but also marked differences in the richness of evidence available and cited.

Apart from medieval writers, chronicles, early land charters and monastic records, the archives used by the sources on which this work is based are largely technical documents of local and national government in which historical place-name spellings are found. Some reference is made to a number of them in this dictionary, particularly where additional material has been used to supplement earlier work. They include Assize Rolls – legal records of Assize courts preserved in roll or scroll form; the Book of Fees – a list of feudal holdings; the Calendar of Fine Rolls – a list of enrolled legal agreements or ‘fines’ relating to land possession; Court Rolls – the enrolled records of manorial or hundred courts, courts convened to settle disputes within a single manor or within a subdivision of a county comprising a number of manors called a ‘hundred’; Feet of Fines – one of the identical parts or ‘feet’ of a tripartite fine or legal settlement

² With ModE [a:] for IME [au] (Dobson 1968, para. 238).

³ Cf. for example, Dodgson 1966, 1967a, 1967b and 1968; Cameron 1975, 1976; Gelling 1976, 1978 and 1998. For pre-Celtic Indo-European names, especially river-names, see Nicolaisen 1957, 1982; Krahe 1962, 1964; Tovar 1977; and Kitson 1996.

relating to land possession; *Inquisitiones post mortem* – legal investigations held upon a death concerning the ownership of land.

The materials for the dictionary are not, however, unproblematic. The English Place-Name Society was founded in 1923 and has since then published 80 annual volumes covering 26 of the 42 pre-1974 counties (Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Devonshire, the East Riding of Yorkshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Middlesex, Northamptonshire, the North Riding of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Rutland, Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire, Westmorland, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Wiltshire and Worcestershire). Parts of a further six counties have also been published (Dorset, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Shropshire and Staffordshire) but there are as yet no EPNS surveys for Cornwall, Durham, Hampshire, Herefordshire, the Isle of Wight, Lancashire, Northumberland, Somerset and Suffolk. However, all of these counties except Somerset have been treated in volumes published either before the founding of EPNS or in reliable ‘popular’ one-volume county dictionaries published since 1940, and in addition the Society possesses unpublished material for a number of them, including the counties so far only partly published.

The earliest of these volumes, the Rev. W. W. Skeat’s *Place-Names of Suffolk*, appeared in 1913. The first county to be surveyed by EPNS was Buckinghamshire, published in a single volume in 1925, while the most recent was Cheshire, published in five volumes between 1970 and 1997.

Furthermore, there are marked differences in the manner of the presentation of evidence between earlier and later EPNS county volumes.⁴ Thus, for example, for Ashley Green, Buckinghamshire, *PN Bucks* gives five forms from three sources between 1227 and 1408; while for Ashley, Cheshire, *PN Ches* ii.10 gives 27 forms from 20 sources between 1086 and 1673. For Newton Blossomville and Newton Longville *PN Bucks* presents the evidence for the names and the affixes separately; for the Cheshire Newtons *PN Ches* presents the various affixes with the place-name forms to which they belong.

PN Bucks makes sparing use of medieval cartularies but when it does it takes care to distinguish the date of the deed enrolled from the date of the cartulary copy. Thus the spelling *Wlfrinton* for Wolverton in the Eynsham Cartulary is dated c.1220, the date of both deed and copy, but the form *Cubelintone* for Cublington in the same source is dated 1154(1200), which in this dictionary would appear as [1154]1200, a copy dated 1200 of a deed dated 1154. Similarly with *Asse* c.1275(1400) (in this dictionary [c.1275]1400) for Nash in the St Albans cartulary, and *Chettend’ Hy* 1 (13th) (in this dictionary specifying Henry I’s regnal years [1100 × 35]13th) for Cheddington in the unpublished Nostell Priory cartulary.

By contrast, the comparative absence of a rich vein of pre-Conquest evidence rightly led the editor of another early EPNS volume, A. H. Smith in *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (1928), to make more extensive use of both unpublished and published registers and monastic cartularies such as the register of St Leonard’s Hospital in York, a fifteenth-century manuscript (Cotton Nero D.III), the fifteenth-century register of the Honour of Richmond (Cotton Faustina B.VII), the Easby cartulary of c.1281 (MS Egerton 2827), and the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century cartularies of St Mary’s Abbey, York (Harley 236 and D and Chapter, York), and of Fountains (Cotton

⁴ These volumes are henceforward referred to in the text in the form PN + abbreviated county name, e.g. *PN Bucks*, *PN Glos*, etc. For full bibliographic details see the following in Abbreviations: iv. Sources: BdHu, Bk, Ca, Che, Gl, Nf, YN.

