THE NAMES OF OLD-ENGLISH MINT-TOWNS: THEIR ORIGINAL FORM AND MEANING AND THEIR EPIGRAPHICAL CORRUPTION.

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I. THE NAMES OF OLD-ENGLISH MINT-TOWNS WHICH OCCUR IN BEDE.

MORE or less exact knowledge of the origin and meaning of the names of the ancient towns which formerly enjoyed the dignity and emolument of minting should form part of the equipment of every numismatologist who is concerned with the coinage of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The forms that the names of those towns take upon the coins are so frequently corrupt, truncated and confused, that ordinary care and diligence are often insufficient by themselves to keep one in the right path, and, from time to time, individual progress is hampered and diverted by a series of errors which begins to flow whenever a piece of money has been attributed to a wrong mint. The safeguards against such accidents are—first, analytical appreciation of those forms of mint-names which occur in ancient documents; and second, close acquaintance with the vagaries exhibited by scribes and cuneators when dealing with the written word.

With the latter safeguard we are not now concerned. The first-mentioned requisite, namely, the grammatical, has quite recently become available. Since the year 18851 a rapid succession of scholarly publications has steadily increased our knowledge of Old English vocabulary, and, as a result, our ability to recognize the names of these towns in their original form.

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1 This date is fixed by the Rev. W. W. Skeat; see the Chapter on "Dialects in Early Times," p. 11, in his English Dialects from the Eighth Century to the Present Day, Cambridge, 1911. Cf. also Dr. Sweet's lecture on Dialects and Prehistoric Forms of English (Philological Society, 1875).
works on Old- and Middle-English grammar, phonology, dialect and
history, has appeared in this country and in Germany. One result
among many is that research into the meaning of English place-names
can now be profitably carried on, and exact rules, moreover, have been
laid down for the guidance of those who take a real interest in topo-
ynymical studies.2

The grammar of the modern forms of place-names is not readily
discoverable. When, however, an English place-name is really native,
as well as ancient, we may rest assured that it was originally constructed
in strict conformity with the rules of Old-English grammar. Conse-
sequently, when the oldest possible form of a compound place-name is on
record the interpretation of its meaning is obvious. Even when no
form earlier than the twelfth century is to be found, those scholars who
are versed in the grammar and the phonetic laws of Old- and Middle-
English, and Norman-French, are now quite competent to reconstruct
the ancient name for us, in the great majority of cases. Until a few
years ago this was not possible, and many of the explanations that
have been advanced by antiquaries, topographers and historians, are
sadly mistaken, owing to their almost total ignorance of the phonology
and dialects of the languages named.3

In some cases the names of towns in Anglian Britain are not
native English, but descend to us from very remote times. The
problems presented by such names are three-fold: we must enquire—
1, how did Norman influence act upon the Old-English name; 2, how
did the Anglo-Saxons treat the Romano-British name; and 3, how did

2 The most prominent of the little band of contemporary scholars who have turned to
the scientific study of English place-names is Professor Skeat, mentioned just now in note 1.
He has quite recently added a fifth county to the number of those, the principal local
names in which he has analysed, restored to their original forms, and explained. In 1901,
his essay on The Place-names of Cambridgeshire was published for the Cambridge Anti-
quarian Society. In 1903 the same Society published The Place-names of Huntingdon-
shire. In 1906 they published The Place-names of Bedfordshire. In 1904, the East
Herts Archaeological Society issued The Place-names of Hertfordshire; and this year (1911)
The Place-names of Berkshire appeared from the Clarendon Press. These are small
counties, but their aggregate acreage is, nevertheless, rather more than one-sixteenth of
the whole of England.

3 Vide Dr. Skeat’s Berkshire, p. 7.
the Romans treat the ancient Celtic name. In this little paper we are not much concerned with corruptions which may be attributed to Norman-French influences, and our chief object is to enquire into the peculiar twists and turns that the Romano-British names of places underwent in the mouths of the Teutonic invaders.

In the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* of the Venerable Bede⁴ there occur the following names of places which were either mint-towns already in his day, or else became such in later Anglo-Saxon times:

1. Domnoc.
2. Doruuenris.
3. Eburacum.
4. Herutford.
5. Hrofaescaestir.
7. Lindocolnia.
8. Lugubalia.
9. Lundonia.
10. Maildufi Urbs.
11. Medeshamstedi.
12. Reptacaestir.

Before we deal with these ancient names a few words about the Venerable Bede, his dialect, and his treatment of the names of places, are called for, as well as some amount of preparation. We will, therefore, consider the subject under the following heads:

i. Introduction.

ii. The Phonology of Latin Loan-words in Old English.

iii. The Case-endings preserved in Old-English Place-names.

iv. Words entering into combination therein.

v. Particles in combination.

vi. The Place-names.

i. INTRODUCTION.

The Venerable Bede was born at Jarrow, on the River Wear, in Northumbria, in either A.D. 672 or 673. He first saw the light on an estate which afterwards became the property of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul. At the age of seven his relatives placed him in that monastery and he was educated therein under

⁴ I am dependent upon the beautiful edition of the Rev. Charles Plummer, M.A., Oxonii, 1896, to which the pages given herein in subsequent references relate.
Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid, two saintly and scholarly men, whose respective births are dated in 628 and 642. Bede’s mother-tongue was that dialect of Old English which is now known as Northumbrian. He wrote verses in this dialect and was learned in the native songs of his province. One precious fragment which was composed by him, and which is called “Bede’s Death-Song,” appears in a manuscript written about one hundred years after his death, and preserved far away at St. Gallen.

This fragment possesses an orthographical feature which not only distinguishes it from West-Saxon pieces of later times than Bede’s, but which is also characteristic of Bede’s own orthography, as that appears in manuscripts of the Historia Ecclesiastica which were written by scribes who were his younger contemporaries. This particular feature is the separation of the letters of the diphthong æ into æe. Other leading characteristics are—1, the retention in proper names of men, and in some common nouns also, of the short vowel i, which gave place in later times to e; and—2, the spelling caestir, which presents both these peculiarities.

The numerous and sometimes important variations in the spelling of the names of places mentioned in the Historia are partly due to the dialectal inclinations of the copyists, and partly to the fact that Bede drew a great deal of his material from written reports. His correspondents were responsible and highly-placed ecclesiastics, and he mentions the following by name: Albinus, abbot of St. Augustine’s at Canterbury; Noëshell, priest of the Church of London; Daniel, bishop of Winchester; Esi, an abbot in East Anglia; and Cynibert, bishop of the Lindisfaras in Lincolnshire. He was also indebted to the monks of Lastingham. The differences in the dialects spoken or heard by his informants infected Bede’s spelling of the place- and person-names of the south, the east, and the centre of England, and perhaps influenced the views he held of the meaning of some, at least, of the place-names he attempted to explain.

It is to be regretted that these attempts at explanation were made,

6 Vide Bede’s Praefatio, pp. 6 and 7.
because they are not worthy of their author, and some of them are quite unreliable. For instance: "Selseseu" does not mean *insula uituli marini,* i.e., "the seal's island"; it means the island of somebody named Sēl. "Cerotasei" does mean *insula Cerot,* because Ceorot is a man's name. But "Heruteu" is not the equivalent of *insula cervi,* "the hart's island." It means Hart-island, "the island connected in some way with the hart," i.e., *insula cerva*ria, just as *planta cerva*ria means "hart-wort," the herb connected in some way with the hart. Bede's rendering of "Streonaes-halch" by *Sinus Fari* is remarkably wrong. The first part of the word is the genitive of the man's name Streōn, and the second equals *halch,* "a corner" (of land). When the Latin word *sinus* is used metonymically it means a point of land, a land's end, and in this sense it really is equivalent to *halch.* But Streōn equals *adquisitor,* not *farus* (pharus, "a lighthouse"). Equally improbable is the meaning Bede assigns to "Elge," the Isle of Ely, which word he divided apparently into *el* and *ge.* But "Regio Anguillarum" could only be represented by *elā ge* in the Northumbrian dialect in which *el,* the West-Saxon *ēl,* denotes *anguilla.* "Elge" does not seem to be correctly explained, and the supposition that the etymon is "eel" overlooks the fact that the Fens abounded with eels in every part, and therefore that eels could not have given name to one particular district therein more than to another. The

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7 IV., xiii, p. 232.
8 IV., vi, p. 219.
9 III., xxiv., p. 179.
10 In the same chapter as note 9 indicates. Bede no doubt wrote *Streanaes halch,* in which the diphthong *ēa* is the representative in the Northumbrian dialect of the southern, i.e., Mercian and West Saxon, *ēo* ; *vide Old English Grammar,* by Joseph Wright, Litt.D., and E. M. Wright, London, 1908, § 208, p. 84. The Moore MS. and also MS. C, both of the eighth century, have *ea* ; but MS. B, also of the eighth century, has *eo.* In W. G. Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum : a List of Anglo-Saxon Proper Names from the time of Beda to that of King John,* Cambridge, 1897, on p. 432 we find Streon-, Streonbeorht, Streonweald, Streonwulf. The short form of these names is Streōn, and that makes its genitive in *-aes,* in Bede.

11 It is surprising that such an explanation could have been offered by Bede, but all MSS. agree. It is moreover asserted that *ēl ge* answers to *anguillarum regio,* word for word; *vide Cambridge Philological Society's Transactions,* iv, 2 ; *Studies in Old English,* by H. M. Chadwick, p. 147.
orms Elig-burh, Eliga-burh, suggest to me that “Elge” really stands for Elig-e, i.e., “Ely Island.” ¢ may equal ea, eu, ei, “island,” just as gē may equal *gēa, “region.”

Bede’s mother-tongue, as was remarked just now, was the old Northumbrian dialect. This was spoken from the Humber to Aberdeen, and in it, down to the end of the fourteenth century, the speech of Aberdeen itself was hardly distinguishable from that of Doncaster. After that period the use of the Northumbrian dialect for purposes of literary composition survived in Scotland only, and there, until the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the language that is mis-called Lowland Scottish was called Inglisch. In England the Northumbrian was the chief literary dialect during the Anglian period, i.e., from Bede onward to the middle of the ninth century. From that date, down to the early years of the thirteenth century, English literary work was mostly produced in the West-Saxon dialect.

