

A Dictionary of English Surnames

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A DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH SURNAMES

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by

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THIS edition of *A Dictionary of English Surnames* contains some 4,000 additional names with their variants, and constitutes a third edition of P.H.Reaney's *A Dictionary of British Surnames*. The change of title reflects a concentration on surnames of specifically English rather than Celtic origin, which has been increasingly apparent in successive editions. As a rule, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish names are only included when forms for them are found in English sources, or when they coincide in form with specifically English surnames. Scottish surnames have been adequately dealt with by G.F.Black, Irish names by E.Maclysaght, and Welsh border names by T.E.Morris, and there seemed little point in reproducing information which could be found in their works.

So far as English surnames are concerned, the coverage of the various counties is inevitably uneven. For some of these counties, mainly the more northern ones, early records are comparatively rare. For others, although the records are more abundant, few of them have as yet been published. This is the case for Cornwall, where there is little in print, apart from the 1297 Ministers' Accounts for the Earldom of Cornwall, and especially for Hampshire where few of the official documents appear to have been published. As a result comparatively few specifically Hampshire names are included. To a lesser degree, that is true also of Cheshire, Herefordshire, Norfolk, and some of the Midland counties.

In general the additional entries follow the same plan as those in the second edition, practically the only difference being that the new entries, when dealing with the origin of surnames derived from local names, give abbreviated forms of the county names, as found in the 'List of Abbreviations'.

Some of the material used in this volume comes from the files of P.H.Reaney preserved in the Library of the University of Sheffield, but most is from my own collections. Similarly the etymologies suggested are usually my own, and from the nature of the surnames included tend to be either obvious or highly speculative, but experience has shown that as many enquiries are received concerning the former type of surname as for the more difficult ones.

R.M.WILSON

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

SOME seven hundred names have been added to this second edition, mostly fairly common ones omitted from the original edition from considerations of space; the list of abbreviations has been rewritten; and various necessary corrections have been made. Some of the corrections, and many of the additional names, had already been included by Dr Reaney in his own copy of the book in preparation for a new edition. In addition much of the material for the other names has been taken from Dr Reaney's extensive files, now in the Sheffield University Library, though other sources, not at the time available to him, have also been used. The additional entries follow the pattern of those in the first edition, and it is hoped that their inclusion will make rather more comprehensive a work which has already become the standard book on the subject.

R.M.WILSON

1976

PREFACE

OF previous Dictionaries of Surnames, Lower's *Patronymica Britannica* (1860) is obviously out of date, Barber's *British Family Names* (1902) is a mere collection of guesses unsupported by evidence, whilst Harrison's *Surnames of the United Kingdom* (1912–18) only very occasionally gives any evidence and a large number of his etymologies are clearly based on the modern form. Still the most reliable is Bardsley, whose *Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, published posthumously in 1901, firmly laid the foundations on which future study of surnames must be built. He insisted on the need for the collection of as many early examples of the surname as possible, dated and localized, on which the etymology must be based. These principles he put into practice, so far as he could, but he has suffered the inevitable fate of all pioneers. The last fifty years have seen an enormous increase in the material available in the publications of the Public Record Office, the Pipe Roll Society, county Record Societies, etc., much of it earlier than Bardsley's basic source (the late thirteenth-century Hundred Rolls), with a steadily improving standard of editing. The same period has seen, too, a marked advance in our knowledge of the English language, particularly in the history of its dialects, personal names and place-names.

The earlier literature of surnames has been adequately discussed by Weekley, Ewen and Tengvik. Whilst subscribing to the only sound principles, Weekley, in his published works, seldom gives the evidence on which his etymologies are based, and even then, usually an undated reference to the Patent or the Close Rolls. For many names he clearly had no evidence. He fails to distinguish between Old English, Scandinavian and continental Germanic personal names and is uncritical in his use of Searle. Ewen attempted an impossible task. Generalizations on surnames are valueless if an unimpeachable etymology has not been established. He fails to distinguish between sound and spelling, and postulates impossible forms of Old English names. Worst of all, he rejects sound etymologies which do not fit in with his preconceived theories.

The present work is based on an independent collection of material begun in 1943 to beguile the tedium of the quieter periods of fire-watching. A complete Dictionary of Surnames cannot yet be produced, partly because for many of the large number of surnames surviving material is at present scanty or lacking, partly because of the high cost of such a production. This has meant a strict economy in examples and in exposition and the elimination from the first draft of some 100,000 words and 4,000 names. All surnames included are known to survive. The great majority of those eliminated are local surnames such as Manchester, Wakefield, Essex, etc., which can easily be identified from the gazetteer. When a local surname has been traced to its source, the surname-student's task is finished. The meaning of the place-name is a problem for others and those who wish for further information should consult the *Oxford Dictionary of Place-names* or the county volumes of the English Place-name Society whose latest publication, A.H.Smith's

English Place-name Elements (2 vols, 1956) is a comprehensive treatment of the subject.

The most valuable modern work on English surnames has been produced in Sweden. Olof von Feilitzen's book on the pre-Conquest personal names in Domesday Book has been invaluable. Tengvik has dealt with Old English bynames, Löfvenberg with Middle English local surnames, Fransson and Thuresson with Middle English occupational names. Ekwall, too, turning aside from English place-names, has already made valuable additions to our knowledge of surnames, particularly those of London. Here I would take the opportunity to express my appreciation of a very generous gesture which I still regard as a private act indicative of national sentiment. Shortly after the war, I mentioned casually to Dr. Gösta Langenfelt, on one of his visits to London, that all my books had been destroyed. Later I received from ten or more Swedish scholars signed copies of their books. With these constantly at hand, work on this book has been greatly facilitated. I am also indebted to the Librarian of the Royal Library, Stockholm, for depositing temporarily in the Library of the University of London certain inaccessible books; to Dr. von Feilitzen, who first suggested the transfer and has kept me informed of new Swedish publications likely to be of use; to E.H.Brandt, for access to his collection of surname material and for many useful discussions; to J.E.B.Gover, for forms from unpublished MSS; and to F.G. Emmison, of the Essex Record Office, for a copy of his unpublished transcript of the 1662 Hearth Tax Returns for Essex. To Mr. Gover and to Professor R.M.Wilson of the University of Sheffield my grateful thanks are due for the time they have spent in reading the proofs. Their comments and criticisms have been invaluable in eliminating errors and inconsistencies. For those that remain the responsibility is mine alone.

P.H.REANEY

Hildenborough
January 1958

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of a Dictionary of Surnames is to explain the meaning of names, not to treat of genealogy and family history. The fact that Robert le Turnur lived in Staffordshire in 1199 and that there was a William de Kouintre in London in 1230 does not mean that they were the ancestors of all or any of the modern Turners or Coventrys. To establish this, a fully documented pedigree would be required and very few families can carry back their history so far. Throughout the Middle Ages surnames were constantly changing. William Tyndale was known as Huchyns when living in Gloucestershire. Oliver Cromwell was a Williams and David Livingstone was a McLeay. Even today families change their names. Blackden has become Blacktin, Hogg has been changed to Hodd and Livemore has superseded Livermore—all within living memory.

The modern form of many of our surnames is comparatively recent, often preserving a phonetic spelling found in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century parish register. When some of the Sussex Bourers migrated to Kent in the seventeenth century they adopted the form Bowra. *Pharaoh* is a reconstructed spelling of *Faro*, originally *Farrer*, found also as *Farrey*, *Farrah* and *Farrow* in the seventeenth century. The Suffolk Deadman is a corruption of Debenham and Tudman of Tuddenham. Each surname has its pedigree which must be traced before the meaning can be discovered, and even then the true origin cannot be decided unless the family pedigree can be carried back far enough to fix definitely the original medieval form. A modern White may owe his name to an ancestor bearing the Anglo-Saxon name of *Hwīta*, or to one nicknamed 'the fair', or to an original home in the bend of a river. The original Howard may have been a ewe-herd or a hayward, or he may have borne either the French name *Huard* or the Old German name *Howard*. The modern forms often conceal rather than reveal information.

The English language lacks terms corresponding to the French *sobriquet* and *nom de famille*. Today, surname means an inherited family name; originally it meant simply an additional name and it is used in this sense in this book.¹ Only very occasionally can early medieval surnames be proved to be hereditary, and any attempt to distinguish them would end in inaccuracy and confusion.

VARIATION OF SURNAMES

Celts, Anglo-Saxons, and Scandinavians, all originally had a single name for each individual, e.g. Welsh *Llewellyn*, Gaelic *Donald*, Anglo-Saxon *Cuthbert*, Scandinavian *Gamall*. So, too, had the Normans who were ultimately of Danish descent. Already in England before the Norman Conquest we find a number of bynames, and these were

increased after the Conquest by those used by Normans. In the twelfth century we have an unsettled and varied type of nomenclature, often by way of description rather than of an actual name, as in the Holme Cartulary, where we find men named by their font-name alone, or by this plus (i) their father's name in full, (ii) their father's christian name, (iii) the name of their estate or of their place of origin, or (iv) a byname, descriptive of office, occupation, or a nickname, e.g.

Odo balistarius, arbalistarius, or de Wrthstede

Osbernus decanus (de Turgetona), presbiter (de Turgertona), de Turgartona,
de Tweyt, filius Griffini (de Tweyt)

Guarinus minister noster, Gwarinus dispensarius noster, Warinus dispensator,
Warinus de Thoftes

Willelmus filius Hermanni, Willelmus Hermannus, Willelmus de Caletorp,
Willelmus de Hobosse

Similar descriptions are found in other twelfth-century documents, the most common being a variation between the name of the father and a place-name or byname. The names of clergy varied with a change of incumbency or office, or as they rose to higher orders.

From twelfth-century Danelaw charters:

Ralph de Cheurolcurt, de Clachesbi

Johannes filius Herberti, de Orrebi

Adam filius Remigii (de Hakethorn), Wodecok

Gaufridus filius Bertranni (de Snelleslund), del Lund, de Lund, filius
Bertrammi de Lund

Reginald Lequite, de Courtenay

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries similar but less elaborate variations are found, and here we often have real alternative surnames:

Robert Hastif, Robert de Disun 1202–3 Cur (Wa)

Ricardus filius Walteri, de Cliue 1221 AssWo

Milo de Verdun, de Creyton 1222 AssSt

Roger Waudin, Rogerus Anglicus 1243 Fees (Sa)

Adinet de Bidyk 1276 Fine, Adnetus le Taylur 1285 Ass (Ess)

Ralph le Verrer, Ralph Vicar 1311 ColchCt

Jordan de Newintone, Jordanus Pistor 1317 AssK

This variation of surname is sometimes implied:

Hugo de Burgo le Mazun 1257 Oseney

Johannes Gyffard dictus le Boef 1297 MinAcctCo
John Bulichromp called le Binder 1300 LLB C
Adam de Sutton, called 'Ballard', sadler 1303 LoCt
William Cros le Bole 1305 LoCt
Ralph de Eyr called Proudfof of Havering 1393 HPD (Ess)²

The following names of freemen of York are so entered on the roll:

Thomas le Walche, de Selby, girdeler (1329)
Alan Hare, de Acastre, carnifex (1332)
Rogerus filius Johannis de Burton, de Eton in le Clay, boucher (1343)
Johannes, filius Roberti de Gaunt, de Duffeld, mercer (1356)

With the fifteenth century such names become less common, but variation of surname continued and is found sporadically until the seventeenth century or later:

Robert Curson alias Betele 1410 AD iv (Lo)
Nichol Wigh oþerwise callyd Nicholas Ketringham oþerwise callyd John Segrave otherwise callyd Nicholl' Pecche 1418 LondEng
Henry Lordessone alias Henry de la Heus 1460 AD iv (Nth) John Morys alias Rede alias Sclaterra 1474 Osenev
Roger Harflete otherwise called Roger Cheker son and one of the heirs of Christopher Harflete otherwise called Christopher Atcheker...Raymond Harflete also called R.Atcheker 1508 ArchC 40
Richard Bishop alias Hewson of London 1671 EA (NS) iv

This variation may be merely scribal. In Domesday Book 'Robertus *blundus* is also called *albus*, *flauus*, *blancard*, all meaning 'fair'. The tenants of Woolfin (Devon) were Gregory *Lupus* (1222), Richard *le Low* (1303) and Walter (*le*) *Wolf* (1359 PN D 368). Here the real surname was *Wolf*, translated by the earlier scribes into Latin and French. Allard *Smyth* is identical with Alaerd *le Fevre* (1382 LoPleas).

There is, however, evidence that the surname in the document is not always that used by the man himself:

Robert le Botiler of Hertford. *Seal*: Robertus filius Willelmi (1275 AD iv)
Agnes daughter of Rogerus piscator of Coventre. *Seal*: Agnes filia Petronille (1299 AD v)
Thomas le Diakne of Ikelyntone. *Seal*: Thomas filius Ricardi de Fonte (1300 ib.)
Ralph de Westred. *Seal*: Radulfus filius Willelmi (13th AD iv)

Agnes de Humet. *Seal*: Agnes de Bellomonte (ib.)

Seuual de Walcfare. *Seal*: Sawale filius Petri (13th AD v)

Angerus called Humfrey of Lapworth. *Seal*: Auingerus de Bispwod (1319 ib.)

Katharine daughter of John le Jay, wife of Roger Prodhome. *Seal*: Katerina
Franceis (14th ib.)

TRANSFER OF SURNAMES

In London, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was quite usual for the surname of an apprentice to be replaced, either temporarily or definitely, by that of his master.³ In most cases where sufficient material is available, the new surname displaced the old one altogether, a matter of some importance for genealogists.

Sewald, son of Sewald de Springefeld (1311 LLB B), is identical with Sewal, son of Sewal de Sprengewell, apprentice of Richard de Godesname, paternosterer (1311 LLB D) and with Sewallus de Godesname (1319 SRLo). Robert Podifat (1288 LLB A) was an apprentice of Roger le Fuyster (1312 LLB D), who is also called Roger Podifat (1320 LLB E). Robert, therefore, assumed his master's nickname as his surname. Thomas de Cavendisshe, son of William atte Watre de Ewelle, late apprentice of Walter de Cavendisshe, mercer, was admitted a freeman of the city in 1311–12 (LLB D). His original surname would have been *atte Watre* or *de Ewelle*. From 1319 to 1349 he is regularly called *de Cavendish* and, in the enrolment of his will, Thomas de Cavendych, mercer or draper.

The same custom seems to have existed also at York, though less well evidenced: William Payne serviens John Payne (1323 FrY); Roger Storre, servant of Johan Storre (1379 PTY); Richard Redhode, draper, serviens Willelmi Redhode (1386 FrY); Thomas Gauke, cocus, filius Roberti Nyd servientis Simonis Gauke (1424 FrY). Here, Thomas bore the surname of his father's master which had probably been assumed earlier by his father.

CLASSIFICATION OF SURNAMES

Surnames may be divided into four groups:

1. Local Surnames
2. Surnames of Relationship
3. Surnames of Occupation or Office
4. Nicknames

Within these groups there is considerable overlapping and a full and accurate classification is impossible. In dealing with names, we are concerned with an intimate possession and with the thoughts and idiosyncrasies of those who bestowed or adopted the names. They were not concerned with rules but with satisfying an immediate need. Nicknames, in particular, were often the result of a spontaneous reaction to a particular occasion.

Local surnames may be occupational. The Panter worked *atte panetrie*. John *atte Gate* may have lived near the town-gate, or he may have been a gate-keeper or porter. Surnames of office, such as Abbot, Bishop, Cardinal and King, are often nicknames. Ralph Vicar was a glassworker, not a clergyman, and is also called *Verrer*. A single modern name may belong to more than one class. *Low* may be a French nickname from the wolf, a Scandinavian nickname for a small man, a pet-name from *Laurence*, or a local surname, from *hlāw* 'hill'. *Waller* may be a nickname, 'coxcombe, spark', occupational, 'a builder of walls' or 'a salt-maker', or local, 'dweller by a wall' or 'by a stream'. *Mew* may be a patronymic, a nickname from the sea-mew, or occupational, either metonymic for *Mewer*, 'keeper of the hawks', or from a local surname, with the same occupational meaning. It is impossible to fit surnames into a strait-jacket.

LOCAL SURNAMES

Local surnames, by far the largest group, derive from a place-name, indicating where the man held land, or the place from which he had come, or where he actually lived. Richard de Tonebrige (1086 DB) was so called from his castle of Tonbridge, but he was also called Richard de Clara from the Suffolk Clare which became his chief seat and gave the family its definitive surname. Richard de Hadestoke, a London alderman c1240, had left Hadstock (Essex) and settled in London. Thomas *atte Forde* lived near a ford.

These local surnames derive (with occasional exceptions) from English, Scottish or French places and were originally preceded by a preposition *de*, *at*, *by*, *in*, etc. A certain number of Old English formations are found before the Conquest: Ælfweard æt Dentune (972), Ælfstan on Lundene (a988), Godcild of Lamburnan (c970), Leofnað in Broðortun (c1050).⁴ After the Conquest the usual preposition is *de*, which is used before both English and French place-names. In French names beginning with a vowel, this *de* has often coalesced with the name: Damerell, Danvers, Daunay, Disney, Doyley, etc., and occasionally with English names, as Dash, Daysh, Delafield, Delamere. Many of the French place-names denote the seat of noble families, but many of the modern surnames merely indicate migration from a French place. There was a constant stream of merchants, workmen and others from the English provinces of France.

The earliest local surnames of French origin are chiefly from Normandy, particularly from the departments of Calvados, Eure, Seine-Inférieure and La Manche.⁵ Some of the Frenchmen early acquired surnames from English places, e.g. Roger de Berchelai (1086 DB). Philip de Poswyc (c1147) was a son of Richard Basset.⁶

English local surnames may derive from the manor held (Adam de Cokefeld 1121–48

Bury); from the place of residence (Ralph de Nordstrate 1197 P, Goduy ad Westmere c1095 Bury), William Attebroc (1199 P); or from the place from which a man had come: Brihtmarus de Haverhell' (1158 P), who had moved from Suffolk to London, where his son became alderman and sheriff.⁷ Occasionally we have a surname from a sign (*atte Lamb, atte Raven*), but these are usually late and less common than has been supposed. Some of the 'signs' really refer to topographical features (*Ball, Cock*).

The local surname, even when changes in form or pronunciation have occurred in the modern place-name, is usually straightforward enough. It is more difficult to trace the minor names. A general meaning can usually be assigned to them, but whether, for example, Richard *del Helde* 1246 AssLa lived near a nameless slope, or whether at a place called Heald, is not always easy to discover. The counties surveyed by the English Place-name Society contain fairly complete lists of minor names, and there are similar comprehensive works for Lancs, Kent, and the Isle of Wight. But for other counties, it is not always possible to trace such minor names. As yet there are no historical surveys of the place-names of Cornwall, Hants, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincs, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Leicestershire, or of the Welsh counties. It is probable that as these counties are surveyed, it will be possible to assign to a particular place more of the local surnames for which, as yet, a general interpretation is all that is possible. A historical survey is necessary since we must know that the place in question was in existence at the time when surnames were coming into use, and also that the medieval forms of the place-name are similar to those for the surname. For example, *Barnacle* is often derived from Barnacle (Wa). But the place-name was Bernhangre in medieval times, and does not appear as Barnacle before 1547, long after the period when a surname from this form could have developed. Similarly, *Brighton* is unlikely to derive from the Sussex town, which is usually Brightelmeston in medieval sources. It first appears as Brighton in the reign of Charles I, but this form of the name did not come into common use before the early nineteenth century. The surname must derive from Breighton (ERY), appearing as Bryghton from 1298 to 1567. Again, *Bristol* must usually come from Burstal (ERY), or Birstal (WRY), since the normal medieval vernacular form for Bristol (Gl) is Bristow, and Bristol does not become regular before the sixteenth century.

Ash, Nash, Rash; Oakes, Rook

A very large number of English local surnames derive from small places, or denote residence by a wood, in the marsh, by oaks, elms, ash, etc. These occur as *atte wode, atte fenne*, etc., and the preposition is usually lost later but is preserved in such names as Attlee, Byfield, Uphill, Underdown, etc. The names are from OE *æt ā āce, æt ā æsce*, etc., which became ME *atten ake, oke, atten ash; atte oke, atte ash*. The latter became *Oak, Ash*, etc.; the former became *atte noke, atte nash*, the preposition was dropped and the surnames became *Noke, Nash*. *Rook, Rash*, etc., derive from OE *æt ā āce, æt ā æsce*, which became ME *atter oke, atter ash; atte roke, atte rash*. In *Tash, Tesh*, ME *atte ashe, eshe* became *at tash, at tesh*.

Loss of the Preposition

The absence of the preposition in early forms of local surnames (and of the article before occupational names) has been regarded as a sign that the surname had become hereditary. Such a supposition cannot be upheld. The preposition began to disappear much earlier than has been thought and examples are too numerous to be regarded as scribal errors.

Ekwall remarks that the preposition begins to be dropped shortly after 1300, is mostly preserved through the fourteenth century, but after 1400 is usually absent. His earliest example is 1318.⁸ Fransson states that in York, *de* disappears in the early fifteenth century; in Lancashire it sometimes occurs c1450; whilst in the south it is regularly dropped at the end of the fourteenth century.⁹

Tengvik has noted in 1066 in Domesday Book 163 examples of local surnames consisting of a simple place-name without a preposition.¹⁰ There are a few also in 1086: Rogerus Blaneford (Blandford), Rogerus Povrestoch (Powerstock), Rogerus Povertone (Poorton), all in Dorset, William Tochingeuuiche (Tingewick, Bucks). A further 100 have been noted in twelfth-century documents from both English and French places, 28 in the Curia Regis Rolls (1201–21), mostly English, Alan Cheles 1219 AssL (Keal, Lincs), Richard Sulee 1221 AssWo (Sudley, Glos), and others.

In the London Subsidy Rolls for 1292 and 1319, where about half those assessed have local surnames, the preposition is always retained. In 1332 there are 23 without a preposition. In those for Sussex, local surnames without a preposition (mostly English) increase from 119 in 1296 to 319 in 1327 and 418 in 1332. In the 1327 Somerset Subsidy Roll about one-third of the surnames are local and of these 7 per cent have no preposition, a proportion very similar to that in Suffolk for the same year (6 per cent). In 1332 in Surrey about 20 per cent of the local surnames have no preposition, whilst in Lancashire in 1332 all the 1255 local surnames except 28 retain the preposition. It seems clear, therefore, that there was a definite tendency to drop the preposition from 1066; by the end of the thirteenth century the tendency was marked in Sussex and steadily increasing. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century Surrey shared this tendency, but it had not reached London. The process had begun in Suffolk and Somerset, was almost completely absent in Lancashire and non-existent in Yorkshire. 'The *de* before the surname is in constant use well into the reign of Henry IV.'¹¹

Toponymics

A common form of local surname of which many examples survive consists of an adjective or noun denoting nationality or the country, province, county, town or district from which the individual came: English, Scott, Breton, Fleming, Angwin, Loring, Poidevin, all of which are found in Domesday Book. Later surnames are Irish, Welsh, Wallas, Gall, Norman, Brabazon, Cornish, Cornwallis, Devenish, with Norris, Surridge, Sotheran, Western, Westridge. An early example which has not survived is Wluuardus *le Doverisse* 'of Dover' (1125 ELPN).

Toponymics formed by the addition of *-er* to some topographical term, e.g. Bridger,

Brooker, etc., are particularly common in Sussex at the beginning of the fourteenth century. They are also found in the neighbouring counties of Kent and Surrey, in Essex and Hampshire, but are less common elsewhere. The meaning is 'dweller by the bridge, brook, etc.', or, occasionally, at a particular place, *Rumbridger*, from Rumbridge (Sussex).¹² The names, at times, interchange with names in *atte* and compounds of *-man*. In the Sussex Subsidy Rolls, Hugo *atte Broke* (1296) is identical with Hugo *le Broker* (1327); John *atte Combe* (1327) with John *le Cumber* (1332); John *atte Gore* (1296) with John *Gorman* (1332); William *atte Gate* (1296) and John *Gateman* (1327) both lived in Goring.

Interesting survivals of Scandinavian formations are the local surnames Sotherby, Westoby, from ON *suðr, vestr í bý* (the man who lived) 'south or west in the village', and the anglicized Dunnaby, Easterby. Similar English formations survive in Astington, Norrington, Sinton, Uppington, Westington.

SURNAMES OF RELATIONSHIP

Surnames of this class are often called patronymics, but a more comprehensive term is needed, partly because many modern surnames are formed from women's names, partly because in early sources other relationships are expressed: Alwinus *Childebroder*, Alwin' *pater Cheping*' (1066 Winton), Baldgiua *soror Osuardi*, Lefuine *frater Toui*, Goduin *Aluini nepos*, Wluin *Brune stepsune*, Sibbe *Ædesdohter* (c1095 Bury), Willelmus *gener Arnwi* (c1200 DC).

Such names are not uncommon in the twelfth century and are found later: Gilbert *Fathevedsteppeson* (1307 Wak), John *le Personesneve* (1324 FFess), Richard *Hannebrothir*, Ameria *Ibbotdoghter* (1324 Wak), Amabilla *Hannewyf* (1327 ib.), William *Maisterneue* (1327 SRSf), John *Prestebruther*, Johanna *Raweswyf* (1332 SRCu), Emma *Rogerdaughter*, Robert *Prestcosyn*, Marjoria *Vicar neys* (1381 PTY), Isolda *Peersdoghter* (1430 FeuDu). The only names of this type to survive are a few compounds of *-magh* 'brother-in-law': Hickmott, Hitchmough, Hudsmith, Watmough.

Patronymics

Names in -son

In Old English, patronymics were formed by adding *-ing* to the stem or *-sunu* to the genitive of the personal name: *Dudding* 'son of Dudda', *Ēadrīcessunu* 'son of Ēadrīc'. The latter type was used as a patronymic adjunct: Hering Hussan sunu (603 ASC), a type found also in the eighth and ninth centuries and not uncommon in the names of the festermen of Peterborough (963–92): Godwine Ælfrices suna. This was also a common Scandinavian formation: **Purferð** Rolfes sune. In his *Old English Bynames*,¹³ Tengvik has collected 146 examples, of which 111 are English and 24 Scandinavian. In twelfth-

century London Ekwall has noted a further eleven examples.¹⁴

Metronymics

Similar formations, though less common, were based on the mother's name: Eadric Wynflæde sunu (c1015 ASCh), Siwardus Leuerunessone (1066 Winton), Edric' Modheuesune (1137 ELPN).¹⁵

Johnson, Williamson, etc. Distribution and Origin

The frequency of names in *-son* in the North has been commonly attributed to Scandinavian influence,¹⁶ but examples are rare or non-existent from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries in north and south alike. The common form of both patronymics and metronymics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is *Willelmus filius Hugonis*, Ricardus *filius Agnetis* (1185 Templars), a form found side by side with compounds of *-sunu* in the eleventh century and, less commonly, of *-son* in the fourteenth. It is hardly conceivable that surnames like *Godricson* (1066 DB) ceased to be used for a couple of centuries and were then suddenly revived. The formula *Rogerus filius Radulfi* may be merely a description, 'Roger son of Ralph', or it may be a translation of Roger *Fitz Ralph*, a form rare in documents. *Radulfus filius Godrici* may similarly be a translation of *Godricson*. That the formula was merely descriptive is proved by the fact that a man could be named both *Willelmus filius Hermanni* (1134–40) and *Willelmus Hermannus* (1141–9 Holme), whilst there are a few examples of the equation of a simple christian name as a surname with a compound of *-sunu*: *Aluwinus Dode*, *Aluwinus Dodesune* (1066 DB). Names like *Willelmus filius fabri* (1219 AssY), *Hugo filius clerici* (1185 Templars, GI) are common and descriptive, 'son of the smith or the clerk'; they are found in the fourteenth century as *Smythson* and *Clerkessone* and still survive.

In the Cumberland Subsidy Roll (1332) we find *Alan Malleeson*, *John Diksson*, etc., side by side with *Adam son of Alan*, *John son of Robert* (presumably translations of *filius Alani*, *filius Roberti*) and *Thomas Prestson*. It would appear that the form in common use was *Diksson*, *Helewisson*, *Heliotesson*, etc., that the twelfth- and thirteenth-century scribes translated all such names by *filius Roberti*, etc., and that by the fourteenth century there was a growing tendency for the clerk to use the spoken form, particularly with the common pet-names *Dick*, *Hob*, etc. Thirteenth-century examples noted are: *Adam Saresone* 1286 LLB D, *William Marysone* 1298 ELPN (*Willelmus filius Marie* 1292 SRLo), *William Paskessone* 1293 FFC, *Thomas Wummanesone* 1297 Coram (C).

In the Sussex Subsidy Rolls there are no examples of *-son* in 1296, 4 in 1327, 13 in 1332, all metronymics. In other Subsidy Rolls we have in 1327, in Worcestershire 11 (including 4 metronymics); Somerset 8 (5 metronymics); Cambridgeshire 17 (6 metronymics); in 1332, in Surrey 6 (4 metronymics); Lancashire 23 (7 metronymics); Cumberland 22 (7 metronymics); in Yorkshire 2 in 1297, 5 in 1301, 10 in 1327, including 3 metronymics; in FrY (1272–1381) 14, all patronymics—earliest example 1323; in Suffolk (1327) 7 (3 metronymics), (1381) 12 (5 metronymics). In all these

sources there are additional examples of *Reveson*, *Smithson*, etc. Occasionally the surname is based on the father's surname. In Cambridgeshire John *Brunnison* and William *Broun* occur in the same parish as do Richard and William *Lawisson* and Henry *Law*. In Cumberland, Hugh *Moserghson* was presumably the son of Thomas *de Mosergh*.v. also p. xlv.

The surnames in *-son* form a very small proportion of the whole and are more common in the north. In Lancashire the number assessed is only about one-fifth that in Suffolk. In the northern counties the number of individuals with no surname or described as *filius*— is much greater than in the south where the development of surnames was more advanced. But it is clear that in the fourteenth century, when surnames in *-son* begin to appear again, they were not limited to the north. It is unlikely that in Somerset, Sussex and Surrey these names should be due to Scandinavian influence. Tengvik notes that in his Old English material examples are found at a date when 'we can hardly reckon with any important Scandinavian influence'. The local distribution of the type, too (especially in Devonshire), points to a native origin.¹⁷

In the north we may have to reckon with Scandinavian influence also, but the frequency of the type may be due, in part at least, to the late development there of hereditary surnames. We find such names as Henry Dicounesson de Clesnesse 1359 Pat (Nb), 'Henry, son of Dicoun de Clesnesse', Richard Jeffson Nanneson de Radford 1385 NottBR, a type found also in Yorkshire and Lancashire: Robert Tomson Watson, Robert Stevenson Malynson, Thomas Robynson Richardson 1381 PTY, John Robynson Diconson 1408 AD v (La), John Atkynson Jonson 1433 ib. (Y). It is doubtful whether the latter should be interpreted 'John, son of Atkyn, son of John' or 'John, son of Atkyn Jonson'. The occurrence together of John Prestson, Agnes ancilla Johannis Prestson and Geoffrey Jonson Prestson (1379 PTY) points clearly to a surname but that it was hereditary is doubtful. The frequency of the type and the common addition of *-wyf* (sometimes added to the christian name), *-daughter*, *-man*, *-maiden*, *-servant*, give a very strong impression that these were not real surnames in the modern sense but patronymic descriptions in a constant state of flux.

Font-names as Bynames

Less common in the early twelfth century than names like Symon *filius Ricardi*, but steadily increasing in number, are names of the type Johannes *Gerard*, Henricus *Bertram*, in which a font-name is added to the christian name as a byname. Tengvik has noted ten examples in the eleventh century in which, in seven instances, the byname is Scandinavian, in one, Old English, and in two, French. In Domesday Book there is a great increase in the use of French personal-names (40), as well as Old English (28) and Scandinavian (18), with three Celtic and five Latin.¹⁸

The general opinion is that such surnames are due to the dropping of *filius*.¹⁹ Tengvik has noted five instances which seem to support this view: Osbern *Hauoc*, Osbern *filius Hauoc*; Rainaldus *Croc*, Rainaldus *filius Croc*, in which two of the personal names (*Hauoc* and *Dudde*) are Old English, two (*Baderon* and *Clamahoc*) Breton, and so introduced by Normans, and one (*Croc*) Scandinavian, though the christian name

Rainaldus suggests a possible Norman origin.

It is difficult to believe in this 'dropping of *filii*' theory. A name of the type *Johannes filius Willelmi* was never used in everyday life by either Englishmen, Frenchmen or Scandinavians. It is Latin and a documentary form. Where the font-name is French, it might be a translation of Fitzwilliam, though such names are unknown in France and rare in English sources. If the font-name is English, *filii Dudde* might be a translation of *Duddesunu*, but it is unlikely that one-sixth of the Suffolk peasants of c1095 bore such names. There seems no alternative to regarding these forms as scribal descriptions. Walter Dudde was known to be the son of Dudda and he was so described in writing, in the clerk's Latin, *filii Dudde*. But in ordinary conversation, when his full name was needed, he was called Walter Dudde. Three early examples of this type have been noted by von Feilitzen: the Scandinavian Sendi Arfast (c1044), the French William Ingelram (1088) and Ieduue Ialdir (c1100–30), from OE \mathfrak{f} ²⁰ Nine other examples occur in Suffolk (c1095 Bury), all English: Aldwine Ælfuine, Lemmer Brihtmer, Ordric Wihgar, etc.

The origin of surnames of this type cannot, at present, be definitely decided. The majority of such names are not, as Smith states, from personal names of Scandinavian origin. There are numerous examples from English and French personal names and a smaller number from Celtic. Scandinavian influence may be partly responsible, especially in the Danelaw. The type does not become common in England until after the Conquest and we may be concerned with a French custom introduced by the Normans. Similar names are found in northern France in the tenth century and in the south and south-west in the previous century.²¹ The fact that similar formations from Old English personal names are common in the south of England in the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries and in eleventh-century Suffolk suggests an independent formation in English. The frequency of the type may be due to all three influences, combined with its simplicity for everyday use and the analogy of similar simple attributes in the form of nicknames and occupation names. It is noteworthy that such surnames from very common christian names like William, John, etc., are late formations.

Post-Conquest Survival of Old English Personal Names

The Norman Conquest revolutionized our personal nomenclature. The Old English name-system was gradually broken up, Old English names became less and less common and were replaced by new names from the Continent, a limited number of which gradually became more and more popular. The general trend is well known, but many of the definite statements on the relative frequency of various names are based on insufficient evidence, often from late sources which can have little or no bearing on the history of surnames. Fashions in names varied among different classes and in different parts of the country. Most of the early documents deal with the upper classes. Names of peasants are less common, rarely occur in large numbers, and have largely been ignored. Intensive work on the abundant material in manuscript and on that already printed will ultimately throw much new light on the history of our names. For the present, we must be content with a study of selected material from varied districts.

In the Holme Cartulary, some 75 per cent of the twelfth-century names are those of

witnesses and grantees of charters, monks, clerics, and tenants of the abbey, and these reflect the new nomenclature introduced by the Normans. The personal names are of French or continental Germanic origin, with Norman forms of Scandinavian names brought from Normandy. The remaining 25 per cent, the names of peasants, represent some 30 English and 35 Scandinavian names, some more than once repeated.

In the twelfth century the most popular names were William (10 per cent) and Robert (7 per cent), followed, with variation of order in different documents and counties, by Richard, Ralph, Roger, Hugo and Walter. John (3 per cent) was much less popular.²² In a thirteenth-century collection of deeds relating to Aveley (Essex), John shares the top place with William (20 per cent) and these, with Robert, Richard, Geoffrey and Thomas, were the names of 160 out of 250 individuals. There were 41 other French names in use, including the Breton Alan, Hervey and Wygan, shared by 86 persons. In addition, 28 persons shared 16 English names, including an unrecorded *Weorðing*.²³ In the fourteenth century Old English names were fewer and much smaller in proportion, 7 persons sharing 5 names. Some 460 persons shared 35 French names. John (34 per cent) was now much more popular than William (18 per cent). Then came Thomas (9 per cent), Richard and Robert (6 per cent), Henry, Roger and Geoffrey, these 8 names being borne by 375 persons. The remaining 32 names were shared by 85 persons.

Unrecorded Old English personal names are found in Middle English documents. Most of these conform to the traditional *Wulfstan*-type. Some contain elements not noted before (*Geongwine*, *Weorðgiftu*), others elements rare in Old English names (*ǣ Wudubeorht*). Some, especially the original bynames, may have been formed in the Middle English period. Many of these names were those of peasants, among whom the native habits of name-giving survived longer than among the upper classes.²⁴ A number of personal names which are not recorded in Old English after the eighth or ninth centuries reappear in Middle English. Some of these names are evidenced only by their occurrence as surnames, others by their first record in the eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth century. Five (including *Uthric*, v. *Outridge*) are not found before the fourteenth century and one (*ǣ*) only in the fifteenth. Some survive as surnames: *Cwēnhild* (1086) in Quennell; *Ēadwacer* (1066) in Edicker; *Wæcerhild*(c1130) in Wackrell. Others are of importance in confirming the existence of personal names postulated to explain place-names. *Pacchild* noted in Essex in 1166 must be a compound of OE *Pæcc(i)* and the common theme *-hild*. No example of *Pcecc(i)* is known, but it has been assumed as the base of Patching (Essex, Sussex), Patcham, Pashley (Sussex) and other related place-names. Similarly *Wlanchild*, recorded only as the name of a peasant-woman in 1206 in Cambridgeshire, and reappearing as a surname in Suffolk (Warin *Wlankild* 1277 *Ely*), is a compound of *-hild* with OE *wlanc* 'proud', postulated as a personal name to explain Longslow (Salop).²⁵

This vitality of Old English names is confirmed by the number of fourteenth-century surnames formed from Old English personal names no longer then in use. We can only suppose that these personal names had continued in use long after the Conquest and that the surnames had already become hereditary. In the 1327 Subsidy Roll for Somerset, 66 per cent of those assessed were named: John (23 per cent), William (16 per cent), Robert (8 per cent), Richard (7 per cent), Walter (6 per cent) or Thomas (6 per cent). The rest shared 95 different names of which 8 were English and 5 Scandinavian. But there were

some 200 surnames formed from English or Scandinavian personal names no longer in use, e.g. Thomas Ailmer, Richard Leverich, John Sefoghel, William Serich, Robert Outright, Philip Thorbarn, Edith Thurkyld.

The rate at which this change from English to Norman christian names proceeded varied from class to class and among different families of the same class. It was slowest among the peasantry. In 1115, at Winchester, two out of six English fathers gave their children English names. In 1148 all the children named bore French names whether their fathers had English, Scandinavian or French names. At King's Lynn in 1166 the process was less advanced. Of 17 fathers with Scandinavian names and 18 with English names, only half followed the new fashion.

Occasional pedigrees put forward to support or resist a claim that a man was a villein shed some light on the names used by peasants. In one from Lincolnshire which must take us back to 1100 or beyond (1200 Cur), a man with the English name of Elric had a daughter Oise or Osse and two sons Agge and Siuuerd, all probably bearing Scandinavian names. *Oise* may be ODa *Ása* (f), *Agge* is ODa *Aggi*; *Siuuerd* may be ODa *Sigwarth* or OE *Sigward*. Siward had a son Uhtred (OE) and Agge a son named Elric after his grandfather and a daughter with the French name Beatrice who married a Walter and named her son (living in 1200) after his father. Oise had a son William Belle and two grandsons Roger and Robert Belle. Here the change to French names seems to have been due to women.

A similar Suffolk pedigree (1200 Cur) takes us back a generation farther. Godwin named his three children from three different languages: Turgod (Scandinavian), Goda (English) and Watcelina (French). Goda gave his son the French name of Robert and his daughter Agatha married a man named Thomas. Watcelina named her daughters Einilda (OG *Aginildis*) and Langiva (OE **Langgifu*). Turgod named both his sons in English, Godwin and Edric, the latter continuing the English tradition in Alfridus (probably OE *ǣ* possibly *Æðelfrið*), whose son (alive in 1200) was Osbert (OE *Ōsbeorhlf*). Thus Godwin's descendants in the male line kept to the native tradition in names for five generations to 1200.

From a number of similar pedigrees going back for two to four generations from 1200 it would appear that among the peasants at the beginning of the thirteenth century Old English personal names were being replaced by names of French origin, but some families were more conservative than others. The variety of personal names used, both English and French, is noteworthy, as well as the general absence of bynames. The vitality of the Old English name-system is revealed by the evidence of the persistence of the repetition of either the first or second theme in names of the same family and by the existence of names otherwise unrecorded.²⁶ Both English and Scandinavian personal names were still common on the Suffolk manors of the Bishop of Ely in 1277.

The number of unrecorded forms of Old English names that have to be assumed for the surnames dealt with in the following entries emphasizes how little we really know about Old English names, but to the reader it may appear an easy way of providing an origin for a surname, and he may wonder what evidence there is for such assumptions. In most cases there is definite evidence from place-names, or from the existence of the name in early Middle English, to indicate that it was probably current in Old English though not recorded in the surviving records. At the least the various elements or the general form of

the name may be comparable with extant names from the period.