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Tiberius C.XII and Add. MS 37770), Rievaulx and Whitby. Unfortunately, however, in citing cartulary forms *PN North Riding* gives only the date of the original deed and ignores the date of the cartulary copy. The latter can be found in the bibliography but this is not true in all cases.⁵

All this means that the quantity of evidential forms available, even from EPNS sources, varies considerably and this is inevitably reflected in the entries in this dictionary. It would have been impossible to have checked every cartulary reference or to have systematically supplemented the evidence available in these publications. And this is even more true of the counties for which only one-volume popular dictionaries are available. They necessarily present but a limited selection of forms, illustrating usually only the earliest spelling of a name and one or two representative later spellings, but generally not those of the modern period (post-1500) which are often so revealing of local pronunciations. For these counties and for counties for which no adequate volume is yet available reliance has had to be on Ekwall's pioneering collection supplemented by such manuscript collections as are held by EPNS in Nottingham or by individual scholars.

Not only the quantity but also the quality of the evidence available varies with the accuracy of transcription differing from scholar to scholar. So, for example, a random check revealed the following minor discrepancies (see table) between the DB spellings cited in the first volume of *PN Glos* and those cited in Ekwall and those in the Morris edition (*DB: Gloucestershire* 1982).

PLACE	PN GLOS	EK WALL/MORRIS
Bibury	<i>Begeberie -ia</i>	Ekwall <i>Begeberie</i> , Morris <i>Begeberie, Becheberie</i> , <i>Begabiria, Begesberi, Bercheberi</i>
Coln St Aldwyn	<i>Colne</i>	Ekwall <i>Culne</i> , Morris <i>Culne</i>
Willimastrip	<i>Hetrop</i>	Morris <i>Hetrope</i>
Cirencester	<i>Cire, Cyrecestr(a)'</i>	Ekwall, Morris <i>Cirecestre</i>
Chesterton	<i>Cesterton(e)</i>	Ekwall <i>Cestertone</i>
Pinbury	<i>Pennebiria -beria</i> <i>-buri</i> 1082–1359 including DB	Morris <i>Penneberie</i>
Preston	<i>Prestitvne</i>	Ekwall <i>Prestitvne</i> Morris <i>Prestetvne, Prestitvne</i>
Avening	<i>Au- Aveninge -ynge</i> 1086–1587	Ekwall, Morris <i>Aveninge</i>
Bisley hundred	<i>Biselege hvnd'</i>	Morris <i>Biseleie Hvnd'</i>
Edgeworth	<i>Egesworde, Egeiswurde</i>	Ekwall <i>Egesworde</i> Morris <i>Egeisuurde, Egesworde</i>
Colesborne	<i>Colesborne</i> 1086 <i>-burn(e) -burn(i)a</i> 1086–1372	Ekwall <i>Colesburne</i> Morris <i>Colesborne -burne, Kolesburna</i>
Compton Abdale	<i>Contone</i>	Ekwall <i>Cuntvne</i> , Morris <i>Cvntvne, Cumtona</i>

⁵ No date is given for the Marrick Cartulary, for example, and the abbreviation *FountC* does not even appear in the bibliography and abbreviations.

In addition, because of the presentation of the material in *PN Glos* it is impossible to be sure of the exact DB spellings for Quenington (p. 44), Ashbrook (p. 52), Tetbury Upton (p. 111), Lasborough and Westonbirt (p. 114), Bisley (p. 117) and Frampton Mansell (p. 137). It would have been impossible to check every DB spelling; in those counties for which no EPNS survey volume is available, the spellings given in Ekwall have been followed, frequently checked against those in Morris. In the case of those counties for which an EPNS volume is available and a difference has been noted from the spelling given in Ekwall, the form has been checked against Morris.