The scientific knowledge of English dialectal differences in early times only dates from the year 1885, owing to the previous impossibility of obtaining access to the oldest manuscripts. In that year Dr. Sweet edited The Oldest English Texts for the Early English Text Society. These texts indicate the existence in the earliest times of which we have literary monuments, of as many as four dialects, namely, Northumbrian, Mercian, West-Saxon and Kentish. Before Dr. Sweet’s work appeared it had so happened that nearly all the manuscripts that had been produced in print were written in one and the same dialect—the West-Saxon. This dialect, while the need to discriminate was not

12 The Gothic stem gau- postulates an Old-English gēa. But that does not appear anywhere. Mr. Chadwick, in the paper cited in the last note, seeks to prove that this “gēa” is to be found in “Eastry,” “Ely,” “Lympe” and “Surrey.” The last named appears in the “Winchester Chronicle,” annal 836, in company with other genitives plural, as Suprigia. If we divide this into Supri gēa we get the missing form in the nominative. But if we divide it into Sup-rig-e-a we get a genitive plural like the companion forms. This = Sup-rig-e-a (land)—“the region of the South Rigias.” “Æpelwulf salde his suna Æpelstane Cantwara rice, 7 East Seaxna 7 Suprigia 7 Suf Seaxna.”

13 See Professor Skeat’s English Dialects (supra, note 1), p. 34, where Dr. Murray is quoted to the effect that “Barbour at Aberdeen and Richard Rolle de Hampole near Doncaster, wrote for their several countrymen in the same identical dialect”; v. The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, London, 1873, p. 29.
apparent, was called Anglo-Saxon by philologists; but it is obvious that that term should now either be restricted to West-Saxon or be dropped altogether.

Though Bede deals in his great work with the history of three hundred years, he names fewer than seventy places. He only mentions the Roman names of ten towns, and several of these are not transcribed correctly. He would also appear to have been ignorant of the true Roman names of Canterbury, Chester, Lincoln, and London. On the whole it is not easy to help feeling dissatisfied with Bede’s contributions to the records of place-names in Anglian Britain.

**ii. THE PHONOLOGY OF LATIN LOAN-WORDS IN OLD ENGLISH.**

*a. The Stress in Latin, Celtic, and Old English.*

The story of the vicissitudes of the Latin names of things, persons, and places, which the Anglo-Saxons took over from the Romano-Britons in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, is profoundly interesting. The dissecting knife and the curious patience of the linguist have laid bare many obscure facts, and the reasons why a Latin word took one particular form in English in those early times, and not another, are now well-established. The exact methods of analysis that have been pursued during the last twenty-five years have taught us, for instance, how it was that the Latin *cāsēus,* “cheese,” became *ciese* in West-Saxon; why *monēta* is represented in modern English by “mint” as well as “money”; and through what stages the full-sounding polysyllable *cōlōnia,* “colony,” dwindled away in the Mercian dialect to -cyln.

The chief causes of the numerous and important changes that certain Latin words have undergone in Old English and Old Welsh are alteration of the position of the tonic accent in the word, and

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14 See “Some Place-names in Bede,” by Dr. Haverfield, in the *English Historical Review,* 1895, p. 711.
infection of guttural vowels—to wit, a, o, u, by the vowel i in a subsequent syllable.¹

In Latin words of more than two syllables the stress regularly falls in one of two places: if the penultimate syllable is long, it is stressed; if it is short, the accent falls on the ante-penultimate. The syllable which was stressed in Latin continues to bear the tonic accent in French in all words which are of unlearned origin.² The relative position of the tonic syllable is immaterial, and the last syllable in a French word is frequently the penultimate in the Latin original. The last syllable in a Latin word of more than two syllables never bears the stress; in French words the ultima frequently does. In Old Welsh, from which language the Anglo-Saxons derived their knowledge of Romano-British place-names, the tonic accent always fell on the last syllable, whether the same bore the accent in Latin or not. For instance, in pechādūr, pechauð, colūn, which are representatives of peccātōr, peccātum, and colōnia,³ the stress in each case falls upon the ultima.³ In Old English the stress always fell upon the stem-syllable, and continued thereon even when prefixes, suffixes, and inflectional endings were added to it.⁴ This is the case whether we observe native and popular forms like mynster and colōn, or learned introductions like “monastery” and “colony.” “Cōlon” is the Old-English name for Cologne, which is a word we have borrowed from the French, who use it to denote Colonia (Agrippina).⁵ It is only in this word that

¹ For exact knowledge as regards the umlaut in Old English the cautious investigator cannot do better than turn to Wright’s Old-English Grammar, cited above, i, note 10, wherein on pp. 28–31, and afterwards under each infectible vowel, the fullest and most accurate account is to be found. For Old- and Middle-Welsh he should read An Introduction to Early Welsh, by the late John Strachan, LL.D., Manchester, 1909, pp. 5, 6.


³ The change of Latin o to ʊ in Welsh is explained, with examples, by Dr. Strachan, u.s., ii, i, pp. 5, 6.


⁵ Aldred, Archbishop of York, went “to Colne ofer sæ”; “on Colone”; Saxon Chronicle, MS. D (contemporary) annal 1054, p. 185
The true French form of colônie survives, for colonie is a learned word, like "colony" with us, and its use in French only dates from the fourteenth century.6

b. Vocalic Infection.

A few words explaining the term "vocalic infection" are called for here. This phrase means the change brought about in the vowel of the stem-syllable by a vowel in an affix or inflectional ending. The German name for this is "Umlaut," and we have i-umlaut, u-umlaut, and a/o-umlaut.7 For instance—the plural of "man," "cow," "mouse," is "men," "ky," "mice," and all such plurals show vocalic infection. This was caused in these particular cases, in very early times, by the vowel of the suffix ès, which is hypothetical so far as Old English is concerned, but which is presumed to have been used to form the plural. The è fell away; the long è remained for a period; it then became short and ultimately fell off like è, but not before it had infected the vowel of the stem and caused direct i-umlaut. In the plural of "woman" we are conscious of two changes: both the è of the first syllable and the a of "man" have become i, in sound. This may be regarded as an example of transmitted i-umlaut. It is very rare in Old English, but less so in Old Welsh, in which language the name of Lincoln, inter al., sc. "Cair Celeinion," presents it.8

The phenomena of umlaut are not confined to native words: just the same changes happened in the earliest times during the process of naturalization undergone by words borrowed from Latin. Our words "mint," "money," and "minter," as well as the Old-English mynet and myneter are all ultimately derived from the Latin moneta. This word originally had nothing to do with either coin or coining: it really

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6 See Brachet, u.s., note 2, p. 39.
7 The meaning of the word umlaut is "change of sound."

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means “The Warning One,” and was an epithet applied to the goddess Juno. It is because money was coined in the temple of Juno Moneta, at Rome, that that word came in course of time to mean not only the building in which money was coined, to wit, the mint, but also the stamp, or die, with which the operation was performed, and the coins as well. Our word “money” represents the Old-French *moneie,9 the stress having been advanced to the first syllable in English, and the Romance ő being pronounced ă therein, in accordance with rule. The Old-French *moneie is just monëta pronounced in the Romance fashion with elision of t, as in frère, mère, père. The English word “mint” represents the Old-English mynet, “money,” which is monëta again. This Latin loan-word suffered no fewer than eight changes in the process of naturalization: ő became ŭ, ĕ became ī, the ending ā fell off, the stress was advanced to the first syllable, and the unstressed long ĕ became short, sank into ĭ, and ultimately disappeared. These changes would have yielded the following forms if all had been recorded: mônēt-, *mûnit, *mûnit,10 mynet. The Old-English form was not final. It became “mint” by unrounding of the lips when saying y, and syncope of short ĕ. Our word “mint” has its exact counterpart in the first syllable of “Kintbury,” which represents the Latin cunët-іо,10 just as “mint” represents monët-a. The syncope of short ĕ in mynet, and also the unrounding of the lips in the pronunciation of y, are paralleled in “kill,” “kiln,” cylen, = culin-a; and “mill,” “miln,” mylen, = molin-a.

The English “minter” represents myneter, and that is the Old-English way of saying monëtari-us, which means “master of a mint.” The ending -us, of course, fell off; the stress was advanced to the first syllable; the unstressed ā became short, was flattened to ē, and underwent direct i-umlaut; the Latin ē became ē, which was shortened and flattened to ē; and ő became ŭ, and also suffered i-umlaut. This is, of course, only a list of changes, and it is not possible to set the results

9 Cf. Brachet’s remarks on syncope of consonants, u. s., p. 81.
10 Cunët became *Cynit, *Cynite, Cynte, annal 1006, E. Cf. Professor Skeat’s remarks, The Place-names of Berkshire, p. 23. The asterisk is used throughout this essay to denote hypothetical forms.
down chronologically. The stages are mōnētāri-, *mānītēri, mēnetēr.
This, with unrounding of y and syncope of the second syllable, has
become "minter."

c. The Advancement of the Stress and its Consequences.

In popular French, as distinguished from the learned forms
introduced into that language by scholars, the syllable which bore
the tonic accent in Latin always survives, as I have already remarked,
and retains the stress. When a short vowel immediately precedes the
tonic syllable in the Latin word, it always disappears in French: cf.
bontē: bonitatem, santē: sanitatem, comtē: comitatem. This disappear-
ance, or "syncope" as the grammarians call it, also occurs in
polysyllabic Latin loan-words in Old Welsh: cf. trindāud: trinitātem,
undaud: unitātem. In Old English we find a much more serious
change taking place than this. When the tonic syllable itself in a
Latin loan-word loses the stress, it becomes short, and frequently
suffers syncope. For instance, pūtē-us became *pūlē, *pytē, pyt (
"pit"); culīna became *cūlīna, cylene, cyln ("kiln"); and colōnī-a
became *cōlōni, cōlōni, *cōlēni, cōlēne, colne in Essex and West-Saxon;
and *cūlōnī, *cūlōnī, *cūlēnī, cūlēne, cyln, in Mercian.