Old English Personal Names Surviving in Modern Surnames

Monothematic

Bada (Bade), **Beald* (Bald), **Becca* (Beck), *Bēda* (Beade), *Beorn* (Barne), *Bill* (Bill), *Bisceop* (Bishop), **Blīða* (Bly), *Boda* (Bode), *Botta* (Bott), *Brūn* (Brown), *Budda* (Budd), **Butt(a)* (Butt), *Bynni* (Binns), *Cada* (Cadd, Cade), *Cana* (Cane), *Ceadda* (Chadd), **Cēne*, **Cyne* (Keen), *Cniht* (Knight), **Cocc (a)* (Cock), **Codd (a)* (Codd), *Cola* (Cole), *Creoda* (Creed), *Cyng* (King), **Cyppe* (Kipps), **Dæcca* (Dack), *Deora* (Dear), *Dodd (a)*, *Dudd (a)* (Dodd) **Ducc* (Ducket, Duxon), **Dylla*, **Dylli* (Dill), **Flint* (Flint), *Fugol* (Fowl), **Glæd* (Glade), **Glēaw* (Glew), *Goda* (m), *Gode* (f) (Good), *Golda* (m), *Golde* (f) (Gold), **Grante*, **Grente* (Grant), **Grēne* (Green), **Hand* (Hand), *Heafoc* (Hawk), *Hēaha* (Hay), **Heard* (Hard), *Hunna* (Hunn), *Hwīta* (White), **Lemma* (Lemm), *Lēof* (Leaf), *Lēofa* (m), *Lēofe* (f) (Leaves), **Leppe* (Lipp), **Lutta* (Lutt), *Mann* (Man), *Mawa*, **Mēawa* (Maw), **Mēaw* (Mew), **Milde* (f) (Millsom), **Modd* (Mudd), *Odda* (Odd), *Pæga* (Pay), *Pymma* (Pim), *Scot* (Scott), **Sida* (Seed), *Snel* (Snell), **Sprott* (Sprott), *Swan* (Swan), *Swēt (a)* (m), *Swēte* (f) (Sweet), *Swift* (Swift), **Tæppa* (Tapp), **Tāt* (Tate), **Tetta* (Tett), *Tunna* (Tunn), **þeōda* (m), **þeōde* (f) (Theed), **Ucca* (Huck), **Ugga* (Hug), *Wada* (Wade), *Wine* (Winn)

Derivatives in -ing

**Bealding* (Balding), *Billing* (Billing), **Botting* (Botting), *Brūning* (Browning), **Budding* (Budding), **Cypping* (Kipping), *Dēorling*, **Dýring* (Dearing), *Dēorling*, *ƿ* (Darling), *Dūning* (Downing), *Dunning* (Dunning), **Dyllum* (Delling, Dilling), **Fugeling* (Fowling), **Glæding* (Gladden), *Goding* (Gooding), *Golding* (Golding), *Harding* (Harding), **Hræfning* (Ravening), *Hunning* (Hunning), **Hwætling* (Whatlin), *Hwīting* (Whiting), **Lēofecing* (Lucking), *Leofing*, *ƿ* (Levinge), **Lēofring* (Lovering), *Manning* (Manning), **Munding* (Munnings), **Pening* (Penney), *Snelling* (Snelling), *Swēting* (Sweeting), **Tæpping* (Tappin), **Tipping* (Tipping), **Tyllum* (Tilling), **Utting* (Utting), **Wealding* (Walding), **Weorðing* (Worthing), **Wihthing*, **Hwīthing* (Whitling), **Wilding* (Wilding), **Wulving* (Woolving)

Dithematic

**Ācman* (Oakman)

Ælflāð (f) (Alflatt), *Ælfgār* (Algar), *Ælfhēah* (Alphege), *Ælfliere* (Alvar), **Ælfman* (Elfman), *Ælfnod* (Allnatt), *ǣ* (Alfred, Averay), *Ælfric* (Aldrich), *Ælfsige* (Elsey), *Ælfstān* (Allston), *Ælfweald* (Eliot, Ellwood), *Ælfweard* (Allward), *Ælflwīg* (Alaway, Allvey), *Ælflwine* (Alven, Alwin)

Æscwine (Ashwin)

Æðlbeorht (Albright), **Æðeldæg* (f) (Allday), *ǣ* (f) (Alflatt), *Æðelfrið* (m), **Æðelfrið*

(f) (Alfrey), *Ædelgār* (Algar), *Æðlgēat*, *ƿ* (f) (Aylett), *Æðelgifu* (f) (Aylifi), *Æðelheard* (Adlard), *Æðelmār* (Aylmer), *Æðelnōð* (Allnatt), *ǣ* (Aldred, Allred), *Æðelrīc* (Aldrich, Allright, Etheredge), *Æðelstān* (Allston, Aston, Athelstan), *ƿ* (f) (Audrey), *Æðelweard* (Allward, Aylward), *Æðelwīg* (Alaway), *Æðelwine* (Alven, Alwin, Aylwin)

Beadurīc (Badrick), *ƿ* (f) (Baldey), **Bealdrīc* (Baldree), **Bealdmann* (Balman), **Bealdstān* (Balston)

Beorhtgifu (f) (Berriff, Brightiff), *Beorhtsige* (Brixey), *Beorhtmann* (Brightman), *ǣ* (Brightmore), *Beorhtwīg* (Brighty), *Beorhtwine*, *Beorhtwynn* (f) (Brightween)

**Biedlufu* (f) (Bedloe)

Blæchere (Blacker), *Blæcman* (Blackman), *Blæcstān* (Blackston) *Brūngār* (Brunger), *Brūnstān* (Brunsdon), **Brūnsunu* (Brownson), *Brūnwine* (Brunwin)

Burgheard (Burchard, Burrard), *ǣ* (Burrett), *Burgrīc* (Burrige), *Burgstān*,

**Bucstān* (Buxton), *Burgweald* (Burall), *Burgweard* (Burward) **Cēnweard* (Kenward), **Cēnwīg* (Kenway), *Cēolmund*, **Cildmann* (Chillman) *Cūðbeald* (Cobbald), *Cūðbeorht* (Cuthbert), *Cūðrīc* (Cutteridge), *Cūðwulf* (Culf) *Cwēnhild* (f) (Quenell) *Cynebeald* (Kemle), *ǣ* (Kenmare), *Cynemann* (Kinman), *Cynerīc*

(Kerrich), *Cyneward* (Kenward), *Cynewīg* (Kenway) *ǣ* (Daymer), **Dægmann* (Dayman), **Denebeald* (Denbow), *Dēormann*

(Dearman), *Dēorwine* (Darwin), *Dudemann* (Dodman), *Dūnstān* (Dunstan)

Ēadgār (Edgar), *Ēadhūn* (Eaden), *ǣ* (Admer), **Ēadmann* (Edman), *Ēadmund* (Edmond), *ǣ* (Errett), *Ēadrīc* (Edrich), *Ēadstān* (Aston, Easton), *Ēadwacer* (Edicker), *Ēadweard* (Edward, Ewart), *Ēadwīg* (Eddy), *Ēadwine* (Edwin), *Ēadwulf* (Eddols)

Ealdgār (Algar), **Ealdnōð* (Allnatt), *ǣ* (Aldred, Allred), **Ealdstān* (Allston, Elston), *Ealdwīg* (Alaway, Aldway), *Ealdwine* (Alden, Alwin)

Ealhhere (Alger, Alker), *Ealhstān* (Allston, Elston), *ƿ* (f) (Audrey)

Earnwīg (Arneway), *ǣ* (Eastmure), *Ēastmund* (Eastman)

Ecgbeorht (Egbert), *Ecgwulf* (Edgell)

Eoforwacer (Earwaker), *Eoforwine* (Erwin)

ǣ (Fordred), *Frēobeorn* (Freeborn), *Friðulāf* (Freelove)

Gārmund (Garman), *Gārwīg* (Garraway), *Gārulf* (Gorrell), **Geongwine* (Yonwin), **Glædmann* (Gladman), **Glædwine* (Gladwin)

Godgifu (f) (Goodeve), *Godhere* (Gooder), *Godlamb* (Goodlamb), *Godlēof*, **Godlēofu* (f) (Goodliffe), *ǣ* (Gummer), *Godmann* (Goodman), *Godrīc* (Goodrich), *Godsunu* (Godson), *Godweard* (Godward), *Godwīg* (Goodway), *Godwine* (Godwin, Goodwin)

**Goldbeorht* (Goldbard), **Goldburg* (f) (Goldburg), **Goldheafoc* (Goldhawk), **Goldhere* (Golder), **Goldmann* (Goldman), *Goldstān* (Goldston), **Goldwīg* (Goldway), *Goldwine* (Goldwin)

**Gūðbeald* (Gubell), *Gūðlāc* (Goodlake), *ǣ* (Gummer), *Gūðmund* (Godman)

**Heardmann* (Hardman), *Headūwīg* (Hathaway), *Hereweald* (Harold), *Hereward* (Hereward), **Holdbeorht* (Holbert), **Hūngār* (Hunger), **Huntmann* (Huntman), *Hūnwine* (Unwin), *Hwætmann* (Whatman), **Hwītheard* (Whittard), **Hwitmann* (Whiteman), **Hygemann* (Human)

Landbeorht (Lambrick), *ǣ* (Lemmer)

Lēofdag (Loveday), *Lēofeca* (Levick, Livick, Leffek), *Lēofgār* (Loveguard), *Lēofgēat* (Levet), *Lēofgōd* (Lovegood), *ǣ* (Lemmer), *Lēofmann* (Loveman), *ǣ* (Leverett), *Lēofrīc* (Leverage), *Lēofsige* (Lewsey), *Lēofsunu* (Leveson), *Lēofweald* (Leavold), *Lēofweard* (Livard), *Lēofwīg* (Leavey), *Lēofwine* (Lewin)

**Leohtwine* (Litwin), *ƿ* (Lilleyman)
ǣ (Merrett), *Mildburh* (f) (Milborrow), *Norðmann* (Norman)
Ordgār (Orgar), *Ordrīc* (Orrick), *Ordwīg* (Ordway)
Ōgār (Hosker), *ǣ* (Osmer), *Ōsweald* (Oswald), *Ōswine* (Oswin)
 **Pīcstān* (Pickstone), **Rǣdwīg* (Redway), *Rǣdwine* (Readwin), **Rimhild* (f) (Rimell)
ǣ (Seabert), *ǣ* (Seaborn), *ǣ* (Seaber), *ǣ* (f) (Seavers), *Sǣfrīð* (Saffery), *ǣ* (Sagar),
 **Sǣgēat* (Sait), **Sǣgōd* (Seagood), **Sǣlēofu* (f) (Sealeaf), *ǣ* (Sallitt), *ǣ* (Salway), *ǣ*
 (Seamer), *ǣ* (Seaman), *ǣ* (Search), *ǣ* (Sewell), *Sǣ* (Seward), *ǣ* (Self)
 **Sidumann* (Seedman)
ǣ (f) (Siffleet), *Sigegār* (Siggers), *ǣ* (Simey), *Sigenōð* (Sinnatt), *ǣ* (Sired), *Sigerīc*
 (Search), *Sigeweald* (Sewell), *Sigeward* (Seward)
 **Smēawine* (Smewing), **Snelgār* (Snelgar), *Spearheafoc* (Sparrowhawk)
 **Stānburg* (f) (Stanberry), *Stānheard* (Stannard), **Stānhild* (f) (Stanhill), *ǣ* (Stammer)
 **Stubheard* (Stubbert), **Sunnmann* (Sunman)
 **Swētlufu* (f) (Sweetlove), *Swētmann* (Sweetman), **Swētrīc* (Swatridge)
 **Trumbeald* (Trumble), **Tūnheard* (Tunnard), **Tūnhild* (f) (Tunnell) *þēodbeorht*
 (Tebrich)
Unwine (Unwin), *ǣ* (Oughtred), **Uhrīc* (Outridge)
 **Wæcerhild* (f) (Wackrill), *ǣ* (Warman), **Wealdwine* (Walwin)
Wīgbeorht (Wyberd), *Wīgbeorn* (Wyborn), *Wīgburh* (f) (Wyber), *Wīgheard* (Wyard),
Wīgmǣr (Wymer), *Wīgmund* (Wyman)
Wihtgār (Widger), *Wihtheard* (Whittard), *Wihtlāc* (Whitelock), **Wihtmann*
 (Wightman), *Wihtrīc* (Whitteridge)
Wilbeorht (Wilbert), *Wilrīc* (Wildridge)
Winebeald (Winbolt), *Winegār* (Wingar), *Winemann* (Winman)
 **Wudufugol* (Woodfull), **Wuduheard* (Huddart, Woodard), **Wudulāc* (Woodlake)
Wulfbeald (Wolbold), *Wulfrīð* (Woolfrey), *Wulfgār* (Woolgar), *Wulfgēat* (Woolvett),
Wulfgifu (f) (Wolvey), *ǣ* (Woolmer), *Wulfnōð* (Woolner), *ǣ* (Orred), *Wulfrīc* (Woolrich,
 Hurry), *Wulfsige* (Woolsey), *Wulfstān* (Woolston), *Wulfward* (Woollard), *Wulfwīg*
 (Woolway), *Wulfwine* (Woolven)
Wynrīc (Windridge)

Scandinavian Personal Names

The vitality of the Scandinavian name-system in the Danelaw has been discussed and illustrated by Sir Frank Stenton.²⁷ In addition to Scandinavian names like Thorald, Swain, Haldan, etc., which might appear in southern texts, there are characteristic northern names like Gamel, Gille, Ketel, and others of characteristic rarity, as Ketelbern, Airic, Ailof, etc. Particularly noteworthy are such diminutive forms as *Hasti* or *Asti*, a colloquial diminutive of ON *Ásketell*, surviving in *Hastie*, *Steinki*, a short form of compounds of *Stein*, *Anke*, a diminutive of names in *Arn-*, the source of *Hanks*.

Though less extensive than in Lincolnshire, Scandinavian influence was not negligible in East Anglia. Some 8 per cent of the peasants of the Bury manors c1095 bore Scandinavian names of which *Lute* and *Challi* are not recorded elsewhere in England.²⁸ The vitality of these names is shown by the formation of such Anglo-Scandinavian

compounds as *Lefchetel*, *Ketelbert* and *þurwif*, recorded in 962 and reappearing in Yorkshire in 1166 (P), and by the survival in *Kilvert*, *Ketteridge* and *Tureff* of the unrecorded hybrids *Cylferð*, *Cytelric* and *þorgifu* (f). The pet-form *Suarche*, from Anglo-Scandinavian *Swartcol*, has its parallel in the otherwise unknown *Samke*, still found in the rare surname *Sank*. Other noteworthy survivals are *Goodhew* from the previously unknown *Guðhugi*, a parallel to the *Illhugi* found at Thoraey and the Suffolk *Tovell* from ON *Tófa-Hildir*, a rare type of compound, ‘Hildir the daughter of Tofi’.²⁹

Scandinavian Personal Names Surviving in Modern Surnames

Aggi (ODa) (Agg), *Aki* (ODa) (Okey), *Álfgeirr* (Alger), *Algot* (ODa) (Allgood), *Álfgrímr* (Allgrim), *Alli* (ODa) (Alley), *Arnkell* (Arkell), **Q** (Osborn), *Ásgautr* (Osgood), *Ásketill* (Ashkettle), *Áskell* (Askell), *Áslákr* (Haslock), *Ásvaldr* (Oswald), *Auti* (ODa) (Autie)

Q (Barae), *Bóndi* (Bond), *Bóthildir* (f) (Bottle), *Brandr* (Brand), *Bróðir* (Brothers)

Dölgfinnr (Dolphin), *Dreng* (Dring), *Drómundr* (Drummond)

Elaf (ODa) (Ayloffe), *Eiléfr*, ODa *Elef* (Ayliffe), *Eiríkr* (Herrick)

Farmcnn (Farman), *Farðegn* (Farthing), *Fastúlfr* (Fastolf), *Fathir* (ODa) (Fathers), *Finnr* (Finn), *Fótr* (Foot)

Gamall (Gambell), *Gauki* (Gookey), *Geiri* (Garey), *Gilli* (Gill), *Greifi* (Grave, Greavey), *Grímr* (Grime), *Grímhildir* (f) (Grimmet), *Gunnr* (Gunn), *Gunnildr* (f) (Gunnell), *Gunvor* (f) (Gunner), **Guð(h)ugi* (Goodhew), *Guðmundr* (Goodman), **Ø** (Goodread)

Hafleikr (Havelock), *Haghi* (ODa) (Hagan), *Haki* (Hake), *Hákun* (Hacon), *Hálfðan* (Haldane), *Hámundr* (Oman), *Haraldr* (Harold), *Hasteinn* (Hasting), *Hávarðr* (Haward), *Hemmingr* (Hemming), *Hrafn* (Raven), *Hrafnhildir* (f) (Ravenhall), *Hrafnkell* (Rankill), *Hróaldr* (Rowat), *Hrólf* (Rolf)

Ingialdr (Ingall), *Ingiríðr*, ODa *Ingrith* (f) (Ingrey, Ingley), *Ingólfr* (Ingell), *Ingvar* (ODa) (Ingar), *Ívarr* (Ivor)

Karl(i) (Carl), *Karman* (Carman), *Kaupmaðr* (Copeman), *Kel* (Kell), *Ketilbiqrn* (Kettleburn), *Ketill* (Kettle), *Knútr* (Knott), *Kolbein* (Colban), *Kolbrandr* (Colbran), *Koli* (Cole), *Kalman* (Coleman), *Kollr* (Coll), *Kollungr* (Colling), *Kouse* (Couse), *Kupsi* (Copsey)

Lag(h)man (ODa) (Lawman), *Langabein* (Langbain), *Lax* (Lax)

Magnus (Magnus), *Móðir* (Mothers)

Oddr (Odd), *Óleifr* (Olliff), *Ormr* (Orme), *Ottár* (Otter)

Rannulfr (Randolph)

Samke* (Sank), **Sandi* (Sandey), *Segrim* (ODa) (Seagrim), *Sigarr* (Siggers), *Sigga* (f) (Siggs), *Sighvatr* (Suett), *Sigmundr* (Simmonds), *Sigrídr* (f) (Sired), *Snari* (Snarey), **Q (Sar), *Steinn* (Stein), *Stígandr* (Stigand, Styan), *Stóri* (Storey), *Sumarlíðr* (Summerlad), *Svanhildir* (f) (Swannell), *Sveinn* (Swain)

þóraldr (Thorold), **Q** (Thurban), *þorfinnr* (Turpin), **þorfrøðr* (Tollfree), *þorgautr* (Thurgood), *Þorgeirr* (Thurgar), *Þorgils* (Sturge), *þórhildir* (f) (Turrill), *þórir* (Thory), *þorkell* (Thurkell), *þormundr* (Thurman), *þorsteinn* (Thurston)

**Tófa-Hildir* (f) (Tovell), *Tófi* (Tovee), *Tóki* (Took, Tookey), *Tóli* (Tooley), *Topi*

(Toop), *Tubbi* (Tubb), *Tunni* (ODa) (Tunney), **Turk* (Turk)

Úlfr (Ulph), *Úlfketel*, *Úlfkell* (Uncle)

Vestmaðr (Westman), *Vígarr* (Wigger), *Vigot* (ODa) (Wiggett), *Víkingr* (Wicking), *Víðarr* (Wither)

Anglo-Scandinavian Survivals

**Cytlferð* (Kilvert), **Cytlrīc* (Ketteridge), *Healfdene* (Alden), *ǣ* (Saffell), **Spracaling* (Sprackling), **porbert*, **purbert* (Turbard), **porgifu* (f) (Turreff), *purcytel* (Thurkettle), **Toll* (Toll), **Tukka* (Tuck), *Walpēof* (Waddilove, Wallett, Walthew)

Norman Names

Scandinavian names were used by Normans in France where ON *Ás-* occurs as *An-* which survives in *Anketel*, *Ankin*, *Antin*, *Angood*, *Angold*. Norman diminutives are found in *Asketin* and *Turkentine*. Norman *Turstin* (for *Thorstein*) survives as *Tustin*, *Tutin*, *Dusting*. Initial *T* for *Th* may also represent a Norman pronunciation in England, especially of names not found in Normandy, e.g. *Tory* for *Thory*.

Personal Names in Medieval London

Ekwall's discussion of early London personal names (ELPN) is an outstanding example of what can be achieved by a detailed study of the names of a particular locality, and a perpetual challenge to others to do the same for other areas. In the early twelfth century, Old English personal names were still in living use in London, but gradually grow rarer and after 1200 are found only occasionally, apart from a few names which lived on and are still in use. Particularly common were such names as Ailward and Ailwin, Brichtmar, Godric and Godwin, Leofric and Leofwin, Wulfric, Wulfweard and Wulfwine. The only Old English woman's name at all common was Edith. Rare in Old English were Eadwacer and Smeawine, and the feminine Eastorhild, whilst a few such as Godleofu and Wacerhild, both feminine, are unrecorded in Old English. We find a number of compounds in *-ing*: Bruning, Hearing, Sweting, and the unrecorded Funding and Sperling. Short forms were rare but we have Golde (f), Milde (f), Hunna, But and Werth.

Some Scandinavian names from late Old English times must have been current in twelfth-century London. Some may have been introduced direct from Normandy. Such names as *Turgis* are Norman in form. It is noteworthy that few of the Scandinavian names recorded in Domesday Book are found in London sources, but some 30 personal names (e.g. *Askill*, *Esger*, *Ketel*) are probably Scandinavian rather than Norman in origin. Names like *Thurstan*, *Thorold*, when spelled *Tursten*, *Torold*, may be Norman in origin.

There is reason to believe that Old English names survived longer in the provinces than in the capital, where the fashion set by Normans would be followed more quickly. Old English names in London were often those of immigrants from the provinces. The old

names were superseded by names introduced by the Normans and many of those with French names in the first two or three decades of the twelfth century must have been Normans by birth. Those with English names at the same period were as a rule of English descent, as, probably, were those with English names later in the century. But it does not follow that a French name necessarily denotes French descent. As early as c1100 it was quite common for English people to give French names to their children whilst there are only a few examples of sons or daughters of parents with French names being given English names. The earliest instances are found among the upper classes, both the clergy and patrician families. Some Englishmen with French names must have been born c1090 or earlier. After 1100 it became a fashion for English families to give French names to their children. Some families were more conservative than others and continued to use the old names. Some gave French names to one or more of their children and English names to another or others. Thus, in a very few generations the Old English christian names were altogether disused in London, apart from a few special names, Alfred, Edmund, Edward and Godwin. Edmund is frequent in London between 1250 and 1350 but Edward occurs only occasionally. Edward I does not seem to have been popular in London and the few Edwards were probably named after the saint, Edward the Confessor. It is unlikely, therefore, that the popularity of Edmund was due mainly to Edmund, son of Henry III. Some, at least, of the London Edmunds came from East Anglia: Edmund de Suffolk 1309, Edmund de Bery 1346 (Bury St Edmunds), and others from places in Norfolk. These Edmunds were, no doubt, named after St Edmund, the martyr-king of East Anglia and founder of the monastery of St Edmundsbury, to whom a London church was dedicated.

The Norman-French names given by apparently English people to their children were generally the names most commonly used by the Normans and the names still most frequent in England: Geoffrey, Gilbert, Henry, Robert, Peter, John, etc., and the women's names Agnes, Alice and Maud. The personal nomenclature of twelfth-century London was well on its way to the modern stage which was, in the main, reached in the thirteenth century.

The Breton Element

The large Breton contingent which fought at Hastings was rewarded with lands in England. At their head was Earl Alan of Richmond, a cadet of the ducal house, with a fee of the first importance in Lincolnshire, East Anglia and neighbouring counties. In the south-west, Judhael of Totnes had a fief which in the twelfth century owed service of 70 knights. In thirteenth-century Suffolk was a 'Breton soke'. 'There is, in fact, hardly a county in which this Breton element is not found, and in some counties its influence was deep and permanent...the Breton colony founded by Earl Alan of Richmond can still be traced, late in the twelfth century, by the personal names which give a highly individual character to records relating to the country round Boston, itself a town of Breton creation, and Louth. In these districts, as also in the North Riding of York, the Breton settlers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries preserved their ancient personal nomenclature with a conservatism resembling that of the Anglo-Scandinavian peasants among whom they

lived...it was something more than the establishment of a few score knights and sergeants in military tenancies. It must have had the character of a genuine migration, though a migration upon a small scale.'³⁰

In twelfth-century Lincolnshire Alan was as common a name as Simon and more popular than Henry and Adam. Other common Breton names were Brian, Conan, Constantine (with its short form Coste), Jarnegon, Justin (with its pet-form Just), Mengi, Samson, and Tengi, all surviving as modern surnames. The christian name of Judhael de Totnes is still found as a surname in Devonshire as Jewell, and elsewhere as Jekyll and Joel. In Essex, Helion Bumpstead, and in Devon, Upton Helions, owe their attributes to Tihel de Herion, their Domesday lord who came from Hellean in Morbihan. His christian name survived in Essex until the thirteenth century and is found as a surname at Barking in 1206 (Roger *Tihell*), whilst his surname, though rare, still lives on in Essex and Suffolk, in Devon and Somerset (v. Elion). Wiggins Green in Helion Bumpstead owes its name to the family of John *Wygayn* whose eponymous ancestor may well have been an actual follower of Tihel the Breton. Bretts in Aveley owes its name to John le Bret 'the Breton'. In Aveley is a field, Bumpstead Mead, the last relic of a Bumpsted Hall named from Gilbert de Bumsted ad Turrim who seems to have been accompanied to Aveley by Bumpstead men of Breton descent whose names are found in the district in the thirteenth century (*Wygan, Hervey, Alan, Bryce*).³¹ In Essex, too, we find a twelfth-century, *Mingghi*. This Breton influence has left no small mark on our modern surnames.

The Celtic Element

Although Welsh surnames, as distinct from characteristic Welsh patronymic descriptions, were very late formations, the not inconsiderable number of immigrants from Wales into the border counties found their personal names treated exactly like English names in the formation of surnames. Thus surnames were formed from Welsh personal names and became hereditary in England long before hereditary surnames were known in Wales. e.g. Kemble (1185), Meredith (1191), Morgan (1221), Owen (1221), Cadogan (1273), Maddock (1274), etc.

About 890–3 a body of Norwegians from Ireland entered Yorkshire and were followed by a greater number, probably between 919 and 952. These Norwegians had been settled in Ireland sufficiently long to become partly Celticized and they have left their mark on the modern map of Cumberland and North Yorkshire in a series of place-names containing Irish loan-words and in inversion compounds in which the defining element comes last: Aspatria, Kirkoswald, Kirkbride. They had also adopted Goidelic personal names some of which survive both in place-names and modern surnames. e.g. Coleman, Duncan, Gill, Murdoch, Neal, Patrick, Troyte.³² Some of these surnames are more common in Scotland where they originated independently.

The Final -s in Jones, Parsons, Stocks, etc.

Weekley has remarked³³ that 'the majority of monosyllabic, and many dissyllabic, local

names are commonly found with *-s*, originally due to analogy with *Wills, Jones*, etc., where *-s* is the sign of the genitive. It will be found that this addition of *-s* in local names generally takes place whenever it does not involve an extra syllable or any exertion in pronunciation, e.g. *Birks* but *Birch*, *Noakes* but *Nash*, *Marks* but *March*, *Meadows* but *Field*, *Sykes* but *Sich*. The only important exception to this phonetic rule is *Bridges*, which is usually derived, not from *bridge*, but from Bruges, once commonly called Bridges in English. This *-s* is also added to specific place-names, e.g. *Cheales* from Cheal (Linc.),³⁴ *Tarbox* from Tarbock (Lanc.), *Burls* from some spot in Essex formerly called Berle,³⁵ *Rhymes* from Ryme (Dors.), etc.’ Elsewhere he asks, ‘but why always *Summers* or *Somers* with *s* and *Winter* without?’³⁶

Generalizations on surnames are always dangerous. Both *Summer* and *Winters* survive, as does *Fields*. The final *-s* was formerly found in such names as (Ralph) *Saches* Hy 2 DC, (Richard) *Ryches* 1296 SRSx, (Alice) *la Gegges* 1310 ColchCt, and survives in *Hedges* and *Latches*.³⁷ In a number of local surnames, plurals are found quite early: *Hales* (1180), *Coates* (1190), *Howes* (1212), *Holmes* (1219). The final *-s* of surnames from French place-names is retained or dropped quite arbitrarily, the variation, perhaps, being due to the difference between the English and French pronunciation: Caliss (Calais), Gamage (Gamaches), Danvers (Anvers), Amyas (Amiens), Challen (Chalons), Sessions (Soissons).

The final *-s* in surnames like *Williams, Parsons, Carters*, is a different problem. It cannot be a sign of the plural. For *Parsons, Vicars*, etc., there are two origins:

(i) Alicia *le Parsones* 1327 SRWo, Margery *le Vikers* 1332 SRWa, Ralph *le Prestes* 1327 SRWo, where we have an elliptic genitive, ‘the parson’s (servant)’, etc. cf. Henricus *homo Vicarii* 1297 SRY. Malyna *la Roperes* (1311 ColchCt), described as a servant, was either the servant of the roper or of a man named Roper. Surnames like John *Alysaundresman* 1297 Coram (Bk), Robert *Nicholesman* 1309 AssSt, with others in *-knave, -sergeant*, etc., are not uncommon, so that, whilst Gilbert *le Potteres*, Richard *le Cokes* (1327 SRWo) may mean ‘son of the potter or of the cook’, they might also denote his servant. But Philip *le Redes* (ib.) must be ‘servant of a man named *Rede*’. Thus, too, John *Pastons* (1327 SRWo), John *Byltons* (1327 SRC), where the surname is local, ‘servant of Paston or of Bylton’.

(ii) William *atte Personnes* 1327 SRSf, again elliptic, ‘(servant) at the parson’s (house)’, etc. Similarly *Beadles, Stevens*, etc. (Margaret *ate Budeles, Sibilla ate Stevenes* 1332 SRSO) may also mean ‘servant at the beadle’s (house)’ and ‘servant at Steven’s’.

No satisfactory explanation has been given of this final *-s* in surnames formed from personal-names. Fransson’s examples are late (1310). He regards them as elliptic genitives. As all his examples but one (Roger *le Persones*) are women, he must take all four to mean ‘servant of Robert, the parson, etc.’.³⁸

Ewen’s account is confused.³⁹ He cites Willelmus *Johannis* (1159–60) and three similar forms of 1229–35 as examples of ‘inflected genitives’ due to ‘*filius* and *filia* having fallen into disuse’. But surnames of the type Willelmus *filius* *Johannis* are common long after 1235. He notes also two undated metonymics, Johanna *Mariote* and Willelmus *Margarete*, adding ‘but the English nominative form, as Henry Maynard or John Rogers was also used, and the genitive ending (*es, is, ys, or s*) also begins to be noticeable, and at first most frequently in the names of women, thus Robertus *filius*

Radulfi became Robertus Rolle (Raoul), but Matilda filia Radulfi was written Matilda Rolles...There was no precise rule, many surnames of women are without the final sibilant, which is occasionally found added to the second names of men.⁴⁰ He does not explain why *filius Radulfi* becomes *Rolle* when the name is a man's, but *Rolles* when it is that of a woman. He repeats the argument later: 'John, Robin's son, would be called John Robin, but Margaret, Robin's (daughter), would be known as Margaret Robines.'⁴¹ That in the early instances (his earliest example is 1230) the terminal *s* was due to the influence of the French nominative singular ending, seen in names like Jacques, Gilles, Jules, etc.,⁴² is most unlikely. Such forms are rare in English and would not be employed for surnames which his own Latin examples prove were in the genitive. Nor can it be accepted that *Driveres* and *Smithes* 'may possibly exhibit the feminine agential suffix'.⁴³

Tengvik cites four much earlier examples of surnames like Ulmer *Æltredes*, where an Old English (or Scandinavian) personal name is in the genitive, and two in Latin, *Ælfuine Goduini*, all from Bury (c1095), and regards them as due to the omission of OE *sun* and Latin *filius* respectively.⁴⁴ Twenty other examples of this type in *-es* have been noted between 1100 and 1230, all names of men, formed usually from Old English or Scandinavian masculine names: Walter *Ricaldes* c1100 MedEA (Nf), Ranulph *Godes* 1186–1210 Holme, Edricus *Keteles* 1188 BuryS (Sf). Two are Old French: Eudo *Luuels* 12th DC (L), Stephen *Paynes* 1230 Pat, one Welsh, Robert *Howeles* 1210 Cur (Nth), and three from women's names, two English, *Æilric Osuennes* c1095 Bury (Sf), Segarus *Aileves* 1188 BuryS (Sf), and one French, Walter *Auices* 1186–1210 Holme (Nf).

The Latin type is more common than Tengvik and Ewen would lead us to think. Over 50 examples have been noted between 1130 and 1240, all except one (Emma *Philippi* 1240 Rams, Nf), names of men, usually from French personal names: Hugo *Oillardi* 1130 P (Sr), Willelmus *Walkelini* 12th DC (Lei), Willelmus *Luce* 1185 Templars (K), Johannes *Jeremie* 1196 P (Y); occasionally from Old English or Scandinavian names: Willelmus *Ailrici* 12th DC (L), Robertus *Edwini* 1229 Pat (So), Alanus *Torberti* 1212 Cur (Ha). Three are formed from names of women: Arnaldus *Mabilie* 1185 Templars (Ess), Robertus *Margerie* 1195 P (GI). These names can only mean 'John, son of Jeremiah', 'Arnold, son of Mabel', etc., literal translations of the vernacular, just as the clerk translated 'Edward of Salisbury' by Edwardus *Saresberiae* 1100–35 Rams (Hu).

The English forms are early examples of the elliptic genitive, Edricus *Keteles* 'Edric Ketel's (son)', parallel to *Personnes*, *Prestes* above. That this interpretation is correct is proved by the following. In 1281 we have mention of Robert de Rokesle junior who is twice called Robert Dobes in 1305. His father was Robert de Rokesle senior who must often have been called by his pet-name *Dob*. Hence his son's surname *Dobes* which must mean 'son of Dob', i.e. of Robert.⁴⁵

Toward the end of the thirteenth century, this type of name becomes more common and steadily increases in the fourteenth, but there is a marked difference in its frequency in different counties. In the Worcestershire Subsidy Roll for 1275 there are only 7 examples, 5 being names of women; in that for 1327 we find 138 men and 30 women so named. In Somerset in 1327: 128 men, 73 women; in Warwickshire (1332), 161 men, 20 women; in Suffolk (1327), 27 men, 1 woman; in Surrey (1332), 5 men, 11 women. In other Subsidy Rolls the number is negligible: Sussex (1296), 6; (1327) 2; (1332) 3; Cambridgeshire 4; Lancashire 2; Cumberland 2; Yorkshire (1297) 6; (1301) 3; (1327) 3,

all men. In Essex there are 5 men in 1295 ParlR, a number in the Colchester Court Rolls (1311–45) and about 12 (all women) in the 1349 Fingrith Hall Court Rolls. The surnames are usually the common christian names in use, often pet-forms, rarely Old English and almost invariably masculine. Some few are nicknames or occupational names (these sometimes preceded by *le*, occasionally *la*): Ysabella *Barones* 1275 SRWo, Hugh *Rabuckes* 1301 SRY, Claricia *le Parkeres* 1327 SRSo, Juliana *la Kinges* 1285 Ass (Ess), Amiscia *la Wrihtes* 1333 ColchCt. Occasionally we have a place-name: John *Dounes* 1327 SRWo.

The interpretation of these surnames is more difficult than one would expect. It is clear that in the twelfth century Segarus *Aileves* meant ‘son of Aileve’ and that is probably the meaning in the fourteenth century in the names of men. But John *le Cokes* (1327 SRWo) may well have been the cook’s servant or assistant and names like William *Hogges* may have lost the article and have a similar meaning. So with women’s names. Claricia *le Parkeres* may have been the servant of the parker and Isabella *la Chancelers* ‘the servant of (a man named) Chancellor’. But such an interpretation is unsatisfactory for Avice *la Schepherdes* (1311 ColchCt) and Juliana *le Smithes* (1279 RH), for shepherds and blacksmiths were unlikely to have servants. Where the surname is a place-name, ‘servant of a man named Bylton’, etc., is probable.

In the Colchester Court Rolls (1311 ff.), large numbers of women were regularly fined at court after court for selling ale at too high a price. They were usually described as ‘the wife of John Carpenter’, etc., but a certain number are mentioned by name, which almost invariably ends in *-es* (Joan *la Warneres*, Alice *Sayheres*). It is a reasonable presumption that they were widows and that this type of women’s surname denoted either a widow or a married woman. Matilda *Candeles* (1327 SRSx) was probably the wife of Ralph *Candel*, for in 1332 she is described as ‘Matilda relicta Candel’. Margery *la Mazones* was the wife of Walter *le Mazoun* (1311 ColchCt). Agnes *Rickemannes* (1329 Husting) was probably the widow of *Rickeman* le Chamberleng (1292 SRLo) and if so, we have to reckon with the fact that some of these women’s names denote the christian name and not the surname of their husbands. It is not uncommon in these documents to find pairs of names like Nicholas *le Knyt* and Cecilia *Knyctes* (1297 MinAcctCo), who, we may fairly assume, were husband and wife. Amisia *Hugines* (1327 SRWo) was probably the wife of William *Hugyns* and here the surname means ‘son of Hugyn’. Thus, a surname like *Stevens* may mean ‘son of Stephen’, ‘servant of Stephen’, or ‘servant at Stephen’s house’, or it may be a metronymic derived from a form *Stevenes* ‘Stephen’s wife’. The only certainty is that *atte Stevenes* means ‘servant at Stephen’s house’. The *-s* of local surnames may be a plural inflexion (or a sign of French origin), but more often falls into one or other of the above classes. Sometimes, in late additions, it may be a dialectal pronunciation, with excrescent *s*.⁴⁶

Pet-names

Already in Old English we find pet-names in use: *Tuma* for *Trumwine* in the seventh century and *Ælle* for *Ælfwine* in the tenth, and such forms as *Wine* and *Wulfa* for *Winefrīð* and *Wulfwine*.⁴⁷ Names of this type continued to be formed and a number still

survive in surnames, some otherwise unrecorded. But most of the pet-names in modern surnames are of post-Conquest formation and some are difficult to identify. Examples are found in the twelfth century; they become more numerous in the middle of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth are common. They are found among all classes and are derived from Old English, Scandinavian and French personal names alike. *Cudd* (1358) and *Cutt* (1279) are from OE *Cūðbeorht*, *Ugga* (1212) from *ǣ Asti* (1203) is a pet-form of ON *Ásketill*; *Lamb* (1161) is for *Lambert*, *Gibbe* (1179) for *Gilbert*, *Lina* (1181) for *Adelina* or *Emelina*, whilst the Breton *Sanson*, *Samson* has given *Sanne* (1260) and *Samme* (1275). Not all pet-names are so easy to identify. *Hudd*(1177) and *Hulle* (1227) are undoubtedly for *Hugh*, but *Huddis* also used for *Richard*. *Pelle* (1274) is a pet-name for *Peter*. *Hann* is undoubtedly for *John* (from *Jehan*), but is just as certainly for *Hanry* (Henry) and is said to have been used also for *Randolph*.

Some of these forms follow normal phonetic laws of assimilation: *Judd* from *Jurd* (Jordan); *Fippe* from *Philip*, *Bette* from *Bertin* and *Bertelmeu* (Bartholomew), *Penne*, a shortening of *Pennel*, from *Pernel*, *Cuss* from *Cust* (Custance, Constance), *Ibb* for *Isabel*. In others, the name begins by anticipating the following medial consonant: *Dande* (1246) for *Andrew*, *Biby* (1240) for *Isabel*. Some pet-names are formed from the second syllable of the full name: *Pot* (1115) from *Philipot*, itself a diminutive of *Philip*; *Coll* (1247) from *Nichol*, *Belle* (1279) from *Isabel*; *Sander* (1248) from *Alexander*. Voiced and voiceless consonants were used indiscriminately: *Dicke*, *Digge*; *Hikke*, *Higge*; *Gepp*, *Gebbe*; *Judde*, *Jutte*. Vowels were unrounded: *Rob*, *Rab*; *Dobb*, *Dabb*; or rounded: *Malle*, *Molle* (Mary); *Magge*, *Mogge* (Margaret), whilst the changes were rung on the consonants: *Robb* (1196), *Hobbe* (1176), *Dobbe* (1202), *Nabbe* (1298), all for *Robert*. In some names we find a combination of more than one of these features: *Libbe* (Elizabeth), *Pogge* (Margaret).

The clue to the explanation of these pet-names is given by Napier and Stevenson when they suggest that OE names such as *Lilla*, *Bubba* and *Nunna* are due to 'regressive assimilation' and have their origin in the speech of children.⁴⁸ Scandinavian scholars call them 'Lall-names'. According to this theory, *Lilla* is a short form of some compound of the stem *Bil-*, such names as *Bilheard* or *Bilnoth*. Stenton is disinclined to accept this on the ground that it implies the contemporaneous existence of two sharply contrasted conceptions of nomenclature. 'The state of mind which produced the compound names with their far-fetched significance is hardly compatible with one which allowed infantile attempts at expressing a name to pass into permanent use.' He admits, however, that this theory has 'the great merit of proposing an intelligible connection between these meaningless names and compounds of the normal Germanic type. Its chief weakness is the remoteness of the sound-association between the original compound name and the suggested simple derivative'.⁴⁹

Children are children and parents are parents, whether we are concerned with the eighth or the twentieth century. The process of learning to speak is the same—trial and error by imitation of sounds heard and there are innumerable examples of common words which have been corrupted in form through misdivision, mispronunciation and misunderstanding. When an Anglo-Saxon named *Æðelstan* and his wife *Wulfgifu* deliberately named their son, the future Bishop of Worcester, *Wulfstan*, a combination of the first theme of the mother's name and the second of the father's, they were not

concerned with the meaning of the compound—‘wolf-stone’, any more than were those who named their children *Fripuwulf* ‘peace-wolf’ or *Wīgfrīð* ‘war-peace’. Names had become names and their meaning was a matter of no concern. Association—here, a perpetuation of themes common to the two families—is more important than meaning.

Detailed studies of the early speech-habits of children would throw much light on the eccentric forms of many pet-names. A wreath sent recently by the Queen was from *Lilibet*, the name by which Her Majesty is known in the family circle, a deliberate perpetuation of her early attempts to pronounce her own name. My own daughter still answers to the name of *Titt*, a shortening of *Titter*, her first attempts at *sister*. A newly-wedded wife of my acquaintance regularly addressed her young husband as *sweetheart*, which gradually became *weetheart*, *sweetie*, *weetie* and finally *weet*, a pet-name used for many years. There must be many similar pet-names confined to a particular family and never seen in print. With such developments, it is not difficult to realize that a pet-name may have more than one origin, and that a single name may give rise to a variety of pet-names.

Diminutives

A few diminutives in *-uc* of OE origin survive (*Haddock*, *Whittock*, *Willcock*), but most are derivatives of French names. The most common suffixes are *-ot*, *-et*, *-un*, *-in*, *-el*: Philpot, Ibbott; Hewett, Jowett; Paton, Dickens; Rankin, Higgins; Pannel, Pottell.

Double diminutives are formed from these suffixes:

-el-in: Hamlin, Hewlins, Jacklin

-el-ot: Giblett, Roblett

-in-ot: Adnett, Rabnott

-et-in (rare): Turkentine

The variety of surnames resulting from these different forms of pet-names may be seen from the following (varieties of spelling ignored):

Richard (pronounced *Rich-ard* and *Rick-ard*):

Rich, Richings, Ritchie; Hitch, Hitchcock, Hitchen, Hitchman, Hitchmough Ricard, Rick, Ricky; Hick, Hicken, Hicklin, Hickman, Hickmott, Hickox; Higgett, Higgins, Higgs; Dick, Dickels, Dicken, Dickin, Dicketts, Dickie; Digg, Digger

Robert: Rabb, Rabbets, Rabjohn, Rablen, Rabnott; Robb, Robbie, Ropkins, Robins, Robjant, Roblett, Roblin; Dabbs, Dabin, Dabinett; Dobb, Dobbie, Dobbin; Hob, Hobbins, Hobday, Hobgen, Hoblin, Hopkin; Nabb, Nap, Nobbs, Nopp

Hugh: Hugo, Hue, Hew, How; Hewell, Hewett, Hewlett, Hewlins; Houchen, Howett, Howlett, Howlin (g); Hudd, Hudden, Huddle, Hudman, Hudsmith; Huelin, Huett, Huot; Huggett, Huggin, Huggon, Huglin; Hukin, Hewkin, Howkins; Hull, Hullett, Hullot; Hutchin

William: Will, Wilkin, Wilcock, Willet, Willott; Willmott, Wellemin, Wellerman, Willmin, Willament

Gill(ham), Gilliam, Gillet, Gillman, Guillerman, Gelman
v. also Henry, Jack, John, Maud, Paul, Philip.

The Suffixes -cock and -kin

These two suffixes are used to form diminutives of the more common names and are very frequently used as personal names, sometimes to distinguish son from father, sometimes as pet-names. John and Jankin, William and Wilkin, are both used as names of the same man. Compounds of *-cock* are less common and later than those of *-kin*, which are found already in the twelfth century: *Potechin* 1166, *Hardekin* 1175, *Lambekyn* 1178, *Wilekin* 1180, *Adekin* 1191; *Hellecoc* 1202, *Aleccoc* 1204, *Adecok*, *Wilcok* 1246. Occasionally they are compounded with women's names: *Edekin* 1279, *Malkyn* 1297, *Marekyn* 1390; *Becok*, *Geuecok* 1332.

Such names become more common from the middle of the thirteenth century and are very frequent in the fourteenth, particularly among the lower classes. The earliest examples of *-kin* are names of Flemings: *Derechin* (1158, Essex). *Wilechin* (1166, Newcastle) was the son of a moneyer who may have been a foreigner. This supports the common view that the suffix was brought from the Netherlands but there seems to be no concentration in the east, whilst *-kin* names were common in Cheshire at the end of the thirteenth century.

Classical Names

In addition to the usual sources, Old English, Old French, Old German and Old Norse, of the personal names, a few classical names appear: *Eneas* de Baddeby 1383–4 FFWa; *Aristotile* 1196 P (Hu); *Ciprianus* 1182–1211 BuryS; *Eusebius* Ailbrit 1279 RH (Hu); *Hercules* Loveden 1592 AD v (Berks); *Oratius* presbiter 1193 P (Ess); *Ignatius filius Athelwaldi* 1207 Cur (Nf); *Juvenalis* 1208 Cur; *Lucianus* de Scille 1212 Cur (Db); *Menelaus* 1202 AssNth; *Omerus* 1196 P (Ha); *Uirgilius* 1177–93 CartNat. Many of the saints' names were also of Greek or Latin origin, and probably owe their use in medieval times to this fact. In addition, the popularity of *Alexander* is probably due to the medieval romances dealing with the hero, and the appearance of *Achilles* de la Bech' 1221 AssSa, and *Hector* de Hilleg' 1222 Cur (Sf) to the romances on the Troy legend. Other names which probably owe their use to medieval romance include *Charlemayn* 1230 P (Wo); Rauf *Lancelot* 1506 TestEbor; *Eglamore* Muston 1476 IpmNt, and perhaps *Diggory Watur* 1461 SaAS 2/xi; *Digorie* Maker 1600 AD v (Co, D) to *Sir Degarre*.

Three names are of particular interest. In Old English the name *Beowulf* is known only from the Old English epic of which he is the hero. Since there are no other medieval references to the poem, it is impossible to know whether it or the name of its hero were at all widely known during the Old English period. But the name of *Beowulf* certainly survived until at least the end of the thirteenth century: *Bowulf* 1195 PN D 604; *Bowulf* de Rugeberge 1196 P (D); William *Bewlf* 1264–5 FFSx; William *Bewolf* 1296 SRSx; William *Beowoulf* 1297 MinAcctCo. This would suggest either that a knowledge of the

poem and of its hero long survived the Conquest, or that *Beowulf* was a normal Old English name, and not simply an invention by the author of the poem. In the romance of *Havelok the Dane*, written towards the end of the thirteenth century, one of the minor characters is a certain King Birkebayn. The name is usually taken to be derived from ON *Birkibeinar*, the name given to the followers of King Sverrir who fought his way to the throne of Norway in 1184. But it is found as a surname in England as early as the end of the twelfth century: William *Birkebein* 1199 Pleas (Nf); Renner *Birkebayn* 1232 Pat (L); Isabella *Birkebayn* 1297 SRY; John *Birkebayn* 1379 PTY. These would seem to indicate that it was probably an Old Norse nickname of a not uncommon type with *-beinn* as a second element, and not necessarily connected in any way with the *Birkibeinar* of *Sverrlssaga*. The *Geste of Robin Hood* is usually thought to have originated in the North or Midlands, and to be especially connected with Sherwood Forest. Yet the only examples of the use of the name as a surname come from the south: Gilbert *Robynhod* 1296 SRSx; Katherine *Robynhod* 1325 CorLo; Robert *Robynhoud* 1332 SRSx. It would seem probable that these surnames must be connected with the famous outlaw, but no explanation for their presence in the south at this date can be offered.

On the whole medieval feminine personal names were rather more varied than the masculine ones. Most of the latter had feminine equivalents, and whilst today a distinction is usually made between the two, e.g. Denis but Denise, Nicholas but Nichola, this was not the case in medieval England. In the records women's names are normally given a final *-a*, but in the vernacular the pronunciation of the names was usually much the same. Hence such names as Paulina, Eustacia, Andrea, Jurdana, Dionisia, were indistinguishable from the masculine forms, and have probably contributed to the resulting surnames.

Some classical feminine names were in use, though they have rarely given rise to surnames: *Camilla* 1208 Cur (Ess); *Caesaria* 12th Rams (Hu); *Cassandra* de Bosco 1283 SRSf; *Diana* 1256 AssNb; *Felicia* de Winterburn' 1208 P (W); *Olimpias* 1207 Cur (GI); *Philomena* 1202 FFY; *Prudencia* de Pavely 1210 Cur (Nf). In addition, some classical names were also the names of saints, and probably owe their use in medieval times to this fact: Agatha, Anastasia, Helen, Juliana, Katherine, Margaret, Euphemia, etc.