In the earlier EPNS county volumes spellings are for the most part individually presented with their unique date. In later volumes, for economy of space, spellings are frequently presented in a form such as:

Donecastr(e), *-castr(i)a(m)*, *-caster* 1086 DB . . . *et passim* to 1382
Danecastr(e), *(-a, -um, -ie)*, *-caster* Hy 2 Riev . . . *et freq* to 1304

which means that in various sources between 1086 and 1382 the following spellings are recorded, *Donecastr*, *Donecastre*, *Donecastra*, *Donecastram*, *Donecastrria*, *Donecastriam*, *Donecaster*; and between the reign of Henry II (1154–89) and 1304 the recorded spellings are: *Danecastr*, *Danecastre*, *Danecastr*, *Danecastra*, *Danecastrum*, *Danecastrrie* and *Danecaster* (*PN West Riding of Yorkshire* i.29). Another convention uses the term *passim*, as in: *Lege* 1086 DB *et passim* with variant spellings *Legh*, *Legh*, *Ley(e)* to 1392. This term (meaning ‘everywhere’) was introduced in 1926 (*PN Beds and Hunts*), at first rather sparingly used, soon followed by *et freq* (for *et frequenter* ‘and frequently’, *PN North Riding of Yorkshire* 1928) although the latter was not defined until 1996 (*PN Norf* ii.xxvi) as meaning four to nine occurrences within the dates specified.⁶ The presentation of historical spellings in this dictionary, although selective, necessarily follows the differing practice of the EPNS volumes, and for this reason varies in richness from name to name according to the date and nature of the source publication.

One further difficulty encountered has been with the dating of the spellings given where, again, differences of usage occur between editors and volumes. For spellings in documents which are not dated with precision from internal evidence it has been customary to give dates of the form Hy 3, for example, for a document not more closely dated than to the regnal years of a particular monarch, in this case Henry III; in this dictionary the date would be recorded as 1216 × 72 and the same convention is used for any other document for which only a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* can be given. Thus for *Legh* *sub Brokhurst* 1271–2 the date in this dictionary appears as 1271 × 2. Unfortunately in the volumes of the EPNS survey for a document of this kind the termini are presented in the form 1240–60 which is identical with the convention used for a *series* of identical spellings taken from a source which extends over a period of years. Thus in *PN Cambs* the entry *Foxton(e)* 1202–1352 FF *et passim* must refer to the fact that throughout the Feet of Fines, and elsewhere between 1202 and 1352, the regular spellings are *Foxton* and *Foxtone*, whereas, as Dr Sandred makes clear in the preliminary notes on presentation, in *PN Norf*, the entry *Martham* 1121–45, 1226–36, 1232 NCR means that there are three occurrences of this spelling in the Norwich Cathedral Register dated 1121 × 45, 1226 × 36 and 1232 respectively. Unfortunately the usage of some

⁶ Occasionally other bits of Latin phraseology are encountered, such as *ter* ‘three times’ (*PN Beds and Hunts* p. 256) and *saepissime* ‘very frequently’ (*ibid.* p. 266).

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EPNS volumes is not always explicit and it is sometimes unclear whether the presentation refers to the *termini inter quos* of a single spelling or to a series of spellings. In this dictionary the form 1299–1455 always refers to a series of spellings between the two dates specified and the form 1299 × 1310 to a single spelling dating from within these termini.

In the volumes of the *English Place-Name Survey* it has been customary to refer place-name etymologies to Old English forms irrespective of the likely date of coinage of the name in question. While this is defensible for names first recorded in Domesday Book or in documents of the following century, the later the attestation the more artificial and, indeed, misleading this becomes. Thus in Rugeley in Staffordshire, for example, Rugeley itself, *Rugelie* 1086, and Hagley, *Hageleia* 1130, are properly referred to the OE etyma **hrycg** and **lēah**, and ***hagga** and **lēah** respectively; but Hazel Slade in the same township, *Hazell slade* 1682, is also referred to the OE **hæsel** and **slæd** rather than to the ModE **hazel** and ModE dial **slade**.⁷ The citation of etyma in OE form avoids decisions about the date of coinage. In this dictionary, however, where the evidence and balance of probability points to name coinage at a later date than the Anglo-Saxon period, etymologies are given in ME or ModE as appropriate followed by the OE source in brackets.