The advancement of the stress was a prolific cause of other and
equally serious changes in Latin loan-words; mōnāstērī-um, for
instance, has suffered not fewer than eight changes in its course to
"-mister," the form it now takes in West Sussex, where Leominster is
called Limister.

iii. The Case-Endings Preserved in Old-English

Place-Names.

a. Old-English.

In the seventh century the nominative case of Old-English
masculine proper names ended either in a, i, or a consonant.1

1 Vide Strachan, u.s., note 1, pp. 4, 6.

1 The rules are stated by Dr. Skeat in his Place-names of Berkshire, p. 4, with his
acquainted clearness.
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Nouns in a belong to the weak declension and make their genitive case normally by adding n: as Bosa: Bosanham. But in Northumbrian this n is regularly omitted, and we get Degsa-stan, Tunna-caestir and Ueta-dun.²

Nouns in i, such, for instance, as Bisi, Coifi, Cnobheri, Aeduini, and nouns ending with a consonant, as Augustin, Clof, Hrof, Sel, either made their genitive in es, as Clofes, Cnobheres; or in aes, as Augustinaes, Hrofaes; or in as, as Selæs, Cerotaes.³

The genitive plural is formed in a, -ena and -na. This case is very important to bear in mind, the true significance of a being often overlooked.⁴

"Dera-uudu" = Deirorum nemus, "the Wood of the Deras";
"Uilta-burg" = Uiltorum oppidum, "the Town of the Wiltas";
"Lega-caestir" = Legionum ciuitas, "the City of the Legions."

b. Latin.

The only Latin case-endings which need our notice are nominative a, is, ae, um, and dative -is.

The adjectival form of the feminine singular nominative is of very frequent occurrence in Bede, and in ecclesiastical writers generally. For the most part ciuitas is to be supplied, but it appears pretty often; e.g., Ciuitas Eburaca, Ciuitas Lundonia, Calcâria Ciuitas; and even Parisiâca Ciuitas occurs. It is doubtful whether Doruernis, Bede's name for Canterbury, is adjectival always. But he certainly uses it with ciuitas. He also uses the regular adjective Doruernensis.

The most frequent ending of Latin names of towns is -um, -ium.

² Vide Wright's Old-English Grammar, pp. 187, 188, and § 288. At the last reference we learn that final -n disappeared in Northumbrian in words of more than one syllable, and that this law was fairly well observed, inter alia, in the weak declension of nouns and adjectives.

-aes: II, ii, p. 81; IV, vi, p. 219; II, iii, p. 85; IV, xxi, p. 252.

⁴ The Northumbrian omission to retain final -n (cf. supra, note 2) must not be ignored in this connection.
Celtic Elements in Certain Place-Names.

Dubris, Lemanis, Rutupis are datives, meaning at Dubrae, at Lemanae, at Rutupae. These forms are not used by Bede.

c. Celtic.

The ending -on is accusative. It occurs in Ptolemy and in the Nomina Ciuitatum. In the former it cannot be differentiated from the Greek ending -ov. In the latter we only get it in Cair Celeinion, Lincoln, and Cair Lerion, Leicester.

iv. WORDS ENTERING INTO COMBINATION IN THE PLACE-NAMES IN BEDE.

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a. Celtic (1-12).

1. bal.—The labial in Bede’s form Lugubalia is representative of an earlier v, i.e., u. The form itself is adjectival and not purely Latin.

5 These forms all occur in the Notitia Dignitatum or Register of the Dignitaries; vide Otto Seeck’s edition, published in 1876.

1 The confusion of sound and orthography is fully exemplified in the Welsh berf, “verb” = Latin uestum; cf. Mr. J. Lloyd-Jones’s article “Some Latin Loan-Words in Welsh,” in the Zeitschr. f. celtische Philologie, vii, 466, 1910. Cf. buelin, p. 467 also.
It is probable that Bede derived it from a Welsh or Cumbrian source. The word *ual, later guäl, guauł, is the British representative of a Celtic stem *Valo, "wall," and that is equated with the Latin uallum. It occurs very frequently as deutotheme, i.e., the second of two elements of a personal name, in Welsh proper names of men, e.g., Cat-gual, Dumno-gual, Tuta-gual. I have only met with Lugu-gual in the old name of Carlisle.

2. *domn.—This word occurs in Welsh as dwfn, with the meaning of "deep," and in medieval Irish as domun, meaning both "deep" and "world," the modern domhun. It is found as prototheme, that is to say, in the first place in compound names of men, as Dumno-rix, Dumno-coueros, Dumno-talos. It has been suggested that the forms dumn-, dumn-, dubn-, dufn-, originally meant the smaller world of the tribe, and the name Dufn-gual, "world-wall," may be adduced as countenancing this view.

3. *doru.—This is a late form of duro, and we find a similar change in the name "Briodorum" for Briuodurum, now Brieulles (Meuse). The true form is duro, of which Bede's doru is a palpable corruption. In the fourth century, and in several cases, duro appears prefixed to what in later times was used as the town-name, e.g., Duro-catalaunum (Châlons-sur-Marne), Duro-cornouium, Duro-uernum. It has been suggested that this duro represents an Old-Celtic doro, "gate," also duron, "citadel," in Gaulish. But the latest view is that we have not yet found out the etymon. It used to be the custom to derive duro from a supposed Celtic dur, "water," but that is imaginary—there is no Celtic root with the meaning assigned. In Celtic "water" was dubro-.
which appears in Old Irish as *dobar,* and as *dŵfr* in Welsh. In Breton we get *dour,* but that is a late form which represents a British *dubr,* as in "Dubrae," the oldest recorded name of Dover. The French name *Douvres* is also in the plural, and represents the ecclesiastical Latin "Dovras," accusative plural. The Old-English name of Dover was *Dofere, Dofre."

4. *ēbur.*—The literal meaning of this word is "yew-tree." It still survives in Irish as *ībar,* and it is the ancestor of the French *if.* The Old-Celtic form *ēbur* and the Irish *Ibar,* a man's name, have meaning only, but not application. The word is frequently found in Celtic place- and land-names. *ēbur* resembles the Old High German *ēbur,* "boar," Old-English *eofor,* and that accident helped on the formation *eofor-wic = Eburāc-um.*

5. *mail.*—This is the Irish equivalent of the Welsh *moel,* "bald." In Irish, *mail* assumed a peculiar significance, and in very early Christian times came to mean a slave who had been tonsured. Hence *Mailduuf,* the name of the Irish missionary who founded the monastery of Malmesbury, means "the tonsured slave of Duf," if we take the words literally. A later form of *mail* is *mael,* and such names as Mael-Brigte, Mael-Patraicc, Mael-Petair, meaning the tonsured slave of Bridget, or Patrick, or Peter, are pretty frequent among the mediaeval Irish. The modern representative of *mail-* is *Mul-.*

6. *uern.*—This is the Welsh word *gwern,* "a grove of alders." In Irish it became *fern,* and in modern French it is *verne,* "alder." In Welsh we get "Guernabui," as a man’s name, and it is quite possible that the element *uern* in the old name of Canterbury, se. Duro-uern-um, is the prototheme in the name of the founder, or of the earliest proprietor of the site.

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7 *Vide Saxon Chronicles,* MSS. D and E, annals 1052 and 1048, respectively.
8 See Professor Dottin’s *Manuel,* pp. 90, 95, etc.
9 See below, chap. vi, *Mailduuf Urbs.*
11 See my "Landauensium Ordo Chartarum," *Celtic Review,* vol. vi, October, 1909, Charter XXIII, p. 129. Compare also "Gwern," the name of the son of Matholwch, King of Ireland, in the Mabinogi of Branwen, the daughter of Llyr.
7. Duf.—The Celtic adjective *dub, dubh*, means "black." It is doubtful whether the identification of the man’s name with the adjective is reliable (*vide* next word).

8. Lind.—A number of suggestions has been made to explain this form. But whether it is Teutonic or Celtic there is really nothing to show. Professor George Dottin’s warning may be reproduced here appropriately:

"Si l’on essaie de déterminer le sens de ces noms propres on ne peut guère se flatter d’aboutir à autre chose qu’à d’ingénieuses hypothèses. La coïncidence entre un élément d’un nom propre vieux-celtique et un mot conservé dans les langues celtiques peut être purement fortuite."

9. Lugi.—This is the form assumed in composition by "Lugus," the name of a Gaulish god. Many towns took their distinguishing theme from this erstwhile sacred name, and at least fourteen are on record. Both Lyons and Leyden were anciently called Lugdunum, and it is assumed by Holder13 and others that these towns were so called because Lugus was their tutelar divinity. But this conclusion disregards the possibility that some Gallic names of men were compounded of *Lugi-* and some other theme, and that among those who received these names were some who became founders of cities. *Lug-* equals "elf,"14 and as Elf-, Ælf-, may be compounded in Old-Germanic names, so, too, may *Lugi-* have been employed in the composition of Old-Celtic names. That the name of a god was used to form names of men in Saxon times in England is clear from the town-name of *Tioulfingacaestir*, the Castra of the Sons of Tiowulf.15 In this, Tio = Tiw, "the god of war," whose name equates that of Mars in *Dies Martius*, Mardi, Tuesday.

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12 Dottin, Manuel, p. 86.
13 "Alt-Celtische Sprachschatz" under the several place-names. For the name "Lugi" compare Dottin, *u.s.*, and Sir John Rhys’s article "All around the Wrekin," in the *Cymmrodor*, vol. xxi, 1908, pp. 5-9.
14 Vide Rudolf Thurneyson’s *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, 1909, p. 190.
15 Bede, *Historia Eclesiastica*, II, xvi, p. 117. The site may be that of Littleborough on the Trent; *ibid.*, ii, 109.
10. Londin.—This is another name about which many guesses have been made. No agreement has been arrived at, so far. While this element was *Lóndinī- the stressed i remained long. But after it had become *Lúndinī, i was shortened to i and subsequently became e. Compare culina, cýlene; molīna, mylene; coquina, cýcen. We get to Lundene in the Chronicles and Londene occurs in the Nomina Civitatum.\(^{16}\) The final e eventually fell off, whether it was flexional or representative: cf. Cornium = *Cūrīnī- = *Cýrīnī = Cyren-(ceaster) of annal 1020, MS. D.