In the Middle Ages there was a fashion for fanciful feminine names, few of which have survived, or given rise to surnames: *Admiranda* 1231–2 FFK; *Amicabilis* 1232–3 FFWa; *Argentina* 1204 FFO; *Bonajoia* 1319 LLB E; *Clariandra* 1248 AssBerks; *Damisona* a1290 CartNat; *Desiderata* 1385 AD iv; *Diamanda* 1221 Cur (Mx); *Eglentina* 1213 Cur (Sx); *Epicelena* 1208 Cur; *Estrangia* 1202–3 FFK; *Finepopla* 1203 Cur (Sf); *Fousafia* 1218 AssL; *Imagantia* 1219 Cur (Sf); *Ynstauncia* Lyoun 1327 SRY; Joya 1195 FFEss; Jolicia 1219 Cur (K); *Melodia* 1212 Cur (Sf); *Modesty* 1269 FFY; Orabilia 1221 Cur (K); *Plesantia* West 1274 RH (Nf); *Popelina* 1212 Cur (L); *Preciosa* 1203 Cur (Herts); *Primaveira* 1226 FFWa; *Splendor* 1213 Cur (D); *Topacia* 1243 Glast (So).

SURNAMES OF OCCUPATION AND OFFICE

In early post-Conquest documents, the innumerable surnames of this type—almost invariably in Latin—refer to actual holders of the office, whether of church or of state: Abbot, Prior, Chancellor, Chamberlain, Steward (dapifer), or to ecclesiastical or manorial status: Monk, Dean, Reeve, Sergeant. Among the Normans some offices of state such as steward, constable, marshal, etc., became hereditary and gave rise to hereditary surnames, but the terms were also commonly used of lesser offices, whilst *marshal* was a common term for a farrier and such names frequently denoted the actual occupation. Abbots, priors, monks and nuns were bound by vows of celibacy and thus could not found families. As medieval surnames, these must be nicknames, ‘lordly as an abbot’, ‘meek as a nun’, often, too, bestowed on one of most unpriestly habits. Only occasionally do we find in the sources some indication that this is the case, e.g. Geoffrey *le Moyne* was constable of Newcastle in 1219 AssY, and so is unlikely to have been a monk. Similarly, cf. John *le prest le chaucer* c1250 Clerkenwell; William *Priour*, cossun 1283 LLB B; William called *le Clerk*, butcher 1336 Husting; Richard *Priur* lindraper 1300, Roger *le Mounk*, baker 1318 NorwDeeds.

Occupational surnames originally denoted the actual occupation followed by the individual. At what period they became hereditary is a difficult problem. In addition, such names as Pope, Cardinal, Legate, can never have been surnames of office in England, and must have been originally pageant-names. It has often been held that the absence of the article points to a hereditary surname, a supposition which cannot be upheld for early in the twelfth century the article is frequently omitted and the same man is called both Richard *turnur* and *le turnur* (12th DC). It is unlikely that, as Fransson suggests, trade-names were used as nicknames and that a man might be called ‘the shoemaker’ because he mended his own boots. But it is difficult to account satisfactorily for names like Mower, Ripper (reaper), Sawyer (sower), which must have been only seasonal occupations.

A marked feature is the surprising variety and specialized nature of medieval occupations, particularly in the cloth industry where Fransson (p. 30) has noted 165 different surnames, whilst the metal trades provide 108, and provision dealers 107 different names. Many of these were clumsy and have disappeared but other surnames still recall occupations or occupational terms long decayed: Arkwright, Ashburner, Barker (tanner), Billeter (bell-founder), Chaucer (shoe-maker), Cheesewright (cheese-maker), Deathridge (tinder-maker), Harbisher (maker of hauberks), Lister (dyer), Slaymaker (shuttle-maker), Thrower (silk-winder), Whittier (white leather-dresser).

Many of the occupation names were descriptive and could be varied. A worker in metal could be called both *Seintier* or *Bellyeter* from the bells he cast, or simply *Sporoner* from the spurs he made, or ‘moneyer’ if he made coins. William *le Pinour* ‘maker of combs’ was also called *le Horner* from the horn he used. Adam *le Marbrer* who paved part of St Paul’s and Peter the *Pavier* who paved St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster, both followed the same occupation. William *Founder* cast both bells and cannon.

Surnames of occupation are more common than the modern forms suggest. Many surnames, previously regarded as nicknames difficult to explain, are really occupational. Apart from mere shortening by which *Cofferer* and *Coverer* became *Coffer* and *Cover*, the name of the article made or the commodity dealt in was used by metonymy for the maker or dealer. Modern *Garlick* represents not only medieval *Garlek* but also *Garleker*

and *Garlekmonger*. *Cheese* is found as a surname in the twelfth century but, whilst *Cheser* has disappeared, both *Cheeseman* and *Cheesewright* survive. Of *Cheverell*, *Chevereller* and *Cheverelmonger*, only the metonymic *Cheverell* still exists. This frequent use of metonymy gives a satisfactory explanation of such names as *Death*, *Meal*, *Pouch*, etc. So, too, the man in charge of the colts or the palfreys was called not only *Colter* or *Coltman*, *Palfreyer* or *Palfreyman*, but also *Colt* or *Palfrey*. Thus, *Bull* and *Lamb* (sometimes from a personal name) are not always nicknames. They may be metonymic for *bull-herd* and *lamb-herd*.

Brooker and *Brook* (*atte Broke*) are undoubtedly local surnames, 'dweller by the brook'. *Bridge*, *Bridger* and *Bridgeman* may similarly be local, but as the keeper of the bridge, especially where tolls had to be collected, also lived near the bridge, the surnames may be occupational also. But names like *Kitchen* (*atte Kechene*), *Kitchener*, *Pantry*, *Buttery*, etc., must be occupational. The man worked in or had charge of the kitchen or the pantry or the buttery, but he certainly did not live in them. Similarly, *Hall*, *Haller*, *Hallman*, probably denote a servant at the hall, where he also may have lived. But the owner—probably the lord of the manor—would have a different surname, one commemorating his possessions or an ancestor.

NICKNAMES

That many modern surnames were originally nicknames is proved conclusively by the material in the following pages. No full and satisfactory classification can be attempted. Some are unintelligible; the meaning of many is doubtful. Nicknames arise spontaneously from some fortuitous chance. The schoolboy's 'Tiny' is usually a hefty giant in the first eleven, but 'Tubby' is more often an accurate description. In my schooldays, 'Feet' was the nickname of a tall, lanky individual, with heavy boots on large feet which caused havoc in the unorthodox football played during breaks. The chemistry master rejoiced in the name of 'Bublum Squeaks', a corruption of 'Bubble and Squeak'. He was excitable, no disciplinarian, with a voice which rose higher and higher to a shrill squeak as he vainly tried to make himself heard above the uproar in the laboratory. But why a colleague of his was known as 'Joe Plug' no one ever knew. His christian name was Arthur and his surname Watson. Even when the origin of a nickname is known, it is difficult to see why it should stick. A schoolboy, called on to translate a Latin Unseen about Polyphemus, was thenceforth 'Polly' to his friends. Why should one schoolmaster be called 'Wally' and another 'Mike', names impossible to associate with either christian name or surname? 'Kip' had an interesting history. Originally 'Skipper'—Why, nobody knew—it quickly became 'Kipper', later shortened to 'Kip'. It is not surprising, therefore, if we frequently fail to get behind the mentality of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and cannot interpret their nicknames.

Nicknames are common in medieval records, but comparatively few have given modern surnames. For many of them only a few examples of the nickname occur, and often enough there is only a single instance. This is not surprising; after all a nickname

refers essentially to the characteristics, habits, or appearance of a particular individual, and it is only rarely that any peculiarity will be inherited by his children.

Many medieval nicknames—some cruel and indescribably coarse—have disappeared. Some are simple and obvious, describing physical attributes or peculiarities: Head, Neck, Mouth, Leg, Foot, Shanks, and, with attributes, Broadhead, Redhead, Coxhead, Ramshead, Barefoot, Cruickshanks, Sheepshanks, Goosey, Hawkey, Pauncefote ‘arched belly’, Vidler ‘wolf-face’, Chaffin ‘bald’, Hurren ‘shaggy-haired’, Garnham ‘moustache’, Grelley ‘pock-marked’, etc.

Mental and moral characteristics are often particularized: Good, Moody ‘bold’, Sharp, Wise, Root ‘cheerful’; Daft ‘foolish’, Grim ‘fierce’, Musard ‘stupid’, Sturdy ‘reckless’, Proud, Prowse ‘doughty’, Vaisey ‘playful’, Gulliver ‘glutton’; abstract nouns, as Comfort, Greed, Lawty ‘loyalty’, Sollas, Verity, Wisdom. Here, too, belong such names as Gutsell ‘good soul’, Thoroughgood, Goodenough, Careless, Pennyfather ‘miser’, Girling ‘lion-heart’, Gaine ‘trickery’, Fairweather, Milsopp.

Names of animals may be nicknames, descriptive of appearance or disposition. *Lamb* may denote meekness, *Bull* strength or a headstrong nature, *Colt* a lively, frisky individual, but they may often be used of a keeper of these animals. Bird names are not always easy to interpret: Raven ‘black’, Heron, Stork ‘long legs’, Nightingale and Thrush ‘songsters’, Kite ‘ravenous’. Plant names may refer to a grower or seller, but may be nicknames: Cardon ‘thistle’, obstinate, stubborn, Pinnell ‘tall and upright as a young pine’.

Names derived from dress and equipment are often occupational: Cottle ‘cutler’, Hood, Capp, Mantell, probably makers of these, but some are nicknames from a partiality for a particular type of dress: Greenhead ‘green hood’, Hussey ‘booted’, Gildersleeve ‘golden sleeves’, Shorthouse or Shorthose ‘short boot’.

Many names, originally nicknames, were undoubtedly used as occupation names: Besant ‘banker’, Blampin ‘white-bread’, a baker, Collop ‘ham and eggs’, a cook-house keeper, Drinkwater, sometimes a taverner, Goodale ‘beer-seller’.

Particularly interesting are what have been called ‘phrase names’, a term not entirely satisfactory, as there are two distinct types, the first consisting chiefly, but not entirely, of oath names, the second of ‘imperative names’, again an unsatisfactory term, as the verb may be merely the verbal stem. Oath names are chiefly French: Debney ‘God bless you’, Dugard ‘God protect you’, Pardew, Purday, Purefoy, Pepperday. Of English origin are: Godbehere, Godsave ‘for God’s sake’, and, sometimes, Mothersole. From habitual expressions: Goodday, Goodenday, Goodyear, Drinkale, Bonnally, and the French Bonger ‘bon jour’.

‘Imperative names’ consist of a verb plus a noun or an adverb. A few examples are found in Domesday Book but they are not common until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Most are of French origin but the majority of those surviving are English, with some translations of the French: Crakebone (Brisbane), Cutbush (Tallboys), and a few hybrids: Bindloss, Pritlove, Shakesby ‘draw sword’. Many of these nicknames are more or less derogatory occupation names: Bendbow (archer), Copestake (wood-cutter), Waghorn (trumpeter), Wagstaff (beadle), Catchpole (constable), Fettiplace (usher). There are various such names for ‘butcher’: Knatchbull ‘fell bull’, Killebolle, Hackbon ‘hack bones’, Fleshacker, Hoggsflesh. Others denote a fishmonger, Rottenherring, Oldherring,

Freshfish, while a wolf-hunter appears as Findlow, Catchlove, Prichlove, Bindloes, all with Old French *louve* 'wolf' as the second element. Crawlboys 'fell wood', Tallboys 'cut wood', Warboys 'guard wood', and Hackwood, are all nicknames for a forester, Whitepayn and Blampin 'white bread', Havercake 'oat bread', and Buntflower 'sieve flour' for a baker. In addition, we find Wendout and Startout for a messenger, Shakelance and Lanceleaf for a soldier, Packstaff for a pedlar, Treadwater and Trenchemer 'cut the sea' for a sailor, Treacle for an apothecary, and Wagpole for a minor official. Others indicate some quality or characteristic: Scattergood (spendthrift), Sherwin (speed), Makepeace, Turnbull (strength or bravery), Bevin (drinker), Crawcour (break-heart), Dolittle, Hakluyt (lazy), Parlabeane (good-speaker), Standfast, Standalone, etc.⁵⁰

The main difficulty with nicknames lies in the interpretation of them. There may be more than one possible meaning, e.g. *Quant*, from ME *quoint*, *queynte*, had various meanings in medieval England, 'strange, curious, ingenious, clever, crafty', and we can rarely tell which sense is intended in any particular case. Similarly *Hare* may mean a fast runner, or a timid person. Sometimes the nickname means the opposite of what it says, so that *Little John* may refer to a giant, and this could often be the case with other nicknames.

Certainly the actual meanings of many nicknames are unknown. It is usually possible to give a literal meaning to the name, but exactly what it meant when attached to a particular individual it is impossible to say. So, for example, with those nicknames which have *-rose* as a second element, Pluckrose, Portrose, Ringrose, Spurnrose, Woodrose. Nicknames involving money may refer to the value of a holding, e.g. Andrew *Tenmark* 1279 RH (C), but it is unlikely that this can be the explanation for Thomas *Quatresoz* 1300 LLB C 'four sous'. Other names seem to refer to age, but it is difficult to know what to make of William *Two yer old* 1311 Ronton; Thomas *Twowynterold* 1327 SREss; Margaret *Tenwynter* 1476 SIA xii; Laurence *Sixweeks* 1570 FrLei, which can hardly refer to the actual ages of the persons concerned. Other difficult names are Robert *Cristendom* 1429 AssLo, Adam *Greneleaf* 1327 SRSf 'green leaf', John *Dubbedent* 1160 P 'polish teeth', John *Hurthevene* 1288 CtW 'harm heaven', Thomas *Monelight* 1470 RochW, Geoffrey *Trailwing* 1200 P (Y). In order to give some indication of the variety of nicknames in medieval records, a good many are included in the entries below, although they may not have given rise to modern surnames.

HEREDITY OF SURNAMES

The rise of surnames, according to the accepted theory, was due to the Norman Conquest when Old English personal names were rapidly superseded by the new christian names introduced by the Normans. Of these, only a few were really popular and in the twelfth century this scarcity of christian names led to the increasing use of surnames to distinguish the numerous individuals of the same name.⁵¹ This is an oversimplification. Bynames—both English and Scandinavian—are found in England before the Conquest. Some Normans had hereditary surnames before they came to England. Evidence is

accumulating that the Old English personal names lived on longer than has been supposed, a fact confirmed by the large number of modern surnames to which they have given rise and which must have been in living use after the Conquest. The new French personal names, too, were more varied than is commonly believed. A few, William, Robert, Richard and John, certainly became much more popular than the rest, but it was not from these that the earliest patronymic surnames were formed. It is often assumed that men 'adopted' their surnames. Some certainly did, but the individual himself had no need for a label to distinguish him from his fellows. The development of the feudal system made it essential that the king should know exactly what service each knight owed. Payments to and by the exchequer required that debtors and creditors should be particularized. The lawyers saw to it that the parties to transfers of land or those concerned in criminal proceedings could be definitely identified. Monasteries drew up surveys and extents with details of tenants of all classes and their services. And later the net was thrown wider in the long lists of those assessed in the subsidy rolls. It was the official who required exact identification of the individual. His early efforts often consisted of long-winded descriptions attached to a personal name. Any description which definitely identified the man was satisfactory—his father's name, the name of his land, or a nickname known to be his. The upper classes—mostly illiterate—were those with whom the officials were chiefly concerned and among them surnames first became numerous and hereditary. It is noteworthy that in London, with its organized government and elaborate records, surnames became fixed early among the patrician classes.

There is evidence that surnames would have developed in England even had there been no Norman Conquest. Towards the end of the Old English period, a limited number of personal names were becoming particularly popular. In the Suffolk Domesday the names of 217 freemen in the Hundred of Colneis are given, only four having bynames. In nine villages there were two or more men of the same name and the clerk was driven to occasional descriptions such as *alter Vluric* 'and a second Wulfric'. In Burgate 4 out of 15 men were named *Godric*, of whom one had a nickname *Godric long*. In Burgh, of 16 persons, two were named *Almer* and three *Godric*. At Micklegate, *Goda*, at Trimley, *Derstan*, each occurs twice in four names. The inevitable result of this state of affairs can be seen from a list of names of Suffolk peasants (c1095).⁵² Of 660, more than half (359) had a single name only; 104 were described by their father's name (*Ailuard Goduini filius*); 163 had bynames of the various types (*Brihtmer Haiuuard*, *Aluric Godhand*, *Lemmer Brihtmer*, *Ulfuine de Laueshel*)—a clear indication of the rise of surnames among peasants of English ancestry and name.

The only serious discussion of the heredity of surnames is that of Fransson.⁵³ His material is late and some of it inconclusive. His general conclusions are sound but require some modification: 'Hereditary surnames existed among the Norman noblemen already in the early 12th century. Among people in general they began to come into use in the following century, and by the end of this they were fairly frequent (especially local surnames and nicknames). This custom increased rapidly in the course of the fourteenth century, and by the end of it practically all people were provided with hereditary surnames.'

His suggestion that one reason for the rise of surnames was that a need was felt to unite the members of a family by means of a common surname is unlikely. It assumes that

surnames were adopted and not given and would hardly apply to nicknames. Nor does it explain the varied surnames found in the twelfth century for different members of the same family. Whether local surnames, because of their frequency, had any influence on the fixing of surnames is doubtful. For barons and important land-holders to derive their surnames from their fiefs or manors was natural, but these form only a small proportion of the whole. When surnames like Nash, Wood, etc., became hereditary is a problem for which material is seldom available. In London, local surnames indicated the place from which the man had come, and became hereditary early.

Surnames of various types found in Domesday Book became hereditary at once: Bruce, Glanville, Montgoraery, Percy (from French fiefs), Giffard, Peverell (patronymics), Basset and Gernon (nicknames).⁵⁴ Robert de Stafford, a brother of Ralph de Toeni (a surname surviving into the fourteenth century), took his surname from the head of his English barony. The fact that father and son bore the same surname is not always, as assumed by Tengvik and Fransson, a proof that the surname was hereditary. Robertus *Balistarius* held Worstead (Norfolk) in 1086 by serjeanty of performing the duties of *arbalistarius*. His son, Odo *arbalistarius*, inherited the office and the lands (c1140 Holme) and owed his surname either to inheritance or to his office. He is also called Odo *de Wrthesteda* (c1150 Crawford) and his son Richard and his grandson Robert were both called *de Worsted* (1166, 1210 Holme).

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries surnames of the type Johannes *filius Hugonis* are common, side by side with Johannes *Hugo*, where the son has his father's christian name as his surname. Such names indicate the beginning of a hereditary surname, but proof that it became established is often lacking:

Hugo filius Wisman, Hugo Wisman 1166–7 P (Nf)

Walterus filius Abelot, Walter Abelot 1195–6 P (Sa)

John le fiz michel 1292 SRLo, John Michel 1301 LoCt

Paganus le Cachepol, father of William Payn 1285 Ass (Ess)

John Gerveis son of Gervase de Pelsedun 1299 AD vi (K)

Such names as the following are probably already hereditary:

Reginald Ridel son of Hugh Ridel 1156–80 Bury (Nth)

Ralph Belet son of William Belet 1176 P (Sr)

William Brese son of Roger Brese 1210 P (Nf)

Gote Ketel, brother of Peter Ketel; Thomas Ketel son of Peter Ketel c1200, 1218–22 StP (Lo)

Clear evidence of heredity:

A charter of 1153 of Agnes de Sibbeford, wife of Ralph Clement, is witnessed by Hugo Clement and William, son of Ralph Clement, who is later called Willelmus Clemens, with a brother Robertus Clemens (1155 Templars).

Thomas Noel, founder of Ronton Priory, is so called in 1182–5. His father was Robert Noel (ib.), who is called Robertus Noelli filius (c1150 StCh).

Probably hereditary:

William Shepescank, Gilbert his brother, John Sepesank' 1224 Cur (Nf)

John Caritas, Simon Caritas, brothers 1265 FrLeic

William Lefthand, Ralph Lefthand 1268 FrLeic

Peter Wedercok son of Symon Wedircok 1302 Miller (C)

The twelfth century was also a period of vacillation and change in surnames:

Ralph, son of Robert Puintel de Walsham, had two brothers, William de Criketot and Ralph Cangard (12th Holme). He is also called Ralph de Crichetot (1141–9 ib.), with a son Hubert de Criketot (1163–6 ib.).

Philip de Powyk (1147–54 Holme) was a brother of Geoffrey Ridel (1153–68 ib.), a son of Richard Basset, and is called Philip Basset in 1185 (RotDom).

Stigand the priest (1126–7 Holme) had three sons: Thurbern the dean (1126–7), Simond de Ludham (1153–66) and Robert de Ludham or de Ling (1141–9). Simon's son and grandson were Thomas and Stephen de Walton (1175–86).

Griffin de Tweyt (1153–68 Holme) had a son Osbern de Thurgerton (1140–53) who married Cecilia, daughter of Roger de Curcun. Their son was Robert de Thweyt (1153–6) or de Curcun or Robert de Curcun de Thweyt (1186–1210). His son was Robert the Clerk.

In London, surnames of all kinds, patronymics, local, occupational and nicknames, became hereditary among the patrician classes in the twelfth century. They steadily increase in number and are frequent by the end of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵ At the same time, there are many later examples which are not hereditary, especially among the lower classes:

Luke le Ayler father of Walter le Mazerer 1278 LLB A, 1306 LLB B

Henry called Cros, son of William le Hornere 1303 LLB C

Amiel de Honesdon, late chandler, or Amiel le Chaundeller had two daughters: Johanna Amyel and Cristina la Chaundeller 1349 Husting

Bartholomew Guidonis (1357 LLB G) or Castiloun (1369 ib.) was father of John Changeour (1384 ib.)

Definite information on the development of surnames among the common folk is difficult to find. Their names mostly occur in isolation, with little or no indication of relationship. Fransson has suggested several methods by which heredity can be inferred when relationship is not given. When two men of the same name are distinguished by the addition of *senior* and *junior*, it is a fair assumption that they were father and son.⁵⁶ Such examples are fairly common in the subsidy rolls and later.

Further, he notes that in the subsidy rolls it is not uncommon to find several men of the same name assessed in the same village and suggests, very plausibly, that where the surname is a nickname, it has become hereditary. The same might be said of patronymics. Local surnames are not safe instances. There is no proof that the man did not actually live

at the place. Similarly, an occupational name may well mean that the man followed that particular occupation. But when a trade-name, different from the surname, follows it, we may safely assume that the surname was hereditary. His caution that a man might have had two trades or that a trade-name might be a nickname seems unnecessary. Examples are found in London in the thirteenth century and elsewhere later, though they are rare where they would be most valuable—in the subsidy rolls: John le Spencer, spicer 1306 LoCt; John Pistor, Taillour 1319 SRLo; John Mariner, hatter 1327 Pinchbeck (Sf); John le Fysshher, pistor, Robert Muleward, carpentarius 1353 Putnam (W).

Where material is available, a further test is to compare different documents of different periods relating to the same village. For Suffolk we have two surveys of the manors of the Bishop of Ely for 1221 and 1277, full of names. Many of these peasants had no surname and most bore English or Scandinavian names. In fifteen parishes, we find the same surname in 1221 and 1277 as in the subsidy of 1327 and these can safely be regarded as hereditary. Only two or three parallels are found, as a rule, in any one parish, but in Glemsford, six surnames occur in both 1221 and 1277, 2 in 1277 and 1327, and one (*Curteis*) in all three years. In Rattlesden, seven surnames occur both in 1221 and 1327, *Haliday* twice in each year, *Barun* twice in 1221, *Hardheved* twice in 1327.

For the Bury manors we have a subsidy of 1283 for Blackburn Hundred, unfortunately damaged, with the loss of many names, and surveys of the Hundreds of Thedwestrey, Thingoe, Blackburn, Cosford and Babergh c1 188–90. These surveys are much less detailed than those of the Ely manors and contain many fewer names. In 27 parishes we find some of the surnames of 1327 also in one or both the earlier documents, cumulative evidence that surnames were becoming hereditary throughout the county. In Stanton, N. *Wluric* of 1283 probably owed his surname to *Wuluricus filius fabri* of 1188. *Cat* is found in all three documents, *Hubert* and *Kenne* in 1283 and 1327, *Cauel* and *Brunston* in 1188 and 1327. In Hopton, Honington and Troston six, in Walsham five, and in Culford, Rickinghall and Ixworth Thorpe four surnames occur in both 1283 and 1327.

A noteworthy feature of the southern subsidy rolls is the large number of surnames formed from Old English personal names no longer in use in the county: Worcestershire (1275) 203, Somerset (1327) 208, Suffolk (1327) 441, Surrey (1332) 85; Yorkshire (1297) 17, Lancashire (1332) 1. The complete disappearance of these personal-names proves that the surnames must have become hereditary. There is also evidence of a marked difference between north and south and a hint of a variation in the rate of development in the southern counties themselves.

Much detailed work remains to be done before the full facts can be known. But it appears that surnames among the common people became hereditary later than those of the upper classes. They are found in the thirteenth century and are well established in the south by the middle of the fourteenth. But there is clear proof that many men still had no surname and that many were still not hereditary. In 1381 SRSf, whilst 5 men followed a trade different from that indicated by their surname, there were 20 whose surname denoted their occupation (John Soutere, soutere; Walter Webb, webber). Later examples of the instability of surnames are: William Saukyn *alias* Archer (1442), Philip Daunce *alias* Defford (1473); John Walworth, called Mundis (1502), John Bullok *alias* Byde (1527), Richard Bolle *alias* Bronde (1568 ER 61); Richard Johnson *alias* Jackson, whose daughters were Margaret Richardson and Elizabeth Richardson 1568 AD v (Ch);

Richard son of Geoffrey *Reynald* of Edmascote otherwise called Richard *Ryvelle*, otherwise Richard son of Joan, daughter of William *Ryvell* 1408 Cl. Another example of a surname from a mother's name is: John *Organ* of Treworian, son of *Organa*, wife of Ives de Treworian 1327 AD v.

Yorkshire Names

The editor of *Freemen of York*⁵⁷ notes that surnames were chiefly from place-names or trade-names. In the earlier years, patronymics were non-existent except as 'Thomas filius Johannis de Wistow' (1295), or, 'Thomas filius Johannis praepositi de Wistow' (1295). Names such as 'Johannes filius Davidis, pulter' (1277) were exceptional. The earliest name in *-son* is 1323. 'It is still later [than the reign of Henry IV] before we find the son invariably taking his father's name; one of the last, if not the last instance to the contrary, occurs in [1431] when we find Robertus de Lynby, fil. Thomae Johnson.' Derogatory nicknames survived late: Henry Scrapetrough, molendinarius 1293; William Whitebrow, plasterer 1333; John Nevergelt, goldsmith 1431; William Heteblack, baker 1460.

A tenement in Nawton was acquired by a certain Abraham and passed to his son Robert and so to John Abraham grandfather of William Abraham who held it in 1298.⁵⁸ This surname goes back, therefore, to 1200 or earlier. In the thirteenth century, William Samson owed his surname to his great grandfather Sansom de Alreton (Kirkstall). There is some evidence of heredity of surnames, too, in York where a number of freemen followed occupations different from those denoted by their surnames: Richard le warner, carnifex 1319; Richard le sauser, pelter, son of John le Sauser 1331; Thomas le hosteler, mariner 1331; Adam Fetheler, mercer 1360. But there is much evidence to the contrary: William Belle, son of Andrew le taillour 1316; William Candler, son of Robert de Stoke 1324; Thomas le parchemyner, son of John le hatter 1334; Johannes filius Willelmi filii Ricardi de Carleton, draper 1339; William Whitehals son of Henry de Marston, webster 1369; John Byller, baxter, son of Henry Holtbyman, milner 1427.

The Yorkshire Subsidy Rolls confirm the impression that surnames were transient and ephemeral. There are only occasional hints of heredity. Most surnames were local, occupational or nicknames. In 1297 (3,160 names) 17 per cent had names of the *filius*-type; in 1301 (8,400 names) 21 per cent; in 1327 (4,500 names) 13 per cent; christian name plus christian name (e.g. Robert Reyner) accounted for 6 per cent in 1297, 3 per cent in 1301 and 1327. Names like Johnson were very rare: 2 in 1297, 5 in 1301, 12 in 1327.

The West Riding Poll-tax of 1379 (19,600 names) provides material quite unlike that found in the south and paralleled only by the East Riding Poll-tax of 1381. The *filius*-type of name is much less common than in 1327; that in *-son* much more common. What is noticeable is the frequency of names in *-wyf*, and *-doghter* and those of servants in *-man*, *-servant*, *-woman*, *-mayden*, besides names indicating other relationships in *-brother*, *-cosyn*, *-syster*, *-stepson*:

Matilda Hanwyfe, Elena Hobsonwyf, Beatrice Clerkwyf, Alice Caresonwyf, Dionisia Raulynwyf, Johanna Jackewyf

Matilda ffoxdoghter, Isabella Shephirdoghter, Johanna Rosedoghter, Johanna

Malkyndoghter, Magota Stevendoghter, Johana Robyndoghter

In two instances we have a man's surname: Robertus ffelisdoghter et Cecilia vxor ejus; Richard Wryghtdoghter

John Websterman, Thomas Masonman. Husband and wife were at times servants of the same man: William Mathewman, Magota Mathewwoman; Adam Parsonman, Emma Parsonwoman

Richard Hogeservant, Johanna Vikarservant, Elena Houchounservant

Isabella Vikerwoman, Johanna Prestewoman, Margareta Hallewoman

Matilda Marschalmaydyn, Alice Gibmayden, Elisot' Milessonmayden, Alice Martynmayden

Robert Parsonbrother, Henry Parsoncosyn, Agnes Vikercister, Alice Prestsyster servant, John Robertstepson

In these names, the suffix was often added to the surname and the master, etc., may be named separately:

John Odson, Alice Odsonwyf; William de Bilton, Roger Biltonman; Robert de Wallerthwayte, Margareta Wallerthwaytdoghter; Emma Hurle, Johanna Hurlemayden; Ellota de Helagh, Agnes Helaghmayden; John Whitebred, Adam Wytbredman, John Adamson Whitebredman

Similarly, names in *-son* were also based on the surname:

John Payg, John Paygson; Richard Parlebone, Robert Parlebeneson; Matilda Millot', Roger Millotson; John Websterson; Adam Souterson. cf. also Roger Taylourson, Agnes Taylourdoghter; William Saunderson, Alice Saunderdoghter; William Milneron, Agnes Milnerwyf. The wife of Roger *Wright* was Elena *Wrightwyf*; his son, John *Wrightson*.

The sons of William Jonson are named William Willeson Johanson and Benedict Willeson Johnson; that of Robert Hudson was William Robynson Hudson. Wives were similarly named: Margareta Wilkynwyf Raulynson, Agnes Dycounwyfdowson.

It is abundantly clear that in the north surnames became hereditary much later than in the south. There is a fair amount of evidence that a number of occupation names had become hereditary, but many certainly had not. In his *Memoirs of the Wilsons of Bromhead*,⁵⁹ Joseph Hunter demolishes the earlier pedigrees by proving errors of heralds and forging of documents. The family descended ultimately from William, father of John de Hunsshelf or de Waldershelf (b. c1320) but owed their surname, not to this William, but to William (1369–87), father of John Wilson de Bromhead who is called John son of William son of John de Waldershelf in 1398. Hunter notes that John Dyson de Langeside derived his surname from his mother Dionysia de Langside (1369) and that a Thomas Richardson was the son of Richard de Schagh (1409). 'This (1380)', he concludes, 'was the age at which that class of surnames, which end in *-son*, began to be assumed', a conclusion not inconsistent with the evidence above.

WELSH SURNAMES

Hereditary surnames in Wales are a post-sixteenth century development. Many of the

modern surnames derived from old Welsh personal names arose in England where they became hereditary in the fourteenth century or earlier, long before such surnames were known in Wales; some, in the eastern counties, derive from Breton immigrants. The normal type of Welsh name was a patronymic: Madog ap Jevan ap Jorwerth, 'Madoc, son of Evan, son of Yorwerth', a type which resulted ultimately in such names as Pumfrey, Benian, Bevan, etc. In 1292, 48 per cent of Welsh names were patronymics of this kind (in some parishes, over 70 per cent); others included nicknames, occupation-names and some local surnames. The great majority of the surnames in the Extent of Chirk (1392–3) were of this patronymic type, with occasional nicknames (Jevan Gough, Ithel Lloit, Grono Vachann), rare occupational-names (Madog Taillour), and a few simple personal-names (Jevan Annwyl, Jevan Gethin), none of which were hereditary.

In later Chirk documents these patronymics are still the normal form. In 1538, all the thirteen men of a jury had names like: *John ap Madog ap Gryffyd ap Res junior*. There is evidence that a change had begun. Edward *ap Richard* and Edward *ap Robert* point to the future preponderance of the Welsh Jones, Williams and Roberts. In 1536 we find one such name already hereditary: John Edwards son of William Edwards. It was only in the reign of Henry VIII that surnames began to be hereditary among the gentry of Wales and the custom spread only slowly among the common people. Even in the nineteenth century, in Merionethshire, it was still not uncommon for a man to take his father's christian name as his surname: e.g. William Roberts son of Robert Williams. The three sons of Evan Thomas and Gwen Jones were known as Howal Thomas, Hugh Evans and Owen Jones, surnames derived (i) from the father's surname, (ii) from his christian name, (iii) from the mother's surname. In the nineteenth century, the frequency of Jones, Williams, etc., brought a need for further distinction and a tendency developed to create double surnames by prefixing the name of a house, parish or the mother's surname, as Cynddylan Jones, Rhondda Williams, etc.⁶⁰ In the following generation a hyphen was often introduced, hence Nash-Williams, etc.

SCOTTISH SURNAMES

The earliest surnames in Scotland, found in the reign of David I (1124–53), were those of Normans: Robert de Brus, Robert de Umfraville, Gervase Ridel, etc., surnames which had already become hereditary in England and were later to be reinforced by such names as Balliol, Cumin, etc. In the towns, the burgesses bore English or continental personal names, with trade-names or occasional nicknames.

In Scotland, early material for the study of surnames is much later than in England. Many names are undocumented before the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, a period so late that definite etymologies are often impossible. 'The largest and most authentic enumeration now extant of the nobility, barons, landowners and burgesses as well as of the clergy of Scotland, prior to the fourteenth century,' is the Ragman Roll⁶¹ which records the deeds of homage made to Edward I in 1296—an English official document. 'No part of the public records of Scotland prior to that era has been preserved from which

any detailed information of the kind might have been derived.’⁶² The surnames in the Ragman Roll are, for the most part, of the same type as those found in English sources of the same period—local, patronymic, occupational and nicknames. A number of local surnames derive from places in Scotland. Gaelic surnames occur, but form a distinct minority: e.g. Fergus Mac Dowilt, Macrath ap Molegan, Huwe Kenedy, Dovenal Galbrathe.

In 1382, of 56 tenants of Fermartyne excommunicated by the Bishop of Aberdeen,⁶³ 23 had names like Robertus filius Abraam. Celtic personal names were rare. The solitary Gaelic surname is Adam Kerde (Caird ‘craftsman’). Of the 23 surnames, 4 are patronymics from OE personal-names, *Bronnyng*, with three examples of *Freluf* (v. Browning, Freelove); 12 are local; one is Scandinavian, John Grefe (v. Grave); 3 are occupational (Cissor, Barkar, Faber); 2 are nicknames (Gray, Mykyl).

The surnames of 50 members of the Guild of Ayr (c1431)⁶⁴ have all the appearance of modern surnames: 16 patronymics (Neil Neilsoun, Patrik McMartyr, Patrik Ahar, Patoun Dugald); 6 local; 12 occupational (Listar, Walkar) and 5 nicknames (Petit, Cambell, Broun, Lang).

The paucity of Gaelic names in these sources is noteworthy. They are from the Lowlands, from Ayr and from Aberdeen, which ‘was already predominantly English-speaking in the twelfth century’.⁶⁵ The Lowland Scots dialects derive from Northern English, though they have developed their own pronunciations and characteristic vocabularies, and Lowland surnames developed on the same lines as those in England, though they were slower to become hereditary. At the end of the fifteenth century and later we find clear evidence that surnames were not generally fixed. In 1473 the son of Thomas Souter was named David Thomson and in 1481 Alexander Donaldson was the son of Donald Symonson. The frequent patronymics were not permanent. They changed with each succeeding generation and in the Highlands it was not until the eighteenth century that this custom was abandoned.

It was a common practice in Scotland for a laird to take his name from the estate, which itself was often named from its owner. The lands of Hugh de Paduinan (1165–73) were called from him *villa Hugonis* or *Huwitston* ‘the estate of *Hewitf*, a pet-form of *Hugh*. His descendants took hence their surname, Fynlawe *de Hustone* (1296 CalSc), now *Houston*. Similarly, the modern *Symington* derives from *Symoundestone* (now Symington, Lanarkshire), the barony once held by *Symon* Locard (c1160). Owing to the frequency of such territorial names, lairds and farmers were often called by the name of their estate or farm and signed their letters and documents by their farm-names. In the seventeenth century an Act was passed forbidding any except noblemen and clerics of high office so to sign themselves but such estate-names long persisted in speech.

In the Highlands, hereditary surnames developed late. The clan system resulted in large numbers of people with the same name, but no specific surname of their own. The desire for protection in unsettled times caused men to attach themselves to a powerful clan and to assume its name. Chiefs of clans and heads of landed families increased the number of their followers by conciliation or coercion, and all took the name of the clan. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the rapid increase in the Clan Mackenzie was due to the inclusion of the old native tenants on lands acquired from time to time by the chiefs. ‘Fraser of the boll of meal’ were poor Bissets who had changed their name to Fraser for

a bribe. Oppressed people from the neighbouring districts sought the protection of Gilbert Cumin who adopted them as clansmen by baptizing them in the stone hen-trough at his castle door. Henceforth they were 'Cumins of the hen-trough' to distinguish them from Cumins of the true blood.⁶⁶

In 1603 an Act was passed ordering the McGregors to renounce their name under pain of death. Some took the names of Johnestoun, Doyle, Menzies or Ramsay. For loyalty to Charles II the Act was repealed in 1661 but revived in 1693.⁶⁷ In 1695 'Evan, formerly called M'Grigor' was granted permission to resume his surname of McGregor for life, but only on condition that he gave his children a different surname, for which he chose *Evanson*.⁶⁸

After the Battle of Culloden (1746), Gaelic names began to creep into the Lowlands and were often anglicized to overcome Lowland hostility. English or Lowland surnames were adopted. Names were translated, Johnson for Maciain, Livingstone for MacLevy, Cochrane for Maceachrain. Macdonald became Donald or was translated Donaldson. In the years after 1820, began a steady influx of Irishmen into south-west Scotland, especially into Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Ayrshire and Galloway, with further corruption of Gaelic names: Doyle for O'Toole, Swan for McSweeney,

Graham for McGrimes and Cuming for McSkimming.⁶⁹ The modern bearer of a clan surname, therefore, is not necessarily a member of the clan by blood or heredity. Nor does a Gaelic or English surname prove descent. A Celtic surname may be borne by one with very little Celtic blood in his veins, whilst a man with an Anglo-Saxon name may be almost a pure Celt.⁷⁰

Clan-names

The varied origins of Scottish surnames is well illustrated by the names of the clans.

From Scottish places: Baird, Brodie, Buchanan, Chisholm, Cunningham, Douglas, Drummond, Erskine, Forbes, Gordon, Innes, Keith, Leslie, Livingstone, Murray, Ogilvie, Ramsay, Ross, Skene, Sutherland, Urquhart

Gaelic: Cameron, Campbell, Clan Chattan, Duncan, Farquharson, Ferguson, Gow, Kennedy, Maclennan, Macalpine, Macarthur, Macbean, Maccallum, Maccoll, Macdonald, Macdonnell, Macdougall, Macduff, Macewen, Macfarlane, Macfie, MacGillivray, Macinnes, Macintosh, Macintyre, Mackay, Mackenzie, Mackinnon, Maclaren, Maclean, Maclaine, Macmillan, Macnab, Macnaughton, Macneill, Macpherson, Macquarrie, Macqueen, Macrae, Malcolm, Matheson, Munro, Rob Roy, Shaw

French: Anderson, Bruce, Cumin, Davidson, Fletcher, Fraser, Grant, Hay, Henderson, Johnston, Macalister, MacGregor, MacNicol, Menzies, Montgomery, Morrison, Napier, Oliphant, Robertson, Sinclair

English: Armstrong, Barclay, Elliot, Graham, Hamilton, Lindsay, Scott, Stewart, Wallace

Scandinavian: Gunn, Kerr, Lamont, Macaulay, MacIvvarr, MacLachlan, MacLeod

IRISH SURNAMES

Surnames appear in Ireland in the middle of the tenth century. These were patronymics formed by prefixing *O* or *Ua* to the grandfather's name or *Mac* to the father's, whether a personal or an occupation name. Of these, the *Mac*-names are the later. It has been claimed that these surnames became hereditary by an ordinance of Brian Boru (1002–14) but neither Brian himself nor his sons had hereditary surnames. It was only in the time of his grandsons that O'Brien first came into existence. The development of such surnames was slow and spread over several centuries. Definite evidence is lacking and patronymics have been confused with hereditary family names. Woulfe considers that by the end of the twelfth century surnames were universal in Ireland but admits that they were not at first of a lasting character, and in some instances were laid aside after a generation or two in favour of new surnames taken from less remote ancestors. He admits, too, that some surnames are not older than the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, whilst a few originated in the sixteenth century.⁷¹

The Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland had a similar effect to that of the Norman Conquest in England. New personal names were introduced, and a new type of surname. Some Normans took names from Irish places: John de Athy, Adam de Trim, both now rare surnames in Ireland. Burke, Birmingham and London derive from Anglo-Normans, as do Bassett, Bissett, Savage; Hammond, Hewlett, Sampson.

A list of about 1,500 Dublin surnames of the end of the twelfth century contains very few that could not appear in an English list of the same period. The personal names are mostly French, with a fair sprinkling of English and Scandinavian (Godwin, Ailward, Cristraid, Edwacer; Torsten, Swein, Toki, Turchetel). Of the few Celtic names, Bricius, Samsun and Cradok are found in England. Only Padin, Cullin and Gillamorus are pure Irish. So, too, with the surnames: local names from Colchester, Leominster and Worcester; common occupational names, *lorimer*, *turnur*, etc.; nicknames as Holega, Litalprud, le Crespe, le Gentil, Prudfot, Unred, Philip Unnithing, etc. Walter palmer was the son of David de Tokesburi. There is no hint of hereditary surnames. Two similar lists of some 550 free citizens (1225–50) and of about 200 members of the Dublin Guild Merchant (1256–7) are similar in nature.⁷² The names are Anglo-Norman names established in Ireland.

At Limerick and Cork, in 1295, surnames were Irish:⁷³ O'Kynnedey, Ofechan, Omoriharthi, Maccloni, Maccarthen. Irishmen were beginning to use French christian names: Reginald, Maurice, Thomas, Walter.

One result of the Anglo-Norman settlement was that names acquired two forms, one Irish, one English. Some English settlers adopted Irish names. The Birminghams took the surname of MacFeeter from Peter de Bermingham and the Stauntons that of Mac an Mhiliadha (MacEvelly) from Milo de Staunton. After the murder of William de Burgo, third earl of Ulster, in 1333 and the lessening of English power in Ireland, many Anglo-Norman families in Connaught and Munster adopted the Irish language and assumed Irish surnames (MacWilliam, MacGibbin, etc.) and became so thoroughly hibernicized that in

1366 an Act was passed ordering that ‘every Englishman use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming by the Irish’.⁷⁴ In 1465 an attempt was made to stamp out the use of Irish names among the Irish themselves. Every Irishman living in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare was ordered to assume ‘an English surname of a town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skreen, Cork, Kinsale; or a colour, as White, Black, Brown; or an art, as Smith or Carpenter; or an office, as Cook, Butler’. The name so selected was to be used also by his issue under penalty for failure so to do.⁷⁵

After the revolution of 1688 the change of Irish into English names increased. This process of anglicization followed very much the same course as in Scotland. Ó Cobhthaigh became Coffey, Cowie or Cowhey, whilst Coffey may represent Ó Cobhthaigh, Ó Cathbhadha, Ó Cathbhuaadhaigh or Ó Cathmhogha. *O’* and *Mac* were frequently dropped. Ryan may be for O’Mulryan. Names might be translated (Badger for Ó Bruic; Johnson for MacSeáin); or attracted to a better-known surname (Ó Blathmhaic, anglicized as Blawick and attracted to Blake), or assimilated to a foreign name (Summerville for Ó Somachain; De Moleyns for Ó Maolain; Harrington for Ó hArrachtáin); or by substitution (Clifford for Ó Clumhain; Loftus for O Lachtnáin).⁷⁶ Such surnames were carried by Irish immigrants to England, Scotland and America where they were often further corrupted in pronunciation and spelling, thus adding endless complications to the difficulties of tracing their origin.

MANX SURNAMES

Manx surnames reflect the history of the island. Orosius tells us that in the fifth century both Ireland and the Isle of Man were inhabited by *Scoti*—Gaels, of the same name as those from whom Scotland derived its name. In the ninth century Norsemen subdued the island which was mainly ruled by Norwegians from Dublin. In 1266 Norway ceded Man to Scotland who held it about a hundred years, though it was frequently in the hands of the English. The Scandinavian settlers, already partly celticized, intermarried with the native Gaels and added Norse to the Celtic personal-names in common use. Patronymics were formed by prefixing *Mac* to the father’s name. The Irish *O’* never took root.