The vocabulary of English place-name elements – British (Brit), Primitive Welsh (PrW), Anglo-Saxon or Old English (OE), Old Norse (ON), Old French (OFr) – has been collected in A. H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements* (PNE). In a dictionary such as this it is not possible to provide detailed discussion of such elements and constant reference is made to Smith's work for further information. However, a glossary of some of the most frequently used elements is to be found in the endmatter.

The text of the dictionary has been written by me and read in its entirety by Margaret Gelling, whose knowledge of the archaeological, diplomatic and historical contexts of English place-names and of the landscape vocabulary and of the precision with which it was used in place-names is unsurpassed. The first drafts of Cornwall, Oxfordshire and Surrey were written by Oliver Padel, Alex Rumble and John Insley respectively. Dr Insley has also read and commented on the drafts of Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Greater Manchester, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Merseyside, Somerset, Suffolk and Surrey, and has, out of his deep philological lore and unparalleled knowledge of Germanic personal nomenclature, improved and corrected many etymologies. Dr Michael Costen read the draft for Somerset and provided additional forms from his own collection, and Professor Richard Coates read and commented on Hampshire, Dr Paul Cullen on Kent, again providing additional forms from his own collection, as did Mr Mills on those parts of Dorset not yet covered in his EPNS volumes. Dr Wolf von Reitzenstein answered queries on Bavarian place-names and Mr David Horovitz kindly made his typescript collection of Staffordshire place-names available to me. I am also very grateful to various student friends who undertook the vital initial task of word-processing the material for me, county by county, among them Philip Atwood, Janine Brindle, Victoria Lamming, Rafael Morton, Michelle Nixon, Elisa Sarnacka and John Watts.

The compilation of a work such as this is deeply dependent upon foundations laid by previous scholars – on Mawer and Stenton, on Bradley and Wyld and Ekwall. However much those foundations have had to be modified, the later writer is but a dwarf on the shoulders of giants; and if he can see a little further than they as a result of the cumula-

⁷ St i.105–7.

tive scholarship and revision of the past forty years, he still remains a dwarf in their company. To their names I should like to add the names of the two scholars who have most deeply influenced my own development, the late F. C. G. Langford, my Senior Classics master at Bristol Grammar School, and Professor G. V. Smithers, my tutor at Merton College.

This work has been unconscionably long in the gestation and has not been compiled in the soft obscurities of retirement but amid the inconvenience and distraction that is the lot of one employed today in academic bowers. It may be that the temerity of attempting such an enterprise can only expose the humble drudge to censure without hope of praise, but I cannot aver that it was written without the assistance of the learned or without patronage. Dr Gelling and Professor Kenneth Cameron, my predecessor as Hon. Director of the English Place-Name Survey, at times when the task seemed lonely or beyond hope of completion, have given me constant encouragement, Dr Insley has contributed unstintingly from his formidable philological expertise amid heavy teaching duties in Heidelberg, and the University of Durham has twice granted me periods of research-leave to advance the project. To them and to all who have lent me assistance and to my Cambridge University Press editors, Dr Peter Richards and Caroline Bundy, I am deeply grateful. If through neglect or ignorance I have shunned or misunderstood their advice, such blunders or absurdities as ignorance, inadvertency or casual eclipses of the mind have allowed to remain in this book are mine alone.

Victor Watts

Publishers' note

This Dictionary represents a major part of Victor Watts's academic output – he spent over fifteen years on its compilation. Sadly, he did not live to see it in print, dying shortly before he was due to retire from the mastership of Grey College, Durham University, and months before his magnum opus was published.

The Press is grateful to a team of specialists in the field who have helped bring the project to a conclusion. Margaret Gelling and John Insley deserve recognition, too, for advising Victor Watts throughout the long gestation of the work and contributing information in their particular areas of scholarship. We would also like to acknowledge the help of Ordnance Survey in providing the original corpus of names on which the Dictionary is based.

Research into the study of place-names is on-going. Since the inception of this Dictionary, the Institute for Name-Studies has been established within the University of Nottingham (name-studies@nottingham.ac.uk). Readers wishing to know about current or future research should contact the Institute. The English Place-Name Society, also based within the University of Nottingham, is responsible for the publication of county volumes.