11. Rut.—With Rut- in Rutupium we may compare the Gaulish tribal name Rut-eni, and also the town-name Rut-unium, near Uriconium or Wroxeter.\(^{17}\)

12. Uenta.—This form is used to denote three towns which were of considerable importance in the Britannias: Uenta Silurum, Uenta Icenorum, Uenta Belgarum. Ducange explains the word as "market."\(^{18}\) In Spain a Venta is a poor sort of inn.

b. Latin (13-16).

13. caestir.—This is the form that the vernacular representative of the Latin castra most frequently takes in Bede’s Historia. The true Old-English representative of castra is caestrae or castra. This form is actually used by Bede, but only twice—namely, in the name "Dorciccaestrae," and when explaining the word "Hrofaescaestrae."\(^{19}\) The Kentish form is cēster, which yields i-umlaut of a, and thereby indicates that the parent-form was castir, of which the short i was weakened to e.\(^{20}\) The West-Saxon form “ceaster” is derived from castir, through *ceastir. The ce is the palatal e which is believed by some very competent scholars to have been pronounced exactly like

\(^{16}\) Historia Brittonum, ed. Mommsen, 1892, Chronica Minora, iii, p. 211, No. xxv; from MS. N, of the twelfth century.

\(^{17}\) Route II in the Itinerarium of Antonine, eds. Pinder & Parthey, 1848.

\(^{18}\) Cf. Canon McClure’s note in British Place-names in their Historical Setting, 1910, p. 33.

\(^{19}\) Historia Ecclesiastica, II, iii, p. 85.

\(^{20}\) For an explanation of "caestir" as a representative of *caestir= *castēr, i.e., castrē for castrae, see Notes and Queries, February 10th, 1912.
The i in caestir has not been accounted for. It may be merely peculiar to Bede, who spells Afer with an i: vide IV, i, p. 202, where we find the Abbot Adrian described as "uir natione Afir." Compare, also, "middil" for middel; III, xxi, p. 169; V, xxiv, p. 354, and other instances of Northumbrian i for West-Saxon e. On the other hand castra is one of several words which were regarded as feminine nouns in Late Latin, and which received a new plural. Now a — e, and the latter became Old-English in loan-words from Latin; consequently castræ >*caestri >caestir.

14. colnia.—The accepted forms -colina, -colinum, in the ancient name of the City of Lincoln, are not susceptible of explanation. They are not really representative of the Latin word colonia, which could never have arrived at such forms. This fact led, some years ago, to the attempt to show that Lindum was not a colonia and that the true meaning of -coln was "kiln." It would appear, however, that the three minims in colina are wrongly distributed in the manuscripts and that they really stand for ni. This will explain the emended form at the head of this paragraph, which really does represent colonia.

The Latin word colonia has the stress upon the o of the antepenult, and that o is long. Notwithstanding these two facts, the second syllable of the Latin word, as I have explained already, would fall out of the English representative entirely. The derivative coloni first became cölôni by advancement of the stress to the stem-syllable col-. The unstressed long o became short; the ò of the stem became ò, and both direct and transmitted i-umlaut supervened. The spelling of the new word—namely, cylene, exhibits or implies all these changes in an unmistakable manner. We have arrived at it hypothetically, however, by applying the rules wherewith the phonetician has furnished us. Does the form actually occur? The answer is that it does, and that it

21 Vide Wright's Old-English Grammar, 1908, pp. 9, 10.
22 The well-known phrase "Chronica Chronicarum," in which both words derive their origin from the neuter plural regarded as a feminine singular and declined accordingly, will best exemplify this tendency.
23 Vide Wright, u.s., p. 61.
24 Historia Ecclesiastica, II, xvi, p. 117; II, xviii, p. 120.
Corruption of the Latin Colonia.

may be found in the Winchester Saxon Chronicle, A, at annal 942. There we get a list of the five Danish Burghs in Middle England, and in that list is “Lindcylene.” In the Chronicles C and D cyléné has become -cyne and colënë -colne, respectively.

In King Alfred’s version of the Historia Ecclesiastica we find Lincoln called “Lind-colene-ceaster.” In this form the o of the Latin stem has resisted the rule which requires ü in Old English where the original word has ð, and “colene” exhibits direct i-umlaut only. Colene eventually became Colne and Coln, just as cylene became cylene and cyln.

In Old Welsh, through a different practice in accentuation, the second vowel of colonia retained its length. Owing partly to difference of period at which the names became incorporated into Old British, and partly to the fact that Lindum was not originally a colony as Colchester, the Colonia Claudiana, was, the respective names of Lincoln and Colchester in the Welsh Nomina Civitatum are dissimilar. The Colonia Claudiana is “Cair Colun.” This shows the regular change undergone by the Latin ð in its naturalization in Welsh, namely, first to ü (oo), then to u, and lastly to unrounded Welsh ù which equals i. Cf. Seis, “Saxon” (from Saxö through *Saxu, *Saxi, *Saxi); dreic, “dragon” (from draco); and Bede’s “Dinoot” from Dônät- (through *Dûnôt, *Dûnôt, *Dînôt).

Mr. Plummer notes, p. 111, 9, that the ð in Lindcylene has been erased and that the y is a correction. Lindkylne, B; Lindcylne, C; Lincolne, D.

If the stress fell on the first e in colene that vowel must be ð, the i-umlaut of ð; cf. Wright, u.s., p. 62; hence *colënë = coloni-a. The Frisian for Coln, Cologne, is “Colene.”

The two Latin loan-words in Old English, colũn and culũn coincided eventually in “cyln.” This is according to rule, although transmitted umlaut is not recognized as such by some Old-English scholars. Dr. Wright, u.s., p. 38, gives eight instances in which i-infection operated upon the first vowel of a three-syllable word: cf. aces, “axe” = *akusi; ajeling, “nobleman,” = *ajyling = *ajuling; magden, “maiden,” = *magedin = *magadin. Cf. also §155 (3).

See u.s., note 16: Cair Celevion and Cair Colun, Nos. 27 and 6, respectively.

This may be inferred from the facts that “Colonia” is added to the name of the town in Ravennas, as an honorific suffix, and that it was retained and became glued to that name later. That Lindum was rightly described as “Colonia” was proved by Dr. Haverfield in the Academy, 1892, November, December.

Vide An Introduction to Early Welsh, by John Strachan, LL.D., 1909, p. 5.

Vide Strachan, u.s., p. 6, par. 8.
The Old-Welsh "Cair Celeinion" (MS. celemion) represents Lincoln, Lindum Colonia. This word exhibits both direct i-umlaut of ð, like yspeil for a popular Latin spolium; and transmitted umlaut of ð, as Ceretic for Coroticus, meneich for *mūnāchi (Latin monāchus). The similar divergence in Old Welsh and Old English in these two place-names is noteworthy—namely, Colne-ceaster, Cair Colun, without umlaut in either language; and Lind-cylene, Cair Celeinion, with both varieties of i-umlaut in each.

15. lega.—The Venerable Bede equates lega with the Latin word legiōnum, the genitive plural of the feminine noun lēgiō. The ending a, therefore, must be the Old-English genitive plural, and the stem leg- must answer to the Latin lēgiō. It would appear from this that when the Anglo-Saxons took over the word lēgiō, they proceeded to treat it in exactly the same way as they treated Old-Teutonic words of similar ending and the same gender. For instance, the hypothetical forms of ecc, "edge," sceg, "sword," slecg, "sledge," are *ecggjö, *secggjö, *slecgjö, and all these, and a few more, which, like these, are known as feminine jō-stems, dropped their ending, making the nominative as above and the genitive plural in -a.

16. urbs.—This word is used two or three times by Bede, in company with a proper noun in the genitive case, as Urbs Cnobheri, III, xix, p. 164; Urbs Maildufi, V, xviii, p. 320.

c.—OLD ENGLISH (17–23).

17. ford.—This survives in modern English and occurs in many place-names. In Old English it was masculine and belonged to the u-declension. It was declined thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. and acc.—ford.</td>
<td>Nom., acc. and gen.—forda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. and dat.—forda.</td>
<td>Dat.—fordum.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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32 Strachan, n.s., p. 5, par. 7.
33 Saxon Chron., annal 921, MS. A.
34 Vide Wright, n.s., § 374, pp. 177, 178.
35 Vide Wright, § 395, § 397, and also for the paradigms of the other common nouns.
18. *hām.*—This is one of the two ancestors of the frequent ending -ham in place-names. The other is *hamm,* "enclosure," whence also our word to "hem" (in). The vowel of *hām* is long, hence it is the original form of English "home." Bede rendered it by "mansio"; III, xxii, p. 174. It was a masculine a-stem declined thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. and acc.—hām.</td>
<td>Nom. and acc.—hāmas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.—hāmes.</td>
<td>Gen.—hāma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.—hāme.</td>
<td>Dat.—hāmum.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. *herut.*—This is the earlier uninfected form of *heorut, heorot.* The later forms show u-umlaut. This word signifies "stag," "hart," and occurs twice in Bede; sc. in *Herut-eu,* Hart-island, and *Herut-ford,* Hertford. *Heorot, heorut,* is a pure a-stem and is declined thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. and acc.—heorot.</td>
<td>Nom. and acc.—heorotas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.—heorotes.</td>
<td>Gen.—heorotena.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.—heorote.</td>
<td>Dat.—heorotum.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. *stedi.*—This is the Anglian form which corresponds to the West Saxon *stede,* "stead," "place," "site." The Old-English *hāmstede* means "homestead," "farm." *e* in *stedi,* *stede* is i-umlaut of *e,* and so the word is cognate with the Latin *stāt-us.* It is a masculine noun of the i-declension and is declined thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. and acc.—stede.</td>
<td>Nom. and acc.—stedas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.—stedes.</td>
<td>Gen.—steda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.—stede.</td>
<td>Dat.—stedum.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. *Hrof.*—I do not know any Old-English name with which this

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36 Vide Skeat, *Place-names of Berkshire,* 1911, p. 53.
can be compared. It is said by Bede that Rochester was so-called after a primarius or chief man.\(^{38}\)

22. *Medi.*—This is the prototheme in Mede-ric, the name of one of the kings of the Alamans in the fourth century mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus.\(^{39}\) This instance has escaped the vigilance of Mr. W. G. Searle.\(^{40}\)

v. PARTICLES IN COMBINATION.