Of modern surnames, Moore estimates that 68 per cent are pure Celtic, 9 per cent pure Scandinavian, 6 per cent Celtic-Scandinavian, 5.4 per cent pure English, 3.3 per cent English-Celtic and 1.3 per cent English-Scandinavian.⁷⁷ Early in the sixteenth century the prefix *Mac* was almost universal; a hundred years later it had almost disappeared.⁷⁸ In pronunciation, the *Mac* was unstressed and the final consonant tended to coalesce with the first consonant of the following personal-name and became the initial consonant of the surname when the *Mac* was lost. Hence the characteristic Manx surnames beginning with C, K, or Q: Caine (MacCathain), Curphey (MacMurchadha), Kay (MacAedha), Kermodé (MacDermot), Kneen (MacCianain), Quine (MacCuinn); Corkhill (MacThorketill), Cowley (MacAmhlaibh, Macaulay, from ON *Óláfr*), Crennell (Macraghnaill, ON *Rögnvaldr*). Some names of this type are from Anglo-Norman

personal-names: Clucas (MacLucas), Costain (MacAustin), Kissack (MacIsaac), Quail (MacPhail, Paul), Qualltrough (MacWalter), Quilliam (MacWilliam).

NOTES

1 cf. *Groups*, 75.

2 For other examples, v. MESO21 (1275–1533).

3 For a full discussion, v. Ekwall, *Variation and Two Early London Subsidy Rolls* (notes, *passim*).

4 v. OEByn 31ff, 121ff.

5 *ibid.*, 59 ff.

6 Holme 231.

7 For the light thrown by these surnames on immigration from the provinces into thirteenth- and fourteenth-century London, v. Ekwall, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls*, 49–71.

8 *Groups*, 92.

9 MESO 25.

10 OEByn 125–30, 137–8.

11 FrY, p. xvi.

12 v. Mawer and Stenton, *Place-names of Sussex* 35, MESO 192–208.

13 OEByn 146–66.

14 ELPN 127–8.

15 OEByn 228, 232.

16 Ewen 56, MESO 26, A.H.Smith, *Saga Book XI* (1934), 17.

17 OEByn 147.

18 OEByn 209 ff.

19 *ibid.*, 209(with references).

20 *Namn och Bygd*, vol. 27 (1939), p. 128.

21 OEByn 210–11.

22 Reaney, *Essex Review*, vol. 61, pp. 135–8.

23 *ibid.*, pp. 142, 202–4, 209–11.

24 von Feilitzen, *Namn och Bygd*, vol. 33, pp. 69–98 (1945).

25 v. Reaney, *Survival of OE Personal Names in ME* (Studier i modern språkvetenskap, vol. 18, pp. 84–112), 1953; *Pedigrees of Villeins and Freemen* (NQ, vol. 197, pp. 222–5), 1952; *Three Unrecorded OE Personal Names of a late type* (Modern Language Review, vol. 47, p. 374), 1952.

26 For details, v. Reaney, *Pedigrees of Villeins and Freemen*.

27 Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, pp. cxii ff.

28 v. Douglas, *Feudal Documents... of Bury St Edmunds*, cxvii–cxx.

29 v. also Whitelock, *Scandinavian Personal Names in the Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey* (Saga Book, vol. 12 (1940), pp. 127–53), and, for Norfolk, West, *St Benet of Holme*, vol. 2, pp. 258–60.

- 30 Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 24–6.
- 31 *Essex Review*, vol. 61, p. 140.
- 32 v. Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts*: A.H.Smith, *Irish Influence in Yorkshire* (Revue Celtique, vol. 44, pp. 34–58), *Danes and Norwegians in Yorkshire* (Saga Book, vol. 10); Armstrong, Mawer, Stenton and Dickins, *Place-names of Cumberland*, vol. 3, pp. xxii–xxv.
- 33 *Surnames*, p. 71, n. 1.
- 34 Keal occurs as *Keles* 12th DC.
- 35 There was never any such place in Essex. *Berle* is probably Barley (Herts).
- 36 *Romance of Names*, 90.
- 37 And, from personal names, in *Hitches, Hodges, Riches*.
- 38 MESO 27.
- 39 *History of Surnames*, 120, 246–8.
- 40 *ibid.*, 120.
- 41 *ibid.*, 247.
- 42 *ibid.*, 247.
- 43 *ibid.*, 252.
- 44 OEByn 207–9.
- 45 *Variation*, 44.
- 46 For a similar genitival formation in *-en*, v. Geffen.
- 47 Stenton, *Personal Names in Place-names*, in Mawer and Stenton, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names*, 169–70.
- 48 *Crawford Charters* 51.
- 49 Stenton, *op. cit.*, 174.
- 50 v. also Passmore, Perceval, Gotobed, and, for similar obsolete names, Weekley, *Surnames* 270–7.
- 51 ODCN xxviii, OEByn 8–9.
- 52 Bury 25–44.
- 53 MESO 33–41.
- 54 For other examples, v. OEByn 14ff.
- 55 ELPN 119, 124, 130, 178.
- 56 MESO 36ff.
- 57 p. xvi.
- 58 1327 SRY, p. 50, n. 2.
- 59 *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 5 (1879), pp. 63–125.
- 60 Ewen 208, 387.
- 61 *Cal. Docs. Scotland*, vol. 2, pp. 193–214.
- 62 T.Thomson, *Instrumenta Publica* (Bannatyne Club), p. xiv.
- 63 List printed by Black, *Surnames of Scotland*, p. xxiii.
- 64 *ibid.*, p. xxiv.
- 65 F.C.Diack, *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, vol. i, p. 92.
- 66 v. Black, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.
- 67 Ewen 421–2.
- 68 *ibid.*, 423.
- 69 v. Black, pp. xl, xlv.

70 v. Black, pp. xlii–xliii.

71 Woulfe, *Sloinnnte Gaedheal is Gall*, pp. xviii, xix.

72 Gilbert, *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland*, pp. 3–48; 112–23; 136–40.

73 Lists printed by Ewen, p. 129.

74 *ibid.*, 425.

75 *ibid.*, 426.

76 v. Woulfe, 36–39.

77 Moore, *Surnames and Place-names of the Isle of Man*, 11.

78 *ibid.*, 9.

ABBREVIATIONS

a	<i>ante</i>
Abbr	<i>Placitorum...abbreviatio</i> , London 1811
AC	J.H.Round, <i>Ancient Charters</i> (Pipe Roll Soc. 10, 1888)
Acc	H.M.Colvin, <i>Building Accounts of King Henry III</i> , Oxford 1971
AccM	S.Challenger, <i>Accounts for Works on the Royal Mills and Castle at Marlborough, 1237–8 and 1238–9</i> (Wilts Arch. Soc. 12, 1956)
AD	A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (in progress)
<i>Add</i>	BM, Additional MSS
<i>AddCh</i>	BM, Additional Charters
AFr	Anglo-French
AN	Anglo-Norman
ANF	L.C.Loyd, <i>The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families</i> (Harleian Soc. 103, 1951)
ArchC	<i>Archaeologia Cantiana</i> (in progress)
ASC	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i>
ASCh	A.J.Robertson, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> , Cambridge 1939
Ass	Assize Rolls (unpublished)
Ass	Assize Rolls: Beds (Beds Hist. Rec. Soc. 1, 3, 1913, 1916); Berks (Selden Soc. 90, 1972–3); Bucks (Bucks Rec. Soc. 6, 1945); Cambs (W.M.Palmer, <i>The Assizes held at Cambridge A.D. 1260</i> , Linton 1930; Cambs Antiq. Soc. 55, 1942); Ches (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 15, 1894; Chetham Soc. 84, 1925); Devon (Ass. Rolls for 1332, 1359, ed. A.J. Howard, 1970); Durham (Surtees Soc. 127, 1916); Essex (Essex Arch.Soc. 1953); Glos (Selden Soc. 59, 1940); Kent (Kent Rec. Soc. 13, 1933); Lancs (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 47, 49, 1904, 1905); Lincs (Lincs Rec. Soc. 22, 30, 36, 49, 56, 65, 1926–71; Selden Soc. 53, 1934); London (London Rec. Soc. i, 6, 12, 1965–76); Norfolk (Norfolk Rec. Soc. 44, 1976); Northants (Northants Rec. Soc. 5, 11, 1930, 1940); Northumb (Surtees Soc. 88, 1891); Som (Som Rec. Soc. 11, 36, 41, 44, 1897–1929); Staffs (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 3–7, 1882–6; Selden Soc. 59, 1940); Warwicks (Dugdale Soc. 16,

- 1939; Selden Soc. 59, 1940); Wilts (Wilts Arch. Soc. 16, 26, 33, 1961, 1971, 1978); Worcs (Selden Soc. 53, 59, 1934, 1940); Yorks (Yorks Arch. Soc. 44, 100, 1911, 1939; Selden Soc. 56, 1937)
- AssNu *The London Assize of Nuisance 1301–1431* (London Rec. Soc. 10, 1973)
- ASWills D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Cambridge 1930
- ASWrts F.E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, Manchester 1952
- Bacon *The Annals of Ipswich 1654*, ed. W.H. Richardson, Ipswich 1884
- Balliol *The Oxford Deeds of Balliol Cottege* (Oxford Hist. Soc. 64, 1913)
- BarkingAS *Transactions of the Barking Antiquarian Society* (in progress)
- Barnwell *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, ed. J.W. Clark, Cambridge 1907
- Bart N. Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, 2 vols, London 1918
- Battle *Customs of Battle Abbey* (Camden Soc. (NS) 41, 1887)
- BCS W.G. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols, London 1885–99
- Bec *Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Camden Soc. 3rd Series 73, 1951)
- Beds Bedfordshire
- Berks Berkshire
- Binham* BM. Cotton Claudius D xiii
- BishamPR *The Register of Bisham, co. Berks*, London 1898
- Bk Buckinghamshire
- Black G.F. Black, *The Sumames of Scotland*, New York 1946
- BM *Index to the Charters and Rolls in the... British Museum*, 2 vols, London 1902
- Boldon *Boldon Book* (DB vol. iv; Surtees Soc. 25, 1852)
- Bosville T.W. Hall, *A Descriptive Catalogue of... the Bosville and the Lindsay Collections*, Sheffield 1930
- Building L.F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540*, Oxford 1952
- Burton *Abstract of the Contents of the Burton Chartulary* (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 5, 1884)
- Bury D.C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* London 1932
- BuryS *The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds and*

	<i>related documents</i> (Camden Soc. 3rd Series 84, 1954)
BuryW	<i>Wills and Inventories from... Bury St. Edmunds</i> (Camden Soc. (OS) 49, 1850)
Butley	A.G. Dickens, <i>The Register or Chronicle of Bulley Priory, Suffolk, 1510–1535</i> , Winchester 1951
Buxhall	W.A. Copinger, <i>History of the Parish of Buxhall</i> , London 1902
c	<i>circa</i>
C	Cambridgeshire
Caen	Cartulary of Holy Trinity Abbey, Caen (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS Lat. 5650)
CalSc	<i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland</i> , 4 vols, London 1881–8
Calv	<i>The Calverley Charters</i> (Thoresby Soc. 6, 1904)
CanW	<i>Index of Wills and Administrations... in the Probate Registry at Canterbury, 1396–1558 and 1640–1650</i> (Index Library 50, 1920)
CAPr	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society</i> (in progress)
CarshCt	<i>Court Rolls of the Manor of Carshalton</i> (Surrey Rec. Soc. 2, 1916)
CartAntiq	<i>Cartae Antiquae Rolls</i> (Pipe Roll Soc. (NS) 17, 33, 1939–60)
CartNat	<i>Carte Nativorum. A Peterborough Cartulary of the Fourteenth Century</i> (Northants Rec. Soc. 20, 1960)
CathAngl	<i>Catholicon Anglicum</i> , ed. J.H. Herrtage (EETS (OS) 75, 1881)
Ch	Cheshire
Ch	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls</i> , 6 vols, London 1903–27
ChambAccCh	<i>Accounts of the Chamberlains... of the County of Chester, 1301–1360</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 59, 1910)
ChertseyCt	<i>Chertsey Abbey Court Rolls</i> (Surrey Rec. Soc. 38, 48, 1937, 1954)
ChesterW	<i>Chester Wills</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 107, 1961)
Chetwynd	<i>The Chetwynd Chartulary</i> (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 12, 1891)
Chirk	G.P. Jones, <i>The Extent of Chirkland, 1391–1393</i> , London 1933
ChR	<i>Rotuli Chartarum</i> , London 1837
ChW	<i>An Index of the Wills... at the Diocesan Registry, Chester, from 1487–1620 inclusive</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 33, 1875)

ChwWo	<i>The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's in Bedwardine, Worcester</i> (Worcester Hist. Soc. 1896)
CI	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> (in progress)
Clerkenwell	<i>Cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell</i> (Camden Soc. 3rd Series 71, 1949)
CIR	<i>Rotuli litterarum clausarum</i> , 2 vols, London 1833
Co	Cornwall
Cockersand	<i>The Chartulary of Gockersand Abbey</i> (Chetham Soc. 38–40, 43, 56, 57, 64, 1898–1909)
Colch	<i>Cartularium Monasterii S.Joh. Bapt. de Colecestria</i> , 2 vols, Roxburghe Club 1897
ColchCt	<i>Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester</i> , 3 vols, Colchester 1921–41
Combermere	<i>The Book of the Abbot of Combermere 1289–1529</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 31, 1896)
Copinger	W.A.Copinger, <i>Materials for the History of Suffolk</i> , 5 vols, London 1904
Cor	Coroners' Rolls (PRO) (unpublished)
Cor	Coroners' Rolls: (Selden Soc. 9, 1896); London (R. R. Sharpe, <i>Calendar of Coroners' Rolls of the City of London A.D. 1300–1378</i> , London 1913); Notts (Thoroton Soc. 25, 1969)
Coram	Coram Rege Rolls (PRO) (unpublished)
Coram	<i>Placita coram domino Rege... 1297</i> (British Rec. Soc. 19, 1898)
CoramLa	<i>South Lancashire in the reign of Edward II</i> (Chetham Soc. 3rd Series 1, 1949)
CoWills	<i>Calendar of Wills... relating to the Counties of Cornwall and Devon</i> (Index Library 56, 59, 1929, 1932)
CPR	<i>Cambridgeshire Parish Registers</i> , 8 vols, ed. W.P.W.Phillimore, London 1907–27
CR	Pipe Roll, Chancellor's Copy
Crispin	J.A.Robinson, <i>Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster</i> , Cambridge 1911
Crowland	F.M.Page, <i>The Estates of Crowland Abbey</i> , Cambridge 1934
Ct	Court Rolls (unpublished)
CtH	B.Farr, <i>The Rolls of High worth Hundred 1275–1287</i> (WiltsATch.Soc.21, 22, 1966, 1967)
CtSt	<i>Alrewas Court Rolls 1259–61, 1266–1269</i> (Salt Arch. Soc. (NS) 10, 1907; 1272–1273 3rd Series 1, 1910)

CtW	R.E.Latham and C.F.Meekings, <i>The Veredictum of Chippenham Hundred, 1281</i> (Wilts Arch. Soc. 12, 1956); R.B.Pugh, <i>Court Rolls of the Wiltshire Manors of Adam de Stratton</i> (Wilts Arch. Soc. 24, 1970)
Cu	Cumberland
Cullum	J.Cullum, <i>The History and Antiquities of Hawsted</i> , London 1784
Cur	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i> (in progress; Pipe Roll Soc. 14, 1891)
CurR	<i>Rotuli Curiae Regis</i> , 2 vols, London 1835
Cust	T.J.Hunt, <i>The Medieval Customs of the Manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone</i> (Som Rec. Soc. 66, 1962)
CWAS	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society</i> (in progress)
D	Devonshire
Db	Derbyshire
D	Domesday Book
DbAS	<i>Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society</i> (in progress)
DbCh	I.H.Jeayes, <i>Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters</i> , London 1906
DBStP	<i>The Domesday of St. Paul's of the year 1222</i> (Camden Soc. (OS) 69, 1858)
DC	F.M.Stenton, <i>Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw</i> , London 1920
DenhamPR	<i>Denham Parish Registers, 1539–1850</i> (Suffolk Green Books 8, 1904)
DEPN	E.Ekwall, <i>The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names</i> , Oxford 1960
Dickin	E.P.Dickin, <i>A History of Brightlingsea</i> , Brightlingsea 1939
DKR	<i>The Forty-First Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records</i> , London 1880
DM	D.C.Douglas, <i>The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury</i> , London 1944
Do	Dorset
Du	Durham
Dublin	J.T.Gilbert, <i>Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland, A.D. 1172–1320</i> (Rolls Series 53, 1870)
Dugd	W.Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , London 1817–30
DWills	<i>Calendar of Wills and Administrations in Devon and Cornwall</i> (Index Library 35, 1908)

e	early
EA	<i>The East Anglian</i> , 17 vols, 1858–1910
EAS	<i>Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society</i> (in progress)
EChCh	<i>Facsimiles of Early Cheshire Charters</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 1957)
Edmunds	T.W.Hall, <i>Descriptive Calendar of the Edmunds Collection</i> , Sheffield 1924
EET	<i>Early English Text Society</i> (in progress)
Ek	E.Ekwall, 'Some Early London Bynames and Surnames' (<i>English Studies</i> 46 (1965), 113–18)
ELPN	E.Ekwall, <i>Early London Personal Names</i> , Lund 1947
<i>Ely</i>	BM.Cotton Claudius C xi
<i>ElyA</i>	BM.Cotton Tiberius B ii
<i>ElyCouch</i>	Liber R (Ely Diocesan Registry)
EME	Early Middle English
EngFeud	F.M.Stenton, <i>The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066–1166</i> , Oxford 1932
EngLife	L.F.Salzman, <i>English Life in the Middle Ages</i> , Oxford 1950
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements</i> (English Place-Name Society 25, 26, 1956)
ER	<i>The Essex Review</i> (in progress)
<i>ERO</i>	Unpublished documents in the Essex Record Office, Chelmsford
Ess	Essex
Ewen	C.L.Ewen, <i>A History of Surnames in the British Isles</i> , London 1931
EwenG	C.L.Ewen, <i>A Guide to the Origin of British Surnames</i> , London 1938
Ewing	G.Ewing, <i>A History of Cowden</i> , Tunbridge Wells 1926
Exon	Exeter Version of DB
Eynsham	<i>Eynsham Cartulary</i> (Oxford Hist. Soc. 49, 51, 1907, 1908)
FA	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids</i> , 6 vols, London 1899–1921
Fanshawe	H.C.Fanshawe, <i>The History of the Fanshawe Family</i> , Newcastle upon Tyne 1927
Fees	<i>Liber Feodorum</i> , 3 vols, London 1920–31
FeuDu	<i>Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis</i> (Surtees Soc. 58,

	1872)
FF	Feet of Fines (unpublished)
FF	Feet of Fines: (Pipe Roll Soc. 17, 20, 23, 24, 1894–1900); Bucks (Bucks Rec. Soc. 4, 1942); Cambs (Cambs Antiq. Soc. 27, 1913); Essex (Essex Arch. Soc. 4 vols, 1899–1964); Hunts (Cambs Antiq. Soc. 37, 1913); Kent (Archaeologia Cantiana 11–15, 18, 20, 1877–93; Kent Rec. Soc. 15, 1956); Lancs (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 39, 46, 50, 60, 1899–1910); Lincs (Lincs Rec. Soc. 17, 1920; Pipe Roll Soc. (NS) 29, 1954); Norfolk (Pipe Roll Soc. (NS) 27, 32, 1952, 1958); Oxford (Oxford Rec. Soc. 12, 1930); Som (Som Rec. Soc. 6, 12, 17, 22, 1892–1906); Staffs (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 3, 4, 11, 12, (NS) 10, 1882–1907); Suffolk (Pipe Roll Soc. (NS) 32, 1958; Cambs Antiq. Soc. 1900); Surrey (Surrey Arch. Soc. 1894); Sussex (Sussex Rec. Soc. 2, 7, 23, 1903–16); Warwicks (Dugdale Soc. 11, 15, 18, 1932–43); Wilts (Wilts Arch. Soc. 29, 1974); Yorks (Yorks Arch. Soc. 2, 5, 7, 8, 42, 52, 62, 67, 82, 121, 127, 1887–1965)
Finchale	<i>The Charters...of the Priory of Finchale</i> (Surtees Soc. 6, 1837)
Fine	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls</i> , 22 vols, London 1911–62
FineR	<i>Rotuli de Oblatibus et Finibus...tempore regis Johannis</i> , London 1835
For	Pleas of the Forest (PRO) (unpublished)
For	<i>Select Pleas of the Forest</i> (Selden Soc. 13, 1901)
Forssner	T.Forssner, <i>Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England</i> , Uppsala 1916
ForSt	<i>Staffordshire Forest Pleas</i> (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 5, 1884)
France	J.H.Round, <i>Calendar of Documents preserved in France</i> , London 1899
FrC	<i>The Earliest Cmterbury Freeman's Rolls 1298–1363</i> (Kent Rec. Soc. 18, 1964)
FrLei	H.Hartopp, <i>Register of the Freeman of Leicester, 1196–1770</i> , Leicester 1927
FrNorw	J.L'Estrange, <i>Calendar of the Freeman of Norwich from 1317 to 1603</i> , ed. W. Rye, London 1888
FrY	<i>Register of the Freeman of the City of York</i> (Surtees Soc. 96, 102, 1897, 1899)
FrYar	<i>A Calendar of the Freeman of Great Yarmouth</i> (Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc. 1910)
FS	<i>Two estate Surveys of the Fitzalan Earls of Arundel</i> (Sussex Rec. Soc. 67, 1969)

Gage	J.Gage, <i>The History and Antiquities of Suffolk. Thingoe Hundred</i> , Bury St. Edmunds 1838
Grander	T.Gardner, <i>An Historical Account of Dunwich</i> , London 1754
Gascon	<i>The Gascon Calendar of 1322</i> (Camden Soc. 3rd Series 70, 1949)
GeldR	The Geld Roll of 1084 (in DB)
Gilb	<i>Transcripts of Charters relating to the Gilbertine Houses</i> (Lincs Rec. Soc. 18, 1922)
GildC	<i>The Register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity...of Coventry</i> (Dugdale Soc. 13, 19, 1935–44)
GildY	<i>Register of the Guild of the Corpus Christi in the City of York</i> (Surtees Soc. 57, 1872)
Gl	Gloucestershire
Glam	Glamorgan
Glapwell	<i>The Glapwell Charters</i> (Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc., 1957–9)
Glast	<i>The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury</i> (Som Rec. Soc. 59, 63, 64, 1947–56)
GlCh	<i>Earldom of Gloucester Charters</i> , ed. R.B.Patterson, Oxford 1973
Goring	<i>A Collection of Charters relating to Goring, Streatley, and the Neighbourhood, 1181–1637</i> (Oxford Rec. Soc. 13, 14, 1931, 1932)
GreenwichPR	<i>Greenwich Parish Registers, 1615–1637</i> (Trans. Greenwich and Lewisham Antiq. Soc. 2, 1920)
Groups	E.Ekwall, <i>Studies on the Genitive of Groups in English</i> , Lund 1943
Guisb	<i>Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburne</i> (Surtees Soc. 86, 89, 1889, 1894)
Ha	Hampshire
Hartland	<i>The Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials of the parish of Hartland, Devon, 1558–1837</i> (Devon and Cornwall Rec. Soc. 1930–34)
He	Herefordshire
Hech	<i>Charters of the Earldom of Hereford 1095–1201</i> (Camden Soc. 4th Series 1, 1964)
HeMil	<i>Hereford Militia Assessments of 1663</i> (Camden Soc. Series 4, 10, 1973)
Herts	Hertfordshire
Holme	<i>St. Benet of Holme, 1020–1240</i> (Norfolk Rec. Soc. 2, 3,

	1932)
HorringerPR	<i>Horringer Parish Registers</i> (Suffolk Green Books 4, 1900)
Hoskins	W.G.Hoskins and H.P.Finberg, <i>Devonshire Studies</i> , London 1952
HPD	H.F.Westlake, <i>Hornchurch Priory. A Kalendar of Documents in the possession of the Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford</i> , London 1923
HT	Hearth Tax Returns: Dorset (C.A.F. Meekings, <i>Dorset Hearth Tax Assessments 1662–1664</i> , Dorchester 1951); Oxford (Oxford Rec. Soc. 21, 1940); Suffolk (Suffolk Green Books 11, 1905); Yorks (Thoresby Soc. 2, 1891)
HTEss	Essex Hearth Tax Returns, 1662, transcribed by F.G.Emmison (unpublished)
Hu	Huntingdonshire
Husting	R.R.Sharpe, <i>Calendar of Wills...in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258–A.D. 1688</i> , 2 vols, London 1889, 1890
Hylle	<i>The Hylle Cartulary</i> (Somerset Rec. Soc. 68, 1968)
ICC	<i>Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis...Subjditur Inquisitio Eliensis</i> , ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, London 1876
IckworthPR	<i>Ickworth Parish Registers</i> (Suffolk Green Books 3, 1894)
InqAug	A.Ballard, <i>An Eleventh-Century Inquisition of St. Augustine's, Canterbury</i> , London 1920
InqEl	<i>Inquisitio Eliensis. v. ICC</i>
InqLa	<i>Lancashire Inquests, Extents, and Feudal Aids</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 48, 54, 1903, 1907)
Ipm	<i>Inquisitiones post mortem</i> (unpublished)
Ipm	<i>Calendar of Inquisitiones post mortem</i> (in progress); Glos (Index Library 30, 40, 47, 1903–14); Lancs (Chetham Soc. 95, 1875); Notts (Thoroton Soc. 6, 12, 1939, 1952); Wilts (Index Library 37, 48, 1908, 1914); Yorks (Yorks Arch. Soc. 12, 23, 31, 37, 59, 1892–1918)
IPN	A.Mawer and F.M.Stenton, <i>Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names</i> , Cambridge 1923
Ipsw	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report IX, Appendix</i> , pp. 221–61
Ir	Irish
Jackson	K.Jackson, <i>Language and History in Early Britain</i> , Edinburgh 1953
JMac	J.B.Johnston, <i>The Scottish Macs</i> , Paisley 1922
K	Kent

KB	<i>Select Cases in the Court of the King's Bench</i> (Selden Soc. 55, 57, 58, 74, 76, 82, 88, 1936–71)
KCD	J.M.Kemble, <i>Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici</i> , 6 vols, London 1839–48
KentW	<i>Testamenta Cantlana</i> (Kent Arch. Soc. 1906–7)
Kirk	<i>Kirkstall Abbey Rent Roll 1459</i> (Thoresby Soc. 2, 1891)
KirkEllaPR	<i>Register of Kirk Ella, co. York.</i> (Parish Register Soc. 11, 1897)
Kirkstall	<i>The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall</i> (Thoresby Soc. 8, 1904)
KPN	J.K.Wallenberg, <i>Kentish Place-Names</i> , Uppsala 1931
Kris	G.Kristensson, 'Studies on Middle English Local Surnames containing Elements of French Origin' (<i>English Studies</i> 50 (1969), 465–86)
l	late
L	Lincolnshire
La	Lancashire
LaCt	<i>Some Court Rolls...of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 41, 1901)
Lacy	<i>Two 'Compoti' of...Henry de Lacy</i> (Chetham Soc. (OS) 112, 1884)
Landwade	W.M.Palmer, <i>Landwade and the Cotton Family</i> (Cambs Antiq. Soc. 38, 1939)
LaPleas	<i>Pleadings and Depositions in the Duchy Court of Lancashire</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 32, 35, 40, 1896–99)
Lat	Latin
LaWills	<i>A List of the Lancashire Wills proved within the Archdeaconry of Richmond</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 10, 1884)
Layer	W.M.Palmer, <i>John Layer (1586–1640) of Shepreth, Cambridgeshire, a seventeenth-century local historian</i> (Cambs Antiq. Soc. 53, 1935)
LedburyPR	<i>The Registers of Ledbury, co. Hereford</i> (Parish Register Soc. 1899)
Lei	Leicestershire
LeiAS	<i>Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society</i> (in progress)
LeiBR	M.Bateson, <i>Records of the Borough of Leicester</i> , 3 vols, London 1895–1905
Lewes	<i>Lewes Chartulary</i> (Sussex Rec. Soc. 38, 40, 1933, 1935;

LewishamPR	Norfolk Rec. Soc. 12, 1939; J.H. Bullock and W.M.Palmer, <i>The Cambridgeshire Porlion of the Chartulary of St. Pancras of Lewes</i> , Cambridge 1938) <i>The Register of...St. Mary, Lewisham, 1558–1750</i> (Lewisham Antiq. Soc. 1891)
LibEI	<i>Liber Eliensis</i> (Camden Soc. 3rd Series 92, 1962)
Lichfield	<i>Catalogue of the Muniments...of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield</i> (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 6, 1886)
LitSaxhamPR	<i>Little Saxham Parish Registers</i> (Suifolk Green Books 5, 1901)
LLB	<i>Calendar of Letter Books...of the City of London</i> , 11 vols, London 1899–1912
Lo	London
LoCh	<i>The Church in London 1375–92</i> (London Rec. Soc. 13, 1977)
LoCt	<i>Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls</i> , ed. A.H.Thomas, Cambridge 1924
LondEng	R.W.Chambers and M.Daunt, <i>A Book of London English</i> , Oxford 1931
LoPleas	<i>Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls preserved among the Archives of the... City of London</i> , ed. A.H.Thomas, 3 vols, Cambridge 1926–32
Loth	J.Loith, <i>Chrestomathie bretonne</i> , Paris 1890
LP	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII</i> , 23 vols, London 1862–1932
LuffCh	<i>Luffield Priory Charters</i> (Northants Rec. Soc. 22,26, 1968, 1975)
LVD	<i>Liber Vitce Ecclesia Dunelmensis</i> (Surtees Soc. 136, 1923)
LWills	<i>Calendars of Lincoln Wills</i> (Index Library 28, 1902)
Malmesbury	<i>Registrum Malmesburiense</i> (Rolls Series 72, 1879–80)
MCh	<i>Charters of the Honour of Mowbray</i> , ed. D.E.Greenway, London 1972
ME	Middle English
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> , ed. H.Kurath, S.M.Kuhn, and J.Reidy, Ann Arbor 1954-(in progress)
MedEA	D.C.Douglas, <i>The Social Structure of Mediaeval East Anglia</i> , Oxford 1927
MedInd	L.F.Salzman, <i>English Industries in the Middle Ages</i> , Oxford 1923
MELS	M.T.Lofvenberg, <i>Studies on Mlddle English Local</i>

	<i>Surnames</i> , Lund 1942
MemR	<i>Memoranda Roll</i> (Pipe Roll Soc. (NS) 11, 21, 1933, 1943)
MEOT	B.Thuresson, <i>Middle English Occupational Terms</i> , Lund 1950
Merton	<i>Merton Muniments</i> (Oxford Hist. Soc. 86, 1928)
MESO	G.Fransson, <i>Middle English Surnames of Occupation, 1100–1350</i> , Lund 1935
METrade	L.F.Salzman, <i>English Trade in the Middle Ages</i> , Oxford 1931
Miller	E.Miller, <i>The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely</i> , Cambridge 1951
MinAcctCo	<i>Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall</i> (Camden Soc. 3rd Series 66, 68, 1942, 1945)
Misc	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous</i> (in progress)
MLWL	<i>Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources</i> , ed. R.E.Latham, London 1965
Mon	Monmouthshire
Moore	A.W.Moore, <i>Manx Names</i> , London 1903
Morris	T.E.Morris, 'Welsh Surnames in the Border Counties of Wales' (<i>Y Cymmrodor</i> 43 (1932), 93–173)
Moulton	H.R.Moulton, <i>Palceography, Genealogy and Topography</i> , London 1930
MPleas	<i>Select Pleas in Manorial and other Seignorial Courts</i> (Selden Soc. 2, 1889)
MScots	Middle Scottish
Musters	Muster Rolls: Norfolk (Norfolk Rec. Soc. 6, 7, 1935, 1936); Surrey (Surrey Rec. Soc. 3, 1914–19)
MW	Middle Welsh
Mx	Middlesex
Nb	Northumberland
NED	<i>A New English Dictionary</i> , Oxford 1888–1933
Newark	<i>Documents relating to the Manor and Soke of Newark-on-Trent</i> (Thorolonsoc. 16, 1955)
Nf	Norfolk
NI	<i>Nonarum Inquisitiones</i> , London 1807
NIWo	<i>Nonarum Inquisitiones 1340 for the County of Worcester</i> (Worcs Hist. Soc. 1899)
NLCh	<i>Newington Longeville Charters</i> (Oxford Rec. Soc. 3, 1921)
NME	Northern Middle English

NoB	<i>Namn och Bygd</i> (in progress)
NorwDeeds	<i>A Short Calendar of the Deeds relating to Norwich 1285–1306; A Calendar of Norwich Deeds...1307–1341</i> (Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc. 1903, 1915)
NorwDep	<i>Depositions taken before the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich, 1549–67</i> (Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc. 1905)
NorwLt	<i>Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich during the XIIIth and XIV th Centuries</i> (Selden Soc. 5, 1892)
NorwW	<i>Index to Wills proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich</i> (Index Library 69, 73, 1945, 1950)
NottBR	<i>Records of the Borough of Nottingham, vol. I</i> , Nottingham 1882
NQ	<i>Notes and Queries</i> (in progress)
NS	New Series
Nt	Nottinghamshire
Nth	Northamptonshire
NthCh	<i>Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections</i> (Northants Rec. Soc. 4, 1930)
O	Oxfordshire
OBret	Old Breton
OCo	Old Cornish
ODa	Old Danish
ODCN	E.G. Withycombe, <i>The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names</i> , Oxford 1950
OE	Old English
OEByn	G. Tengvik, <i>Old English Bynames</i> , Uppsala 1938
OFr	Old French
OFris	Old Frisian
OG	Old German
OIr	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
ONFr	Old Norman French
Oriel	<i>Oriel College Records</i> (Oxford Hist. Soc. 85, 1926)
Orig	<i>Rotulorum originalium...abbreviatio</i> , 2 vols, London 1805, 1810
OS	Original Series
Oseney	<i>Cartulary of Oseney Abbey</i> (Oxford Hist. Soc. 89–91, 97, 98, 101, 1929–35)
OSw	Old Swedish
OW	Old Welsh

Oxon	<i>Register of the University of Oxford</i> (Oxford Hist. Soc. 1, 10–12, 14, 1885–9)
p	<i>post</i>
P	Pipe Rolls: Record Commission, 3 vols, London 1833–44; Pipe Roll Soc. (in progress); <i>The Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty-sixth year of Henry the Third</i> , ed. H.L. Cannon, Yale Hist. Pub. 1918
ParlR	<i>Rotuli Parliamentorum</i> , 7 vols, London 1767–1833
ParlWrits	<i>The Parliamentary Writs</i> , 2 vols, London 1827, 1834
Paston	<i>Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century</i> , 2 vols, ed. N.Davis, Oxford 1971, 1976
Pat	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> (in progress)
PatR	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium</i> , London 1835
PCC	<i>Index of Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury</i> (Index Library, 12 vols, 1893–1960)
Percy	<i>The Percy Chartulary</i> (Surtees Soc. 117, 1911)
Petre	Petre Documents in <i>ERO</i> . Calendared by C.J.Kuypers
Pinchbeck	<i>The Pinchbeck Register</i> , 2 vols, ed. Lord Francis Hervey, Oxford 1925
Pleas	<i>Pleas before the King or his Justices 1198–1202</i> (Selden Soc. 67, 68, 1952, 1953); <i>1198–1212</i> (Selden Soc. 83, 84, 1966, 1967)
PN	<i>Place-Names</i> of (e.g. PN Bk, <i>Place-Names of Buckinghamshire</i> , &c. English Place-Name Society)
PNDB	O.von Feilitzen, <i>The Preconquest Personal Names of Domesday Book</i> , Uppsala 1937
PN Do	A.Fägersten, <i>The Place-Names of Dorset</i> , Uppsala 1933. When no volume number is given, the reference is to this work, otherwise to the EPNS text
PN K	J.K.Wallenberg, <i>The Place-Names of Kent</i> , Uppsala 1934
PN La	E.Ekwall, <i>The Place-Names of Lancashire</i> , Manchester 1922
PN NbDu	A.Mawer, <i>The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham</i> , Cambridge 1920
PN Wt	H.Kökeritz, <i>The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight</i> , Uppsala 1940
PR	Parish Register(s) (of the specified place)
Praes	<i>Praestita Roll 14–18 John</i> (Pipe Roll Soc. (NS) 37, 1964)
PrD	Protestation Returns for Devon (from a transcription by A.J.Howard)
PrGR	<i>The Rolls of Burgesses at the Guilds Merchant of the</i>

Promptparv	<i>Borough of Preston</i> (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 9, 1884) <i>Promptorium Parvulorum</i> (Camden Soc. (OS) 25, 54, 89, 1843–65)
PrSo	<i>A Somerset Petition of 1641</i> , ed. A.J.Howard, 1968
PTW	<i>Clericat Poll-Taxes in the Diocese of Salisbury, 1377–81</i> (Wilts Arch. Soc. 12, 1956)
PTY	Yorkshire Poll Tax Returns: <i>Yorks Arch. Journal</i> 5–7, 9, 20, 1879–1909; <i>Trans. East Riding Antiq. Soc.</i> 30)
Putnam	B.H.Putnam, <i>The Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers, 1349–1359</i> , New York 1908
PWi	N.R.Holt, <i>The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1210–11</i> , Manchester 1964
QW	<i>Placita de Quo Warranto</i> , London 1818
R	Rutland
Rad	<i>The Prlory of Saint Radegund, Cambridge</i> (Cambs Antiq. Soc. 31, 1898)
RamptonPR	<i>The Parish Registers of Rampton, Cambridgeshire, A.D. 1599–1812</i> , n.d.
Rams	<i>Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia</i> (Rolls Series 79, 3 vols, 1884–94)
RamsCt	W.O.Ault, <i>Court Rolls of the Abbey of Ramsey and of the Honor of Clare</i> , Yale 1928
RBE	<i>The Red Book of the Exchequer</i> (Rolls Series 99, 3 vols, 1896)
RBWo	<i>The Red Book of Worcester</i> (Worcs Hist. Soc. 1934–50)
Redin	M.Redin, <i>Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English</i> , Uppsala 1919
RegAntiquiss	<i>Registrum Antiquissimum</i> (Lincs Rec. Soc. 10 vols, 1931–68)
Req	Court of Requests (PRO)
RH	<i>Rotuli Hundredorum</i> , 2 vols, London 1812, 1818
Riev	<i>Cartularium Abbathie de Rievaille</i> (Surtees Soc. 83, 1889)
RochW	<i>Index of Willsproved in the Rochester Consistory Courl</i> (Kent Rec. Soc. 9, 1924)
Ronton	<i>The Chartulary of Ronton Priory</i> (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 4, 1883)
RotDom	<i>Rotuli de Dominabus</i> (Pipe Roll Soc. 35, 1913)
RothwellPR	<i>The Registers of the Parish Church of Rothwell</i> (Yorks Parish Register Soc. 27, 34, 51, 1906–14)
RushbrookPR	<i>Rushbrook Parish Registers</i> (Suffolk Green Books 6, 1903)

RydeWare	<i>The RydeWare Chartulary</i> (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 16, 1895)
Sa	<i>Shropshire</i>
SaAS	<i>Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society</i> (in progress)
SaG	<i>The Merchants' Guild of Shrewsbury. The Two Earliest Rolls</i> (Trans. Shrops Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. 2nd Series 8, 1896)
SagaBk	<i>Saga-Book of the Viking Society</i> (in progress)
SaltAS	<i>Transactions of the William Salt Archaeological Society</i> (in progress)
Seals	L.C.Loyd and D.M.Stenton, <i>Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals</i> , Oxford 1950
Selden Soc.	Publications of the Selden Society
Selt	B.Seltén, 'Some Notes on Middle English By-names in Independent Use' (<i>English Studies</i> 46 (1965), 165–81)
Sf	Suffolk
SfPR	<i>Suffolk Parish Registers. Marriages</i> , 3 vols, ed. W.P.W.Phillimore, London 1910–16
Shef	T.W.Hall and A.H.Thomas, <i>Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters...forming the Jackson Collection at the Sheffield Public Reference Library</i> , Sheffield 1914
ShefA	T.W.Hall, <i>Sheffield, Hallamshire: A Descriptive Catalogue of Sheffield Manorial Records</i> , 3 vols, Sheffield 1926–34
ShotleyPR	<i>Shotley Parish Registers, 1571–1850</i> (Suffolk Green Books 1911, 1912)
SIA	<i>Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology</i> (in progress)
So	Somerset
Sol	<i>Liber Henrici de Soliaco, Abbatu Glaston</i> , ed. J.H.Jackson, Roxburghe Club 1882
SPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic</i> , 48 vols., London 1856–86
SPl eas	<i>Select Pleas of the Crown</i> (Selden Soc. 1, 1888; <i>Select Civil Pleas</i> , Selden Soc. 3, 1890)
Sr	Surrey
SR	Subsidy Rolls (unpublished)
SR	Subsidy Rolls: Beds (Beds Hist. Rec. Soc. 2, 1914; Suffolk Green Books 18, 1925); Cambs (C.H.Evelyn White, <i>Lay Subsidy for the Year 1327</i> , n.d.); Cumb (J.P.Steel, <i>Cumberland Lay Subsidy...6th Edward III</i> , Kendal 1912);

- Derbyshire (Journal of the Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. 24, 30, 44, 1902–22); Devon (A.J.Howard, *1524 Lay Subsidy Roll County of Devon*, 1967–8); Dorset (Dorest Rec. Soc. 4, 1971); Kent (Arch. Cant. 12); Lancs (Lancs and Ches Rec. Soc. 27, 31, 1893, 1896); Leics (Associated Architectural Societies: Reports and Papers, 19.2, 20.1, 1888, 1889); London (G.Unwin, *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, Manchester 1918; E. Ekwall, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls*, Lund 1951); Northumb (Archaeologia Aeliana 3rd Series 13, 1916); Shropshire (Trans. Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. 2nd Series 1.4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 3rd Series 5–7); Somerset (Som Rec. Soc. 3, 1889); Staffs (SaltArch.Soc.(OS)7, 10, 1886, 1889);Suffolk(E.Powell, *The Rising in East Anglia in 1381*, Cambridge 1896; *A Suffolk Hundred in 1283*, Cambridge 1896; Suffolk Green Books 9, 10, 12, 1906–10); Surrey (Surrey Rec. Soc. 18, 33, 1922, 1932);Sussex (Sussex Rec. Soc. 10, 56, 1910, 1956); Wanvicks (Dugdale Soc. 6, 1926); Wilts (Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. 10, 1954); Worcs (Worcs Hist. Soc., 4 vols., 1893–1900); Yorks (Thoresby Soc. 2, 1891; Yorks Arch. Soc. 16, 21, 74, 1894, 1897, 1929)
- St Staffordshire
- StaplehurstPR *The Old Register of Staplehurst, 1538–1558*, Canterbury 1907
- StarChSt *Staffordshire Suits in the Court of Star Chamber* (Salt Arch. Soc. (NS) 10, 1907)
- StCh *The Staffordshire Chartulary* (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 2, 3, 1881, 1882)
- StGreg *Cartulary of the Priory of St. Gregory, Canterbury* (Camden Soc. 3rd Series 88, 1956)
- StJohn BM.Cotton Nero E vi
- Stoke BM.Cotton Appendix xxi
- Stone *The Stone Chartulary* (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 6, 1885)
- StP *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London* (Camden Soc. 3rd Series 58, 1939)
- Str *Accounts and Surveys of the Wiltshire Lands of Adam de Stratton* (Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. 14, 1959)
- StratfordPR *Registers of Stratford-on-Avon, co. Warwick. Marriages 1558–1812* (Parish Register Soc. 16, 1898)
- StThomas *A Chartulary of the Priory of St. Thomas, the Martyr, near Stafford* (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 8, 1887)
- StudNP *Studia Neophilologica* (in progress)

Suckling	A.I.Suckling, <i>The History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk</i> , London 1846–8
Surnames	E.Weekley, <i>Sumames</i> , London 1936
Sx	Sussex
SxAnt	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i> (in progress)
SxWills	<i>Sussex Wtills</i> (Sussex Rec. Soc. 41, 43, 45, 1935–41)
Templars	B.A.Lees, <i>Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century</i> , London 1935
TestEbor	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia</i> (Surtees Soc. 4, 30, 45, 53, 1836–68)
Trentham	<i>A Chartulary of the Augustine Priory of Trentham</i> (Salt Arch. Soc. (OS) 11, 1890)
Variation	E.Ekwall, <i>Variation in Surnames in Medieval London</i> , Lund 1945
W	Wiltshire
Wa	Warwickshire
Wak	<i>Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield</i> (Yorks Arch. Soc. 29, 36, 57, 78, 1901–45)
WBCinque	F.Hull, <i>A Calendar of the White and Black Books of the Cinque Ports, 1432–1955</i> , London 1966
We	Westmorland
Wenlok	<i>Documents illustrating the rule of Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster, 1283–1307</i> (Camden Soc. 4th Series 2, 1965)
WhC	<i>The Coucher Book or Chartulary of Whalley Abbey</i> (ChethainSoc. 10, 11, 16, 20, 1847–9)
Wheat	T.W.Hall, <i>Descriptive Catalogue of charters...of the Wheat Collection at the Public Reference Library</i> , Sheffield 1920
Whitby	<i>Cartularium Abbathie de Whiteby</i> (Surtees Soc. 69, 72, 1879, 1881)
Winton	‘The Winton Domesday’, ed. F.Barlow (in <i>Winchester Studies I</i> , ed. M.Biddle, Oxford 1976)
WiSur	‘Thirteenth-Century Surveys of Winchester’, ed. D.J.Keene (in <i>Winchester Studies I</i> , ed. M.Biddle, Oxford 1976)
Wo	Worcestershire
WoCh	<i>The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory</i> (Pipe Roll Soc. (NS) 38, 1968)
WordwellPR	<i>Wordwell Parish Registers, 1580–1850</i> (Suffolk Green Books 7, 1903)

Works	C.T.Flower, <i>Public Works in Mediaeval Law</i> (Selden Soc. 32, 40, 1915–23)
WRS	<i>English Surnames Series I: Yorkshire West Riding</i> , by G.Redmonds, London 1973
WStowPR	<i>West Stow Parish Registers 1558–1850</i> (Suffolk Green Books 7, 1903)
W'stowW	G.S.Fry, <i>Abstracts of Wills relating to Walthamstow</i> (Walthamstow Antiq. Soc. 1921)
Wt	Isle of Wight
Y	Yorkshire
YAJ	<i>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</i> (in progress)
YCh	W.Farrer and C.T.Clay, <i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , 12 vols., 1914–65
YDeeds	<i>Yorkshire Deeds</i> (Yorks Arch. Soc. Record Series 39, 50, 1909, 1915)
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*	a postulated form

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A

Aaron, Aarons

: *Aaron* Iudeus 1189 DC (L); Robert *Aaron* 1185 Eynsham; John *Aaron* 1259 ForNth, 1327 SRSa. The name of the brother of Moses. Rare in medieval England, and usually Jewish.