Guide to dictionary entries

Dictionary entries comprise some or all of the following elements, usually but not invariably presented in the following order:

1. The head-form

Names are listed alphabetically under their main component and prefixes are ignored.

Temple Cloud will be found under **Temple CLOUD**

North Cliffe under the general heading **CLIFFE (1) North ~ Humbs**

Northcott remains **NORTHCOTT**

Cross references are supplied in cases of doubt

ALL STRETTON Shrops → **All STRETTON** Shrops

Names which occur frequently are grouped together under a single heading and ordered as shown.

ACTON Shrops, **ACTON ROUND** Shrops, **Iron ACTON** Avon, etc. become

ACTON (1) ~ Shrops

(2) ~ **ROUND** Shrops

(3) **Iron ~ Avon**

Where a place-name has more than one derivation, each etymology has a separate entry:

MILTON Middle settlement or estate

(1) ~ **Cambs**

(2) ~ **Oxon**

(3) ~ **ABBOTT** Devon

(4) ~ **REGIS** Kent

(5) **Great ~ Oxon**

(6) **Little ~ Oxon**

MILTON Mill settlement

(1) ~ **Cumb**

(2) ~ **Staffs**

2. County

An abbreviated reference to the 1974 county.

3. National Grid square and unique four-figure reference number.

BRISTOL Avon ST 5973

identifies the place Bristol in the county of Avon in National Grid square ST in Easting 59 and Northing 73.

4. The translation of the name

BRISTOL 'Assembly place by the bridge'

ABINGTON PIGOTTS 'A held by the Pigott family', A being an abbreviation for Abington.

5. Dated historical spellings

These begin with the earliest attested and include all extant or lost Anglo-Saxon charter forms accompanied by their Sawyer number (S), or, in cases not included in Sawyer, a reference to Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, London 1885–93 (B), or Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus ævi Saxonici*, London 1839–48 (K).

Any forms of the name in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ASC)

The Domesday Book form or forms (DB)

A selection of characteristic medieval and later spellings illustrating the development of the name to its modern form. For example:

(*to, of*) *Brycg stowe* 11th ASC(A) under year 1052, ASC(D) under year 1063, *Bristov* –*ou* 1086, *Bri- Brystow(e)* 12th–1675, *Bri- Brystol(l)* 1100–1675

This means that in the eleventh century the spelling *Brycg stowe* was recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, manuscript version A, under the year 1052, and subsequently under the year 1063 in manuscript version D; the spellings *Bristov* and *Bristou* were recorded in 1086; *Bri- Brystow(e)* from the twelfth century through to 1675; and the spellings *Bri- Brystol(l)* between 1100 and 1675.

In the citation of manuscript forms, letters in brackets indicate the presence of spellings both with and without the letters in question. Thus

Coleshull(e) [1279]14th, 1340, 1345

indicates that spellings in *-hull* and in *-hulle* are found in the documents used.

The suspension mark ' is an abbreviation mark used in manuscript sources often for *-e*, sometimes for *re* or other letters:

Aketon' or Chilton(')

Dates of the form 1284–1739 mean that the spelling or spellings specified are found in documents throughout this period.

Dates of the form 1284x1300 refer to a single spelling from a source not more precisely dated than the termini given.

Dates of the form [1284]1300 indicate a copy dated 1300 of an original deed dated or purporting to date from 1284.

A spelling dated 14th indicates a single form not more precisely dated than during the 14th century (spellings dated 14th cent. occur throughout the century).

Dates preceded by an asterisk* indicate a suspicious or forged document.

Where two distinct spelling traditions exist for a name they are frequently grouped into types, as ALMONDSBURY Avon:

Type I: *Almodesberie* etc. 1086–1316

Type II: *Almundesbury* etc. 1248–1587

Guide to dictionary entries

In the case of compound names the forms for the later compound name are given first, followed by those of the earlier simplex name, as in:

Acton(e) Torvill(e) 1284–1739. Earlier simply *Achetone* 1086.

6. Etymology

This is explicit, indicating both the nominative case of noun and adjective etyma and the case form occurring in the place-name.