23, 24. The particle *ac*, which originally had its vowel long, is so distinctively Celtic that the use of it serves very efficaciously to indicate the distribution of the Celtic tribes in Western Europe.\(^1\) The names of places in which it appears are, for the most part, new formations after ancient models. Before the Roman conquest of Gaul it is seldom found, Gessoriacum, the ancient name of Boulogne, being among the first to appear.\(^3\) But as the Romans parcelled out the country, thousands of such names were imposed and recorded. In Northern Italy, too, some four hundred have been observed; but these formations are very rare in the Spains, while in the Britannias the ending in *-acum* only occurs in Roman documents about half-a-dozen times. In addition to Eburacum we get Bremetonnacum, Calacum, Epiacum, Olenacum, Segontiacum, and some others.\(^3\)

Originally place-names in *-acum* seem to have been employed as abridged forms: *e.g.*, the town called Nemetocenna by Hirtius is designated *Nemetacum* in the *Itinerary of Antonine*. Similarly adjectival endings in *-acus* took the place of lengthy classical forms: *e.g.*, Eburācus.

\(^{38}\) *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, iii, p. 85.

\(^{39}\) See Gardthausen's edition, XVI, xii, 23.

\(^{40}\) *Medē*, being Alamannic of the fourth century, would concur with an Old-English *Medē*, *Mepe*, because the Lautverschiebung which differentiated Old High German from the other Teutonic dialects did not occur till after the fifth century.

\(^1\) Vide Professor Dottin's chapter on l'Empire Celtique, Manuel, p. 336.

\(^2\) Gessoriacum was known, *eo nomine*, to Beda; I, i, p. 9.

\(^3\) Vagniaeae and Sulloniaciae may be added; cf. McClure, p. 107, note.
and Noviacus respond to Eburodunensis and Noniodunensis. This adjectival form appears in a letter written by Pope Gregory the Great in A.D. 601 to Augustine of Canterbury, and we find therein “ad Eburacum ciuitatem” and “episcopus Eburacae ciuitatis”; Bede, I, xxix, pp. 63, 64. Wilfrid, also, in both his appeals to Pope Agatho, calls himself “episcopus Eboracae ciuitatis”; V, xix, pp. 326, 327.

In Gaul, in Roman times, this suffix is found added to the names of men in order to designate the fundus, i.e., the piece of land, farm, or estate, possessed by the person named. For instance, Pauliacus, Pompeiacus, designate different fundi, while the stead or “oppidum” of an Albinus or a Sabinus was called Albiniacum or Sabiniacum, and this termination survives in many hundreds of modern French place-names. In the South of France it is still ac; in the West it has become ë; in the East ay; and in the centre y. Thus, Albiniacum is now either Aubignac, Aubigné, Aubenay or Aubigny, according to locality.

In the West of Britain this particle still possessed its original force as late as the second quarter of the fifth century, about which time we find the principality of the famous Brachan called “Brecheiniac” in the oldest records of Brecknock that have come down to us. As -ac fell in the penultimate place in Latin compounds, it necessarily received the vocal stress. In Old Welsh, which dropped the Latin endings and accented the resulting ultima, ac retained the accent and also its proper quantity. But in English and in mediæval Welsh, which have both advanced the accent of *Braccâniâcum, the first to the stem syllable, as Brécknock, the second to the penult, as Brechéiniog, this long a became short, and, being darkened into ô, âc became ëc and òg, respectively. Other instances occur in the West of England, as Bran-oc, Quant-ock, Tarn-ock, and in Wales as Cyfeiliog, Ffestiniog, Rhyfoniog. In our place-names this Celtic particle is.

4 Cf. Dottin, u.s., p. 94.
5 Vide A. Brachet’s Historical Grammar of the French Tongue, 1874, pp. 74, 75.
6 For the Brychan documents see the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans’s article under that title in the Cymruadur, 1906. Mr. Wade-Evans was the first to edit the De Situ Brecheinian and the Cognacio Brychani worthily.
7 Vide British Place-names in their Historical Setting, 1910, pp. 199, 200, 206.
occasionally represented by both ðc and ðc: e.g., Domn-oc, Dom-uc; Bearr-oc, Bearr-uc (Berkshire).  

In the *Nomina Civitatum*, which incorporates forms no longer in use at the time of its compilation, ð is displaced by ːau, and we get “Cair Ebráuc” for Ebúrācūm. When the accent was shifted to the penult, ebráuc became ebrōc, éfrōg, and Welshmen now say “Caer Efrog.”

25. -onia.—This is rarely found among the names of Gallo-Roman towns. There was one Bononia in Belgic Gaul and another in Italy. Both have admitted ː in place of the first n and we say Boulogne and Bologna. But the Old-English name of Boulogne was “Bunne.” In 892, the year in which the Winchester Chronicle was brought down to date, we find the phrase “to Bunnan.” This Old-English word represents Bononia in this way: Bōnūni-, *Būnōni, *Būnōnī, *Būnēnē, Bunne. First we get the regular change of ð to ð, and the advancement of the stress; then the unstressed vowel became short and suffered direct i-umlaut; the umlaut was not transmitted, and the unstressed ð fell out. The history of the passage of “Bonónia” to “Bunne” is much the same, therefore, as that of -colonia to -colne.

“Bunne” for Bononia, in the ninth century, postulates *Būnēnē (cf. colēnē) at an earlier date. If we could be sure that that form existed in the sixth century we should be able to account for the latinization Lundonia. We do not, moreover, know at what port St. Augustine took ship from Belgic Gaul for England. Some writers believe that he embarked at Boulogne. Now Augustine presumably discovered that Bōnōnīa had become *Būnēnē in Kentish, and, as he no doubt heard Londinium called *Lundēnē, he assumed, I suggest, that the two resultants were exactly identical in their history, and as one equalled Bononia he latinized the other as Lundonia, which is the form used by Pope Gregory, who, no doubt, was indebted for it to Augustine.

The early medieval Welsh form “Cair Lundein” is the exact

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8 Professor Skeat considers the meaning of “Berk-shire” in his volume (1911) on the place-names in that county, p. 10.

representative of a Latin Lundonia, the dropping off of -ia, when i had done its work and had infected the ṙ of the penult, being according to rule.\textsuperscript{10}

The names Wintonia, Shaftonia, Laudonia and some other equally learned creations are found. Of these, Laudonia = Lōdēne, the Lothians.\textsuperscript{11}

26. -ium, -um.—These are normal endings of town- and place-names in Latin. Cf. Londin-ium, Corin-ium, Rutun-ium; Eburāc-um, Durovern-um, Branodun-um.

27. -ub, up.—Authors vary among themselves in their rendition of the labial in Rut-ub-ium, Rut-up-ium. In the ancient map published by Bertram of Copenhagen, in pseudo-Richard, Octor-up-ium takes the place of the Octapitaron of Ptolemy. The form -ub-ium is obscure. Tacitus gives us a Geld-uba, now Gellich; IV, xxvi, V, xvi, xviii. Silius Italicus, VIII, 1. 507, makes us acquainted with Marr-uv-ium, and Lan-uv-ium is another well-known town in Italy. -wvi, -ubi, would regularly become ṣw in modern Welsh, and that is latinized as -evia. Cf. Bede’s erroneous form “Meuniae Insulae,” Anglesey (i.e., Môn) and Man together, II, v, p. 89; II, ix, p. 97. Meuniae (an adjective form) should be Maneui-ae. This only applies to Man. Môn was never spoken of in Welsh as Maneui- = Mynyw. Neither could it be, as Mon has ṙ. The Anglo-Saxon of King Alfred is “Monige ealand” (ṙ); cf. “Mænige,” the Isle of Man, Chron. E, annal 1000. “Monige” = Manige, the infected form of which is “Mænige.”

\textbf{vi. THE PLACE-NAMES.}

Of the thirteen names of mint-towns listed at the beginning of this paper, one, Lindocolnia, is descriptive of municipal status; another, Herutford, is indicative of position; and a third, Lundonia, is, as we

\textsuperscript{10} Cf. Welsh yspeil : spōlīum; Gereint : Gerōnt-iūs; Cair Segent : Segōnt-iūm.

\textsuperscript{11} Cf. Laud MS. of Saxon Chronicle, annal 1091, “se cyng Melcolm ... for ut of Scotlande into Loðēne on Enlgla land ... ”: king Malcolm passed out of Scotland into the Lothians in England (with his army).

\textsuperscript{D}
Names of Old-English Mint-towns in Bede.

have seen, an ecclesiastical Latin formation, probably due to St. Augustine of Canterbury.

The remaining ten names are significant of possession. Of these, five are Celtic: *sc.* Domnoc, Doruernis, Eburacum, Lugubalia, and Maildufi Urbs; three are Latin: *sc.* Legacaestir, Reptacaestir, and Uintancaestir; and only two are English: *sc.* Hrofaescaestir and Medeshamstedi. We will, however, ignore the racial grouping and discuss the names in alphabetical order.