Abadam, Badams, Baddams, Badham

: Hoel *ab Adam* 1255 RH (Sa); John *Apadam*, *Ab Adham* 1308, 1310 ParlWrits (Gl); Mary *Baddam* 1597 Bardsley. ‘Son of *Adam*’, Welsh *ab*, *ap*. cf. BOWEN.

A’Barrow

: Alured *atte Berewe* 1242 Fees (Wo); Adam *a la Barewe* 1275 SRWo; William *Abarowe* 1525 SRSx; Rychard *A Barow* 1545 SRW. ‘Dweller by the mound or hill’, OE *bearg*. v. also BARROW.

Abb, Abba, Abbe, Abbs, Labbe

: (i) Ralph *le Abe* c1 150–66 YCh; William *le Abbe* 1220 Cur (D); Walter *le Abbe* 1297 MinAcctCo. OFr *abe*, *abet* ‘abbot’. (ii) Ralph *Abbe* 1200 FFO; Walter *Abbe* 1249 AssW; John *Abbe* 1327, 1332 SRSx. Either shortened forms of *Abel*, *Abraham*, or perhaps further examples of (i).

Abba, Abbay, Abbey, Abbie, Abby, Labey

: (i) Ralph *le Abbe* 1177 P (Lo); Geoffrey *Labbe* Hy 2 DC (Lei); John *Abby* 1297 MinAcctCo. OFr *abe, abet* ‘abbot’. v. ABBATT. The Scottish *Abbie* (*Abbe* 1178–80, *del Abbeye* 1370) derives from the office of lay-abbot of a monastery which was hereditary in the leading family of the district (Black). (ii) William *del Abbay* 1283 FrY; Adam *dil Abbeye* 1327 SRSf. From employment at an abbey.

Abbatt, Abbett, Abbitt, Abbot, Abbots, Abbott, Abbotts, Labet

: Walter *Abbot* 12th DC (L); Walter *Abat* 1219 AssY; Peter *le Abbot* 1237 HPD (Ess); Ralph *Abbod* 1272 AssSo. OE *abbod*, late OE *abbat, abbot* ‘abbot’. Early Latin examples such as Alfwoldus *abbas* 1111–17 Holme (Nf) are names of actual holders of the office of abbot and can hardly have given rise to surnames. Later examples are nicknames.

Abbay, Abbey, Abbeys, Abbie, Abby

: John *de Abbatia* 1190 P (Lo); William *del Abbay* 1283 FrY; Adam *dil Abbeye* 1327 SRSf; Roger *Abby* 1364 LoPleas. ‘Worker at the abbey’, OFr *abbaye*.

Abbe

: v. ABB

Abbess, Abbis, Abbiss

: Jamys *Abbys*, Richard *Abes* 1524 SRSf. Probably OFr *abe*, *abet* ‘abbot’, of which these would be possessive forms, hence ‘son of the abbot’. Or, possibly, OFr *abbesse* ‘abbess’ used ironically. cf. *Abbess Hall* in *Abbess Roding* (Ess), *Abbes Hall* 1544.

Abbey, Abbeys, Abbie

: v. ABBAY

Abbey, Abbie

: v. ABBA

Abbis, Abbiss

: v. ABBESS

Abbs

: v. ABB

Abby

: v. ABBAY

Abdey, Abdie

: Robert *del Abdy* 1379 PTY. ‘One employed at an abbey’, ME *abbodie*, Lat *abbatia* which meant both ‘abbacy’ and ‘abbey’.

Abear, A’Bear

: John *atte Bere* 1332 SRSr; John *Abere* 1517 PCC (K). ‘At the swine-pasture’, probably ‘swineherd’. v. BEAR.

Abel, Abell, Abele, Abeles, Able, Abelson, Ableson

: *Abellus* Hy 2 DC (Lei); *Abel de Etton* 1221 AssWa; William *Abel* 1197 P (Ess); Thomas *Abelle* 1301 SRY; Richard *Abelson* 1623 Bardsley. Hebrew *Abel*, probably ‘son’, a common 13th-century christian name.

Abercrombie, Abercromby

: William, John *de Abercromby* 1296,1305 Black (Fife). From the barony of Abercromby (Fife).

Abery, Abra, Abrey, Abry

: John, Stephen *Albo(u)rg* 1327 SREss, 1456 ER 72; John *Aberry* 1662 HTEss. These are probably from Abery House in Ilford (Ess), v. PN Ess 98. But the name may also come from Avebury (W), *Abery* 1535.

Abethell

: v. BITHELL

Abinger

: Gilbert *de Abingeworth* 1208 Cur (Sr); James *de Abingeworth* 1327 SRSx. From Abinger (Sr), *Abingewurd* 1191.

Abington

: Fulcho *de Abinton* 1194 P (Nth); William *de Abbinton* 1260 AssC; Thomas *de Abigton*, William *de Abynton* 1296 SRSx. From Abington (C, Nth), or Abington Pigotts (C).

Ablett, Ablitt, Ablott

: *Abelota loue* 1277 *Ely* (Sf); *Abelot* 1279 RH (C); William *Abelot* 1279 RH (C); William *Ablot* 1335 FrY. *Abel-ot*, a diminutive of *Abel*, sometimes used as a woman's name.

Ablewhite

: v. APPLEWHAITE

Abney

: Roger *de Abbeneye* Edl DbCh. From Abney (Db).

Aborn

: Robert *Abourne* 1379 LLB G; Jamys *A Bourne* 1467 ArchC xi. For *atte borne*. v. BOURNE.

Abra, Abrey, Abry

: v. ABERY

Abraham, Abrahams, Abram, Abrams, Abrahamson, Abramson

: *Abraham* de Strattuna 1170–5 DC (L); John *Abraham* 1193 P (Nth); Robert *Abram* 1252 Rams (Hu). Hebrew *Abram* ‘high father’, changed to *Abraham* ‘father of a multitude’. *Abraham*, the name of a priest in DB (1086), was not confined to Jews.

Abraham, Abram, Adburgham

: John *de Abburgham* 1246 AssLa; Gilbert *de Abram* Hy 4 Bardsley. From Abram (Lancs), *Adburgham* a1199 DEPN.

A’Brook

: Roger *Attebrok’* 1297 MinAcctCo; John *A’Brooke* 1542 SxWills. v. BROOK.

Absalom, Absolem, Absolom, Absolon, Aspenlon, Aspland, Asplen, Asplin, Aspling, Ashplant

: *Absolon* filius *Apsolon* 1199 FFC; *Aspelon* 1252 Rams (Hu); Johannes *filius Asplom* 1302 SRY; Stephen *Abselon* 1208 Cur (O); John *Asplon'* 1279 RH (Hu); Thomas *Absohn*, *Aspelon* 1281, 1297 LLBB; William *Aspland*, *Aspline* 1684, 1690 CPR iii. *Absalom*, from Hebrew *Abshálóm* 'father of peace'. Used as a nickname by Chaucer for a man with a fine head of hair: 'Crul was his heer and as the gold it shoon'.

Abson

: William *Abson* 1379 PTY, 1595 Shef. Probably 'son of *Ab*', a shortened form of names in *Ab*-, but occasionally, perhaps, from *Abson* (Gl).

Aburn

: John *Aburne* 1572 FFHu. v. BOURNE.

Acaster, Akaster, Akester, Akister

: Ragenild *de Acastr'* 1219 AssY; John *de Acastre* 1344 FFY; William *Akester* 1672 HTY. From *Acaster* (WRY).

Ace, Aze

: *Azo* 1086 DB; *Asce* Halvecniht 1213 Cur (Ha); Benedict, John *Ace* 1230 Cl (Ha), 1246–89 Bart (Lo); Geoffrey *Aze* 1296 SRSx. OFr *Ace*, *Asse*, OG *Azo*, *Atso*, hypocoristics of compounds in *Adal*-.

Achard, Ackert, Ashard, Hatchard

: *Acardus* de Lincolnia c1150 DC (L); *Achardus* de Sproxton' 1207 Cur (Lei); William *Achard* 1160 P (Berks); William *Achart* 1177 P (Ha); Willelmus *Achardi* 1190 P (Berks); William *Hachard* 1279 RH (C); Thomas *Acard* 1401 Shef (Y). OFr *Achart*, *Aquart*, probably from OG *Agihard*, *Akihart*.

Acbeson, Aicheson, Aitcheson, Aitchison, Atcheson, Atchison

: Scottish and border forms of *Atkinson* found in Cumberland as *Attchison* in 1596 (CWAS viii) and in Scotland as *Atzinson* 1475, *Achesoun* 1497, *Atyesoun* 1540, and *Aicheson* 1590 (Black). The z was pronounced y and *AtyeSon* became *Acheson* as the colloquial 'got yer' became 'gotcha'.

Ackary, Ackery

: *Acharias*, *Accarisius* filius Copsi 1155, Hy 1 FeuDu; *Achari* Hy 1 Rams (Hu); Robert *Akari* 1199 CurR (Hu). Hebrew *Zacharias* 'Jehovah has remembered', surviving also as *Zachary*. Roger son of *Zacharias* de Burdun (1217 FeuDu) is also called Rogerus *filius Acharisiae*, *Akariae*, *Acris*, *Akaris* (c1200 ib.).

Acke, Ackes

: *Aky* prior 1168–75 Holme; Bernard *filius Acke* 1212 Fees (La); Eluiua *Ackes* 1202 AssNth; Margaret *Acke* 1327 SRC. ODa *Aki*, OSw *Ake*, or a shortened form of ON *Áskell*. v. also AKE.

Ackerman, Acraman, Acreman, Akerman

: William *Acreman* Hy 1 Rams (Hu); Robert *le Akerman* 1233 HPD (Ess). OE *æcermann* ‘farmer’, a husbandman or ploughman.

Ackers

: v. ACRES

Ackert

: v. ACHARD

Ackery

: v. ACKARY

Acket, Acketts

: v. HACKETT

Acklam

: William *de Acclum* 1185 Templars (Y); Robert *de Aclom* 1334 LLB E; Robert *Aklam*

1534 FrY. From Acklam (ERY, NRY).

Ackland, Acland

: The Devonshire Acklands are said to owe their surname to a grove of oaks near their seat of Acland Barton in Landkey (Devon). Here lived in 1275 William *de Ackelane* (RH). The real meaning of Acland is ‘Acca’s lane’, which is only some four miles from Accott in Swimbridge, ‘Acca’s cottage’ (PN D 342, 351). Robert *de Acland* 1257 Oseney (O) took his surname from land on which oaks grew (OE *āc, land*).

Ackling

: v. HACKLING

Ackroyd, Acroyd, Akeroyd, Akroyd, Aykroyd, Ackred, Akred, Ecroyd

: Hugo *Aikroide* 1612 FrY; Henry *Ackroyd* 1645 ib.; Henry *Akeroyd* 1648 ib.; Christopher *Acred* 1721 ib. ‘Dweller by the oak-clearing’ (OE *āc, rod*), a Yorkshire name, preserving the dialectal pronunciation *royd*.

Ackworth, Acworth

: Thomas *de Akewrth*’ 1219 AssY; Adam *de Ackeworth*’ 1379 PTY; William *Akworth* 1421 IpmNt. From Ackworth (WRY).

Acomb, Acum, Akam

: Philip *de Akum* 1210 P (Y); Peter *de Acom* 1325 Wak (Y); John A *Combe* 1525 SRSx. From *Acomb* (Nb, NRY, WRY), *Acombe* in Churchstanton (D), or for *atte Combe* ‘dweller in the valley’, OE *cumb*.

Acraman, Acreman

: v. ACKERMAN

Acres, Ackers, Acors, Akers, Akess, Akker

: William *del Acr*’ 1214 Cur (Sx); Adam *de Acres* 1346 LLB F. ‘Dweller by the plot of arable land’ (OE *æcer*). Or from Castle, South or West Acre (Norfolk).

Acton

: Hugh *de Acton*’ 1194 P (Sa); Warin *de Aketon* 1202–3 FFEss; John *de Acton* 1327 SRWo; Richard *Acton* 1421–2 FFWa. From one of the many places of this name.

Acworth

: v. ACKWORTH

Adam, Adames, Adams, Addams, Adem, Adhams

: *Adam* Warenarius 1146–53 DC (L); Alianor *Adam* 1281 AssCh; William *Adames* 1327 SRWo. Hebrew *Adam* ‘red’, found in DB, and common thereafter, with diminutives

Adcock, Adkin, Adnett.

Adamsdn

: John *Adamsone* 1296 Black, 1327 SRDb; Richard *AdameSSone* 13th AD i (Nf). ‘Son of *Adam*.’

Adburgham

: v. ABRAHAM

Adcock, Adcocks, Atcock, Hadcock

: *Adecok* Kay 1246 AssLa; Richard *Hadecoc* 1226 FrLeic; Robert *Adekok* 1275 SRWo; John *Atkoc* 1327 SRSt. *Adecoc*, a pet-form of *Adam*.

Addams

: v. ADAM

Addekin

: v. ADKIN

Addey, Addie, Addy, Address, Addis, Adds,

Haddy

: *Addy* 1290 AssCh; *Addy* de Beuerlay 1297 SRY; John *Haddy* 1279 RH (Beds); Richard *Addy* 1301 SRY; John *Adies* 1327 SRWo; William *Addes* 1379 PTY. A pet-form of *Adam*.

Addington

: William *de Adinton* 1176 P (Bk); Hugh *de Adinton*' 1202 AssNth; Gilbert *de Adintun*' 1226 Cur (Sr). From Addington (Bucks, Kent, Northants, Surrey).

Addison

: John *Addisone* 1308 Pat (Y); Robert *Addeson* 1498 GildY. 'Son of *Addy*.'

Addlestone

: v. ATHELSTAN

Adds, Addy

: v. ADDEY

Addyman

: *Adiman* 1204 P (Y); John *Addeman* 1379 PTY. 'Servant of *Addy*.'

Ade, Ades, Adeson

: Thomas *Ade* 1327 SRSx; William *Adeson*' 1379 PTY. A pet-form of *Adam*.

Adeane, A'Deane

: John *Adene* 1484 RochW; Thomas *a Dene* 1516 KentW. From *atte dene*. v. DEAN.

Adeline

: *Adelina* jocolatrix 1086 DB (Ha); William *Adeline* 1260 AssC. OG *Adalina*, *Adelina*. The seal of *Adaleide*, wife of William Peverel (1107–13 NthCh), bears the legend: SIGNVM ADELINE, which was thus used as a pet-form of OG *Adelhaid*, in ME usually *Adeliz*, *Alesia*, *Aalis*. v. also ALIS, EDLIN.

Adem

: v. ADAM

Adey, Adie, Ady, Adye

: Thomas *Ady* 1327 SRWo; William *Adee* 1524 SRSf. A pet-form of *Ade* (Adam). Adger: v. EDGAR

Adhams

: v. ADAM

Adkin, Adkins, Addekin, Atkin, Atkins, Atkyns, Attkins, Hadkins

: *Adekin* filius Turst' 1191 P (Nf); John *Adekyn* 1296 Crowland (C); William *Atkyns* 1327 SRWo; John *Adekyne*s 1332 SRWa; William *Atkyn* 1441 ShefA. *Ade-kin*, a pet-form of *Adam*.

Adlam

: *Adelelmus* 1066 DB (K); Walterus *filius Adelam* 1191 P (Sa); Robertus *Adelelmus* 1130 P (Ess); Roger *Adalem* 1260 AssC. From c940 onwards OE *Æðelhelm* regularly appears as *Æðelm* and occurs in DB as *Ailm* (PNDB). Hence the above forms are probably all from OG *Adalhelm*, *Adelelm* 'noble protector'.

Adlard, AUard, Allarde, Allart, Allars, Aylard, EUard, EUert, Hallard, Hallett

: *Ailardits*, *Ælard* 1066 DB (D, Sx); *Adelardus* Hornewitesinne 1125 (c1425) LLB C; *Aeilardus* 1143–7 DC (L); *Halardus* de Weres a1150 ib.; Elard de Beisebi 1161 P (L); Walterus *filius Eilardi* 1205 Cur (W); Rogerus *filius Alardi*, *Adelard'*, *Athelardi* 1212, 1242 Fees (L); Roger *Aillard* 1205 P (Gl); Richard *Alard'* 1209 P (Gl); Nicholas *Adelard* 1275 SRWo; Stephen *Eyllard* 1296 SRSx; Richard, William *Athelard* 1327 SRC, SRSx; John *Adhelard*, *Allard* 1327, 1332 SRSx; John *Allerd* 1327 SRC. The DB forms are probably from OE *Æðelheard* 'noble-hard', but may be for OG *Adelard* or *Agilard*. *Adel-* is usually continental in origin, *Ayl-* usually from OE *Æðel-*, but may occasionally be for

OG *Adel-* or *Agil-*. Both the native and the continental names are represented but cannot be safely distinguished except that *Ellard* and *Ellert* are probably of English origin. *Alard* the Fleming (1198 P), whose name is certainly of continental origin, also occurs as *Ayllard* (1193 ChR) and *Adthelard* (Ric 1 (1279) RH). *Alardde* Cotekyn of Zeeland (1311 Pat) was also a Fleming. Both personal-names may later have become *Aylett*, *Allatt*.

Adlington

: Walter *de Adelminton* 1204 P (La); Richard *de Adligton* 1274 RH (L). From Adlington (Ch, La), or Allington (Do, L, W), *Adeling(e)tone* DB.

Admans

: v. EDMAN

Admer

: Lefstan *filius Ædmeri* c1095 Bury (Sf); *Admerus* le Burgeis 1203 Cur (Sx); Walter *Edmer* 1275 SRWo. OE *æ* 'prosperity-famous'. The surname is also local in origin: Reginald *de Addemere* 1296 SRSx, Nicholas *de Admare* 1344 FrY.

Adnet, Adnitt

: *Adenet* le Wayder 1293 MESO (Nf); *Adinet* del Forest 1379 PTY; Robert *Adynet*, *Adinot* 1366 AD ii (Lei), 1428 FA (Sr). OFr *Adenet*, *Adenot*, diminutives of *Adam*. *Adam* de Bidyk (1286 ChancW) is also called *Adinet* (1276 Fine).

Adown, A'Down

: Walter *Adoon* 1424 LLB K; John *Adowne* 1488 *Petre*. For *atte dune* ‘dweller by the hill’, OE *dūn*. v. also DOWN.

Adrain, Adrian, Adrien

: *Adrianus* janitor 1186–1210 Holme (Nf); Walter *Adran*’, *Adrian* c1232 Clerkenwell (Lo); Ralph *Adrien* 1277 LLB A. Lat *Hadrianus* ‘of the Adriatic’, the name of a Roman emperor and several popes, including Nicholas Brakespear, the only English pope (d. 1159).

Adwick

: Ralph *de Aldewic*’ 1219 AssY; Gilbert *de Athwik* 1340, Robert *de Addewyke* 15th Shef. From Adwick le Street, or Adwick upon Dearne (WRY).

Ady(e)

: v. ADEY

Aeneas

: *Eneas* filius Hugonis Hy 2 Seals (Y); *Eneas* de Baddeby 1381 AssWa; David *Enyas* 1379 LoCh. The name of the Trojan hero. Used in Scotland to translate Gaelic *Aonghus*, OIr *Oeng(h)us*.

Aers

: v. AYER

Affery, Affray

: v. ALFREY

Agar, Agars, Ager

: v. ALGAR, EDGAR

Agass, Aggas, Aggass, Aggis, Aggiss, Aggns, Aguss

: Robertus *filius Agacie* 1279 RH (C); Roger *Agace* 1275 SRWo; Thomas *Agas* 1480 AD iii (Sx); Matthew *Agess*, Thomas *Aggis* 1674 HTSf. OFr *Agace* (f), the vernacular form of the learned *Agatha*, from Greek *ἀγαθός*, 'good'.

Agate, Agates

: John *a gate, atte Gate* 1296, 1327 SRSx. From residence near a gate.

Agg, Aggs

: Simon *filius Agge* 1195 P (L); William *Agge* 1275 RH (L). ODa *Aggi*.

Agget, Aggett, Agott

: Gilbert *Agote* 1301 ParlR (Ess). A diminutive of *Agg*, a pet-form of *Agnes*, or *Agace* (Agatha).

Aglion

: v. AGUILLON

Agnes, Agness

: *Agnes* de Papewurda 1160 P (C); Hugo *Agneis* 1219 AssL; Robert *Agnes* 1230 P (L). Fr *Agnes*, from Greek *ἀγνός*, 'pure, chaste', the learned form of the vernacular *Anes*, *Anneis*. v. ANNAS.

Agnew

: (i) Mabel *de Aignaus, de Agniws* 1208–9 Pl; Robert *de Ayneaus* 1227 Cur (Sf); Robert *de Aygnel* 1249 AssW. From Agneaux (La Manche). (ii) Thomas *Agnel* 1201–12 RBE (Sf); Susanna *Agniel* 1206 Cur (Bk); Lawrence, John *Agnel* 1254, 1284 IpmW. A nickname from Fr. *agneau, agnelle* 'lamb'.

Agrove, Atgrove

: John *atte Grove* 1323–4 FFEss; William *atte Groue* 1392, Michael *Agrove* 1443 CtH. For *atte Grove* 'dweller by the grove', *OE grāf*. v. also GROVE.

Aguila, Aguilar

: Henry *Laguillier* 1188 P (Ha); Godfrey *Aigillier* 1206 P (Sr); Robert *le Aguiller* 1221

AssSa. OFr *aiguillier*, *agullier* ‘a maker of needles’.

Aguillon, Aglion

: Adelard *aculeus* 1148 Winton (Ha); Geoffrey *Ageilun* c1150 DC; Roger *Aguitton* 1219, William *Aglyon* 1361 AssY; Richard *Aglon* 1642 PrD. Lat *aculeius*, OFr *aiguillon* ‘goad’, perhaps in the sense ‘warrior’. v. OEByn 372.

Aguss

: v. AGASS

Aicheson

: v. ACHESON

Aiers

: v. AYER

Aiken(s), Aikin, Aickin

: v. AITKEN

Aikett

: v. AKED

Ailward

: v. AYLWARD

Ailwyn

: v. AYLWIN

Aimer(s)

: v. AYMER

Ainger

: v. ANGER

Ainley, Aynley

: Richard *Aynlay* 1548 FrY. From Ainley House in Ovenden (WRY).

Ainsley, Ainslee, Ainslie, Aynsley

: William *de Ansee* c1220 Black (Glasgow); Adam *de Aynesleye*, Thoraas *de Ainslay* 1357 ib. (Roxburgh), Putnam (Db); Adam *Aynesley* 1652 RothwellPR (Y). From Annesley (Notts), or Ansley (Warwicks).

Ainsworth, Aynsworth

: John *de Ainesworth* 1281, *de Aynsworth* 1285, John *de Aynsworth* 1401 AssLa. From Ainsworth (La).

Air(e)s

: v. AYER

Airey, Airy, Ary

: Robert *de Hayra* 1301 IpmLa (We); John *Ary* 1617 FrY; Christopher *Airy* 1647 ib. Robert *de Ayrawe* 1332 SRCu, assessed in Threlkeld (Cumb), must have owed his name to Aira Beck or Aira Force (Ullswater), *Arey* 1522, with a surname *de Ayraw* 1301 (PN Cu 254). Airy's Bridge in Borrowdale is named from Christopher *Arraye* 1603 and Jane *Araye* 1634 (ib. 352), whilst Airygill Lane in Great Strickland (PN We ii, 150), *John Airey Gill* 1838, commemorates the local family of *Airy* (*Arey*, *Arraye*, *Arra* 1586–1731). From 1508 to 1774 the surname is usually spelt *Airy*, with variants *Ayraie*, *Ayree*, *Arye*, *Aery*, etc., and occasionally *Eyrye*, *Eyree*. The persistent *Ai-* and the final *-ay*, *-ey* dissociate the name from the suggested ON *erg* 'shieling'. It is probably 'dweller by the gravel-bank', cf. ON *eyrará* 'gravel-bank river', or from Aira Force or some similarly named place.

Airmin, Airmine

: Robert *de Eyrminne* Hy 3 IpmY; William *de Ayrminne* 1327 SRY; Isabel *Ayremyn* 1381 AssL. From Airmyn (WRY).

Aish

: v. ASH

Aishford

: v. ASHFORD

Aislabie, Aislaby

: Henry *de Aslaby* 1379 PTY; William *Aslakeby* or *Aislaby* 1572 Bardsley. From Aislaby (Du, NRY).

Aitcheson, Aitchison

: v. ACHESON

Aitken, Aitkens, Aitkin, Aitkins, Aiken, Aikens, Aickin, Aikin

: *Atkyn* de Barr 1340 Black; *Aitkane* of Dunsleson 1482 ib.; Andrew *Atkin* 1469 ib.; William *Ackin* 1476 ib.; Robert *Aykkyne* 1539 ib.; Robert *Aitkins* 1674 HTSf; James *Aitkine* 1685 Black. Scottish forms of *Atkin*.

Aiton

: v. AYTON

Aizlewood

: v. HAZELWOOD

Akam

: v. ACOMB

Akaster

: v. ACASTER

Ake

: William *de Ake* 1327 SRWo; William *del Ake* 1364, John *de Ake* 1384 FrY. From Aike in Lockington (ERY), or 'dweller by the oak', OE *āc*.

Aked, Akett, Akitt, Aikett

: Richard *de Aykeheved* 1280 Riev (Y). 'Dweller by the oak-covered headland' (OE *āc*,

hēafod).

Akehurst, Akhurst

: John *de Ochurst* 1296 SRSx; John *Akeherste* 1525 SRSx. From Akehurst Fm in Hellingly (Sx).

Akeman

: Heruey *filius Akeman* 1188 P (Gl); Henry *filius Akemon* 1246 AssLa; William *Akemon* 1275 SRWo. OE **Ācmann*, recorded only in place-names.

Akerman

: v. ACKERMAN

Akeroyd

: v. ACKROYD

Akers, Akess

: v. ACRES

Akester

: v. ACASTER

Akett, Akitt

: v. AKED

Akburst

: v. AKEHURST

Akister

: v. ACASTER

Akker

: v. ACRES

Akred, Akroyd

: v. ACKROYD

Alabastar, Alabaster, Albisser, Arblaster

: Geoffrey *Arbalister* 1198 Cur (Ess); Richard *le Arbelaster* 1198 P (R); Ralph *Alebaster* c1200 HPD (Ess); Peter *le Arblaster* 1278 FFSf. AFr *alblaster*, *arblaster*, OFr *arbalestier*, *arbelestier* ‘a soldier armed with a crossbow, a crossbowman’ (c1325 MED). v. also BALLASTER. The surname is also due to office. Robertus *Arbalistarius*, *Balistarius* (1086 DB) and his son Odo *albalistarius* (c1140 Holme) held their land of the king by serjeanty of performing the duties of *arbalistarius*. Others of the same surname held their land by serving at Wallingford Castle with an arbalest, by guarding Exeter gaol, or by providing two arbalests. As London *arblasters* are stated to have had apprentices, the surname may also mean ‘maker of cross-bows’.

Alabone

: v. ALBAN

Alais

: v. ALIS

Alan

: v. ALLAIN

Aland, Alland

: Gerard *Attelaunde* 1281 IpmGl; Robert *de Allandes* 1335 FrY; Thomas *Aland*’ 1379 PTY; Thomas *Alonde* 1545 SRW. For *atte lande* ‘dweller at the glade or pasture’, OFr *laund*. Sometimes, perhaps, ‘dweller at the old cultivated land(s)’, OE *eald*, *land*.

Alaway, Alway, Allaway, Alleway, Alloway,

Allawy, Allway, Allways, Elloway, Hallaway, Halloway, Hallway

: (i) *Ailwi*, *Aluui* 1066 DB; *Willelmus filius Ailwl* 1206 P (Nth); *Godfrey Ailwi* 1188 BuryS (Sf); *Peter Athelwy* 1302 SRF. OE *Æðelwīg* ‘noble war’. (ii) *Æluui*, *Eluui* 1066 DB; *Willelmus filius Alewi* 1185 P (Bk); *Aleway Pote* 1297 SRY; *Roger Alewy* 1200 P (Mx), 1221 AssWo; *Henry Alwi* 1221 *ElyA* (Sf); *Richard Alawy*, *Halewy* 1260, 1264 Eynsham (O); *William Halawey* 1279 RH (Hu); *John Always* 1301 SRY; *Henry Halloway* 1674 HTSf. The DB forms may stand for OE *Æddlwīg*, ‘noble-war’, *Ælfwīg* ‘elf-war’ or *Ealdwīg* ‘old war’ (rare). v. also ALDWY, ALLVEY.

Alban, Albon, Albone, Allbon, Allbones, Alabone, Allebone, Alliban, Allibon, Allibone, Anbon

: *Albanus filius Willelmi* 1212 Cur (Y); *Walter Alban* 1250 Fees (Bk); *Adam Albon* 1275 SRWo; *Hugh Alybon* 1297 Coram (Db); *William Albon*, *Albone* 1376 LLB G; *William Albanes* 1379 PTY; *William Alybone* 1397 FrY. Latin *Albanus* ‘of Alba’, the name of the first British martyr. St. Albans is recorded as *Seynt Albones* in 1421 (PN Herts 87).

Albe, Aube

: *Nicholas le Albe* 1230 MemR (Nf); *Geoffrey Albe* 1327 SRLei. Lat *albus*, OFr *albe*, *aube* ‘white’. Used also as a feminine name: *Alba* (f) 1315 AssNf.

Alberry, Albery, Allberrey, Allberry

: These surnames may be late variants of either AUBRAY, or ALBURY.

Albert, Alberts, Aubert

: *Albertus* 1066 DB (Beds); *Philippus filius Alberti, Auberti* 1211 Cur(Do); *Robert Alberd, Albert* 1221 AssWa; *Isabella Aubert* 1327 SRSf. OG *Albert* (Fr *Aubert*), from OG *Adalbert*. The cognate OE *Æðelbeorht* ‘noble bright’ occurs in DB in 1066 as *Ailbertus, Ailbriht* and once as *Albrict*. The *Ailbertus* of 1066 InqEl (C) appears in DB as *Albertus*. Thus *Albert* may sometimes be identical with *Albright*.

Albin, Albinson, Aubin, Obin

: *Albinus* 1148–53 Bury (Sf), Hy 2 Gilb (L); *Obin* Kinel 1202 AssL; *Roger Albin* 1194 P (Wo); *Gilbert Aubin* 1210 Cur (Nf); *John Obin, James Aubyn* 1275 SRWo. OFr *Albin, Aubin*, Lat *Albinus*, a derivative of *albus* ‘white’.

Albisser

: v. ALABASTAR

Albon(e)

: v. ALBAN

Alborne, Albourne, Alburne

: *John de Aleburn*’ 1177 P (Sx); *Ailwin Alburne* 1187 P (Ess); *Nicholas Alebourne* 1332 SRSx. From *Albourne* (Sx).

Albright, Allbright

: *Ailbricd* c1160 DC (L); *Ailbrict* 1202 FFC; Alexander *filius Ailbriht* 1205 Cur (Sr); William *Albrich* 1275 SRW_o; Eusebius *Ailbrit*, *Ailbric* 1279 RH (Hu); Herriesservant *Albryght* ('servant of Harry Albryght') 1378 Pat (Beds). OE *Æðelbriht*, a metathesized form of *Æðelbeorht*. v. ALBERT.

Albury

: David *de Aldebury* 1278 RH (Sa); Stephen *de Aldebury* 1278 RH (O); William *Albury* 1683 Bardsley. No doubt usually from Albury (Herts, O, Sr), but possibly also a variant of AUBRAY.

Albutt

: v. ALLBUT

Alcock, Alecock, Allcock, Aucock, Awcock

: *Alekoc*, *Alecoc* 1204 Cur (Nt), P (Y); *Awcok* de Leuer 1246 AssLa; *Alkok* 1332 SRCu; Alexander *Alecoc* 1275 SRW_o; John *Alekok*, *Auecoc* 1296, 1327 SRSx. A pet-form of some short name in *Al*-.

Alcoe

: Probably for *Alcock*. cf. the pronunciation *Coeburn* for *Cockburn* and *Coeshot* for *Cockshott*.

Alcorn, Allcorn, Alchorn, Alchorne, Allchorn, Allchorne, Alchen, Alchin, Allchin

: John *de Alcheshorn*, Adam *de Alchehorn* 1296 SRSx; John *Alchon* 1420 LLB I; John *Alchorn* 1525 SRSx. From a lost *Alchehorne* in Buxted (Sx), last mentioned in 1592. *Allchin* and *Allcorn* survive in West Kent, whilst *Alchin* is found in Godstone (Sr) near the Sussex boundary. *v.* also OLDCORN.

Alcott, Allcott, Allcoat, Aucott, Aucntt

: Philip *de Allecote* 1255 RH (Sa); Thomas *de Aldecote*, *de Alecote* 1275 SRWo. ‘Dweller at the old cottage’ (OE *eald, cot(e)*). Often, no doubt, confused with *Alcock*. John *Alkot* 1290 AssCh may be a misreading of *Alkoc*.

Alcrist

: John *Allecrist*, *Aldecrist* 1221 AssSa; John *Aldecrist* 13th AD iii (He); Walter *Oldecrist* 1258 AD iii (He). Evidently a nickname, ‘old Christ’, OE *eald, crīst*, the particular significance of which is unknown.

Aldam, Aldham

: Oslac *de Haldham* c1095 Bury; Adam *de Aldeham* 1206 Cur (Sr); Isaac *Aldham*, William *Aldum* 1674 HTSf. From Aldham (Ess, Sf). *v.* also OLDHAM.

Alden, Aldin, Aldine, Aldins, Allden, Auden, Olden

: (i) *Aldanus*, *Alden(e)* 1066 DB; *Gamel filius Alden* 1196 P (We); *Walterus filius Aldan*, *Aldein*, *Haldein* 1218–19 AssL; *Alexander Aldeyn* 1279 RH (O); *John Alden* 1524 SRSf. Anglo-Scand *Healfdene*. v. HALDANE. (ii) *Ælfwine Aldine* c1095 Bury (Sf); *Osgotus Aldwlnus* 1196 P (Berks); *Reginald Aldyne* 1275 RH (Nf). OE *Ealdwine*. v. ALWIN. cf. *Aldenesawe*, *Aldwynshawe* c1200 DEPN for Audenshaw.

Alder, Alders, Alder, Nalder, Nolder, Nolda, Older

: *Ralph de Alre* 1221 Cur (Berks); *William atte Nalre*, *atte Naldhres* 1277 AssSo, 1313 FFess; *John atte Alre* 1327 SRSO; *Richard atten Alre* 1332 MELS (So); *Alexander Aldres* 1332 SRWa. ‘Dweller by the alder(s)’ (OE *alor*).

Alderman

: *Adam le alderman* 12th DC (L); *John Alderman* 1175 P (Sx). OE *ealdormann* ‘alderman’, also headman, governor of a guild.

Alderton

: *Alexander de Alreton* 1191 P (Y); *John de Aldrinton* 1221 AssWo; *Richard Alderton* 1525 SRSx. From Alderton (Ess, Gl, Nth, Sf, W), Allerton (La, WRY), or Ollerton (Ch, Nt). v. also ALLERTON, OLLERTON.

Aldhous(e)

: v. ALDIS

Aldin(s)

: v. ALDEN

Aldington

: Richard *de Aldington* 1204 P (W); William *de Aldinton* 1275 SRWo. From Aldington (K, Wo).

Aldis, Aldiss, Alldis, Aldhous, Aldhouse, Aldous, Aldus, Audas, Audiss, Audus, Oldis

: Radulfus *filius Alduse* 1168 P (Y); Willelmus *filius Aldus* 1202 AssL; *Aldusa* filia Cristine 1219 AssY; Peter, Robert *Aldus* 1230 P (Nf), 1301 SRY; Peter *Aldous* 1327 SRSf; Robert *Aldhous*, William *Aldowes* 1524 SRSf; Francis *Aldhowse* 1647 Shef (Y); Goody *Aldis* 1674 HTSf. *Aldus* (f), a pet-form of some woman's name in *Ald-*, e.g. † v. EDIS. The Scottish *Aldis* is from Auldhous in Eastwood (Renfrewshire); Reginald *de Aldhous* 1265 Black.

Aldon

: Euota *de Aldone* 1317 AssK; Thomas *de Aledon* 1321 LLB F. From Aldon (Sa).

Aldred, Alldread, Alldred, Alldritt, Audritt, Eldred, Eldrett, Eldrid, Elldred

: (i) *Ældred*, *Ældret*, *Aldret*, *Eldred*, *Eldret* 1066 DB; *Aldret* de Windegate c1145–65 Seals (Nb); *Eldredus* 1161–77 Rams (Herts); Roger *Aldredus* 1207 P (D); Golding *Aldred* a1224 Clerkenwell (Mx); William *Aldret* 1275 SRWo. OE # ‘old counsel’. Forms in *Alred* may also belong here. (ii) *Eilredus* de Mannest’ 1198 Cur (K); William *Eyldred* 1317 AssK; Maud *Aildred* 1327 SR (Ess). OE # ‘noble counsel’, which appears in DB as *Ailred*, *Alret*, *Aldret*, and in InqAug (11th) as *Elred*. Forms in both *Alred* and *Aldred* may, therefore, also belong here. v. also ALDRITT and ALLRED.

Aldren

: Thomas *in the Aldren*, Henry *in the Alren* 1327 SRSo. From residence among the alders (OE *alor*).

Aldrich, Aldrick, Aldridge, Alldridge, Allderidge, Elderidge, Eldridge, Elrick, Oldridge

: These surnames may be local in origin, but usually derive from OE *Ælfrīc* ‘elf-ruler’ or *Æðelrīc* ‘noble ruler’. Both survived the Conquest, by which time the first element had often been reduced to *Al-* or *El-* and consequently cannot be distinguished. A common post-Conquest form of *Æðelrīc* was *Ailric* or *Eilric*. v. ALLRIGHT. (i) From OE *Ælfrīc*: *Ælfric*, *Alfric*, *Aluric* 1066 DB; Hugo *Ælurici filius* c1095 Bury (Sf); Ricardus *Alurici* 1209 P (W); William *Alfric* 1212 Cur (Berks); William *Alfrich* 1296 SRSx; John *Alfryg* 1327 SRSo. (ii) From OE *Æðelrīc*: *Adelric*, *Agelricus*, *Egelric*, *Ailric*, *Aelricus*, *Alricus*, *Aluric* 1066 DB; *Ailricus*, *Ældricus* de Burc 1066 DB (Sf); *Aldrich* (*Ailrich*) 1220 Cur (Sr); William *Ailric* 1209 P (W); Henry *Aldric*, Geoffrey *Aldrich* 1275 SRWo; Robert *Aylrich*, *Alrych* 1279 RH (Hu); William *Eldrich* 1336 AD ii (Sr); James *Aldridge* 1674 HTSf. (iii) From OE *Ælfrīc* or *Æðelrīc*: *Ælric*, *Alric*, *Alrich*, *Elric* 1066 DB; *Elricus* filius Leppe Hy 2 DC (L); Roger *Elrich* 1279 Barnwell (C); Robert *Alriche* 1327 SRC; Seman *Olrich* 1327 SRSf; Amicia *Alric* 1346 FFC; Alexander *Elrick* 1510 Black; Peter *Oldryk* 1527 SRSf. (iv) Local. From Aldridge (Staffs): Drogo *de Alrewic* 1201 P (St); from Aldridge Grove (Bucks), *Eldrigge* 1227 PN Bk 151; or from an unidentified place in or near Worcester: Hugo *Elrugge* 1327 SRWo.

Aldritt, Alldritt, Eldrett, Eldritt, Naldrett,

Neldrett

: Robert *atte Nalrette* 1305 FFSx; Robert *atte Aldratte*, Walter *ate Naldratte*, Gilbert *ate Nelrette* 1327 SRSx; John *atte Alrette* 1332 SRSx. OE **alrett*, **elrett* ‘alder-grove’, a derivative of OE *alor* ‘alder’. Common in Sussex, usually as *Naldrett(s)* and in Nalderswood Fm (PN Sr 298). v. also ARLET. *Aldritt* and *Eldrett* may also derive from OE *a. V. ALDRED*.

Aldwinckle, Aldwinkle

: Henry *de Audewinckle* 1230 P (Nth); William *Aldewynkyl* 1386 AD i (Nth); William *Aldewynckle* 1468 IpmNt. From Aldwinkle (Nth).

Aldwy

: *Aldui* 1066 DB (So); Geoffrey *Aldwi* 1221 *ElyA* (Sf); William *Aldwy* 1279 RH (O). OE *Ealdwīg* ‘old-war’. v. also ALAWAY.

Ale, Alle

: *Ala* de Bedingh’ 1204 Cur (Sx); Nicholas *filius Ale* 1218 P(St); Alle Dockett 1642 PrD; John *Ale* 1296 SRSx; Thomas *Alle* 1379 PTY. ME *Ala*, a short form of names in *Al-*.

A’Lea, A’Lee

: John *Alee* 1521 FrY; John *a Laye*, *a Lye*, Thomas *a Lee*, *Aley*, William *at Lee* 1525 SRSx; John *a Lyghe* 1544 Musters (Sr). For *atte Leye* ‘dweller at the clearing’, OE *lēah*.

Alecock

: v. ALCOCK

Alefounder

: Walter *le Alefondere* 1275 Cl; John *Alefondere* 1381 FFEss; Widow *Alefounder* 1674 HTSf. ‘Inspector of ale’, one appointed by the Court Leet to examine it as it was poured out (Lat *fundere* ‘to pour out’). The name still survives in Essex and Norfolk.

Alexander

: *Alexander* c1150–60 DC (L); Thomas *Alexander* 1283 SRSf. Greek’ *Αλέξανδρος* ‘defender of men’. v. SANDARS.

Alfill, Alfile

: *Alfilda* 1201 Cur (Sx); John *Alfild* 1309 EAS 23 (Ess); Thomas *Alfild* 1327 SREss. OE *Ælfhild* (f).

Alflat, Alflatt, Allflat, Effleet, Elflitt

: *Elfled* 1222 Cur (Sf); Adam *Attflet* 1221 ElyA (Sf); Thomas *Alfled* 1279 RH (C). *Æfled*, *Alfled*, *Alfleta* (1066 DB) may stand for either OE *æ* ‘elf-beauty’ or *f* ‘noble beauty’. The latter is also *Ædelflete* in DB and *Ailflet* is certainly from this. *Alf-* or *Elf-* may be from either.

Alford, Alfortfa, Allford

: Alan *de Alforde* Hy 2 DC (L); Robert *de Auford* 1202 FFL; Thomas *de Aldeford* 1275 SRWo; Henry *Alforde* 1642 PrD. From Alford (L, So, Aberdeen), or Aldford (Ch).

Alfred, Alfreds, Allured, Alured

: *Alured* 1066 DB; *Elfredus* pelliparius Hy 2 Gilb (L); *Alfredus* Folkeredus 1204 Cur (Sr); Alexander *filius Alvredi* 1206 Cur (Nf); Walter *Alured* 1260 AssC; Thomas *Alfred* 1294 RamsCt (Beds). OE *ælf* ‘elf-counsel’. This personal name is not so rare after the Conquest as has been suggested. Michaëlsson has shown that in the *Roman de Rou* the name of Alfred the Great appears as *Alured*, *Aluered*, *Auuered*, *Alvere*, and *Auvere* and that between 1292 and 1313 the French form *Auveré* is found in Paris both as a personal name and a surname. This pronunciation was also used by Normans in England. *Alfred* is probably concealed in many examples of the Latin *Alvredus*, though this certainly includes examples of *Avery*. The father of Normannus *filius Alfredi* (1242 Fees) is also called *Averay* (1236 ib.). cf. also Hugo *filius Alfredi*, *Aufrey*, *Alveredi* (1242 ib.). *Alvredus* is usually spelled *Aluredus* which, curiously enough, survives as *Al(l)ured*. v. ALFREY and AVERAY.