Italics are used when citing personal names, e.g. *Æthelræd*, and bold type when citing appellatives, e.g.

burh, **dūn**, **tūn** etc. For classification of some common elements (e.g. **ing** and **hamm**) see the Glossary.

An asterisk* represents an unrecorded or hypothetical form.

The symbol < indicates the derivation of a name or form.

The symbol > indicates subsequent historical changes.

Th is used for the Old English thorn [þ] and eth [ð], *g* for ȝ and *w* for wynn [ƿ] except when citing manuscript sources when the original orthography is reproduced. In citing OE words *ċ* is used to represent the palatal assibilated sound [tʃ] and *ġ* the sound [j].

7. Explanatory comment

BRISTOL The reference is probably to a crossing of the Avon. The modern form with *-ol* is an inverted spelling that arose after the development of Anglo-Norse *-ol* to *-ou*.

8. Pronunciation

This is normally given only when recorded in the source volume used. It is presumed to be contemporary with the publication date of the volume unless otherwise stated:

CONGRESBURY The pr is [ku:mzbri]

9. Sources

The evidence is derived from the following sources: EPNS county volumes, DEPN, non-EPNS county volumes, RN (Ekwall, *English River-Names*), RBrit (Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*), and any important supplementary books or periodicals.

BRISTOL G1 iii.83, TC 60

refers to *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, vol. 3, p. 83; and *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain*, p. 60.

Examples of entries

STAFFIELD Cumbr NY 5442. 'Staff hill'. *Staffhole* c.1225–79, *Staffol(e)* c.1252–1777, *Staffold* 1270, *Staffeld* 1276–8, *Staffel(l)* 1307, 1508, *Stafful* 1348–68, *Staffield oth. Staffell* 1806. ON **stafr** 'a post, a pole' + **hóll** 'an isolated hill'. The reference is to a small hill marked by a post or where posts were obtained. Cu 248 gives pr [staff], SSNNW 164, L 169.

1. headword	STAFFIELD
2. county	Cumbria
3. national grid reference	NY 5442
4. translation	'staff hill'
5. historical spellings	<i>Staffhole</i> c.1225–79, <i>Staffol(e)</i> c.1252–1777, <i>Staffold</i> 1270, <i>Staffeld</i> 1276–8, <i>Staffel(l)</i> 1307, 1508, <i>Stafful</i> 1348–68, <i>Staffield oth. Staffell</i> 1806
6. etymology	ON stafr 'a post, a pole' + hóll 'an isolated hill'
7. explanatory comment	The reference is to a small hill marked by a post or where posts were obtained
8. pronunciation	Cu 248 gives pr [staff]
9. sources	SSNNW 164, L 169

CONGRESBURY Avon ST 4363. 'Congar's fortified place'. *Conbusburie* (sic) [688x726]17th ECW, (on) *Cungresbyri* [893]c.1000 Asser, *-byrig* c.1000, *Kunigresbiria* [?c.1030]lost ECW, *Cungaresbyrig* *[1065]c.1500 S 1042, *Cungresberie* 1086, *Coombesbury* 1758. Welsh saint's name *Cuncar*, OE *Congar*, genitive sing. *Congares*, + OE **byrig**, dative sing. of **burh**. St Congar was buried here, a place mentioned by Asser as a derelict Celtic monastery. The pr is [ku:mzbri]. DEP, CMCS 12.43.

1. headword	CONGRESBURY
2. county	Avon
3. national grid number	ST 4363
4. translation	'Congar's fortified place'
5. historical spelling	<i>Conbusburie</i> (sic) [688x726]17th ECW, (on) <i>Cungresbyri</i> [893]c.1000 Asser, <i>-byrig</i> c.1000, <i>Kunigresbiria</i> [?c.1030]lost ECW, <i>Cungaresbyrig</i> *[1065]c.1500 S 1042, <i>Cungresberie</i> 1086, <i>Coombesbury</i> 1758
6. etymology	Welsh saint's name <i>Cuncar</i> , OE <i>Congar</i> , genitive sing. <i>Congares</i> , + OE byrig , dative sing. of burh
7. explanatory comment	St Congar was buried here, a place mentioned by Asser as a derelict Celtic monastery
8. pronunciation	[ku:mzbri]
9. sources	DEPN, CMCS 12.43