**Domnoc.**

The name Domn-oc postulates a Celtic form *Dumn-āc-on*, which would be represented in Latin by *Dumnacum*. It means the *fundus* or estate of a proprietor whose name was compounded of *Dumn-os* and some other syllable or syllables, grouped in accordance with Celtic custom.¹ The survival and retention on the Saxon Shore in Britain of a Romano-British place-name need excite no incredulity. It is indeed the rule, for all the names on this Shore set down in the Register of the Dignitaries² are preserved in corrupt forms to this day, except one. Branodunum, Dubrae, Lemanae, Rutupae — Brancaster, Dover, Lympne, Richborough, and the others, have prepared us to accept Dumnoc, which occurs in Bede’s account of the conversion of the East Angles to Christianity. Felix the Burgundian, he tells us, established a bishopric “in ciuitate Domnoc,” in A.D. 631; II, xv, p. 117. The reading given is that of the Moore MS., which was written in 737. The Durham MS. C, also written in the eighth century, has “Dommoc,” and King Alfred’s version yields “in Dommoc ceastre,” where the Old-English *ceastre* renders the Latin *ciuitate*. This town-name only occurs once in the Historia, but there is no reason to doubt the identification of Dommoc-ceaster with Dunwich. In the Latin version of the Chronicle (bilingual MS. F), which is a Canterbury book written in about A.D. 1100, the name appears twice as “Domnoc”; Two Chronicles, p. 26, note 1; p. 28, note 5.

² See above, *iii*, note 5.
In the same manuscript, at annal 798, we find "[on] Domuce." In the first place, we get gemination of m instead of mn; in the second, we have change of ə to û, which is of frequent occurrence. In both Eborâcum and *Dumnâcum the stressed particle âc, together with its "equivalents" unstressed əc, âc, has yielded place to the Old-English wic, which is itself derived from the Latin uic-um (acc. of uicus). Dumn-, Dubn-, Dufn- has become first Duun (û); then Dun (û).

**Doruuerinis.**

This is an adjectival form, and Bede uses it in agreement with metropolis (I, xxvi, p. 47), and with ciuitas, either expressed (IV, xv, p. 239, V, xxiii, p. 350), or understood (II, iii, p. 85). He also uses the normal adjective Doruuerernenis very frequently. Both forms are derived from Doruuerurn : Dunouernurn, which is not found in Bede at all. The true name of Canterbury appears in the Itinerary of Antonine5 as Dunouerno, the dative case of Dunouernurn. In well-known Gallic names of places Dun- takes the first place twice only6; in British names it occurs at least eight times in the foremost position. As we have already observed, it is difficult to explain the first element of this name by means of modern Celtic. The second element is, no doubt, the prototheme of a man's proper name. We get "Gwernabwy" in Welsh,7 and Gwern, older Uern, might be compounded with many another deuterotheme.

**Eburâcum.**

As a place-name this word is made up of three elements : əbûr, -âc and -um. These have been explained above.8 The meaning of "Ebur-âc-um" is—the fundus or estate of some proprietor whose name was a compound of Ebûr with a deuterotheme about which it

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8 Cf. iv, 23, 24.
4 Cf. iv, 2.
5 Supra, iv, note 17.
6 Dottin, u.s., iv, note 5.
7 Supra, iv, note 11, p. 383, col. 1.
8 See iv, 4; vi, 23, 24 and 26.
would be useless to speculate. The Celtic word *ebūr* means a yew-tree, as I have said already.

Throughout historic times the city of York has always been most important. During the early centuries of Roman rule Britain was an imperial province under a governor of consular rank. Its original capital was probably Camulodunum, the *Colonia Claudia*, now Colchester. By the time of the Emperor Trajan, who reigned from A.D. 98-117, Eburācum seems to have become both the capital city and the seat of military government. It was a *colonia* like Camulodunum, Deva, Glevum and Lindum. Londinium Augusta, our London, was a *municipium* and even from the first was probably a second capital, but in the Roman provinces a *municipium* yielded place to a *colonia*. A *municipium* was a town which possessed the Latin, or the full Roman franchise, but was not a colony. Roman colonies were founded in the province with three different objects: as fortified outposts in a conquered country; as a means of providing for the poor of Rome; and as settlements for time-expired soldiers. Among such foundations was *Colonia Sexta*, or Eburācum. It was so called because a part of the Sixth Legion named Victrix, which served under the earlier emperors in Britain, was quartered at Eburācum or Eburāca Colonia.

We must now consider how it came about that the Romano-British Eburācum became “York.” There is a wavering between *ë* and *ü* in the second syllable of the word and sometimes we get *Eborāca*, at others *Eburāca*. This wavering indicates that the vowel of the second syllable was still enunciated when the Angles adopted the word. In later times, e.g. in the eighth century, the position of the stress in Welsh had affected the value of the preceding short syllable and its vowel had dropped out. In the British *Nomina Civitatum York* appears as “Cair Ebrauc.” Now-a-days the accent is advanced by Welshmen; the labial is represented by *f*; the final guttural has

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10 Dio Cassius (lib. lv) reports that the Sixth Legion was divided into two and that while one of these, called “Victrix,” remained in Britain, the other, called “Ferrea,” was sent to Judea.
York and Hertford.

become voiced, and the unstressed long vowel has become short. All these changes are in accordance with rule, and “Caer Esrog” has taken the place of Eborācum, in Welsh.

The Old-Celtic ēbur and the Old-High-German ǣbur are identical in orthography. One word means a “yew-tree,” and the other a “boar.” When the Angles of Bernicia first heard of Eburācon their word for “boar” was probably more like the Celtic word for “yew-tree,” used in combination, than it was at a later time. For in the Anglian dialect the vowel ā, except when it preceded a guttural, was affected in sound by the vowel u in the next syllable. Consequently, such forms as *ēfur, mēdu, hērut, became eofur, meodu, heorut. The letter u in eofur and heorut gave place to o, and the earliest notice of York in the Winchester Saxon Chronicle falls under A.D. 644, and there it is called Eoforwic ceaster. This word “Eoforwic” is the direct English ancestor of “York.” eo indicates a rising diphthong; the labial f dropped out; so, too, did the spirant w, and at one time in its long history “Eoforwic” must have been pronounced *Yorick. eo is a rising diphthong in ēw, “you”; ēower, “your”; eorth, “earth,” Scots “yird”; and ēod, “yode” (i.e. “went”), and that explains the introduction of the semi-vowel into the modern English word.

Ptolemy assigned the Sixth Legion to Eborākon. In the Itinerary of Antonine, which dates in its extant form from the times of Theodosius the Great (ca. 380), we are told that Legio Sexta was at Eburacum. In the Register of the Dignitaries we are informed that the Colonel of the Sixth Legion was under the direction of the Distinguished Person the Duke of the Britannias.11 It is curious that Eburācum is not named in the Register.

Hertford.

One of the most important councils of the Anglo-Saxon Church was held at Hertford, under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, on September 24th, A.D. 672—DCLXXIII. Bede calls

11 “Sub dispositione Viri Spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum” was the official phrase.
the place of meeting Herutfort, namely, Hartford, IV, v, p. 214; V, xxiii, p. 354. He declines it in the dative after ad as Herutforda.

In the Chronicle we get Heorotford, A, Heortford, D, E, F. In 913 Edward the Elder built the north and south forts there, and in 1011 Heortfordscire was ravaged by the Danes.

**Hrofaescaestir : Dorubreuis Ciuitas.**

"Hröfaes" is the genitive case of Hrof, and Bede tells us that Justus was ordained bishop of Rochester by Augustine "in ciuitate Dorubreui quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius qui dicebatur Hrof, Hrofaescaestrae cognominat," II, iii, p. 85. In the synodical letter issued by Archbishop Theodore after the Council of Hertford, we find mention of "Putta episcopus Castelli Cantuariorum quod dicitur Hrofaescaestir," II, v, p. 215. The most frequent form of the name in Bede is Ciuitas Hrofë, where ciuitas renders caestrae. This form occurs five times. The regular adjectival formation Hrofensis occurs frequently.

In the Chronicles we get "Ciuitas Hrophis"; bilingual F, annal 604. The name appears very often without the initial h, and f, v sometimes yield place to u. This personal name Hrof is not known among Old-English names in this form.

Bede uses the phrase Dorubreuis ciuitas once only, II, iii, p. 85. There is marked want of uniformity among the different manuscripts of the Itinerary of Antonine. The town appears in Journeys II, III, and IV, and "-breuis" of Bede does not agree with the oldest manuscript form. We get -bruius; breus (MS. Q, fifteenth century); -prouis (MS. B, ninth century); and many manuscripts have -brouis. The weight of manuscript authority inclines to a form in -ouis. We get a reflex of that in the name Brouon-æ-is in Itinerary II. "Brouon-" recalls the statement made by Wilfrid's biographer, Eddy, that Wilfrid was committed to the custody of Osfrith, "praefectus in Bromnis urbe regis,"12 cap. 34.

As we do not know how to explain the Celtic *duro* we are at a loss to assign a meaning to the *Itinerary*-form of the name. If *duro* really does mean "citadel" here, then a form *duro-prouum* or *-brouum* is required. If Durobrovis ever took on the Bedan aspect *Dorubrovis*, it would suggest itself that that spelling was at the root of the name *Hrof*, for *Dorubrovis* may have been supposed to mean Thorpe of Rof. "Thorpe" has two representatives in Old English—se. *þorp* and *þrop*.\(^{13}\)

**Legacaestir.**

The Venerable Bede only refers once to Chester on the Dee. He remarks—"ciuitas Legionum quae a gente Anglorum Legacaestir, a Brettonibus autem rectius Carlegation appellatur," II, ii, p. 84. Caerleon-on-the-Usk was known to Bede as "Legionum Urbs," I, vii, pp. 21, 22. British writers of a slightly later time called the southern Caerleon, "Cair Legion guar Uisc."\(^{14}\) The Old-English word, of course, means the City of the Legions, as I have explained already.

Bede's representation of the Old-Welsh word *cair*, by "Car," is in agreement with the Old-English treatment of the sound *ai, ae*, of other languages.\(^{15}\) This sound is not found in Old English. The Gothic *ai*; the British *ai, ae*; and the Latin *ae*, were all reduced in Old English to simple long *a*. Cf. Gothic *áin-, háima, bái*, with Old-English *án, hám, bā*; also "Cásere" for *Caesar*, German *Kaiser*, and "Cásering," the Old-English name for a coin with an imperial image thereon.