Alfrey, Alfry, Allfree, Allfrey, Affery, Affray, Elvery

: Ricardus *filius Aufridi* 1212 Fees (L); Richard *Aufrey* 1275 RH (Wo), 1277 Ipm (Nth); John *Aufred* 1279 RH (Hu); Robert *Alfray* 1296 SRSx; Gilbert *Alfrey* 1317 AssK; John *Alfreth* 1327 SR (Ess); Adam *Alfrid* 1327 SRSO; William *Alfred*, *Alfreth*, *Alfride* 1327 SR (Ess). The Lincs *Aufridus* and the Somerset and Essex *Alfrid(e)* suggest that we are not always concerned with *Alfred*, but rather with a name ending in *-frith*, perhaps OE *Æððelfrið* (m), DB *Elfridus*, or **Æððelfrīð* (f), DB *Egelfride*, both rare after the Conquest; or, possibly, OG *Adalfrith*. *Alfred* may also belong here, the *-frey* being due to analogical influence from compounds in *-frið*.

Algar, Alger, Algore, Augar, Augur, Agar, Elgar, Elger

: (i) *Ailgarus* filius Lucie 1151–3 DC (L); *Ailgarus*, *Agare* (abbot of Faversham) 1193–9, 1200–4 StGreg (K); *Eylgar* de Berwe 1273 RH (Sx); *Elgarus*, *Ailgarus* King c1232 Clerkenwell (K); Robert *Elger* 1271 AD iv (Nf); Walter *Eylgar*, *Elgar* 1317 AssK. OE *Æðelgār* ‘noble spear’ which occurs in DB only as *Algar*. (ii) *Alfgerus*, *Ælger*, *Algerus* 1066 DB (L, Nf, Sf); *Ælfger* de Brademere, *Alger* c1095 Bury (Sf); *Algerus* faber 1150 DC (L); Simon, Thomas *Alger* 1221 ElyA (Sf), 1297 MinAcctCo (Y). ON *Álfgeirr*, ODa *Alger*. Some of these forms may be from OE *Ælfgār* or *Ealhhere*, but all are from counties where Scandinavian influence was strong. (iii) *Algar* c1095 Bury (Sf); *Algarus* Dalling 1210 Cur (C); William *Algar* 1221 AssWo; Walter *Elgar* 1234 FFSf; Thomas *Algor* 1260 AssC. OE *Ælfgār* ‘elf-spear’ occurs once in DB as *Alfgarus* or *Elgar*, otherwise as *Ælgar*, *Algar*. OE *Ealdgār* ‘old spear’ is DB *Ealgarus*. *Ælfgār* is much the more common name and both appear later almost regularly as *Algar*. These surnames may derive from either or from *Æðdelgār*.

Algate

: *Edricus de Alegat*’ 1219 Cur (Mx). From Aldgate (London).

Alger, Aljer, Auger

: *Alcher* (*Alg(h)erus* Exon) 1066 DB (D); *Alcherus* Venator 1166 P (Ess); *Auchere* filius Henrici 1327 SRC; Willelmus *filius Auger* 1346 SRWo; Ailwin *Alher*, *Alcher* 1180, c1216 Bart (Lo); Walter *Alger* 1275 SRWo; Henry *Auger* 1279 RH (Hu); John *Aucher* 1428 FA (W); William *Awger* 1498 FrY. OE *Ealhhere* ‘temple-army’, which, through Anglo-Norman vocalization of *l*, became *Aucher*, *Auger*. cf. AYER. *Alger* (with a hard *g*) is from ON *Álfgeirr*. v. ALGAR.

Algore

: v. ALGAR

Alin, Aling, Allin

: *Adhelina* 1138, *Aelina* de Rodlos 1160–5 NthCh (L); *Aalina* (f) Hy 2 DC (Nt); *Alina* 1211 Cur (Mx); *Alina* del Hele 1248 MPleas (Nth); Richard *Alyne* 1275 SRWo; Richard *Aelyng* 1296 SRSx. OG *Adalina*, *Adelina*, *Agellina*, *Aillina*. There is also evidence to show that *Aline* was used as a diminutive of OFr *Aalis*. v. Michaëlsson ii 2. v. also ADELINE.

Alington

: v. ALLINGTON

Aliman

: v. ALLMAN

Alis, Alise, Allies, Allis, Alliss, Allish, Alais, Hallis

: *Adeliz* de Raimes Hy 2 DC (Nth); *Aliz* Martel ib. (L); *Ahelis*, *Ahelissa* 1188 BuryS (Sf); Willelmus *filius Alis* 1214 Cur (Beds); *Alicia* filia Engrami 1219 AssY; *Atheleisia*, *Aelesia*, *Aeleis* (identical) 1219–20 Cur (Nf); Roger *Alys* 1221 AssWa; William *Aliz* 1297 MinAcctCo. OFr *Aalis*, *Aliz*, OG *Adalhaidis* ‘noble kind, sort’, modern *Alice*.

Alison, Allison, Alleeson, Hallison

: (i) *Alison* c1386 Chaucer; *Alison* Home 1524 Black (Berwick); William *Alisun* c1248 Bec (Bk); John *Allison* 1332 SRCu. OFr *Alison*, *Alizon*, a pet-name for *Alice*, common both in England and in Scotland from the 13th to the 17th centuries. In Scotland, it became *Elison*: *Elison* Dalrymple 1514; *Alyson* or *Helysoun* Rouche 1535 (Black). v. ELLISON. (ii) Patrick *Alissone* 1296 Black (Berwick); John *Aliceson* 1324 Wak (Y); William *Aleissone* 1381 SRSt ‘Son of *Aleis* or *Alice*’. Also a late form of *Allanson*. v. also DALLINSON.

Alister, Allister

: Hugo *de Alencestr’* 1221 AssWo; Adam *de Alicestr’* 1275 SRWo. From Alcester (Warwicks). Also for MACALASTER.

Alker

: (i) William *de Altekar* 1341 LLB F; William *Alker* 1630 Bardsley. From Altcar (Lancs). (ii) William *Alker* 1212 Cur (Nf). This cannot be local in origin and is from OE *Ealhere*. v. ALGER.

Alkin, Allkins, Aukin

: *Alkin* the Jonge 1296 AssCh; John *Alkyn* 1307 ParlWrits (He). Probably a pet-form of *Allan* or *Alexander*, *Al-* plus *-kin*. cf. ALCOCK.

Allain, Allan, Allans, Allen, Alleyn, Alleyne, Allin, Allon, Alan, Alen, FitzAlan

: *Alanus* 1066 DB (Sf), c1150 (Lei); *Alain* 1183 DC (L); Geoffrey *Alein* 1234 FFC; Roger *Alain* c1246 Calv (Y); Richard *Aleyns* 1309 AssSt; John *Fitz Atan* 1416 FrY; Richard *Alen* 1544 FFHu; Matthias *Allyn* 1593 ib. OFr *Alain*, *Alein*, OBret *Alan*, the name of a Welsh and Breton saint, which was popular with the Bretons who came over

with the Conqueror, particularly in Lincolnshire, where it ranked eighth in popularity in the 12th century, level with Simon and more numerous than Henry. From 1139 it was common in Scotland where the surnames also derive from Gaelic *Ailéne*, *Ailín*, from *ail* 'rock'.

Allaker

: v. ELLERKER

Allam, Allams, Allom, Allum

: Richard *Alum* 1327 SRLei; Robert *Alome* 1379 LLB H; Thomas *Alom* 1524 SRSf. From Alham (So), or for HALLAM.

Allamand

: v. ALLMAND

Allanby, Allenby, Allonby, Allamby, Allemby

: Adam *de Aleynby* 1332 SRCu; John *Alomby* 1522 FrY. From Allonby (Cumb), *Aleynby* 1285, *Alanby* 1306, *Allonby* 1576.

Alland

: v. ALAND

Allanson, Allenson, Allinson, Allison

: Henry *Aleyson* 1332 SRWa; Nicholas *Aleynesson* 1383 AssC; John *Alanson* 1395 Whitby (Y); Thomas *Alynson* 1401 AD i (Db); Allison *Allasoune* 1554 Black (Glasgow). ‘Son of *Alain* or *Alan*’ v. ALLAIN. Occasionally ‘Son of *Alwin*’: Otho *Alwinessune* 1130 P (Lo). v. ALWIN and DALLINSON.

Allard

: v. ADLARD

Allars, Allart

: v. ADLARD

Allason

: Giles *Alardson* 1421 LLB I. ‘Son of *Alard*’. v. ADLARD. It may also derive from *Allanson* or *Allatson*.

Allatson

: v. ALLETSON

Allatt

: v. ADLARD, AYLETT

Allaway, Allawy

: v. ALAWAY

Allberrey, Allberry

: v. ALBERRY

Allbon, Allbones

: v. ALBAN

Allbright

: v. ALBRIGHT

Allbut, Allbutt, Albut, Albutt

: *Albodo* 1114–20 Rams; *Ailbodus* c1155 DC (L); John *Albot* 1275 RH (D); Symon *Albod* 1275 SRWo. OG *Albod*, *Albot*, *Adelbodo*.

Allchin, Allchorn, Allchorne, Allcorn

: v. ALCORN

Allcoat

: v. ALCOTT

Allcock

: v. ALCOCK

Allcott

: v. ALCOTT

Allday

: Nicholas *Alday* 1327 SR (Ess); John *Aldaye* 1455 ArchC 34; Thomas *Aldy* 1534 ib. 37. From OG *Aildag* or possibly OE **Æðeldæg*. cf. *Aildeig* 1066 DB (Nf). Here, too, probably belong: John, William *Aldeth* 1524 SRSf, from OE *ǣ* (f), 'old combat', found in DB in 1066 as *Ældiet*, *Ældit*, *Aldgid*, *Aldid*, and still in use in the 13th century: *Aldeth* Fin 1190 BuryS (Sf); *Alditha* de Pelham 1212 Cur (Herts). For the development to -ey, cf. ALFREY.

Alden

: v. ALDEN

Alder

: v. ALDER

Alderidge

: v. ALDRICH

Alldis

: v. ALDIS

Aldread, Aldred, Alldritt

: v. ALDRED

Alldridge

: v. ALDRICH

Alle

: v. ALE

Allebone

: v. ALBAN

Alleeson

: v. ALISON

Allembly, Allonby

: v. ALLANBY

Allen

: v. ALLAIN

Allenson

: v. ALLANSON

Allerston

: John *de Aluerstan*' 1219 AssY; Adam *de Allerstan* 1349 FrY; Mary *Alertson* 1672 HTY. From Allerston (NRY).

Allerton

: Richard *de Aluerton*' 1193 P (Y); William *de Allerton*' 1312 FFY; John *Allerton* 1416–7 IpmNt; Jacob, Mary *Alderton* 1817, *Allerton* 1819 LitWelnethamPR (Sf). From Allerton (La, So, WRY), or Alderton(Sf).

Alletson, Allatson

: Adam *Allotesone* 1301 SRY; Agnes *Aletson* 1516 GildY. 'Son of *Allott*'. Also, perhaps, 'son of *Aylett*'.

Allett

: v. AYLETT

Alleway

: v. ALAWAY

Alley, Ally

: Johannes *filius Alli* 1205 Cur (Nf); Hugo son of *Ally* 1332 SRCu; Alice, Richard *Ally* 1275 SRWo, 1352 FrY; Walter *Alleye* 1279 RH (O). ODa *Alli*, OSw *Alle*, found as *Alli* in DB (1066) in Bucks, Beds, Northants and Staff.

Alleyn(e)

: v. ALLAIN

Allfield

: v. OLDFIELD

Allflatt

: v. ALFLAT

Allford

: v. ALFORD

Allfree, Allfrey

: v. ALFREY

Allgood, Augood

: *Algod* 1066 DB (Nt); Iordanus *filius Algodi* c1174 Clerkenwell (Lo); *Algotus* de Banneberi 1178 P (O); Philip *Halgot* 1190 Oseney (O); Ralph *Alegod*, *Halgot*, *Halegod* 1200 ib.; Thomas *Algod* 1225 Pat; Robert *Algood* 1327 SRSf. ODa, OSw *Algot*, *Algut*.

Allgrim

: *Algrim* 1066 DB (Y); *Algrim* de Frisemareis 1195 P (Y); John *Algrym* 1402 YWills. ON **Álfgrímr*. The modern form may also be a corruption of *Allgroom*. cf. Richard *Aldegrom* 1198 P (K), 'the old servant', ME *grom*.

Alliban, Allibon(e)

: v. ALBAN

Allies

: v. ALIS

Alliker

: v. ELLERKER

Allimant

: v. ALLMAND

Allin

: v. ALIN, ALLAIN

Allingham

: *Cost de Alingeham* 1191 P (L). From Allingham (K), or perhaps from Alvingham (L). Allington, Alington: *William de Alinton'* 1192 P (Y); *Peter de Alingeton* 1235 Fees (W); *William Alyngton* 1479 Paston. From Allington (D, Ha, K, L, W).

Allinson

: v. ALLANSON

Alliott

: v. AYLETT

Allis, Allish

: v. ALIS

Allison

: v. ALISON, ALLANSON

Allister

: v. ALISTER

Allitt

: v. AYLETT

Allix

: A Huguenot name. Peter *Allix*, b. Alencon 1641, d. London 1717, was minister of the Church of Charenton near Paris. On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he fled to England, became minister of the Temple of the French hospital in Spitalfields, and was later canon and treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral (Smiles 259). The name is a variant of *Alis*, i.e. *Alice*.

Allkins

: v. ALKIN

Allman, Allmann, Allnien, Aliman, Alman, Almon, Almond

: (i) *Alemannus* 1101–25, 1125 Holme (Nf); *Henricus filius Aleman* 1219 AssY. As there is no known OE personal name from which this can be derived, it is probably OFr *aleman* ‘German’ used as a personal-name. (ii) John *Aleman* 1199 MemR (Nb); Walter *le Aleman* 1200 Cur (Y); Roger *Alemon* 1275 SRWo; Robert *Alman* 1327 SRC. OFr *aleman*, modFr *allemand* ‘German’. With an excrescent *d* (as in modern French), this would become *Almond*. cf. Bardsley’s ‘Hanekin *Almond* and John *de Almann*, valets of the countess of Surrey’ in 1358, and ‘the almond leap’, a German dance (1611 NED). (iii) Thomas *de Alemayne* 1320 LLB E; Inglebright *de Alman* 1332 FrY. The man from Germany’, commonly called *Almeyne* in the 14th century. This, too, would become *Almond*.

Allmand, Almand, Alment, Almond, Allamand, Allimant

: Terricus *le Alemaund* 1276 RH (Bk); John *le Alemaund* 1284 LLB A. OFr *alemaund* ‘German’.

Allmark, Almack, Awmack, Hallmark

: Robert *Alfmarck* 1279 RH (Hu); Adam *Halfmark* 1296 Wak (Y); Emma *Halmark* 1324 LaCt; John *Awmack* 1722 YWills. ‘Half-a-mark’, a nickname from the money of account.

Allnatt, Allnutt, Allner, Alner, Elnaugh, Elnough

: *Ælnod, Alnoth, Atnot, Alnod, Elnoc, Elnod* 1066 DB; *Alnodus (Ailnoð)* ingeniator 1177

P (Mx); *Alnotus* Papillun 1197 FF (Nth); *Ailnothus* Peni 1204 Cur (Sr); William *Aylnoth*, *Alnoth* 13th Lewes (Nf); Gilbert *Elnod* 1312 FFK; Richard *Eylnoth* 1317 AssK; Thomas *Alnowe* 1427 FFEss. The DB forms may be for OE *Ælfnōð*, *Æðelnōð*, **Ealdnōð* or **Ealhnōð*, but the surname is chiefly, if not solely, derived from OE *Æðelnōð* ‘noble daring’. cf. WOOLNER.

Allom

: v. ALLAM

Allon

: v. ALLAIN

Allonby

: v. ALLANBY

Allott

: *Alote* c1191 BuryS (Sf); Adam *filius Alot* 1203 P (L); William *Allot* 1275 SRWo; Walter *Alote* 1296 SRSx. *Allot* (OFr *Aalot*), a hypocoristic of *Alis*.

Allpress

: (i) *Ældeprest* 1189, *Aldeprest* 1194 P(Co). ‘The old priest’, OE *eald*, *prēost*. (ii) Thomas *Alprest* 1278 RH (C). cf. Fr *Auprêtre* ‘son of the priest’.

Allred, Alred

: *Alret* 1066 DB (K); *Godardus filius Ailred'* 1205 P (Lo); *Alredus* de Wicham 1206 Cur (K); Robert *Alred* 1198 P (K); Walter *Ailred*, Martin *Alred* 1279 RH (Hu). OE *ǣ* v. ALDRED. Possibly also from OE *ǣ*

Allright, Allwright, Oldwright

: William *Ailricht*, *Ailriht* 1250 Fees (Beds), 1279 RH (C); Roger *Alright* 1457 LLB K; Elizabeth *Aldwright* 1720 Bardsley. OE *Æðelrīc*. v. ALDRICH.

Allsep, Allsepp, Allsop, Allsopp, Allsup, Allsupp, Alsop, Alsopp, ELsip, Elsop

: Gamel *de Haleshoppe* 1175 P (Db); Philip *Alsoppe* 1279 RH (C). From Alsop en le Dale (Derby), *Elleshope* DB.

Allston, Alston, Alstone

: (i) *Ælfuine filius Ælstani* c1095 Bury (Sf); Hugo *filius Alstani* 1209 P (Lei); Henry *Alston* 1279 RH (C); William *Alstan* 1283 SRSf. OE *Æðelstān* appears in DB as *Alestan*. v. ATHELSTAN. The DB *Alstan* may also be derived from OE *Ælfstān* 'elf stone', **Ealdstān* 'old stone' or *Ealhstān* 'temple stone', all of which may have contributed to these surnames: cf. Thomas son of *Aldeston* 1332 SRCu, Richard *Aldston* 1185 Templars (Herts). v. also ELSTON. (ii) These surnames may also be local in origin: Roger *de Alleston* 1246 AssLa, from Alston in Ribchester (Lancs); John *de Alnethestan* 1230 P (D), from Alston in Holberton (Devon); William *de Alsiston'* 1221 AssWo, Richard *de Alston'* 1275 SRWo, from Alstone (Glos); Richard *de Aluredeston'* 1194 P (St), from Alstone in Hill Chorlton (Staffs); and possibly also from Alston (Cumb, Som).

Allum

: v. ALLAM

Allured

: v. ALFRED

Allvey, Alvey, Alvy, Elvey, Elvy, Elphee

: Godric *filius Ælfuuii* c1095 Bury (Sf); *Alfwy* 1212 Fees (Berks); Swein, William *Alvi* 1212 Cur (O); Thomas *Alfy* 1279 RH (C); Simon *Elphey* 1279 RH (D); Adam *Alfwy* 1296 SRSx; John, Agnes *Aluy* 1327 SRSx; Edward *Eluy* 1327 SRSx. OE *Ælfwīg* ‘elf war’. v. ALAWAY, ELVEY.

Allward, Alward, Elward

: *Aluardus*, *Alforwardus* pistor 1182–6, 1200–11 BuryS (Sf); Willelmus *filius Eluard*, *Ælfwardi* 1191, 1192 P (Nf); Robert *Elward* 1275 RH (Sf); Gilbert *Allward* 1279 RH (C). The DB *Æluuard*, *Aluuard*, *Eluuardus* may represent OE *Ælfweard* ‘elf guard’ which is clearly represented above or OE *Æðelweard* ‘noble guard’ which survives as *Aylward* and also appears as *Alward*. In the 12th century the two names were confused. *Ailwardus* grossus and *Ælward* judex occur also as *Alforward* and *Ailward* respectively (c1116 ELPN).

Allway

: v. ALAWAY

Allweather

: William *Alweder* 1395 AssL. Robert *Alwether* 1500 NorwW. ‘All kinds of weather’, OE *eall, weder*. cf. John *Strangweder* 1249 AssW ‘strong weather’; Richard *Wetweder* 1392 IpMGI ‘wet weather’. cf. FAIRWEATHER.

Allwood

: v. ELLWOOD

Allwork

: Robert *de Aldwerc* 1275 RH (L). From Aldwark (Derby, NRYorks, WRYorks).

Allwright

: v. ALLRIGHT

Ally

: v. ALLEY

Almack

: v. ALLMARK

Alman, Almon

: v. ALLMAN

Almand

: v. ALLMAND

Abnond

: *Ælmund*, *Almund*, *Æilmundus*, *Ailmundus* 1066 DB; *Alward filius Elmund* 1086 DB (Sa); *Eilmund Sperie* 1224 Cur (Ess); Thomas *Ailmun* 1279 RH (C); Thomas *Awmond* 1562 FrY; Laurence *Almond* 1564 LaWills. OE *Æðelmund* ‘noble protector’ or *Ealhmund* ‘temple-protector’.

Almot, Almott

: Robert *Almot* 1298 AssL; Thomas *Almot* 1304–5 IpmY; Alan *Almot* 1312 FFY. OE *Æðelmōd*.

Alner

: Roger *Alnard* 1317 LLB D; John *Alnard* 1332 SRSx. ‘One who tests the measurement of cloth’, from a derivative of French *aune* ‘ell’. v. also ALLNATT.

Alnwick, Annick

: John *de Alnewyc'* 1230 P (Nt); Henry *de Aunewyk* 1278–9 PN Berks 324. From Alnwick (Nb), or Antwicks Manor in Letcombe Regis (Berks).

Alp, Alpe, Alps

: Matilda *Alpe* 1275 RH (Nf); James *Alpes* 1664 FrY. A nickname from the bull-finch, ME *alp(e)* (c1400 NED).

Alphege, Elfick, Elphick, Elphicke, Elvidge

: *Ælfec* (Ha), *Alfech* (Sx), *Æfhag* (Nt), *Alfeg* (Co), *Alfah* (Nf), *Elfeg* (Db), *Elfac* (Sa) 1066 DB; *Alfegus* 1137 ELPN; *Elfegus* de Erningeton 1166 P (Gl); *Elphegus* a1216 StGreg (K); *Alfeg'* ater Legh 1296 SRSx; John *Elpheg'* 1297 Coram (K); William *Alfegh* 1318 AD vi (K); Robert *Elfegh* 1526 KentW; William *Elphike* 1549 RochW; Margaret *Elvishe* 1609 YWills. OE *Ælfhēah* 'elf-high'. *Alphege* is a Norman form.

Alpin, Alpine, Elfln

: *Elphin* or *Elpin* c1225 Black; *Alpinus* 1287, *Alpin* mac Donald 1295 ib. GalloLat *Alpinus*, Welsh *Elffin*, the name of two or three Pictish kings.

Alshioner

: v. ELESENDER

Alsop(p)

: v. ALLSEP

Alstead

: v. HALSTEAD

Alston(e)

: v. ALLSTON

Altham

: Adam *de Eluetham* 1246 AssLa; Symon *de Aluetham* 1304 WhC; John *Altham* 1372 LaPleas. From Altham in Whalley (Lancs), *Elvetham* c1150.

Althorp, Althorpe

: Gimpe *de Aletorp*' 1179 P (L). From Althorpe (L), or Althorp (Nth).

Alton

: Simon *de Altun* c1141–54 RegAntiquiss; John *de Allon*' 1219 AssL; *Peter de Alton*

1325 IpmNt; Thomas *Alton* 1508 CorNt. From one or other of the many places of this name.

Alty

: v. AUTIE

Alured

: v. ALFRED

Alvar, Elvar, Elver

: *Æfere* (Nf), *Alfer* (K, Sx), *Elfer* (Sx) 1066 DB; *Alfare* de Neteltuna Hy 2 Gilb (L); Godwinus (*filius*) *Elfare* 1221 *ElyA* (Nf); Thoraas *Ehare* 1499 ArchC 37. OE *Ælfhere* 'elf-army'. The surnames are rare.

Alven, Alvin, Elven, Elvin, Elvins

: Hugo *filius Elfwyn* 1193 P (He); *Eilwinus*, *Elfinus* de Benindenne 1214 StGreg (K); John *Alvene* 1279 RH (C); Richard *Elvene* 1296 SRSx; Thomas *Eluyn* 1327 SRWo; Thomas *Aluene*, *Alwyne* 1351 AssEss, 1357 FFEss. OE *Ælfwine* 'elf-friend' or *Æðelwine* 'noble-friend'. v. AYLWIN, ALWIN. cf. WOOLVEN from *Wulfwine*.

Alverton

: Jukel *de Alvertun* 1160–9 MCh; Robert *de Alverton* 1290 IpmY; Decima *de Alverton* 1327 SRY. From Alverton (Co, Nt).

Alveston

: Philip *de Aherstayn* 1276 IpmY. From Alvaston (Ch, Db), or Alveston (Gl, Wa).

Alv(e)y

: v. ALLVEY

Alway

: v. ALAWAY

Alwin, Alwen, Alwyn, Allwyn, Elwin, Elwyn

: (i) *Alduin*, *Elduinus* 1066 DB; Walter *filius Heldewin* 1191 P (L); *Aldwinus* de Vivario 1207 Cur (Ess); Osegod *Aldwini* 1195 P (Berks); Cristina *Aldwyne* 1275 SRWo; William *Aldwen* 1327 SRC. OE *Ealdwine* ‘old friend’. (ii) *Æluumus* (*Eiluuinus* Exon) 1066 DB (D); Robertus *filius Ailwini*, *Alwini* 1213–14 Cur (Ess). OE *Æðelwine* ‘noble friend’, which survives as *Aylwin*, appears in DB as *Aluuine*, *Eluuinus* and such forms as *Alwin*, *Elwin* infra may derive from this. (iii) *Æluuin*. *Alfuuinus*, *Aluuinus*, *Eluuin* 1066 DB; Goduine *Ælfuini filius* c1095 Bury (Sf); *Elfwinus* de Bekeringe 1165 DC (L). OE *Ælfwme* ‘elf friend’. From this, too, may derive *Alwin*, *Elwin*. There was early confusion between *Ælfwine* and *Æðelwine*, both of which are found as *Alwine*: *Ælfwin* Finche is probably identical with *Ailwinus*, *Alwinus* Finch 1168, 1173, and *Alfwinus* filius Leofstani with *Ailwin* son of Leofstan (ELPN 12). cf. also Robertus *filius Ailwini*, *Ailfwini* 1214 Cur (Nth). (iv) *Æluuin*, *Aluuin(e)*, *Eiuuin(e)* 1066 DB; *Elwine* Ecses 1101–7 Holmc (Nf); *Elwine* presbiter 1127–34 ib.; *Alwinus* Blundus 1207 Cur(Sx); John *Allewin* 1219 AssY; Thomas *Alwine* 1260 AssC; Geoffrey *Elwyne* 1274 RH (Nf); William *Helewyn*, Thomas *Alwyn* 1296 SRSx. All these may derive from OE *Ealdwine*, *Æðelwine*, or, least common, *Ælfwine*. v. also ALVEN.

Amabell, Amable

: *Amabilia* (f) 1202 AssL; *Amabillia* de Brunham 1208–9 Pleas; Richard *Amable* 1275 SRWo. A feminine name from Lat *amabilis* ‘loving’. As a christian name it was later superseded by the shortened form *Mabel*.

Amand, Aman, Amann, Amans, Ament, Ammann

: Magister *Amandus* 1199 Cur (Lei); *Amanda* filia Johannis 1221 AssWa; *Amanus* de Preston’ 1221 AssSa; Richard *Amand* 1279 RH (C); Robert *Amant* 1332 SRSx; Simon *Ament* 1674 HTSf. OFr *Amand*, *Amant*, Lat *amandus* ‘meet to be loved’, the name of a 5th-century Bishop of Bordeaux and of four saints. Also used as a woman’s name.

Amar

: v. AYMER

Amberley, Amberly

: Ralph *de Ambrelee* 1207 Cur (Sx); William *de Amberleg*’ 1225 PN W 209; Robert *de Amberlye* 1296 SRSx. From Amberley (Gl, He, Sx).

Ambler

: (i) William *le Amayler* 1303 LoCt; Simon *le Amelour* 1344 MESO (So); Robert

Ambeler 1375 LoPleas. OFr *esmailleur* ‘enameller’, with intrusive *b*. (ii) Thomas *le Amblur* 1276 RH (L); Nicholas *le Aumleour* 1307 Wak (Y); Alexander *Ambler* 1474 FrY. NED has *amblere* c1386 in the sense ‘an ambling horse or mule’, a derivative of *amble*. The surname may mean ‘keeper of the stable’ or be a nickname for one with an ambling gait or a facetious nickname for a fuller. cf. John *Ambeler*, walker 1440 FrY.

Amblin

: v. EMBLEM

Ambrose, Ambrus

: *Ambrosius* 1168–75 Holme (Nf); Henry *Ambreis* 1279 RH (O); William *Ambroys* 1332 SRSx. Lat *Ambrosius*, Fr *Ambroise*, from Gk *ἄμβρόσιος* ‘divine, immortal’.

Amelot, Amlot

: *Emelot* Minne 12th NthCh (Nth); Ricardus *filius Amelot* 1275 RH (D); Robert *Emelot* 1183 P (Lo); Nicholas *Amelot* 1275 RH (W). OFr *Amelot*, *Emelot*, a hypocoristic of *Ameline*. v. EMBLEM.

Amery, Amori, Amory, Emary, Emery, Emory, Embery, Emberry, Embrey, Embry, Embury, Emeric, Emerick, Emerig, Imbery, Imbrey, Imbrie, Imery, Imray, Imrie, Hemery, Hembrey, Hembreye, Hembry

: *Amalricus* 1086 DB; *Ymerus filius Reineri* c1160 DC (L); *Haimeri* 1170 P (St); *Haimericus filius Gidhe* c1190–5 DC (L); *Eimericus uinitor* 1191 P (Wa); *Robertus filius*

Amalrici, Almarici, Aumarici 1207–14 Cur (Nt); *Amauricus, Amaricus, Ailmarus, Almarus, Aumaricus, Almaricus* de Sancto Amando 1221 Cur; *Hemericus, Eymericus, Heimericus* Buche 1222 Cur (Do); *Emeric* Orchard 1241 AssSo; *Emery* de Roche Chaward 1269 AssSo; *Aymery* de Rupe Cawardi 1278 AssSo; Roger *Hemeri* a1182 Clerkenwell (Ess); Robert *Amalri* 1207 Cur (O); Richard *Aumauri* 1221 Cur (Do); Robert *Emeri* 1223 Pat (Lei); Robert *Heymeri* 1240 Rams (C); Simon *Amarik* 1260 AssY; William *Emeric* 1276 LLB A; Robert *Amary, Amory* 1279 RH (Bk); Walter *Ymery* 1513 Black; John *Imbrie* 1611 ib. OFr *Amauri, Emaurri*, from OG *Amalric* ‘work-rule’.

Ames, Amess, Amies, Amis, Amiss, Amys, Amos, Amoss

: Robert *Amis* 1221 ElyA (Sf); Joan *Amices* 1279 RH (O); John *Amize, Amys* 1309–10 LLB D; Gregory *Amys* or *Amisse* 1525 Oxon. Fr *Amis* (m) or *Amice* (f). *Amis* cas-sujet, *Ami* cas-régime, is from Lat *amicus* ‘friend’, used in late Latin as a name for the lower classes, especially for slaves. There were also derivatives of this, *Amicius* (m) and *Amicia* (f). Both were in use in England: *Amisius* 1200 Cur (D), 1213 ib. (Sr), *Amisius* de Hospitali 1211 Cur (Herts); *Amicia* 1189 DC(L), 1207 Cur(Ess), 1210ib.(Wa). *Amos*(s) is due to the influence of the Biblical name which was not used in England before the Reformation. v. AMIAS, AMIET. Occasionally the surname is from the cas-sujet of the noun: Williard *le Amiz* 1275 SRWo.

Amey, Amy, L’Amie, Lamey

: (i) William *Amy* 1219 AssY; William *Lamy* 1275 RH (Lo); William *le Amy* 1282 LLB A. Fr *ami* ‘friend’. (ii) William *Ame* 1248 Ass (Ess). Fr *Amé*, from Lat *amatus* ‘beloved’. (iii) *Amia cameraria* 1193 P(L); Martinus *filius Amye* 1297 SRY. The Latin form of OFr *Amée*, from *Amata*, the feminine of *Amé*. Occasionally we may have the masculine *Ami*, cas-régime of *Amis*. cf. Rogerus *filius Ami* c1250 Rams (Nf) and v. AMES.

Amias, Amyas

: Richard *Amias* 1185 Templars (Wa); Willard *de Amiens* 1193 P (Y); Roger *de Amias* 1276 LLB A; John *Amyas* 1296 SRSx. From Amiens. cf. ‘merchants of Amias’ 1326

LLB E. In the 16th century the surname was confused with *Ames*. Thomas *Amyas* of Wethersfield (1521) was, no doubt, of the same family as Robert *Amys*, *Amyse*, *Amyce*, *Ameys* (1462–78 ER 61).

Amiel

: Alicia *Amyel* 1327 SRSf; Joan *Amyel*, daughter of *Amiel* de Honesdon 1349 Husting. A diminutive of *Ami* or *Amia*. cf. AMIET.

Amies

: v. AMES

Amiet, Amiot, Amyot

: William *Amiot* 1195 P (Gl), 1279 RH (O); Stephen *Amyot* 1317 AssK. *Ami* (m) or (f), plus *ot*. *Amiot* de Wudestoch' 1191 P (Berks) is identical with *Amisius* filius Amisii de Wodestoke 1250 Eynsham (O), a clear case of the pet-form of the masculine *Amis* or *Ami*. v. AMES, AMEY.

Amis, Amiss

: v. AMES

Amison, Amson

: John *Amyson* 1358 Putnam (Nth); John *Amysson* 1384 Cl; Matthew *Amson* 1568 Bardsley. 'Son of *Amice*, *Amis* or *Ami*'. v. AMES, AMEY.

Amlot

: v. AMELOT

Ammann

: v. AMAND

Ammon, Ammonds, Amon, Amond

: *Agemund*, *Agkemundus* 1066 DB; *Hagemundus* c1150 DC (L); *Agmundus* de Gutario 12th DC (L); *Amund* de Cotes Hy 2 DC (L); Alexander, Ralph *Aghemond* 1327 SRSx; Margeria *Awomond* 1327 SRSO; Henry *Amond* 1380 AssC; James *Amon*, Charles *Amons* 1674 HTSf. ON *Qgmundr*, OSw *Aghmund*.

Amoore

: John *of Moore* 1467 BuryW; William *A moore* 1479 SIA xii. 'Dweller by the marsh'. v. MOOR.

Amor, Amonr

: Adam *Amour* 1327 SRSf. OFr *amo(u)r* 'love'.

Amori, Amory

: . AMERY

Amos(s)

: v. AMES

Amy

: v. AMEY

Ancell

: v. ANSELL

Ancliff(e)

: v. ANTCLIFF

Ancy

: William *de Anesi* c1110 Winton (Ha). From Anisy (Calvados). v. also DANCEY.

Anderby

: Robert *de Anderbi* c1200 RegAntiquiss; Alan *de Anderby* 1260 FFL; Hugh *de Anderby* 1300, Thomas *Andyrby* 1411 IpmY. From Anderby (L).

Anders

: v. ANDRE

Anderson, Enderson

: Henry *Androsoun* c1443 Black; John *Andrewson* 1444 ib.; Robert *Androwson, Androsoun* 1455, 1482 GildY; Thomas *Anderson* 1471 FrY; Thomas *Enderson* 1674 HTSf. ‘Son of *Andrew*’.

Anderton

: William *de Anderton* 1260 AssLa; Robert *of Anderton* 1401 AssLa; George *Anderton* 1642 PrD. From Anderton (Ch, La).

Andison

: Geoffrey *Andisone* 1376 Black. ‘Son of *Andie* or *Andy*’, a pet-form of *Andrew*.

Andre, Andrea, Andree, Andrey, Address, Andriss, Anders

: Josep *Andree* 1229 Cl; Geoffrey *Andre* 1279 RH (C); John *Andres* 1326 LoPleas. Michaëlsson notes that in the Paris tax-rolls of 1292–1313 the common form of *Andrew* is *Andri* whilst *Andriu* is rare. *Andri* he explains as influenced by the Germanic *Andrik* or the Græco-Latin *Andricus*. In England and Scotland all early forms of the christian name are in the learned form *Andreas*. In surnames we find both *Andre* and *Andreu* at the beginning of the 13th century. *Andre* is, no doubt, this French *Andri* with a lowering of *i* to *e*. The modern *Andre* often appears as *André*, sometimes a recent introduction from France, though one suspects that the accent is not always original.

Andrew, Andrewes, Andrews, Andros, Andrus

: *Andreas* 1086 DB, a1242 Black (Moray); *Andreas* filius Hugonis 1147–53 DC (Nt); William *Andreu* 1237 Fees (Bk); Moricius *Andrewys* 1275 SRWo; Richard *Andrew* 1317 AssK; William *Andro* 1399 Black (Aberdeen); John *Andrus* 1510 NorwW; Humfrey *Andros* 1552 FrY; Anthony *Andrewes* 1543 FFHu. Greek’ *Ἀνδρέας*; from *ἀνδρεῖος* ‘manly’, was latinized as *Andraeus*, *Andreus*, whence Fr *Andrieu*, English *Andrew*. v. ANDRE.

Anflis, Anfliss

: *Amphelisia* vidua 1198 Cur (Lei); *Anfelisa* (f) 1221 AssGl; Roger *Anflis* 1285 IpmY; Hugh *Aunflys* 1327 SRLei. *Amphelisia* is found as a woman’s name from the 12th to the 18th century, but the etymology is unknown.

Anford, Anforth

: Richard *de Aneford*’ 1222 AssWa; John *de Aneford* 1278 IpmGl. Probably for

HANFORD.

Angear

: v. ANGER

Angel, Angell

: Warinus *Angelus* 1193 P (K); Ralph *Angel* 1221 *ElyA* (Sf). A nickname, from OFr *angele*, Lat *angelus* ‘messenger, angel’.

Anger, Angear, Angier, Aunger, Ainger

: *Ansgarus, Ansgar, Angarus, Angerus* 1066 DB; *Angerus* de Middleton 1191 P (Sf); *Aunger* the Pheliper 1277 LLB A; Lefuine *Anger* c1095 Bury (Sf); Willelmus *Angeri* 1197 P (Wa); John *Aunger, Anger* 1279–80 AssSo. A continental personal name, either a Norman form of ON *Ásgeirr*, or Fr *Angier* from OG *Ansgar*.

Angers, Aungiers

: Hugo *de Angiers, de Angers* 1207–8 Cur (W). From Angers (Maine-et-Loire).

Angle, Angles, Nangle

: William *del Angle* 1208 P (Gl); Richard *in the Angle* 1327 SRWo; Peter *Nangle* 1571 Oxon. ‘Dweller in the nook or outlying spot’, ME, OFr *angle*.

Angless, Angliss, English

: Nicolaus *Angleis* c1200 StP (Lo). Fr *anglais* ‘Englishman’. v. ENGLISH.

Angold

: Alice *Angold* 1326 Wak (Y); Stephyn *Angold* 1568 SRSf. There is no second element *-gold* in OE or ON personal-names. This surname is identical with *Angood*, with a change of *-god* to *-gold* on the analogy of such ME names as *Alwold*, *Albold*, etc. v. OSGOOD.

Angood

: v. OSGOOD

Angove

: George *Angove* 1591 CoWills. Cornish *an* ‘the’ and OC *gof* ‘smith’.

Anguish

: Margaret *Anguisshe* 1530, Erl of *Anguyshe* 1563 Bardsley. For ANGUS.

Angus

: Gael, Irish *Aonghus* 'unique choice'. The surname is also local, from Angus: *Serlo de Aneagus* 1229, *Andrew Anguis* 1573 Black.

Angwin

: (i) William *Angeuin* 1150 Oseney (O); Reginald *Langeuin* 1194 P (K); Godfrey *Aungewin* 1247 AssSt. 'The Angevin', the man from Anjou. (ii) Also a Cornish name, with the article *an* and *gwynn* 'the white'.

Anke

: *Anke de Ankinton* 1188 P (L); John *filius Anke* 1277 Ely (Sf); Roger *Anke* 1275 RH (Nf). A shortened form of ON names in *Arn-*.

Anker, Ankers, Ankier, Anchor, Annacker, Annercaw

: *Anker de Fressenvill* 1208 Cur (Nth); Alice *Anker* 1395 NottBR. OFr *Anchier*.

Anketell, Ankettle, Anquetil, Ankill, Antell, Antffl

: *Anketillus* c1155 DC (Lei), 1207 Cur(L); Elyas *filius Ankil* 1210 P (So); Geoffrey *Anketil* 1209 P (Nf); Jphn *Antell* 1524 SRSf. A Norman form of ON *Ásketill*. v. ASHKETTLE, ASKELL.

Anketin

: *Anketin* c1175–99 Black; *Anketin* Madlure 1245 FFY; Roger *Anketin* 1209 P (Nf); Simon *Anketyn* 1249 AssW. ON *Ásketill*. v. ANKETELL. The ending *-in* usually replaced *-il* outside Normandy.

Ankin

: v. ANTIN

Ankrett, Akritt

: *Angharad* 1207 Cur (He); *Anachorita* 1221 *ElyA* (Sf); *Angarel* 1246 AssLa; *Ankharet* 1322 AD vi (Ch); *Ancreta* Dibney 1571 ER 62; Gylbart *Ancret* 1580 ChwWo. A Welsh woman's name, *Angharad*, from *an* 'much' and *cariad* 'loved one', recorded in Wales in 877.

Annable, Anable, Annible

: *Amabilis* c1150–60 DC (L), 1197 FFEss; *Amable* de Creuequer Hy 2 DC (L); *Amabilia*, predicta *Mabilia* 1185 RotDom (Ess); *Amabilla* (*Amable*), *Mabillia* (*Amabilis*) 1200 Cur (Db); *Anabel* de Nostrefeld 1204 AssY; *Annabel* 1260 AssC, (*Anilla*) 1374 Ipm (La); *Anabilia* 1284 FFHu; *Anabilla* 1305 FFEss; *Anabella* c1308 Calv (Y); *Anabel*, *Amabel* 1312, 1313 AssSt (identical); Walterus *Amabilis* 1166 P (Nf); Robert, John *Anable* 1259 CtSt, 1282 Pat (Gl); John *Amable* 1275 RH (C). Lat *amabilis* 'lovable'. *Amable* was shortened to *Mabel* (v. MABLE) and also, apparently by a process of dissimilation, became *Anabel*. Occasionally the surname may be local in origin, from Amble (Northumb), *Anebell* 1256, *Anebelle* 1292: Henry *de Anebelle* 1256 AssNb.v. HUNNABLE.

Annacker

: v. ANKER

Annakin, Annikin

: v. ANTIN

Annand

: *Anundus*, *Anunt dacus*, *Anand*, *Anant* 1066 DB (Sf, Ess, Nf); *Anund* 1101–7 Holme (Nf); Godefridus *filius Anandi* 1182 P (Sf); Roger *Anant* 1275 RH (Nf). ODa, OSw *Anund*.

Annas, Anness, Annis, Anniss

: *Annes* 1170–76 YCh; *Agnes*, *Anneis* (identical) Hy 2 DC(L); *Annas* de Preston 1194 P (La); Adam *Anice* 1275 SRWo; John *Anneys* 1296 SRSx. OFr *Anés*, the vernacular form of *Agnes*.

Annatt, Annett, Annetts, Annott

: Annot Resthanbe 1297 Wak (Y); Thomas *filius Anot* 1357 ShefA; Robert *Anot* 1275 Wak (Y); John *Annot* 1327 SRC. *Ann-ot*, a diminutive of *Ann*, a pet-form of *Annes* (Agnes).

Anne

: Ralph *de Anne* 1200 P (Ha). From Ann (Hants).

Annercaw

: v. ANKER

Annesley, Ansley

: Reginald *de Aneslega* 1176 P (Nt); Henry *de Anesley* 1290 KB (Lo); John *Anneslay* 1404 IpmY. From Annesley (Nt), or Ansley (Wa).

Anness

: v. ANNAS

Annett, Annetts

: v. ANNATT

Annick

: v. ALNWICK

Annis, Anniss

: v. ANNAS

Annison

: (i) William *Anyssone* 1332 SRSt. ‘Son of *Annis*’. (ii) Roger *Annotson* 1430 FeuDu; Thomas *Annetson* 1547 FrY. ‘Son of *Annot*’. v. ANNATT.

Annott

: v. ANNATT

Anquetil

: v. ANKETELL

Ansell, Anshell, Ansill, Ancell, Hancell, Hansel, Hansell, Hansill

: *Anse(l)lmus* archiepiscopus 1094–5, 1108 StP; *Anselmus*, *Ansellm* de Ixew(o)rth’ 1182–1211 BuryS (Sf), 1208 Cur (Nf); *Ansel*, *Anselmus* Candau’ 1161 P (Ess); *Ancelmus* de Montegni 1166–89 Bec; *Anselmus* de Shelton’, *Aunsell*’ de Sheldon’, *Ansellus* de Seldon’ 1221–2 AssWa; *Ancell*, *Anselm* de Gornay 1269 AssSo; *Aunsel* le Furbur 1296 LLB A, *Anselm* forbisor 1300 ib. B; Petrus *Anselmus* 1192 P (Sx); Roger *Aunsel* 1271 AssSt; William *Ansel* 1279 RH (C); John *Auncel* 1327 SRSx; William *Hansell* 1495 FrY. *Anselm*, a Lombard name, from OG *Ansehelm* ‘god-helmet’, found in France as *Ansellus*, where, as in England, *Anselm* and *Ansell* were used of the same man.

Anslyn

: William *Hanselyn* 1379 PTY. OFr *Anselin*, a diminutive of *Ansell*.

Anson

: John *Anson* 1401 AssLa; Henry *Anson* 1461 FrY. Either 'son of *Hand*, or 'son of *Hann*'.
v. HAND, HANN.