Bede, writing in Latin, is not uniform in his treatment of the foreign diphthong *ai*. He retains it in Mailduf, Mailros, Aidan, Naiton.

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\(^{13}\) See Wright, *Old-English Grammar*, 1908: "*þorp, þrop, farm, village;*" § 335, p. 164.

\(^{14}\) *Nomina Ciuitatum*, in *Historia Brittonum*, MSS. *D, G* and *Q* only, p. 211, no. 20.

\(^{15}\) See Wright, *u.s.*, p. 21, § 28, and p. 59, § 119, note 3.
Lindocolnia.

Philologists and commentators on the Historia Ecclesiastica have been unable to explain Bede's name for the city of Lincoln. He only refers to Lincoln twice: once as “Lindocolina,” an adjective qualifying ciuitas (II, xvi, p. 117); a second time as “Lindocolinum” alone (II, xviii, p. 120). The element -colin- cannot represent colonia, and no explanation has accounted for it, phonologically. The divergence is, I believe, merely scribal. The three minims in Bede’s text in -coll/la were wrongly distributed. That is to say, instead of coluia being pointed colina, it should be pointed colnia. Hence for Lindocolina, -colinum, we must read Lindocolnia, -colnium. The form “cólinium” is just colonium, i.e. colonium, and that yielded the name for the city which appears in the Nomina Ciuitatum, sc. “Cair Cæleinion.” In this word -oni-a has undergone the same fate as it has in “Londonia”; cf. infra. Compare the section colonia, above, p. 26.

The anonymous cosmographer of Ravenna, who wrote in the seventh century, knew that Lindum had been a colonia. In late manuscripts of the Historia Brittonum the form Lincolnia appears, and we are told that Vortimer was buried there; Historia Brittonum, MSS. C and L, cap. xlv, p. 188.

Lugubalia.

This is an adjectival form. It only occurs in Bede, namely, “ad ciuitatem Lugubaliam,” IV, xxix, p. 274. In the Itinerary of Antonine, Iter. V, we get “Luguualio.” In Iter. II “Luguuallo” appears—no doubt through scribal error, a long i having been misread l. It is clear, therefore, that we must give the labial in Bede’s form.
the sound of English v. In the Historia Brittonum we get "Lugubalia" with civitas understood: "Guasmoric iuxta Lugubaliam ibi (Guorthegirn) aedificauit urbem, sc. quae Anglice Palmecastre dicitur," Historia Brittonum, cap. xli, p. 186, MSS. C and L. This name in the tradition of the text of the Nomina Civitatum has undergone many vicissitudes. I append a paradigm:

\[
\begin{align*}
  l & \\ i & gu & a & l & i & d & \\
  l & . & du & a & i & i & t & \\
  l & . & u & a & l & i & d & \\
  l & . & u & i & l & i & d & 
\end{align*}
\]

MS. H, gu = u and later w.
MSS. C, L, P, luadil.
MSS. D, G.
MSS. M, N (licilid).

The descent of the name Lugu-gual is as follows: Lügu- Liw-,\(^{29}\) Liw-weil-id, Liweild, wherein -id is a land-name ending, recalling the Welsh forms Gurinid, Meirionydd, Eivionydd. Geoffrey of Monmouth calls this town Caer Leil, Historia Regum Britanniae, II, ix.

Simeon of Durham has "Luel," and he surnames a certain Eadred "Lulisc" (annal 869), because he had been educated in a monastery founded at Carlisle by St. Cuthbert.\(^{31}\) The Norman name was Cardoil.\(^{22}\)

**Lundonia.**

The most ancient name of London is "Londinium." The length of the antepenult is reflected in the ancient town-names "Delphinium," in Chios; "Corfinium," the capital city of the Peligni; and "Corinum" the chief town of the Dobuni of Britain. Corinum was called "Cair Ceri" by the Britons, and "Cyrene ceaster" by the Saxons. Its final syllables -ini- became ēne, just as the final syllables of "Londin(um)" did. In the case of "Londinium," however, the o of the root regularly changed to ā, but did not suffer infection like the o of "Corinum": sc. *Curini, Cyrene.*

\(^{20}\) Cf. iv, note 13, supra.


\(^{22}\) This invades even the Peterborough Saxon Chronicle, annal 1092, p. 227: "Cardeol." Mr. Plummer refers us to an article by Professor Zimmer in Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeige, 1890, pp. 525-527, but Zimmer does not account for the d in the Norman form.
In later Roman times Londinium was honoured by receiving the epithet Augusta, with ciuitas understood, and Londinium Augusta, if we may trust the old legends about King Lucius and his pincerna Cyranus, was the seat of provincial administration at the time when Pope Liberius was reigning, ca. 364. Bede does not appear to have known the correct Latin form. He uses both the adjectival forms, namely, Lundonia and Lundoniensis. In a letter addressed to Bishop Augustine of Canterbury, on June 22, 601, Pope Gregory uses the phrases Lundoniensis ciuitatis episcopus and Lundoniae c.e., I, xxix, pp. 63, 64; also III, vii, p. 141; II, iv, p. 88; II, vii, p. 93. In II, iii, p. 85, Bede speaks of the province of the East Saxons, who are divided from Kent by the River Thames, and whose metropolis is the city of London, the emporium of many people resorting thither by land and sea. It was the intention of Pope Gregory that the chief or metropolitan see in the south of the island should be fixed at London, and that another should be planted at York. But the circumstances of those times ruled otherwise. The form Lundonia used by Gregory was adopted at second-hand by the Britons, and appears in the Nomina Ciuitatum as “Cair Lundein” (the manuscripts have -em, by mistake). In this quasi-Welsh word the long o of Lundoni-a has suffered direct i-umlaut, according to rule. “Lundonia,” is a new formation, and we must ascribe it to false analogy. It is probably attributable to St. Augustine himself. When writing to Pope Gregory he would need to Latinize the Old-English name Lundene, and, knowing that the Old-English *Bünene represented Bononia, he

23 The word ciuitas frequently makes its appearance on Anglo-Saxon coins of the ninth and on some as early as of the seventh century. Abnormal spellings of it are “Cibitas” and “Ciuitas.”

24 “(Provincia) Orientalium Saxonum qui Tamense fluvio dirimuntur a Cantia, et ipsi orientali mari contigui, quorum metropolis Lundonia ciuitas est, super ripam praefati fluminis posita, et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique uenientium.”

25 See Mr. Plummer’s Bede, ii, 52.

26 The misreadings of three minims are numerous. We have already noticed Lindo- lina and Cair Colim. “Cair Colim” also occurs for Cair Colun, in not fewer than six manuscripts of the H.B.; and if on one hand we get “Lundem,” on another we find “Cair Limden” (MS. P).

27 The Winchester Saxon Chronicle (contemporary), at annal 893, yields “Bunwan,”
would appear to have supposed that Būnēne and Lūndēne had the same history. So he made the latter into Lundonia. The mistaken attempts to derive “Lundein” from certain Welsh words meaning “lake” and “fortress” are oblivious of the fact that “Lundein” is not Welsh at all in its origin.

There is great variety in the actual names given to Londinium Augusta in Saxon times, as well as errors in orthography. The form “Lundinium” occurs in some manuscripts of Ammianus (fl. ca. 370), but this may reflect the orthography of a later time. It was “to Lundenbyrg” that the Britons fled in 457; “Lundenwic” was assigned to Mellitus as his see in 604; on Lundenæ, on Lundenne, at Lundenæ, of Lundæ, occur at different times, and at length, in the twelfth century, we find of Lundone. The inhabitants were called Lundenwaru and described as Lundenisc. Eventually the Norman predilection for ð instead of Old-English æ, in the first syllable, and the ecclesiastical spelling -on- in the second, prevailed, and we find “London.” The change of æ to o appears in “Devonshire,” also, the Old-English name of which was “Defena scire,” “the shire of the Devenas.”

The recognition of the Augustinian origin of the name “Lundonia” requires us to assign all the sceattas which bear that inscription, whether exactly, as on Nos. 88 and 89 (Catalogue of English Coins, Anglo-Saxon Series, i, 10), or blundered, as on so many other specimens, to the seventh century. Examples of eighth-century coins of the London mint bearing its name are unknown to me. In the ninth century we find the monogram which equals LONDONIA.

MAILDUFI URBS.

Bede refers once to the well-known fact that St. Aldhelm, who was bishop of Sherborne from 705–709, had been abbot of the monastery that was called “Maildufi Urbs,” V, xviii, p. 320. But in the accusative case; and some manuscripts write Būnænæ (cf. Bōn-onia); vide Thorpe, MSS. B and C.

28 The Laud MS., scr. ca. 1122, at annal 656.
29 Laud MS., annals 1135, 1140.
30 See MSS. A and D: Defna- and Defena-. The adjective is Defenisc.
he gives no information about Mailduf. Bede's is the true form of the name, and the common error "Mailduf" is contaminate with the Old-English wulf. Mailduf was the original founder of Malmesbury, an Irish monastic establishment in Wiltshire. He was Aldhelm's instructor and predecessor, and died before A.D. 676. Aldhelm's name and fame eclipsed the memory of the true founder of the abbey, for a time, and in two of the Chronicles, MSS. C and D, in annal 1015, we find "binnan Ealdelmesbyrig," "in Aldhelm's borough." The Laud MS. at the same place has "binnon Mealdelmesbyrig," which is much less correct, but which, for that very reason, no doubt, eventually prevailed and in course of time became Malmesbury. In the time of William of Malmesbury this conglomerate of Old English and Irish was so firmly established that that historian merely referred to the Urbs Maildufi as a town "quod nunc corruption aetas Malmesbiriam nuncupat."  

MEDESHAMSTEDI.