Ansthruther

: Geoffrey *de Einstrother* a1214 Black; William *de Heynstrother* alias *de Aynstrother* 1287 IpMnb; Henry *de Anstrother* 1296 Black. From the lands of Anstrother (Fife).

Anstee, Anstey, Anstie

: Richard *de Anesti* 1164 P (Ess). From Anstey (Devon, Dorset, Hants, Herts, Wilts) or Ansty (Warwicks).

Ansteys, Anstice, Anstis, Anstiss

: *Anstasius* de Schirbec 1188 P (L); *Anastasia* 1221 Cur (Herts); *Anstice* 1602 Bardsley; Osegod, William *Anastasia* 1222 FFBk; Ralph *Anstayse* 1327 SRSo. The first surname above certainly derives from the feminine *Anastasia*, though the masculine *Anastasius* also existed. Both are from adjectives from Greek *ἀνάστασις*, 'resurrection'.

Antcliff, Antcliffe, Antliff, Ancliff, Ancliffe

: Thomas *de Arnecliv'* 1207 Cur (Y); Luke *Antcliff* 1748 Bardsley. From Arnecliff, Ingleby Arncliffe (NRYorks) or Arncliffe (WRYorks).

Antell, Antill

: v. ANKETELL

Anthoney, Anthonies, Anthony, Antoney, Antony

: *Antonius* Hy 1 Rams (Hu), 1149 NthCh (Nth), 1214 Cur (D); John, Richard *Antoyne* 1275 SRWo; William *Antony* 1306 FFSf. Lat *Antonius*, Fr *Antoine*.

Antin, Ankin, Annakin, Annikin

: *Hanchetin* de paruo Stepinge Hy 2 DC (L); *Anketin* 1219 AssY; Roger *Anketin* 1209 P (Nf). A Norman form of ON *Áskell*. v. ASKELL. *Hancctin* de Lud Hy 2 DC (L) is also called *Asketittus*. Annakin and Annikin, rare Yorks names, are probably for *Ankin*. cf. *Ankill* and *Antill* from *Anketell*.

Antliif

: v. ANTCLIFF.

Antrobus

: Richard *Antribussh* 1380–1 PTW. From Antrobus in Higher Whitley (Ch).

Anwyl, Anwyll

: Jevan *Annwyl* 1391 Chirk. Lewis ap Robert of Park, Llanfrothen, Merioneth, d. 1605, is said to have been the first of his family to adopt *Anwyl* as his surname; his son was Lewis *Anwill* 1612 Reg. Oxon. v. Morris 118. Welsh *anwyl* ‘dear, beloved’.

Anyan, Anyon

: v. ENNION

Apehead

: John *Apeheved* 1305 AssW. ‘Ape head’, ME *ape*, OE *hēafod*. cf. James *Horsed* 1641 PrSo ‘horse head’; William *Shepesheved* 1276 AssLo ‘sheep’s head’; Randulf *Hundesheved* 1176 P (D) ‘hound’s head’.

Apley, Appley

: Roger *de Appelea* 1190 P (Ha); Nicholas *de Appleye* 1268, *de Apperleg*, *de Appeleg* 1269 AssSo. From Apley (L, Sa, So, Wt), Appley in Chicksands Priory (Beds), or Appley Bridge (La).

Aplin, Applin, Appling

: Thomas *Abelyn* 1275 RH (K); John *Applyn* 1547 FrY. *Ab-el-in*, a double diminutive of *Ab*, a pet-form of *Abel*.

Appelbe(e)

: v. APPLEBY

Apperley, Apperly

: Richard *de Apperlee* 1221 AssGl; Thomas *de Apperleye* c1280 SRWo; Walter *Appurlee* 1372 IpmGl. From Apperley (Glos, Northumb, Som), or Apperley Bridge (WRYorks).

Appleby, Applebe, Applebee, Applebey, Appelbe, Appelbee

: Vlf *de Appelbi* 1163 P; Hugh *de Apelby* 1204 Pl (Y); Thomas *Appelby* 1366 AssLo. From Appleby (Leics, Lincs, Westmorland).

Appleford

: John *de Appelford* 1206 Cur; William *de Appelford* 1247 FFEss, 1285 FFO. From Appleford (Berks, Wt).

Applegarth, Applegath, Applegate

: William *de Apelgart* c1115 Bury (Sf); Robert *Appelgarth* 1279 Ipm (Y); Richard *del Appelgarthe* 1297 MinAcctCo (Y). From Applegarth (NRYorks, ERYorks, Cumb), or from residence near an apple-orchard (ON *apaldr(s)garðr*) in a Scandinavian county.

Appleton, Napleton

: *Hemeri de Lepeltone* c1182 RBWo; *Tomas de Appleton*' 1196 P (Y); *Thomas ate Napeltone, ate Apiltone* 1317 AssK. From *Appleton* (Cheshire, Kent, Yorkshire, etc.), or from residence near an orchard (OE *æppeltūn*), or at a homestead where apples are grown.

Applewhaite, Applewhite, Ablewhite

: *Stephen Appeltheit* 1327 SRSf; *Robert Apylweyte* 1524 SRSf; *George Applewhite* 1674 HTSf; *Sarah Applewhait* 1678 SfPR; *Henry Ablewhite* 1797 ib. From *Applethwaite* (Cumb, Westmorland), or a lost place in Suffolk.

Appley

: v. APLEY

Appleyard

: *Elias del Apelyerd* 1275 Wak (Y); *John del Apelyard* 1315 ib. From *Appleyard* (WRYorks) or from residence near an orchard, OE *æppel* 'apple' and *geard* 'enclosure'.

Applin(g)

: v. APLIN

Apps, Aps, Asp, Epps, Happs, Hesp, Hesse

: John *de Apse* 1214 Cur (Sr); Robert *atte Hespse* 1296 SRSx; Robert *atte Apse* 1327 SRSx. 'Dweller by the aspen', OE *apse*, a metathesized form of *æspe*.

April, Averill, Avril

: Thomas *Averel* 1275 SRWo; Robert *Aprill'* 1301 SRY; Richard *Averil* 1322 AssSt; John *Aueril* 1327 SRSx. According to ODCN, *Averil* is to be associated with *Everild*, a christian name not uncommon in the Middle Ages, from OE *Eoforhild* or OG *Eburhilt*. These, however, would become *Everil*. Bardsley has no example of the surname before 1626 and confuses the name with *Avenell*. Harrison, without evidence, explains the surname as 'dweller at the wild-boar hill', which would also become *Everil*. There can be no doubt that here we are concerned with the name of the month, OFr *avrill*, Lat *aprīlis*, which appears in English as *aueril* in 1297 and as *averylle* c1450 (NED). The word was refashioned after the Latin and is found as *apprile* in 1377. There is no evidence for its use as a christian name and the surname must be regarded as a nickname, perhaps with reference to the changeable weather of the month, 'changeable, vacillating', or with reference to spring or youth. Dauzat explains the French *Avril*, *Abril* thus, with an alternative 'child found in April'. It might denote one born in that month. The modern christian name *Avril* is of recent origin.

Apsley

: Simon *de Apsele* 1297 MinAcctCo; Stephen *de Apsele* 1327 SRSx. From Apsley Guise, Apsley End in Shillington (Beds), or Apsley Fm in Thakeham (Sx).

Apthorp, Apthorpe

: Thomas *de Abetrop* 1180 P (Nth), 1197–8 LuffCh; Juetta *de Abethorp* 1201 Cur. From

Apethorpe (Nth).

Apton

: William *de Appelton* alias *de Appetone* 1268 IpmEss; John *de Appeton* 1279 FFEss. From Apton Hall in Canewdon (Ess).

Araby

: (i) Robert *Arrabi* 1198 Cur; Ralph *Araby* 1221–2 FFWa; Pance *Arabi* 1288, *Raby* 1290 LLB A. ‘The Arabian’, perhaps a nickname for one with a swarthy complexion. (ii) Robert *de Areby* 1195 P (Lei). From Harby (Lei).

Aram, Arram, Arrnm, Arum

: Henry *Arowme* 1456, Robert *Arwome* 1500 FrY; Robert *Aram* 1649 RothwellPR (Y). From Arram in Leconfield (ERY), or perhaps from Averham (Nt), *Aram* 1280.

Arber

: v. HARBER

Arbery, Arberry, Arbury

: Henry *Erburgh* 1332 SRSx. From Arbury (La), Arbury Banks in Ashwell (Herts), or ‘dweller by the earthwork’, OE *eorð-burh*.

Arblaster

: v. ALABASTAR

Arborn, Arbon, Arboune

: *Erneber, Ernebernus, Gernebern* 1066 DB (Y, L, Db); *Arbernus* 1190–5 DC (L); Roger *Arborn* 1279 RH (C); William *Arbon* 1329 Rams (Nth). ON *ǣ* ODa, OSw *Arnbiorn*.

Arbuckle, Hornbuckle

: John *Arnbukle, Arbukile* 1499, 1511 Black. From Arbuckle (Lanarkshire).

Archambault, Archanbault, Archbald, Archbell, Archbold, Archbould, Archbutt, Archibald, Archibold, Archibould

: *Archembold* Wiverun 1130 P; Robert *Archenbold* 1210 P (Gl); William *Erchebaud* 1239 FFSf; Thomas *Herchebaud* 1302 SRY; Agnes *Archebald* 1327 SRSf; Seath *Archbutt* 1616 FrY. OFr *Archamboult*, from OG *Ercanbald* ‘precious-bold’, found in DB (1086) as *Erchenbaldus, Arcenbaldus* and *Arcebaldus*.

Archdeacon, Arcedeckne

: Walter *le Ercedekene, le Ercedeiakene, le Archedekene* 1268–71 AssSo; Roger *le Arcedeckne* 1297 MinAcctCo. OE *arce-*, *erçediācon*, OFr *arc(h)ediacne* ‘the chief deacon,

chief of the attendants on a bishop'.

Archer, Larcher, L'Archer

: Edward *Archier*, Robert *Larchier* 1166 P (Ha, W); Hugh *le Archer* 1199 FFC. ME *archere*, AFr *archer*, OFr *archier* 'bowman' (c1300 MED).

Arches

: Peter *de Arches* c1190 DC (L); Alan *de Archis* 1211 Cur (Y); John *Arches* 1327 SRWo. From Arques (Eure, Pas-de-Calais, Seine-Maritime).

Archibald, Archibold, Archibould

: v. ARCHAMBAULT

Arckoll

: v. ARKELL

Arculus

: v. HERCULES

Ardeley

: v. ARDLEY

Arden, Ardin, Arding, Hardern

: Turkill *de Eardene* c1050 OEByn; Adam *de Arden* 1268 AssSo; Ranulph *de Ardene* 1318–9 FFEss. From Arden (Ch, Wa, NRY).

Ardern, Arderne

: William *de Arderne* 1219 AssL; Thomas *de Arderne* 1301 FFY; William *de Arderne* 1372–3 FFWa. From Arden (Ch), *Ardeme* 1260.

Ardin, Arding

: v. ARDEN

Arding

: v. HARDING

Ardley, Ardeley

: John *de Ardeleye* 1327 SRSf; John *Ardeleigh* 1417 FFEss. From Ardleigh (Ess), Ardeley (Herts), or Ardley (O).

Argent, Hargent, Largent

: Geoffrey *Argent* 1180 P (Nth); John *Largeant* 1524 SRSf. OFr *argent* ‘silver’, probably for one with silvery-white hair.

Argentine

: (i) *Argentina* 1196 FFO, 1258 Acc; *Argenten* Roost, *Argintyne* Twiggs 1642 PrD. OFr *Argentin* (f), a diminutive of OFr *argent* ‘silver’ used as a personal name. (ii) Reginald *de Argentinein* 1274 PN Ess 392; William *Argenten* 1439–40 Paston. From Argenton (Indre).

Aries, Aris, Ariss

: v. ARRAS

Arkell, Arkill, Arkle, Arckoll, Arkcoll

: *Arnketel* 1019 Rams (Nf); *Archetel*, *Archel*, *Archil* 1066 DB; *Archil* de Corebr’ 1159 P (Nb); Richard *Arkill* 1256 AssNb; Roger *Arketyl* 1279 RH (Hu); William *Harkill*, *Arkel* 1316, 1331 Wak (Y); John *Arcele* 1455 FrY. ON *Amkell*, ODa *Arnketil*, OSw *Arkil*.

Arkless

: v. HERCULES

Arksey

: Walter *de Archeseia* Hy 2 DC (L); Walter *de Arkesay* 1297 AssNb; Adam *de Arkesay* 1383 FrY. From Arksey (WRY).

Arkus, Arkush

: v. HARCUS

Arkwright, Artrick, Hartwright, Hartrick, Hattrick

: Gilbert *de* (sic) *Arkewright* 1246 AssLa; John *de* (sic) *Arcwryt* Hy 3 DbCh; Thomas *the Arkewrytte* 1286 AssCh; George *Arkewright* 1450 FrY; William *Hartwright* 1494 GildY; George *Arthwright* 1582 PrGR; Thomas *Artwright* 1649 LaWills; Alice *Arthricke* 1670 ib.; Christopher *Arkrick* 1673 ib. OE *arc* ‘ark’ and *wyrhta*, ‘a maker of arks, chests, etc.’.

Arles

: v. ARLISS

Arlet, Arlett

: Thomas *Attenerlette* 1276 MELS (Sx); Philip *atte Arlette*, Robert *aten Erlette* 1296 SRSx. A metathesized form of OE **alrett*, **elrett*, ‘alder-grove’. v. ALDRITT.

Arley

: (i) William *de Arle* 1275, Thomas *de Arleye* 1332 SRWo. From Arley (Ch, La, Wo), or Areley Kings (Wo). (ii) Thomas *de Erlyde* 1332 SRSt. Arley (St), Erlide 1221.

Arling

: v. HURLIN

Arlington

: Aelic' *de Erlynton* 1296, John *de Erlington* 1327 SRSx. From Arlington (D, Gl, Sx).

Arliss, Arles, Harliss

: Henry *Earles* 1295 Barnwell (C). OE *ēare* and *lēas* 'ear-less'.

Arlott, Arlotte

: Geoffrey *Herlol* 1193 P (Nf); Ralph *le Harlot* 1246 AssLa; John *le Harlet* 1276 RH (C); Muriel *Arlot* 1279 RH (C). OFr *herlot*, *harlot*, *arlot* 'lad, young fellow', found in English as a masculine noun in the 13th century in the sense 'vagabond, beggar, rogue' (c1230 MED). It was used by Chaucer both as a term of derision 'ye false harlot', and also playfully for a good fellow, 'he was a gentil harlot and a kynde'. In the 14th century it was used of an itinerant jester, buffoon or juggler, and also of a male servant, attendant, menial. The modern sense is not found before the 15th century.

Arlow

: v. HARLOW

Arm, Arme

: v. HARM

Armatage, Armatys

: v. HERMITAGE

Armenters, Darmenters

: David *de A Armen teriis* 1169 P (St); Henry *de Armentiers* 1204 FFSt; John *de Armenters* 1298 LLB A, *Darmenters* 1299 LLB C. From Armentières (Nord).

Armer, Armor, Armour, Larmer, Larmor, Larmour

: Gwydo *le Armerer* 1279 RH (O); Simon *Larmourer* 1334 LLB E; John *Armar* 1519 Black. AFr *armurer*, OFr *armurier* ‘armourer, maker of arms’.

Armes, Arms

: v. HARM

Armett

: v. HERMITTE

Armiger, Armingier

: William *Armiger* 1279 RH (O); Thomas *Armingier* 1674 HTSf. Lat *armiger* ‘armour-bearer, squire’.

Armin, Ermen

: *Ermyrn* Donetoun 1327 SRC; Hervicus *Ermin* 1279 RH (O); Thomas *Armyn* 1481 FrY. *Ermin*, a hypocoristic of names in *Ermen-*, *Ermin-*, such as OG *Ermenald*, *Ermingaud*.

Arminson, Armison, Armson

: Robert *Armison* 1669 FrY; Mary *Armson* 1749 Bardsley. ‘Son of *Ermin*.’

Armistead, Armitstead, Armstead

: Laurence *del Armetsted* 1379 PTY; William *Armistead* 1642 PrGR. ‘Dweller by or at the hermitage,’ OFr *ermite*, and OE *stede* ‘place’.

Armit(t)

: v. HERMITTE

Armitage

: v. HERMITAGE

Armour

: v. ARMER

Armson

: v. ARMINSON

Armstead

: v. ARMISTEAD

Armstrong

: Adam, William *Arm(e)strang* 1250 CalSc (Cu), 1279 AssNb. OE *earm*, *strang* ‘strong in the arm’, a well-known Border name.

Armytage

: v. HERMITAOE

Arnald, Arnall, Arnatt, Arnaud, Arnell, Arnhold, Amold, Arnoll, Arnot, Arnott, Arnould, Amout, Arnull, Harnett, Harnott

: (i) *Ernold*, Rogerus *filius Ernaldi* 1066 DB; *Arnoldus*, *Hernaldus* de Bolonia 1212 RBE; *Puntius Arnaldi* 1196 P (D); *William Arnold* 1277 FFSf; *John Arnoud* 1279 RH (C). OFr *Arnaut*, *Ernaut*, *Hernaut*, from OG *Arnald*, *Arnold*, *Arnolt* ‘eagle-power’. (ii) *Richard de Ærnhal* 1191 P (Y), from *Arnold* (ERYorks); *Roger de Arnhal* 1212 Fees (Nt), from *Arnold* (Notts).

Arnason

: v. ARNISON

Arndell

: v. ARUNDALE

Arnet, Arnett

: *Erniet*, *Ernet* 1066 DB; *Ærnyeth* Hachchebuters 1185 P (Gl); *Arnet* le Mercer 1279 RH (O); *John*, *Lecia Arnet* 1279 RH (C). OE *Earngeat* (m), or OE *ǣ̆*(f).

Arneway

: *Ernuī, Emeuui, Arnui* 1066 DB; *Ernwi*, c1 150 DC (Nt); *Arnwi* Hy 2 ib. (L); Peter *Ernewy* 1243 AssSo; Richard *Arnwy* c1272 HPD (Ess); Hugo *Emawey*, Walter *Ernowey* 1279 RH (Bk). OE *Earnwīg* 'eagle-warrior'.

Arnhold

: v. ARNALD

Arnison, Arnason, Arnson

: William *Arnaldson* 1460 FrY; Matthew *Arnison* 1680 ib. 'Son of *Arnald*.'

Arnold, Arnoll

: v. ARNALD

Arnot, Arnott

: Michael *de Arnoth* 1284 Black. From Arnot in Portmoak (Kinross-shire). v. also ARNALD.

Arnould, Arnout

: v. ARNALD

Arnson

: v. ARNISON

Arnull

: v. ARNALD

Arpin

: v. HARPIN

Arram

: v. ARAM

Arrandale

: v. ARUNDALE

Arras, Arres

: John *de Aroz* 1296; Adam *de Airwis* 1328; Adam *de la Arus* 1333; John *Arres* 1525 Black. Probably, as suggested by Black, from Airhouse in Channelkirk (Berwicks), *Aras* 1655, *Arreis* 1630.

Arras, Aries, Aris, Ariss

: (i) Simon *de Araz* 1202 P (L); Robert *de Arras* 1281 LLB A. From Arras (France). (ii) Hugo *de Erghes* 1347 FrY; John *Aras* 1421 FrY. From Arras (ERYorks), *Herges* 1156. For *Aries*, cf. ‘One bede coveringe of *aries* (i.e. *arras*) worke’ 1562 Bardsley.

Arridge

: Ralph *de Arnregg* 1296 SRSx; William *a Rygge* 1525 SRSx. From Eridge (Sx), but the second form may be for *atte Rigge* ‘dweller by the Ridge’. RIDGE.

Arrow

: William *de Arewe* 1204 P (Gl); William *Arwe* 1310 LLB D; Raff *Arrow* 1542 StaplehurstPR (K). From *Arrowe* (Ch), or *Arrow* (Wa).

Arrowsmith, Arsmith, Harrismith, Harrowsmith

: Roger *le Aruesmuth* 1278 AssSt; William *le Arwesmyth* 1324 FFEss; Richard *Arsmith* Eliz Bardsley. OE *arwe* ‘arrow’ and *smith*. A smith who makes arrows, especially iron arrow-heads (1278 MED). *Harrismith* and *Harrowsmith* are rare but exist side by side with *Arrowsmith* in Yorks and Lincs.

Amim, Arum

: v. ARAM

Arcott

: (i) William *de Ardescote* 1255 RH (Sa). From Arcott (Salop). (ii) John *Aryscote*, *Adescote*, *Addyscote*, *Adescote* or *Addyscote* 1513 LP (D); John *Arcot* 1523 ib. From Addyscote in South Tawton (Devon), *Arcott* alias *Addiscott* 1656, with a surname *Atherscote* in 1297 (PN D 448). (iii) William *de Hassecote* 1201 PI (Co); Alnet *Arcot* 1642 PrD. From Arcott in Ashwater or Arcott in Holsworthy (Devon).

Arsnell

: v. HORSNAIL

Arson

: v. HARSANT

Arter

: v. ARTHUR

Arthington

: Peter, Serlo *de Ardington*' 1175–94 YCh; William *de Arthyngton* 1283 FrY; Robert *Arthington* 1459 Kirk. From Arthington (WRYorks).

Arthur, Arthurs, Arthars, Arter

: *Erturus* 1130 P (Ha); Henricus *filius Arturi*, *Artur* 1187 P, 1212 Cur (Cu); *Ærturus* 1192 P (Y); Normannus *filius Arcturi* 1196 P (Y); Geoffrey *Artur* 1135 Oseney (O); Robertus *Arcturi* 1197 P (He); Adam *Arthur* 1246 AssLa. The DB forms *Artor*, *Azer*, *Azor*, given by ODCN, are wrongly assigned. They are for ON *Arnþórr*, ODa *Azur* respectively. *Artur(us)* 1086 DB (Ess, Wo) is probably for *Arthur*, the well-known Celtic name, of disputed etymology.

Artis, Artiss, Artist, Artois, Artus

: William *Artoys* 1327 SRSf; John *Artes* 1524 SRSf; Thomas *Arteis* 1568 SRSf; Robert *Artis* 1674 HTSf; Abraham *Artus* 1724 FrY. Man from Artois.

Artrick

: v. ARKWRIGHT

Arundale, Arundel, Arundell, Arondel, Arrandale, Arrundale, Arndell

: (i) Rogerius *Arundel*, *Harundel* 1086 DB (Do, So); Robert, Roger *Arundel* 1130, 1159 P (Do, So); Osbert *Arundel*, *Harundel* 1154 Riev (Y). (ii) Roger *de Arundelle* 1148 Eynsham (O); Thomas *Arundel* (*de Arundel*) 1178 P (Y); John *de Arundel* c1198 Bart (Lo); Roger *Arundel* (*de Arundet*) 1204 AssY; Nicholas (*de*) *Arundel*, Roger *de Arundel* 1225, 1268 AssSo; Robert *Arundel*, Robert *de Arundell* 1327, 1332 SRSx; Richard *Arrandell*, *Arrendale* 1631, 1638 RothwellPR (Y). The most usual source of these surnames must be *Arundel* (Sussex), *Harundel* 1086 DB, *Arundell*' 1087 France, *Arndle* 1788, locally pronounced *Arndell*. The earliest bearer of the name, Roger *Arundel*, the Domesday tenant-in-chief, has left his name in Sampford Arundel (Som) which he held in 1086. His byname cannot derive from the Sussex place but must be a nickname from OFr *arondel* 'little swallow'. So, too, with Osbert *Arundel*. Though they were, presumably, the respective ancestors of the Somerset and Yorkshire families, the later *de* introduced into their name suggests a Sussex origin. The problem is further complicated by the fact that *Arundel* itself early lost its initial *H*, whilst the nickname equally early acquired an inorganic initial *H*. The influence of *Arundel* with its castle was probably too strong for the nickname, the meaning of which was soon forgotten.

Ary

: v. AIREY

Asch

: v. ASH

Ascham

: v. ASKAM

Ascher

: v. ASSER

Ascombe

: v. ASHCOMBE

Ascot, Ascott

: Richard *de Askote* 1375 LLB H. From Ascot (Berks), or Ascott (Bk).

Ascough

: v. ASKEW

Ascroft

: v. ASHCROFT

Ash, Ashe, Asch, Asche, Dash, Daish, Daysh, Nash, Rasch, Rash, Tasch, Tash, Esh, Tesche, Tesh, Aish, Aysh, Naish, Nayshe

: Richard *del Eshe* 1221 AssWo; Ralph *de Asche* 1296 SRSx; Alice *aten Eysse* ib.; William *atte Nasche* ib.; John *ater Aysse* ib.; Henry *Aten Assche* 1301 MELS (Wo); Richard *Dasche, de Ayssh* 1320 LLB E, 1327 LoPleas; Roger *ate Assh* 1327 SRSx; Alan *Tassh* 1327 SRSf; John *atte Naysse* 1349 LLB F; William *Rash* 1381 SRSf; William *Teshe* 1599 FrY. From a place called Ash or Nash or 'dweller by the ash-tree' (OE *æsc*).

v. Introd., p. xiv and NESS. *Dash* retains the French *de*.

Ashard

: v. ACHARD

Ashbee, Ashbey

: v. ASHBY

Ashbery, Ashberry, Ashbury

: William *de Asseberia* 1190 P (Berks); Godfrey *de Asseberge* 1221 AssWo; Thomas *de Asshebury* 1349 FFY. From Ashbury (Berks, D), Ashborough in Bromsgrove (Wo), or Ashberry Hill in Old Byland (NRY).

Ashbolt, Ashpool, Ashpole

: Robert *Archpoole* 1523 RochW (K); Edward *Archepoll*, *Archepole* 1591,1595 ChwWo; Nicholas *Archepoll*, *Archebold* 1591, 1593 ib. *Ashbolt* is probably a corruption of *Archbolt*, i.e. *Archibald*, through *Archpoll*, which also became *Ashpole*.

Ashborn, Ashbourn, Ashbourne, Ashburn

: Robert *de Assheboume* 1311 LLB D; John *de Ascheburn* 1349 FrY; Henry *Assheburn* 1469 FFEss. From Ashbourne (Db), Ashburnham (Sx), *Esseborne* DB, or Ashburton (D), *Æscburnan* 1008.

Ashbrook, Ashbrooke

: William *de Assebroc* 1190 P (Ess/Herts); Hugh *de Aschbroc* 1218 P (Lei/Wa); John *de Asshebrok* 1353–4 FFSr. From Ashbrook (Gl).

Asbburn

: v. ASHBORN

Asbburner

: Robert, William *le Askebrenner* 1278 AssLa, 1308 Wak (Y); Robert *Askbrinner* 1332 SRCu; Thomas *Asbomer* 1332 SRSx; Edward *Ascheburner* 1532 FrY. ON *aska* ‘ashes’ plus a derivative of ON *brenna* or OE *brinnan* ‘to burn’, ‘a burner of ashes’ or maker of potash from the ashes of wood, bushes, straw, etc. In Sussex we have the native OE *æsc* plus a derivative of OE *beornan*, which had replaced the Scandinavian word in York by the 16th century.

Ashbury

: v. ASHBERY

Ashby, Ashbee, Ashbey

: Robert *de Aschebi* 1200 Pl (Nf); Alexander *de Assheby* 1309–10 FFWa; Richard *Assheby* 1332 SRSx; William *Ashbee* 1633, *Eashbee* 1637, *Eshbee* 1639 LeiAS xxiii. From one or other of the many places of this name, or from Asby (Cumb, Westmorland).

Ashcomb, Ashcombe, Ascombe

: John *de Asshcomb* 1327 SRSo; Robert *Ascombe* 1376 LLB H; Thomas *Aishcombe* 1641 PrSo. From Ashcombe (D).

Ashcroft, Ascroft

: Margar' *de Asecroft* 1275 RH (Nf). 'Dweller at a croft with an ash-tree.'

Ashdown, Ashdowne, Ashdon, Ashdoun

: John *de Essedon'* 1294 KB (O); John *de Asshesdoune* 1327 SRSx; Thomas *Asshedon* 1363 FFEss. From Ashdown (Berks), Ashdon (Ess), or Ashdown Forest (Sx).

Ashenden

: Gilbert *de Asshendone* 1303 AssNu; Philip *de Asshendone* 1339 CorLo; John *de Asshendene* 1342 AssLo. From Ashendon (Bk).

Asher

: Thomas *Aisher* 1641 PrSo. Probably 'dweller by the ash-tree', from a derivative of OE *æsc* 'ash-tree'. v. also ASSER.

Ashfield

: Sparhauoc *de Æsefelde* c1095 Bury (Sf); Robert *de Asshefeld* 1375 FFEss. From Ashfield (Sa, Sf).

Ashfold, Ashfull

: Richard *de Asshefold* 1305 FFSx. ‘Dweller by a fold near an ash’, OE *æsc, falod*.

Ashford, Ashforth, Aishford, Ayshford

: Reginald *de Asford* 1221 AssSa. From Ashford (Devon, Derby, Salop) or Ayshford (Devon).

Ashhurst, Ashurst

: Warin *de Asherst* 1192 P (Sx); Robert *de Ashurst* 1305–6 FFSr; Edmund *Asshurst* 1525 IpmNt. From Ashurst (K, Sx), or High Ashurst (Sr).

Ashken

: v. ASKIN

Ashkettle

: *Asketillus* de Kedham 1101–25 Holme (Nf); *Aschetillus* Bardel 1158 P (Ess); Robert *Asketill* 1200 P (Ha); Alexander *Asketell* 1205 Cur (Nf); Sarah *Ashkettle* 1785 SfPR. ON *Ásketill*, common before the Conquest and found in DB as *Aschil*. It survives as ASKELL. *Ash-* is a late dialectal development. v. also AXTELL.

Ashley, Ashlee, Ashleigh

: Walter *de Esselega* 1162 P (Gl); Robert *de Ashley* 1281 CtW; Thomas *Assheley* 1401 AssLa. From one or other of the many places of this name.

Ashlin, Ashling

: v. ASLIN

Ashlock

: Walter *Aslak* 1426–7 Paston; Thomas *Ayshlocke* 1545, Thomas *Aysshelock* 1576 SRW. Probably from ON *Áslakr*. v. also OSLACK.

Ashman, Ashment, Asman

: *Assemanus* 1066 DB (Sf); *Asseman*, *Asman* 13th Rams (Hu); Robert *Asheman* 1275 RH (Sf); Roger *Asman* 1279 RH (C); John *Essheman* 1317 AssK. OE *Æscmann*, perhaps an original byname from OE *æscmann* ‘shipman, sailor, pirate’. As the surname is found at Gorleston and in Rochford Hundred (Essex), it may sometimes be an occupation-name.

Ashmore, Ashmere

: Elias *de Asmere* 1296, *de Ashmer* 1327 SRSx; William *Asschmere* 1349 IpmW. From Ashmore (Do).

Ashplant

: v. ABSALOM

Ashpole, Ashpool

: v. ASHBOLT

Ashton

: John *de Essheton* 1306 IpmY; John *de Ashtone* 1323, 1326 CorNth; Thomas *Assheton* 1431 FFEss. From one or other of the many places of this name, or from Aston (Glos, Hereford, Salop).

Ashurst

: v. ASHHURST

Ashwell

: Ernulf *de Assewell'* 1230 P (Beds); Roger *de Asshewell* 1331 FFEss; Richard *Asshewell* 1391 IpmGl. From Ashwell (Ess, Herts, R).

Ashwin

: William *Ashwyne* 1332 SRSr. OE *Æscwine* ‘ash-, spear-friend’, the name of a King of Wessex (674–6). It was not common in OE but clearly survived the Conquest.

Ashworth, Ashword

: Richard *de Ascheworth* 1285 AssLa. From Ashworth (La).

Askam, Askem, Askham, Ascham

: Conan *de Ascham* 1201 P (Y); Richard *de Ascum* 1204 AssY; John *de Askham* 1290 FrY. From Askham (Notts, WRYorks, Westmorland).

Aske, Ask

: Roger *de Ask* 1208 FFY; Roger *del Ask* 1230 P (O); John *de Ask* 1327 SRY. From Aske (NRY), or ‘dweller by the ash-tree’, ON *askr*.

Askell, Astell, Astil, Astill, Eskell, Haskel, Haskell

: *Aschil, Osketel, Anschil* 1066 DB; *Robertus filius Askel* 1180 P (Y); *Alanus filius Askil* 1186–1211 BuryS (Nf); *Astillus* 1202 AssL; *Ricardus filius Eskill* 1219 AssY; *William Astil* 1227 AssBeds; *Thomas Askil* c1248 Bec (O); *Robert Astel* 1260 AssC; *Hugo Astyl* pro *Asketyl* Ed 1 Battle (Sx). ON *Askell*, ODa *Eskil*, OSw *Æskil*, a contracted form of

Ásketill (v. ASHKETTLE), common both before and after the Conquest. The name was also popular in Normandy in the forms *Anschetill* and *Anketill* (v. ANKETELL) and elsewhere in northern France as *Anquetin* and *Asketin* (v. ASKIN). The various forms are often used of the same man in England. In the Whitby cartulary *Aschetillus* de Houkesgard (c1155) is also called *Aschetinus* (c1145), *Astillus* (c1170) and *Astinus* (12th). In DC (Lei), in the late 12th century, *Anketinus* persona de Prestwalda appears also as *Asketinus* filius Hugonis de Prestewalda and as *Anketillus* de Prestwalda. cf. also *Aschetillus*, *Ancatillus*, *Anquetillus* Malore(i) Hy 2 DC (Lei). The name is found in Scotland as MACASGILL and in the Isle of Man as CASTELL. v. alSo AXCELL.

Askew, Haskew, Ascough, Haskow, Ayscough, Askey, Askie, Haskey

: William *de Aykescoghe* 1366 SRLa; Robert *Ascowe* 1390 LLB H; Simon *Ascogh* 1488 FrY; John *Ascow*, William *Askew* 1488 GildY; Richard *Askoo* 1533 FrY; Amy *Askie* 1618 Bardsley; William *Ayscough* 1675 FrY; John *Ashkey* 1674 HTSf. From Aiskew (NRYorks).

Askey, Askie, Haskey

: *Aschi* Wara (Herts), *Asci* (Sa), *Aschi(Wa)* 1066 DB; Amy *Askie* 1618 Bardsley; John *Ashkey* 1674 HTSf. ODa *Aski*. v. also ASKEW.

Askham

: v. ASKAM

Askin, Askins, Astin, Astins, Ashken, Haskin, Haskins, Hasking, Haskings, Hastin, Hastings

: *Asketinus* filius Od 1163 DC (L); Robertus *filius Astin* 1219 AssY; *Hastinus* caretarius 1223 Pat (Y); John *Astin* 1230 P (D); Hugh *Astyn* 1297 AssY; John *Asketyn*, William *Hastin* 1317 AssK; John *Haskyn* 1524 SRSf; John *Askin* 1674 HTSf. A Norman form of ON *Ásketill*. v. ASHKETTLE, ASKELL.

Aslam, Aslen

: v. HASLAM

Aslet, Aslett, Astlett

: Rogerus *filius Aselot'* Ric 1 Cur (L); Johannes *filius Ascelot* 1221 Cur (O); Hugh *Asselote* 1327 SRSf; William *Asselot* 1327 SRSx. OFr *Ascelot* (m), a double diminutive of OG *Azo*. v. ACE and ASLIN.

Aslin, Asling, Ashlin, Ashling, Astling

: *Ascelinus* de Wudecroft 1162 P (Nth); *Acelina* de Stanfelde 1195 P (Nf); Wzherus *filius Aceltni*, *Ascelini* 1206 Cur (Nth); *Ascelina* 1214 Cur (Mx); Henricus *Ascelinus* 1204 P (W); Nicholaus *Asceline* 1255 Rams (Hu); Richard *Asselyn* 1279 RH (Bk); Henry *Asshelyn* 1374 LLB G. OFr *Acelin*, *Ascelin* (m), from OG *Azilin*, a double diminutive of *Azo*. cf. ASLET. There was also a feminine *A(s)celine*. The surname survives in Ashlyns and Ashlings in High Ongar which occur as *Astelyns* 1456–9, *Astlynge* 1568 (PN Ess 72).

Asman

: v. ASHMAN

Asp

: v. APPS

Aspel, Aspell

: Geoffrey *de Asphal* 1275 RH (Sf); Alan *Aspal* 1320, John *de Aspale* 1330 LLB E. From *Aspall* (Sf), *Aspal* (La), or 'dweller by the land overgrown with aspens', OE *æspe*, *health*, or 'dweller on aspen hill', OE *æspe*, *hyll*.

Aspenlon

: v. ABSALOM

Aspinal, Aspinall, Aspinell, Aspinwall, Haspineall

: Henry *de Aspenewell* 1246 AssLa; Miles *Haspinall* 1578 YWills; Edmond *Aspenall* 1599 FrY. From *Aspinwall* (Lancs).

Aspland, Asplen, Asplin, Aspling

: v. ABSALOM

Aspole

: For *Aspall* or ASHBOLT.

Asquith, Askwith

: Ulf *de Askwith*' 1219 AssY; Adam *de Askequid* 1297 SRY. From Askwith (WRYorks).

Ass, Asse

: John *Asinus* 1202 Cur; John *Asse* 1248 FFK; Thomas *Arsse* brother of John *Asse* 1379 PTY. A nickname from the ass, Lat *asinus*, OE *assa*.

Assan

: v. HARSANT

Assard

: v. HAZARD

Asser, Ascher, Asscher, Asher

: Outi *filius Azer*, Ulf *filius Azor* 1066 DB (L, Nth); *Ascherus* 1143–7 DC (L); John *ap Asser* 1218 Bardsley; John *Asser*, Richard *Aseyr* 1249 AssW; John *Asser* 1331 Rams (Hu); Ralph *Asher* 1674 HTSf. ON *Qzurr*, ODa, OSw *Azur*, Welsh *Asser*. But some of the forms appear to represent OE *ALschere* found only once, in *Beowulf*.

Astall

: Walter *de Astalle*, *de Estalle* 1279 RH (O). From Asthall (Oxon).

Astbury

: William *de Astbury* 1287 AssCh. From Astbury (Ches).

Astell, Astill, Astle, Astles

: Simon *de Astell* c1225 Lichfield (St); Richard *de Asthul* (*Astell*) 1349 FrY. From Astle (Ches) or from residence near the east hill (OE *ēast*, *hyll*). v. also ASKELL.

Aster

: v. ASTOR

Astin

: v. ASKIN

Astington

: v. SINTON

Astle(s)

: v. ASTELL

Astlett

: v. ASLET

Astley

: Gerard *de Astele* 1202 P (Nf); James *de Astlye* 1300 AssSt; Thomas *Asteley* 1377 IpmGl. From Astley (La, Sa, Wa, Wo, WRY).

Astling

: v. ASLIN

Astman

: v. EASTMAN

Aston

: (i) *Aslhone* de Sancto Luca c1140 DC (L); Tomas *filius Adestan* 1187 P (Y); *Astanus* de

Hune 1190 P (Y); Lewin *Adstan* 1221 ElyA (Nf); Thomas *Astan* 1276 RH (L). *Adestan* may be from OE *Æðelstān*. v. ATHELSTAN and ALLSTON. Robertus *filius Adestani* and Walterus *filius Alstan* 1206 Cur (Sf), both mentioned in the same document relating to the same parish were both probably sons of *Æðelstan*. Or we may occasionally have the less common OE *Eadstan* ‘prosperity-stone’, DB *Edstan*. The DB *Æstanus*, *Estan* may represent either name. (ii) Very often, this surname is local in origin, from one of the numerous places named Aston. cf. Richard *de Aston*’ 1206 Cur (Gl). (iii) William *Stone*, *Astone* 1494, 1500 WBCinque; Thomas *A Stone* 1525 SRSx; Thomas *A Stone*, John *a stone* 1569 Musters (Sr). This is probably for *atte stone* ‘dweller by the stone’, cf. AMOORE, AVANN, AGATE.

Astor, Aster

: William *Aster* 1275 RH (L); John *Aster* 1327 SRC; Nicholas *Aster* 1356 FFEss. Probably forms of EASTER. Used as a christian name in the 17th century: *Aster* Foxe 1642 PrD.

Astringer

: v. OSTRINGER

Astwell

: Matilda *Astwell* 1327 SRSo. From Astwell (Nth).

Atack

: v. ATTACK

Atberry

: John *Ateburi* 1279 (O); Hugh *ate Bery* 1327 SRC. ‘Dweller or servant at the manor-house’ (OE *burh*).

Atbridge

: Walter *Attebrigge* 1290 IpmW; John *atte Brige* 1325–6 FFEss; Richard *atte Brigge* 1327 SRSO. ‘Dweller at the bridge’, OE *brycg*.

Atbrook, Atbrooke

: Osbert *Attebroc* 1226–7 FFWa; John *Attebroke* 1291 FFO; Benedict *atte Broke* 1332 SRSx. ‘Dweller by the stream’, OE *brōc*.

Atcheson, Atchison

: v. ACHESON

Atcliff, Atcliffe

: John *atte Cliue* 1327 SRSO; William *Attclyff* 1470 Paston; George *Atclyff* 1496 LLB L. ‘Dweller by the cliff or slope’, OE *clif*.

Atcock

: v. ADCOCK

Atcot, Atcott

: Ralph *atte Cote* 1327 SRSo; Geoffrey *Attecot*' 1327 SRY. 'Dweller at the cottage', OE *cot*.

Atfield, Attfield

: Stephen *Attefeld* 1262 FFEss. 'Dweller by the open field' (OE *feld*).

Atford, Attford

: John *Atteford* 1282, Richard *Ateford* 1297 IpmW; Geoffrey *Ateford* 1453 FFEss. 'Dweller at the ford', OE *ford*.

Atgrove

: v. AGROVE

Atheis

: Thomas *atte Heye* 1327 SRSo. ‘Dweller at the enclosures’, containing the plural of OE *(ge)hæg*.

Athell

: v. ATHILL

Athelstan, Addlestone, Edleston

: *Adehtanus* 1195 P (K); Hugo *filius Athelstan, Adelstan*’ 1218, 1219 AssL; Herbertus *filius Edelstani* 1240 Rams (Nf); William *Athelston* c1198 Bart (Lo); Geoffrey *Athelstan* 1219 AssL. OE *Æðelstān* ‘noble stone’. v. ALLSTON and ASTON.

Atherden

: William *ater Dene*, Peter *in ther Dene* 1296 SRX; William *Atherdonne*, Ruben *Atherton* 1568 SRSf. ‘Dweller in the valley’, OE *denu*.

Atherfold

: cf. John *atte Fold* 1327 SRWo. ‘Dweller or worker at the fold’, preserving the variant ME *at ther folde*.

Atherley

: Alfeg’ *ater Legh* 1296 SRSx; John *Atherlee* 1419 LLB I. A variant of ATLAY.

Athersmith

: John *atter Smythe* (1330 PN D 386) lived at the smithy (OE *smiþþe*) and was presumably a blacksmith. The surname might also derive from ME *at ther smethe* ‘dweller at the smooth, level place’ (OE *smēðe*). cf. William *del Smethe* 1327 SRSf.

Atherstone

: Adam *de Alherston* 1275 SRWo. From Atherstone (Warwicks).

Athersuch, Athersych, Athersytch

: The obvious derivation of the last two names would be from ME *at ther siche* ‘dweller by the brook or drain’. As *Athersytch* is found in Sheffield, where *siche* occurs as *Sykes*, all the names are probably dialectal pronunciations of *Hathersage*, a Derbyshire village some ten miles distant. cf. HATHERSICH.

Atherton

: Henry *de Athertone* 1332 SRLa; William *de Atherton* 1384 IpmLa; Humphrey *Addertone* alias *Athurton* 1470 Combermere (Ch). From Atherton (Lancs), *Aderton* 1212.

Athey, Athy

: Lecia *Ateheye* 1279 RH (C). ‘Dweller at the enclosure’, OE (*ge*)*hæg*.

Athill, Atthill, Athell

: Richard *Athill* 1255 RH (Sa); Ralph *atte Helle* 1319 SR (Ess). ‘Dweller by the hill’, OE *hyll*.

Athoke

: John *atte Hok* 1254 Ass (Ess). ‘Dweller by the bend’, OE *hōc* ‘hook’.

Athol, Atholl

: Robert *atte Hole* 1296 SRSx. ‘Dweller in the hollow’, OE *holh*. The Scottish *Atholl* derives from Atholl in Perthshire.

Athorn, Athorne

: William *atte Horne* 1332 SRSx. ‘Dweller by the spit of land’, OE *horn*. Or ‘dweller by the thorn-bush’: Emma *Attethorn* 1297 MinAcctCo.

Athowe, Atthowe

: John *ate How* 1296 SRSx. ‘Dweller by the ridge’, OE *hōh*. *v.* HOW.

Athridge

: v. ETHEREDGE

Athy

: v. ATHEY

Atkey

: William *atte Keye* 1370 LoPleas. ‘Dweller or worker at the quay’. v. KAY.

Atkin, Atkins, Atkyns

: v. ADKIN

Atkinson, Ackenson

: John *Adkynsone* 1381 SRSt; John *Atkinson* 1402 FA (We). ‘Son of *Adkin*.’

Atlay, Atlee, Atley, Attle, Attlee

: Robert *Atte lee* 1275 SRWo; John *Attele* 1276 RH (Berks); William *atte Leye* 1296 SRSx; Thomas *Attlee* 1327 Pinchbeck (Sf). ‘Dweller by the wood or clearing’, OE *lēah*. cf. ATHERLEY.

Atlem, Attlem

: William *Athlem* 1347 IpmW; Richard *Athelam* 1380 IpmGl. OE *Æðelhelm*.