This word, which means the Homestead of someone whose name was compounded of "Mede-" and a deuterotheme, like Mederic, for instance, or Medewini, or Medefrite, yielded place at a very early date to "Peterborough." Bede refers to the consecration, as bishop of the Mercians, of Sæxwulf, "qui erat constructor et abbas monasterii quod dicitur Medeshamstedi, in regione Gyruiorum," IV, vi, p. 218. The Peterborough Saxon Chronicle (Laud MS., scr. twelfth century), at annum 654, tells us that it was called "Medeshamstede," "forjan þet sær is an wæl þe is gehaten Medeswæl." In the margin of the manuscript there are the words "Nota de prima fundatione de Burch," and this name "Burgh" is that by which Sæxwulf's foundation was best known in Saxon and Anglo-Norman times. "Gildeneburgh" was another appellation. This means "Goldenborough." The magnificence of Peterborough Abbey gave rise to the proverb "Orgoyl de Bourk" which is found in a list of characteristics of different localities drawn up in the reign of Edward II. 

Reptacaestir.

The Old-English name of Richborough appears once in Bede, who tells us that the—“ciuitas quae dicitur Rutubi portus, a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptacaestir uocata,” I. i, p. 9. The Port of Rutubium, near Sandwich, in Kent, is now silted up, but in Roman times it was the chief port of embarkation for the continent. Ptolemy calls it Routoupiai. Ammianus Marcellinus reports that Lupicinus and Theodosius the Elder arrived at “Rutupia” in 367. This agrees with both Juvenal and Ptolemy in preferring $p$ to $b$. In the Itinerary of Antonine, Journeys II and XII, we get “Ritupis,” which is the dative case of Ritupae. In the Register of the Dignitaries we get Rutupis, which points to Rutupae as the nominative.

A form Rutúpē would become *Rutupi in Old English, and this, after acceleration of the accent, correction of unstressed ū and ē, and both direct and transmitted i-umlaut of ū-ū, would yield *Rýtýpē. Metathesis and syncope would result in *Rypythe, *Ryppte, and mistaken notions of the case-value of ē, combined with the tendency of the Kentish dialect to replace $y$, the i-umlaut of $u$, by $e$, which became the rule in the century following Bede’s, resulted in the form Reptacaestir. This really means the city of the Reptas; but, of course, there were no such people. The Kentish form was *Reptacester. Now in Old English, short vowels became long when one of two subsequent consonants fell out; e.g. mœgden, rœgn, pœgn; mâden, rœn, pœn; fœnf, gâns, sâmsto became in Old English fif, gös, softê; hölh, mœarth, sêalth had genitive hôles, mœares, sêales. In pure Old-English words $p$ is seldom found and I can give no instance of -ept becoming êt, i.e. -ate. But the law, of which I have given examples, must have operated in the case of Rept-, because in the fourteenth century we get “Ratesborough,”

33 Cf. Plummer’s Bede, ii, 5.
34 Instances of metathesis like *Rypythe for Rutupi are frequent: cf. -bottle for bold; settle for sed; spâld for spâld (saliva); O.E. reādel, O.S. rāđisto, M.H.G. rotsei (our “riddle”). Cf. also vi, note 13, supra.
35 Cf. Wright Old-English Grammar, §§ 143-149.
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A form Rutūpē would become *Rutupī in Old English, and this, after acceleration of the accent, correction of unstressed ā and ī, and both direct and transmitted i-umlaut of ā-ī, would yield *Rytypē. Metathesis and syncope would result in *Rypye, *Rypte, and mistaken notions of the case-value of ē, combined with the tendency of the Kentish dialect to replace ţ, the i-umlaut of ā, by ē, which became the rule in the century following Bede’s, resulted in the form Reptacaestir. This really means the city of the Reptas; but, of course, there were no such people. The Kentish form was *Reptacester. Now in Old English, short vowels became long when one of two subsequent consonants fell out; e.g. mēgden, rēgn, pēgn; mėden, rēn, pēn; fīmf, gāns, sāmfto became in Old English fīf, gās, sōfte; hölh, mēarh, sēalh had genitive hōles, mēares, sēales. In pure Old-English words $p$ is seldom found and I can give no instance of -ept becoming ēt, i.e. -ate. But the law, of which I have given examples, must have operated in the case of Rept-, because in the fourteenth century we get "Ratesborough,"

33 Cf. Plummer’s Bede, ii, 5.
34 Instances of metathesis like *Rypya for Rutupi- are frequent: cf. -bottle for bold; settle for seld; spāl for spāld (saliva); O.E. rēdels, O.S. rādislo, M.H.G. rātsel (our "riddle"). Cf. also vi, note 13, supra.
35 Cf. Wright Old-English Grammar, §§ 143-149.
the parent of "Richborough." I cannot account for the s of the possessive case in Ratesborough, and the final change from Rates- to Rich- is equally curious.

I think it very doubtful that coins of Cnut and Edward inscribed RIC were minted at Richborough.

**Uintancaestir.**


In the *Saxon Chronicle* the most frequently recurring form is *Wintanceaster*. The phrase *on Wintan ceastre* occurs until the second half of the tenth century. In the eleventh century "Winceastre" and "Wincestre" take its place.

In the *Itinerary of Antonine*, *Venta* occurs on four Journeys: VII, IX, XIV, and XVI. We find "Venta Belgarum," or "Uelgarum"; "Venta Silurum," and "Venta Icenorum."

In the *Nomina Ciuitatum* a "Cair Guent" occurs in MSS. *M* and *N* next before "Cair Colun" (Colchester) and "Cair Londine." This may represent "Venta Icenorum," near Norwich. *Venta Belgarum* or *Velgarum* is missing apparently. But in all manuscripts extant we get *Cair Pensa uel coin* (or *uel coif*), and "uel coin" is the abbreviated form of Velgorum, *sc. uelgo* misunderstood, with *p* usurping the place of the Runic *wun*, and *s* for *t*. *Pensaelco* therefore = *Wenta Uelcorum*, "Winchester."

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36 It is thus referred to by William Thorn, a monk of Canterbury, who wrote a history of St. Augustine's Abbey from its foundation to 1397; Sir Roger Twysden "Scriptores Decem," 1652.

Winchester and Ythancaestir.

APPENDIX.

YTHANCAESTIR.

Bede tells us that Chedd, the brother of Chadd, evangelized the people of the East Saxons and ordained priests and deacons “maxime in ciuitate quæ lingua Saxonum Ythancaestir appellatur . . . locus est in ripa Pentae amnis,” III, xxii, p. 173. This name means the City of Ytha, and Ytha ought to be the pet form of some such man’s name as Yth-gær, Yth-heri, or Yth-wald. But no such names are on record.

Yth- exhibits i-umlaut of *Úth-, but there is nothing in Bede to show whether the quantity was long or short. The word Yth does occur among the personal names in Sweet’s Oldest English Texts (638), and it has a definite meaning. It is the Old-English representative of a primitive Germanic form *unthjo, the Old High-German undea, the Latin unda, “wave.” As Ythancaestir has been proved to have been upon the sea-coast, the form of name used would appear to be so appropriate in meaning that we might feel quite certain that it must be erroneous in application, and that the operation of the law of attraction has had much to do with the choice of it. Because, if y really was long “Ythancaestir” would appear to mean City of Wave; not of waves in general, for that would be Ythacaestir; nor yet of the wave, for that would be Ytheacaestir; but of waves personified.

Now, setting on one side the possibility of coincidence in this particular case, English names of places are not constructed upon such principles as these, and we must conclude that an older form, which had no meaning for the Anglo-Saxon, underlies the name we know. That older form can only be Othona, ciuitas being understood. In the naturalization of this name Latin ð became ë, according to rule; the ending -â fell away; the stress was advanced, and the unstressed long ð became short. This gives *uthôn and postulates *Úthoncaestrae, the -on of which would readily become -an. These considerations, though they do not explain the infection of ë, forbid us, nevertheless, to mark the quantity of y as if it were ëth. In the fifth century the representative of initial ð in Othona was certainly short; and the same may be said of the first syllable of the name in the eleventh century. Initial ð, if long for a time, in the interval, must have become short again before the Norman Conquest, by which time two changes had taken place in the name: (1) ë had become ê; (2) th had become f. The name “Effiecestre” in Domesday Book is undoubtedly representative of *Ytheseester. The form easter belongs to the South-Eastern dialect, in which also ë, the i-umlaut of ë, is displaced by e. The East-Saxon, or London dialect, is notorious for substituting the labial aspirates f and v for the dentals, ëth and the, respectively; cf. “anyfingk” and “fahver,” for “anything” and “father.” Now, if y in Ythancaestir was short in the fifth
Names of Old-English Mint-towns in Bede.

century, which is what the etymon Othōna requires; and, moreover, if it was short in the eleventh century, which is what the gemination of ḟ in the dialectal resultant "Effecester" shows quite clearly, it cannot have been long in the reign of Ethelred II. Consequently Ythan- cannot represent Geotha-, and it is probable that the initial vowel of Ythancaestrae was short all through the centuries intervening between the coming of the Angles and the Great Survey.

I have considered Ythancaestir among the names of mint-towns mentioned by Bede in deference to the opinion which would identify it with Geothaburh and Iudanburh.

Othona was mentioned first by the fourth-century official who compiled the Register of the Dignitaries. It occurs in the list he gives of the names of the fortresses on the Litus Saxonicum. It is recorded that the Colonel of the regiment of Fortenses was stationed at Othona, and that he was under the direction of the Notable Person the Count of the Saxon District in Britain. Only one form of this place-name has come down to us, but we must remember that there is want of uniformity in connection with two other Roman names in South-Eastern Britain. We get Dubris, Rutupis and Lemanis, the dative cases of plural forms, and Othonæ and Anderiæ the dative cases of singular forms. Othonæ occurs nowhere else than in the Register of the Dignitaries. If we had other records we might find therein Othonis, the dative of a plural name *Othonæ. Such a form would ultimately yield Æ thin. The long ae of the termination would have become ē, and Æ thōnē would have passed through the stages *ōthōnē, *ūthōnē, *ythene, to *ythen and ythan.