Atlow, Attlow

: John *Attelowe* 1332 SRSt; Robert *Atlow* 1340–1450 GildC; John *a Lowe* 1489 Paston. ‘Dweller by the hill’, OE *hlāw*.

Atmeare, Atmer, Attmere

: Cecil’ *Atemer*’ 1279 RH (C); John *Atmer* 1524 SRSf; Edmund *Attmeare* 1568 SRSf. ‘Dweller by the mere or pool’ (OE *mere*) or near the boundary (OE (*ge*)*ǣ*).

Atmore

: Jordan *Attemore* 1276 LLB A. ‘Dweller near the marsh’, OE *mōr*.

Atread, Attread, Attreed

: Robert *atte Reed* c1295 MELS (Sx). ‘Dweller in a clearing.’ v. READ.

Atrill

: v. ATTRILL

Attack, Attoc, Attock, Atack

: Geoffrey *atte Ock* 1296 SRSx; Thomas *Atack* 1709 Bardsley. ‘Dweller by the oak’ (OE *āc*).

Attale

: Robert *Attehal*’ 1212 Cur (L); William *atte Hale* 1235 Ass (Ess). ‘Dweller by a nook or in a remote valley’ in the South and Midlands, or by flat, alluvial land near a river in the North (OE *healh*). v. HALE.

Attaway

: John *ate Wey* 1279 RH (C). ‘Dweller by the road’ (OE *weg*) or at a place called *Atteweye*, the name in 1306 of Way in Thorverton (Devon), or at Atway (Devon). v. PN D 573,468.

Attawell

: v. ATTWELL

Attenbarrow, Attenborough, Attenborrow, Attenbrough, Attenbrow, Attenburrow

: These surnames can hardly derive from Attenborough (Notts), earlier *Adinburcha*, which was not a village in the Middle Ages, the name being that of a church only. They are probably all from ME *atten* plus the dative of OE *bearu* ‘a grove’ or *beorg* ‘hill, mound’. The second element was, as often, changed to *borough* through association with *burh*. Hence ‘dweller by the grove, hill or mound’.

Atter

: Edguinus *atre*, Edwin *Atter* 1111, c1130 ELPN. A nickname from OE *ātor*, ME *atter* ‘poison, venom; gall, bitterness’.

Atteridge

: John *atte Rygge* 1333 PN D 567. ‘Dweller by the ridge’, OE *hrycg*. v. also MELS 173 and ETHEREDGE.

Atterton

: William *Atterton* 1476–7 FFWa; Widow *Atterton* 1674 HTSf. From Atterton (K, Lei).

Atterwill

: For ME *at ther wille* ‘dweller by the spring or stream’. cf. John *ater Welle* 1296 SRSx. *Will* is a south-western form of *well*. v. ATTWELL.

Attewell, Attewill, Attiwill

: v. ATTWELL

Attford

: v. ATFORD

Attick

: v. ATTWICK

Attle, Attlee

: v. ATLAY

Attleborough, Attlebrough, Attleborrow, Attleburrow

: William *Attylburgh* 1340–1450 GildC; John *Attelburgh* 1397 AssWa; William *Attulburgh* 1406–7 FFWa. From Attleborough (Wa).

Attlem

: v. ATLEM

Attlow

: v. ATLOW

Atto, Attoe

: Roger *Atteho* 1236 FFSx. ‘Dweller at the ridge’, OE *hōh*. v. HOW.

Attoc, Attock

: v. ATTACK

Attom

: Adam *de la Homme* 1275 SRWo. ‘Dweller by the water-meadow.’ v. HAM.

Attree, Attrie, Attrey

: Thomas *Attere* 1272 PN C 15; Walter *at Reghe* 1287 PN Sr 330; Thomas *Atry* 1320 FFHu; Matthew *atte Ry* 1389 PN Ess 387; Richard *Atre* 1545 SxWills. ‘Dweller by the stream (OE *ēa*) or low-lying land (OE *ēg*).’ v. REA. Also ‘dweller by the enclosure’ (OE (*ge*)*hæg*), Simon *ater Hegh* 1296 SRSx; or ‘by the tree’ (OE *trēo*), John *A'Tree* 1558 SxWills. v. TREE.

Attrell

: v. ATTRILL

Attride, Attryde

: John *at Ride* (1446) and Henry *at Ryde* (1524) took their name from a clearing (OE **rīed*, **rīd*), but Thomas *at Ride* (1524) and John *Attryde* (1588) owed theirs to a streamlet (OE *rīþ*, *rīðe*). v. PN Sr 242, 148.

Attridge

: v. ETHEREDGE

Attrill, Attrell, Atrffl

: Walter *atter Hille* 1330 PN D 477; John *at Ryll* 1524 ib. 562. ‘Dweller by the hill’, a not uncommon Devon development, surviving in place-names as both Rill and Rull.

Attru

: Hugo *de la Truwe* 1250 Fees (So); Agnes *atte Trewe* 1333 PN D 595. ‘Dweller by the tree’, OE *trēow*. v. TRUE. Also from OE *ræw* ‘row, hedgerow’, used also of a row of houses, a street or hamlet: Maurice *atte Rewe* 1333 PN D 464.

Attryde

: v. ATTRIDE

Attwater, Atwater

: William *Atewatr*’ 1198 CurR (Herts); Marye *Atwaters* 1660 ArchC xxx. ‘Dweller by the water’, OE *water*.

Attwell, Attwill, Attwool, Attwooll, Atwell, Atwill, Atwool, Attawell, Attewell, Attewill, Attiwill

: Gilbert *Attewell* 1274 RH (Ess); Richard *atte Wille* 1333 PN D 450. ‘Dweller by the stream or spring’, OE *wiella*. *Atwill* is a Devon and Somerset form, *Attwool* a Dorset one. v. WOOLL.

Attwick, Attick

: Walter *ate Wyk* 1327 SRSx. ‘Dweller or worker at the dairy-farm’, OE *wīc*. *Attwick* still survives in Sussex.

Attwood, Atwood

: Thomas *Attewode* 1243 AssSo; Robert *Atwode* 1457 Oseney (O). ‘Dweller by the wood’, OE *wudu*.

Atty

: John *atte Tye* 1327 SR (Ess); Thomas *Attye* 1568 SRSf. ‘Dweller by the enclosure, close or common pasture’, OE *tēag*. Also from OE (*ge*)*hæg* ‘enclosure’: Geoffrey *Atteheg* 1327 SRDb.

Atyeo

: Roger *atte Yo* 1333 PN D 263. 'Dweller by the river.' v. YEA.

Aube

: v. ALBE

Aubert

: v. ALBERT

Aubertin, Auberton

: A Huguenot name from a family from Metz (Lorraine). On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the original emigrant fled to Switzerland, and his great-grandson came to England c1767. The name is a diminutive of *Aubert*, the popular form of *Albert*.

Aubin

: v. ALBIN

Aubon

: v. ALBAN

Auborn, Auburn

: Henry of Auburn 1226 FFY; William de Auburne 1388 IpmNt; Peter Aubone, John Auborne 1674 HTSf. From Auborn (L), or Auburn (ERY).

Aubray, Aubrey, Aubry, Aubery, Aubury, Awbery, Obray

: (i) Walterus *filius Alberici*, *Albrici*, *Alberi* 1086 DB (Sf); *Albricus* de Capella 1214 Cur (C); *Aubri* Bunt 1279 RH (C); John *Aubri* ib.; Robert *Aubri* 1308 FFSf; Adam *Albry* 1327 SRSf; Geoffrey *Aubry* 1380 AssC. OFr *Aubri*, *Auberi*, OG *Albericus* ‘elf-ruler’. (ii) Osbertus *filius Alberade* 1115 Winton (Ha); *Albreda* 1198 Cur (Herts), 1205 Cur (Wa); Ricardus *filius Albrei* 1199 FrLeic; *Aubreda* 1219 AssY; *Albreda*, *Albree* de Jarpenvill’ 1221 Cur (Bk); Johannes *filius Aubre* 1279 RH (O); *Albray*, *Aubray* 1379 PTY; John *Aubre* 1243 AssSo; Robert *Aubrey* 1279 RH (Bk); William *Aubray* 1324 Wak (Y); John *Aubery*, *Awberry*, *Aubry* 1460 Bardsley (Nf). OFr *Albree*, *Aubree*, *Auberee*, OG *Alb(e) rada* ‘elf-counsel’ (f).

Auckland, Aukland

: Geofrey de *Aukelaunde* 1269 FFY; Robert de *Aukland* 1327 SRY; William de *Aukland* 1351 FrY. From Auckland (Du).

Aucock

: v. ALCOCK

Aucott, Aucutt

: v. ALCOTT

Audas, Audiss

: v. ALDIS

Auden

: v. ALDEN

Audlay, Audley, Audeley

: Adam *de Aldedalega* 1185 P (St); James *de Audeley* 1272 AssSt; Hugh *Daudelegh* 1333 IpmW; John *de Audeleye* 1377 AssWa. From Audley (St).

Audrey, Awdrey, Awdry

: *Aldreda* 1066 DB (Nf), 1219 AssY; Robert *Audrey* 1279 RH (O). The DB personal-name may be for OE \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{A} or \mathfrak{A} all feminine. Of these the most common was the second, 'noble strength', popular through the reputation of St. Etheldreda, Queen of Northumbria and foundress of the convent at Ely. This became *Audrey* and is found in the 14th century in Essex and Suffolk as *Etheldreda* (1304 AD i (Ess), 1381 SRSf).

Audritt

: v. ALDRED

Audus

: v. ALDIS

Augar, Auger, Augur

: v. ALGAR, ALGER

Aughton:

Thomas *de Autun'*, *de Aucton'* 1212 Cur (Y); William *de Aghton* 1354 FrY. From Aughton (La, ERY, WRY).

Augood

: v. ALLGOOD

Augustin

: *Augustinus* cantor 1153–68 Holme (Nf); Nicholas *Augustin* 1275 SRWo. Lat *Augustinus*, from *augustus* 'venerable'. The christian name is very common, usually in the Latin form, but as a surname is rare, both in ME and today. The medieval surname is common in the vernacular form *Austin*. v. AUSTEN.

Auker

: v. ALKER

Aukin

: v. ALKIN

Aukland

: v. AUCKLAND

Auld, Aulds, Ault, Awde

: John *Alde* 1284 Black (Perth); Johannes *dictus Ald* 1302 ib.; John *Auld* 1488 ib. A Scottish form of OLD, from Northern English *ald*.

Anmonier

: Adam *le Augmoner* 1297 FFHu; Michael *le Aumouner* 1297 SRY; Adam *Aumener* 1327 SREss. OFr *aumoner, aumonier* 'almoner'.

Aungier(s)

: v. ANGER, ANGERS

Austen, Austin, Austing, Austins, Auston

: *Austinus* de Bernardeston 1224 FFSf; *Austinus* de Beston' 1230 P (Nf); *Ostin* atte Putte 1327 SRSO; Henry *Austin*, Edith *Austines* 1275 SRWo; Avice *Augstyn* (*Austynes*) 1327 SR (Ess). OFr *Aoustin*, the vernacular form of *Augustine*. v. AUGUSTIN.

Austwick, Austick

: Rose *de Austwic* 1202 FFY; Roger *de Oustewyk* 1341, John *Austewyk* 1425 FrY. From Austwick (WRY).

Autie, Auty, Awty, Alty

: *Auti*, *Alti*, *Outi* 1066 DB; *Outi* de Lincol' 1166 P(Nf); Walterus *filius Aulti* 1177 P (L); Willelmus filius *Auti* 1200 P (Y); John *Oty* 1251 Rams (Hu); John *Awty* 1524 AD vi (Sf). ODa *Auti*. Avann: John *Avanne* 1527 SxWills. 'Dweller by the fen.' v. FANN.

Avel

: *Auel* de Wappeham 1176 P (Nth); Peter *Auel* 1296 SRSx. A diminutive of OG *Avo*. Aveley, Avely: William *de Auele* 1202 P (So). From Aveley (Ess), or Avely Hall (Sf).

Aveline, Aveling

: *Auelina* 1175–86 Holme (Nf), 1327 SRC; Henry *Avelin* 1279 RH (C); Reginald *Auelyn* 1296 SRSx. OFr *Aveline*, OG *Avelina* (f), a double diminutive of OG *Avo*.

Avenall, Avenel, Avenell

: *Avenel* 1086 DB (Sa), 1166 RBE (Ess); *Auenellus* 1190 P (Y), 1196 Eynsham (O); Robert, Paganus *Auenel* 1139 Templars (O), 1195 P (He). A double diminutive of OG *Avo*. Both christian name and surname are common. *Avent*: *Avenant* de Twipp' 1204 Cur (D); Osbert, Ralph *Auenant* 1156–80 Bury (Sf), 1198 FFNf. OFr *auenant*, pres. part. of *avenir* 'to arrive, happen, befit, become'; 'suitable' (1300 NED), 'handsome, comely' (1340). Used also as a personal-name. *Averay*, *Avery*, *Avory*, *Averies*: Rogerus *filius Alvredi* 1166 RBE (Y); *Hugo filius Auveray* 1275 RH (Nt); Willelmus *filius Averay* 1275 SRWo; *Alvrei* venator 1294 Ch (Y); Nicholas *Auverey* 1273 RH (Wo); William *Auure* 1275 RH (W); Walter *Averay* 1275 SRWo; Cust *Alvere* 1279 RH (C); Edmund *Avered* 1279 RH (C); Walter *Averey* 1279 RH (O); Richard *Avore* 1428 FA (Sx). A French pronunciation of ALFRED.

Averill

: v. APRIL

Averley

: John *de Averle* 1279 RH (Hu). Probably from Aversley Wood in Sawtrey (Hu).

Aves, Aveson

: Willelmus *filius Aue* 1198 FFNf; Elizabeth *Aves* 1568 SRSf. OG *Avo*.

Aveston

: William *de Alueston* 1190 P (Wa). From *Alveston* (Glos, Warwicks).

Avins

: *Avina* 1221 Cur (Nt); *Avin'* de Eyton' 1255 RH (Sa). *Avina*, wife of Robert de Turuill' (1221 AssGl) was also called *Auicia*. *Avina* is therefore probably a hypocoristic of *Avis*.

Avis, Aviss, Avison

: *Auicia* c1175–86 Holme (Nf), 12th DC (Nt), 1199 FFEss; *Auizia* Hy 2 DC (Lei); *Ricardus filius Avice* 1332 SRSt; Walter *Auices* 1186–1210 Holme (Nf); Thomas *Avyce* 1220 Fees (Berks); Thomas *Avis* 1524 SRSf; Ralph *Avyson* 1674 FrY. OFr *Avice*, sometimes derived from OG *Aveza* but Michaelsson (ii. 79–82) has shown that it probably derives from Lat *Avitia* which, with the masculine *Avitius*, was used in Gaul. cf. *Amis* s.n. AMES.

Avner

: Roger, Alexander *le Avener* 1230 P (Ha), 1231 Pat (Lo). OFr *avenier*, *avener* 'oat-merchant'. Used also of the chief officer of the stable who had charge of the provender for the horses (1282 NED).

Avril

: v. APRIL

Awbery

: v. AUBRAY

Awcock

: v. ALCOCK

Awdas

: v. ALDIS

Awde

: v. AULD

Awdrey, Awdry

: v. AUDREY

Awmack

: v. ALLMARK

A'Wood, Awood

: William A *Wode* 1485 LLB L; Robert a *Wode* 1525 SRSx. For *atte Wode* ‘dweller by the wood’, OE *wudu*.

Awty

: v. AUTIE

Axbey

: *Aksby*, a metathesized form of *Askby* from some place Ashby. Castle Ashby (Northants) is *Axeby* in 1235 (PN Nth 142).

Axcell, Axel, Axell

: Probably metathesized forms of *Askell* through the series *Askell*, *Aksell*, *Axell*. cf. AXTELL.

Axleby, Exelby, Eshelby, Hasselby

: John *de Eskelby* 1327 SRY; Richard *Exilby* 1490 FrY; Thomas *Eshleby* 1672 FrY. From *Exelby* (NRYorks), a metathesized form of *Eskelby*. A similar metathesis of the DB *Aschilebi* would become *Axleby*. Both surnames might also derive from *Asselby* (ERYorks) which is found as *Askelby* 1282, *Eskilby* 1199 and *Axilbye* 1551. v. PN ERY 248, PN NRY 226. Axon: Thomas *Acson* 1561, Thomas *Axon* 1635, John *Ackson* 1641 Bardsley (Ch). This might be ‘son of *Acke*’, OE *Acca*. But forms are late and we may equally well have a metathesis of *Askin*, giving *Aksin*, *Akson*. v. also AXTEN.

Axtell

: Elizabeth *Axtell*, John *Axstell*, Richard *Axtill* 1683–90 Bardsley. These forms, though late, are almost certainly from ON *Asketill*, with loss of the unstressed medial vowel to *Asktil*, and metathesis to *Akstill*, *Akstell*. v. ASHKETTLE.

Axten, Axtens, Axton

: Agnes *Axton* 1524 SRSf, Laurence *Axton*, *Axon* 1561 Bardsley. It is impossible to decide whether *Axton* is from *Axon* (a metathesis of *Askin*), with intrusive t, or whether *Axon* is a simplified form of *Axton*. An original *Axton* would be a metathesized form of *Ashton*. The Northants Ashton is *Axton* in 1253 (PN Nth 229).

Ayer, Ayers, Ayr, Ayre, Ayres, Ayris, Aiers, Air, Aires, Airs, Aers, Eayrs, Eayres, Eyer, Eyers, Eyre, Eyres, Hair, Haire, Hayer, Heyer, Hoyer

: (i) Ralph *le Eir* 1208 FFEss; Robertus *Heres* 1220 Cur (C); Robert *leyre* 1245 FFC; Richard *le Heyer* 1274 RH (Gl); Henry *Ayer*, *le Eyer* 1275 RH (L, O); Adam *le Hayre* 1275 Wak (Y); Robert *le Heir* 1281 Eynsham (O); Robert *Air* 1281, John *Ayr* 1296 Black; William *Hoyre* 1302 SRSf; Francis *Eyre* alias *Eare* alias *Aire* 1724 DKR 41 (Co). ME *eir*, *eyr*, etc., OFr *eir*, *heir*, CentFr *oir*, *hoir*, AFr *heyr*, Lat *heres* ‘heir’ (c1275 NED). Also *leyre* is one source of LAYER. (ii) Occasionally we may have a personal name: Robertus *filius Aier* 1166 RBE, *filius Aer*, *Aier* 1180, 1196 P (Sa), the latter being identical with Robert *Aier* 1201 P (Sa). cf. Aston *Eyre* (Salop), held in 1212 by Robert, grandson of *Aer*, a name which Ekwall suggests may be derived from that of the DB tenant *Alcher*, i.e. OE *Ealhhere*. v. ALGER. v. also HAIR. (iii) Reginald *of Ayr* 1287 Black (Ayr); Albinus *de Are* 1315–21 ib. From the royal burgh of Ayr.

Aykroyd

: v. ACKROYD

Aylard

: v. ADLARD

Aylen

: v. AYLING

Ayler

: Luke *le Ayler*, *le Ayeler* ‘peverer’ (i.e. ‘pepperer’) 1287, 1304 LLB B. OFr *aillier*, *-iere* ‘garlic-seller’.

Ayles

: Richard *le Eysel* 1275 SRWo; Ralph *Ayl* 1279 RH (C); Richard *Aylis* 1302 FA (*St*). Either OE *Ægel*, found only in place-names, or a nickname from OE *egle* ‘loathsome, troublesome’.

Aylesbury

: Richard *de Æilesberia* 1188 Eynsham; John *de Aylesbury* dictus le Tauerner de Oxonis 1307 Balliol. From Aylesbury (Bk).

Aylesford

: Edward *de Ailesford* 1202 FFK. From Aylesford (K).

Aylett, Aylott, Allatt, Allett, Allitt, Alliott, Ellyatt, Eliot

: Galfridus *filius Ailghieti* a1176 Colch (Ess); *Ailletus* 1180–1207 Rams (Nf); Simon *filius Alet* 1199 P (L); *Aillelh, Ailed* (f) 1198 FF (Nf); *Æliot* Grim 1202 AssL; *Ailhiet* (f) 1202 FF (Nf); Gilebertus *filius Aillith* 1204 P (C); *Ailith, Ailleth* filia Godwini 1207 Cur (Sf); *Alettus* Prepositus 1212 Cur (Nth); Simon *filius Aileda* 1279 RH (C); *Alyott* de Symondston 1311 Lacy (La); Boydin *Ailet* 1212 Fees (Ess); Walter *Aliol, Aylet*, Thomas *Ailot*, John *Ayllyth* 1279 RH (C); Ralph *Alyet* 1286 Pinchbeck (Sf). In DB *Ailiet* and *Aliet* are found for both the common OE *ǣ* (f) ‘noble combat’ and OE **Æoelgēat* (m) ‘noble Geat’, which is not recorded before the Conquest but was certainly in use later, and it is impossible to distinguish between them when the sex of the bearer is unknown. The confusion is increased by the variety of forms found for both themes of each name, but it is clear that all the above surnames may derive from either of these personal names. In DB *ǣ* is *Adelid, Ailiet, Ailith, Ailid, Ailad, Alith*, and *Alid*, all except the first referring to *ǣ* wife of Imrstan. *Æðelgēat* is found as *Ailiet, Ailet, ALLget, Aliet, Elget* and *Eliet*, all of which might stand for *ǣ* where the gender is doubtful. The last two forms make it clear that these OE names have contributed to the frequency of ELIOT in its various spellings. v. ADLARD.

Ayliff, Ayliife, Ayloff, Efflf

: (i) *Ailef* de Palestun 1175 P (Nb); Willelmus *filius Eilaf* 1191 P (Nth); Robettus *filius Egelofl* 196 P (L); *Egelaf* 12th MedEA (Sf); Ricardus *filius Ailof* 1203 Cur (Nth); Nicholas *Eiluf, Ailof* 1221 AssWa; Julian’ *Aylif* 1279 RH (O); Geoffrey *Ayllef*, John *Aylofh* 1327 SRSf. The DB *Eilaf* (*Egilaf, Ailaf* Exon), *Ailof, Elaf* are probably from ODA, OSw *Elaf* (hence *Ayloff*), but they may also represent ON *Eileifr*, ODa, OSw *Elef* or ON *Eilifr*, ODa, OSw *Elif* with substitution of OE or EScand *-lāf* for *-lef, -lif* (hence *Ayliff, Ellif*). v. also ILIFF. (ii) *Eilieua* de Kerletona Hy 2 DC (Lei); Edwardus *filius Eileve* 1206 Cur (Sx); Rogerus *filius Aelive* 1214 Cur (C); Segarus *Aileves* 1188 BuryS (Sf); Robert

Aylgive 1275 SRWo; *Edelina Ayleve* 1279 RH (Hu). OE *Æðelgifu* (f) ‘noble gift’, which appears in DB as *Æileua*, *Eileua*, *Aileua* and *Eleua*. For *-iff* from *-gifu*, cf. BRIGHTIFF, here, perhaps, influenced also by *Ailiff*. *Ayloff* can only be included here by assuming influence from the Scandinavian name. cf. *Richard Alylaue* 1332 SRWa.

Ayling, Aylin, Aylen

: *Eadmund Æðeling* 1006 KCD 1302 (Do); *Ædwardus Aðeling* 1176 P (K); *Gilbert Æeling* 1177 P (Y); *Reginald Aylyng* 1296 SRSx. OE *æðeling* ‘noble, prince of the royal blood’, used occasionally as a personal-name: *Ailligg’ (Eiling) buttarius* 1230 P (Nf). *Edgarus Adeling* 1086 DB (Herts) is also called *Eadgar Cild*. v. CHILD.

Aylmer, Aylmore, Elmar, Elmer, Elmers

: *Ailmar*, *Æilmar*, *Eilmerus*, *Aimar*, *Almer*, *Elmar*, *Elmer* 1066 DB; *Godwinus filius Elmari* 1115 Winton (Ha); *Hcelmerus* Hy 2 DC (L); *Ailmerus le Bercher* 1212 Cur (Herts), *quidam Ailmerus villanus ib.* (Y); *Henry Ailmer’* 1208 Cur (Berks); *Roger Ailmar* 1221 AssWa; *William Elmer* 1316 FA (Sx). OE *æ* ‘noble famous’. *Elmer* is also local in origin. v. also AYMER.

Aylward, Ailward

: *Godric filius Æilwardi* c1095 Bury (Sf); *Egelwardus* 1126–7 Holme (Nf); *Aitwardus presbiter* 1153–68 ib.; *Robert Ailward’* 1201 P (Ha); *Robertus Ailwardi* 1229 Cl (Gl); *Nicholas Eylward* 1243 AssSo. OE *Æðelweard* ‘noble protector’, DB *Aegelward*, *Ailuard*. v. also ALLWARD.

Aylwin, Aylwen, Ailwyn

: *Adelwinus*, *Ailwinus*, *Aluwin(e)*, *Eluwinus* 1066 DB; *Ailwinus Neht* Hy 2 DC (L); *Eilwinus de la Berne* 1211 Cur (Sr); *Hubert egelwin* 1194 Cur (Bk); *Walter Athelwin*

1205 P (Gl); Simon *Aylwyn* 1230 P (Beds); Alice *Eylwyn* 1297 MinAcctCo. OE *Æðelwine* 'noble friend'. v. also ALWIN, ALVEN.

Aymer, Aimer, Aimers, Amar

: *Eymer* Thurberd 1260 AssC; *Aymar* de Valence 1298 Gascon; Philip *Aimer* 1180 P (Ess). In DB *Aimar* is one of the forms for OE *ǣ* v. AYLMER. Here we have also a continental personal-name either OG *Agimar* or OG *Hadamar*, *Adamar*.

Aynley

: v. AINLEY

Aynsley

: v. AINSLEY

Aynsworth

: v. AINSWORTH

Ayre(s)

: v. AYER

Ayrton

: John *de Ayrton* 1379 PTY; William *Ayreton* 1460 FrY. From Airton in Kirkby Malham (WRY).

Ayscough

: v. ASKEW

Aysh

: v. ASH

Ayshford

: v. ASHFORD

Ayton, Aytoun, Aiton

: (i) Helias *de eitun* c1166 Black (Dunbar); William *de Eytone* 1296 ib. (Berwick); John *de Aytoun* 1300 ib. From the lands of Ayton in Berwick. (ii) William *de Atune* c1174 YCh; John *de Aiton'* 1219 AssY; John *de Ayton'* 1300 FFY. From Ayton (NRYorks), *Aton* DB. v. also EYTON.

Aze

: v. ACE

B

Babb, Babbs

: Alwinus, Richard *Babbe* 1198 FF (Sf), 1230 P (D); Ralph, Walter *le Babb(e)* 1199 MemR (W), 1327 SRSx. A pet-form of *Barbara*. cf. Margery *Babel*, Nicholas *Babelot* 1279 RH (C) and BABOT. *Le Babbe* is a nickname from *babe* (c1230 MED) ‘infant, young child’.

Babbel, Babbell, Babble

: Isabel *Babel* 1276 KB (Sx); John *Babell* 1379 PTY; Hugh *Babell* 1642 PrD. *Bab-el*, a diminutive of *Bab*, a pet-form of *Barbara*.

Babbington, Babington

: Eva de *Babington* 1201 AssSo; Henry de *Babbyngton* 1379 PTY; Thomas *Babyngton* c1464 Paston. From Babington (So), or Babbington in Kimberley (Nt).

Babington

: v. BABBINGTON

Babot

: Geoffrey *Babeth* 1279 RH (C). A diminutive of Bab (Barbara).

Babson

: Adam *Babson*, *Brabson* 1380 AssWa. 'Son of *Bab*', a pet-form of *Barbara*.

Babthorp, Babthorpe

: Robert *Babthorp*' 1414 KB; William *Babthorp* 1439–40 FFWa. From Babthorpe (ERY).

Baccas, Bacchus

: v. BACKHOUSE

Bach, Bache, Batch

: Reiner *de Bache* 1212 Cur (L); Ralph *de la Bache* 1252 Rydware (St); William *atte Bache* 1327 SRWo. 'Dweller near a stream', OE *bæce*. v. BASH.

**Bachelor, Bachellier, Batchelar, Batcheler,
Batchellor, Batehelor, Batchelour, Batchlor,**

Batchelder, Batcheldor

: Roger *Bachelere* c1165 StCh; Stephen *le bachilier* 1203 FFSf; Walter *le Bachelor* 1248 FFSr; Thomas *Batcheller*, Widow *Batchelder* 1674 HTSf. ME, OFr *bachelor* ‘a young knight, a novice in arms’ (1297 NED). *v.* also BACKLER. **Bacher**: Philip *Bacher* 1255 RH (Bk); William *le Bachiere* 1280 MESO (Ha). ‘Dweller by a stream.’ *cf.* BACH.

Bachus

: *v.* BACKHOUSE

Back, Backes, Bax

: Godwine *Bace* c1055 OEByn (So); Godwin the clerk, called *Bak* 12th ELPN; Richard *Bac* 1182 P (Co); Richard *Backe* 1277 *Ely* (Sf); Henry *le Bak* 1297 Coram (K). Tengvik explains the OE example as from OE *Bacca* or as a nickname from OE *bæc*, in the sense of one with a prominent chin or back or one of a fat, rotund appearance. Ekwall takes the London example as perhaps from OE *bæc* ‘back’. We may have a personal-name. OE *Bacca* was in use in Suffolk after the Conquest (*Bacce* (dat.) c1189–1200 BuryS). The nickname is probably, as suggested by Weekley, ME *bakke* ‘a bat’, either ‘blind as a bat’ or with reference to their nocturnal habits; retiring by day to dark recesses, ‘they hate the day and love the night’. Also local: Joan *atte Back* 1327 SRSO, ‘dweller by the ridge’ (OE *bæc*).

Backer

: *v.* BAKER

Backhalder

: John *Bakhalder* 1447 CtH; John *Bakeholder* 1525 SRSx. Probably a late form of BACHELOR.

Backhouse, Baccas, Bacchus, Bachus, Backus

: Walter *de Bakhous* 1306 LLB E; Richard *del Bakhous* 1332 SRLa; Thomas *Bachous* 1334 LLB E; Charles *Baccus* 1544 AD v (Y); Edward *Bacchus* 1725 DKR 41 (Beds). ‘One employed at a bakery’, from OE **bæchūs* ‘bakery, bakehouse’ (a1300 MED).

Backler

: John *de* (sic) *Bakalur* 1196 Cur (D); Nicholas *le Bakelere* 1320 Cl (Sa); Edmund *Bacler* 1524 SRSf. Identical with *Bachelor*, with dissimilation of chl to kl.

Backman

: Walter *Bakman* 1279 RH (C); John *Bakeman* 1327 SR (Ess). OE *(ge)bæc* ‘bakemeats’, and *mann*, a maker or seller of pastries, pies, etc. cf. Walter *le Bakmonger* 1314 MEOT (Herts).

Backner

: v. BACON

Backsliall, Backshaw, Backshell

: Philip *de Bacselve* 1296 SRXx; John *Bakshelue* 1327 ib.; Henry *Backshyll* 1525 ib.; John *Backshell*, Mary *Backshall* 1591, 1713 Sx Rec. Soc. ix. These are probably forms of

Backshells in Billingshurst (Sussex). For the development of the forms with *-shall* and *-shaw*, cf. Gomshall (Surrey), *Gomeselve* 1154, *Gunshal* 1675, and Bashall Eaves in Great Mitton (WRYorks), *Bacschelf* DB, *Basshall* 1562, *Bashawe* 1591.

Backton, Bacton

: John *de Baketon*’ 1212 P (He); Richard *de Baketon* 1212 P (Ess/Herts); William *Bakton* 1444 Paston. From Bacton (He, Nf, Sf).

Backwell

: Thomas *de Bacwell* 1225 AssSo. From Backwell (So). Sometimes, perhaps, from Bakewell (Db).

Bacon, Bakon

: William, Richard *Bacun* c1150 StCh, DC (L); Nicholas *Bachun* 1226 Burton (St); Geoffrey *Bacon* 1296 SRSx. OFr, ME *bacon*, *bacun* ‘buttock, ham, side of bacon’ is not recorded in England before c1330 (MED), though it may well be older. It refers usually to the cured flesh, occasionally to fresh pork, but is seldom used of the live pig. Hence a nickname must be metonymic and refet to a pork-butcher, as does the Fr *Baconnier* and probably the English *Backner*, though no early forms have been found. The surname is common and early, used of Norman knights, and is probably the accusative of OG *Bacco*, the nominative of which occurs as *Bacus* c1113 Burton (St).

Bacton

: v. BACKTON

Badams, Baddams, Badham

: v. ABADAM

Badbury

: Herbert *de Badebiri* 1212, *de Baddebir'* 1218 P (Sx). From Badbury (Do, W).

Badby

: William *de Baddebi* 1202 AssNth; William *Badby* 1388–9 FFSr; Thomas *Badby* 1425 AssLo. From Badby (Nth).

Badcock, Batcock

: *Batecok* 1288 AssCh; *Badekoc* Korneys 1296 SRSx; Edrich' *Bathecoc* 1221 AssWo; Richard *Batcok* 1285 AssCh; William *Badecok* 1297 MinAcctCo (Do), 1327 SRDb. Both names are usually explained as a compound of *Bat(e)*, a pet-name for *Bartholomew*, and *cock*, but as both occur frequently side by side, the *d* of *Badecok* may well be original. In 'de catellis *Badde*' (1230 P) we have probably a survival of OE *Bada* (cf. BADE) which may also be the source of the surnames of William *Badde* 1221 AssWo and John *Badde*, *Bade* 1317 AssK. Though the forms are late, OE *Baduca* probably survives in *Baddock*, whilst an unrecorded OE **Badding* occurs as a surname in Robert *Badding* 1197–1221 AD i (Mx) and William *Bading* 1275 SRWo. A formation *Badecoc* is, therefore, not impossible.

Badcoe

: Probably for *Badcock*. cf. ALCOE.

Baddeley, Badderley, Badeley, Badely, Badley

: Robert *de Badelea* 1187 P (Ha); Gilbert *de Badele* 1227 AssLa; John *de Baddyleye* 1327 SRSt. From Baddeley (St), Badley (Sf), Baddiley (Ch), or Baddesley (Ha, Wa).

Badder

: v. BATHA

Baddick, Baddock, Badock

: William *Baddoke* 1534 FrY. OE *Baduca*. v. BADCOCK.

Badding

: Henry *Badding'* 1249 AssW; Walter *Baddyng* 1287–8 NorwLt; John *Baddyng* 1468 *ERO*. OE **Badding*. v. also BADCOCK.

Bade

: *Bado* 1066 DB (Db); Bictricus *Bade* 1066 Winton (Ha). OE *Bada*. cf. BADCOCK.

Badeley, Badely, Badley

: v. BADDELEY

Badger, Badgers, Bagger

: (i) Ivo, Richard *le Bagger* 1246 AssLa, 1297 Wak (Y); Adam *Badger* 1324 Wak (Y); Ralph *Baghere* 1348 DbAS 36. The interpretation of *Bagger* is uncertain. It may stand for *Bagger* or *Badger*. The former would be a derivative of ME *bagge* ‘bag, small sack’, hence *bagger* ‘a maker of bags’. *Badger*, not recorded before 1467–8 in MED and of doubtful origin, means ‘a hawker, huckster’. Fransson’s arguments in favour of a change in pronunciation from *bagger* to *badger*, partly on the grounds that there is no modern surname *Bagger*, cannot be accepted. Though very rare, *Bagger* is still found in Sevenoaks. As often, the metonymic *Bagg(s)* is more common. (ii) William *de Beggeshour* 1221 AssSa. From Badger (Salop).

Badham

: v. ABADAM

Badkin

: v. BODKIN

Badman

: Simon, John *Bademan* 1279 RH (C), 1375 LoPleas. OE **Beadumann*, a late compound of the common theme *Beadu-* and *-mann*.

Badnall, Badnell

: Robert *de Badenhale* 1242 Fees (St). From Badnall (St).

Badock

: v. BADDICK

Badrick, Badrock, Batrick, Battrick, Betteridge, Bettridge, Betteriss

: Robert *Baderich*' 1275 SRW_o; William *Betrich* 1279 RH (C); John *Betryche*, *Betrich* 1296, 1327 SRS_x. OE *Beadurīc* 'battle-powerful', a personal name found in Battersea (Surrey) and Bethersden (Kent), but very rare in independent use.

Badsworth

: John *de Baddeswonh* 1334–7 SRY; John *Baddesworth* 1420 Ip_mY. From Badsworth (WRY).

Bagby

: Robert *de Bagby* 1327 SRY; John *de Bagby* 1362 AssY. From Bagby (NRY).

Bagehot

: v. BAGGETT

Bagenal

: v. BAGNALL

Bagg, Bagge, Baggs

: William, Nicholas *Bagge* 1166 P (Nf), 1214 Cur (Wa). Although no examples of its independent use have been noted, this may be the cas-sujet of OG *Bago* (*Baco*) surviving in the French *Bague* with its diminutive *Baguelin*, *Baglin*, which is found also in England: William *Bagelin* 1327 SRSO. v. also BAGGETT. The surname was common in ME and may also be metonymic for *Bagger*, ‘a maker of bags’, from ME *bagge* ‘bag, pack, bundle’. It might also have been used for a beggar. cf. ‘Hit is beggares rihte uorte beren bagge on bac & burgeises for to beren purses’ (c1230 NED).

Baggallay, Baggalley, Baggally, Baggarley

: v. BAGLEY

Bagger

: v. BADGER

Baggeridge, Baggridge

: William de *Bagerigge* 1201, *de Baggerugge* 1207, FFO; Walter *de Baggerigg* 1274 RH (Do). From *Bageridge* (Do), *Baggridge* (So), or a lost *Bagridge* in Woodlands (Do).

Baggett, Baggott, Bagot, Bagott, Bagehot

: (i) *Bagot* c1125 StCh; *Herueius filius Bagot* 1130–2 Seals (St); *Hereveus Bagod* c1159 StCh; *Ingeram Bagot* Hy 2 DC (L); *Hereflcus Bachot* 1195 Cur (Wa); *Simon Baghot* 1198 FFSt; *Walter Bagot* 1201 Cur (Y). A diminutive of OG *Bago*. cf. BAGG. (ii) *Robert Baggard* 1191 P (Sf); *Geoffrey, Richard Baggard* 1275 SRWo, 1279 AssSo. OG *Bago* plus the suffix *-(h)ard*.

Bagilhole, Baglole

: v. BEAGLEHOLE

Bagley, Baguley, Baggallay, Baggalley, Baggally, Baggarley, Bagguley

: *Peter de Baggeleg'* 1260 AssCh; *Thomas de Baggeleghe* 1327 SRSo; *Walthev de Baglay* c1345 Calv; *John Baguley* 1527 CorNt. From *Bagley* (Bucks, Salop, Som, WRYorks), or *Baguley* (Ches).

Bagnall, Bagnell, Bagnold, Bagenal

: *William de Bagenholt* 1299 AssSt; *John Bagenelle* 1379 LLB H; *Ralph Bagnall, Bagnold, Bagenall* alias *Bagnald* 1561 Pat. From *Bagnall* (Staffs).

Bagpuis, Bagpuss

: Ralph *de Bagpuize* 1086 DB (Berks); Robert *de Bakepoiz* 1219 P (Lo/Mx); John *Bakeputz* 1327 SRLei. From Bacquepuis (Normandy).

Bagshaw, Bagshawe

: Robert *de Baggeshagh* 1327 SRDb; William *de Baggshaugh* 1339 DbCh; Thomas *Bagsha* 1565, *Bagshae* 1572 *Petre*. From Bagshaw (Db).

Bagster

: v. BAXTER

Bagwell

: Geoffrey *Bagwell* 1374–5 NorwLt; John *Bagwell*, Nicholas *Baggwell* 1642 PrD. ‘Dweller by badger stream’, OE **bagga, wiella*. Sometimes, perhaps, for BACKWELL.

Baiker

: v. BAKER

Bail, Baile, Bailes, Bails, Bale, Bales, Bayles

: Richard *del Baille* c1190 Bart (Lo); Eudo *del Bayle* 1301 SRY; John *Bayl* 1382 FFSx; Thomas *Bale* 1524 SRSf; William *a Bales* 1537 FFHu; Zacarias *Bailes* 1629 FrY. OFr, ME *bail(e)* ‘the wall of the outer court of a feudal castle’, later used of the courts themselves (a1200 MED). The surname is probably identical with *Bailward*, ‘the guardian of the courts or bailey’. The London examples refer to the Old Bailey.

Baildon, Bayldon

: Hugh *de Beyldon* 1251 AssY; Henry *de Bayldon* 1372 FFY; Janie *Saildon* 1672 HTY. From Baildon (WRY).

Baileff, Bailiff, Bayliff, Bayliffe, Baylyff

: Richard *le Baillif* 1242 Fees (He); Gilbert *le Balif* 1280 AssSo; John *Bayllif*, *Baylly* 1296 SRSx. OFr *bailif*, cas-régime of *baillis*, originally ‘carrier’, later ‘manager, administrator’. Used of the public administrator of a district, the chief officer of a Hundred (1297 NED) or of an officer of justice under a sheriff, a warrant officer, pursuivant, a catchpoll (1377 NED). This form of the name is much less common than *Bailey*. v. BAYLIS.

Bailess

: v. BAYLIS

Bailey, Bailie, Baillie, Baily, Baly, Baylay, Bayley, Baylie, Bayly

: (i) Roger *le baylly* 1230 P (Sf); John *Baly* 1274 Wak (Y); Thomas *le Baly* 1327 SRSx; Thomas *Bailie* 1327 SRSf. OFr *bailli*, a later form of *baillis*, *baillif*. v. BAILEFF. The term *baillie*, now obsolete in England, is still the common form in Scotland, where it was used of the chief magistrate of a barony or part of a county, a sheriff. (ii) John *ate Baylie* 1317 AssK. A ME variant of *bayle* (a1200 MED). v. BAIL. Dyonisyia *en la baillye* owned houses and shops in the Old Bailey, London (1319 SRLo). The earliest examples of the Scottish *Baillie*, William *de Bailli* 1311–12 (Black), seem to belong here rather than to the noun above. (iii) Ralph *de Baylegh* 1246 AssLa. From Bailey (Lancs).

Bailhache

: *Baylehache* marescallus 1154 Eng-Feud (Sf); John *Baillehache* 1418 DKR 41. OFr *baille hache* ‘give axe’, a name for an executioner.

Bailward

: v. BAIL

Bain, Baine, Baines, Bains, Baynes, Bayns

: (i) William *Banes* 1246 AssLa; Heward *Ban*, Cristiana *Bane* 1279 RH (C, O); Thomas *Baynes* 1446 FrY; Alexander *Banys* 1541 Black; Andrew *Baines* 1676 ib. OE *bān* ‘bone’ in the North and in Scotland became ME *bān* and later *bain*; in the Midlands and the South it became ME *bon*, modern *bone* and survives as BONES. A nickname, probably usually plural. (ii) Richard *Beine* 1279 RH (C); John *Bayne* 1301 SRY; William *Bayn* 1323 AssSt. ME *beyn*, *bayn*, ON *beinn* ‘straight, direct’, also ‘ready to serve, hospitable’. Always singular. (iii) Thomas *Ban* 1324 Black (Perth); David *Bane* or *Bayn* 1456–60 ib.; Ewir *Bayne* alias *Quhyte* 1623 ib. Gael *bàn* ‘fair, white’. Always singular. (iv) Serlo *Baynes* 1219 AssY; John *de Bayns* 1275 RH (L); Roger *Bayns* 1277 AssLa; Thomas *de Baines* 1333 FrY. ME *bayne*, Fr *bain* ‘bath’. Probably ‘attendant at the public baths’. The forms without a preposition are too early to be regarded as northern forms of *bān* ‘bone’.

Bainbridge, Bainbrigge

: Matilda *de Baynbrigg*’ 1301 SRY; Robert *Baynbryg*’ 1379 PTY. From Bainbridge (WRYorks).

Bainton, Baynton, Bayntun

: Osgode *on Badingtune* 972 BCS (Nth); Turstan *de Baynton* 1219 AssY; William *de Baynton* 1361 FFWa; William *Baynton* 1597 SRY. From Bainton (Nth, O, ERY), or Baynton (W).

Bairnsfather, Barnfather, Banfather

: William *Barnefader* 1246 AssLa, 1260 AssY; Henry *Bamefathir* 1392 Shef (Y); Adam *Barnisfader* 1502 Black. OE *bearn* ‘child’ and *fæder* ‘father’. cf. ON *barnfaðir* ‘a child’s alleged father’, which might well be the direct source of the second form.

Bairstow, Barstow, Baistow, Bastow

: Ralph *de Bayrestowe* 1277 Wak (Y); Thomas *de Barstowe* 1348 DbAS 36. From Bairstow (WRYorks).

Baisbrown, Bisbrown

: William *Basbroun* 1332 SRCu; Christopher *Baysbrown* 1494 FrY; Laurence *Besbrowne* 1595 LaWills; Hugh *Bisbrowne* 1667 ib. From Baisbrowne (Westmorland).

Baish

: v. BASH

Baiss

: v. BASS

Baister

: v. BASTER

Baitson

: v. BATESON

Baker, Baiker, Backer

: William *le Bakere* 1177 P (Nf); Robert *Bakere* 1246 AssLa; Walter *le Backere* 1280 MESO (Ha). OE *bæcere* 'baker'. cf. BAXTER.

Bakon

: v. BACON

Balaam, Ballaam

: (i) Hamelinus *de Baalon* 1176 P (D); John *Balum* 1212 Cur (W); Rosa *Balam* 1275

SRWo. From Baalon in Meuse. (ii) John *Balam* 1568 SRSf; Eliza *Baalam* 1830 LitWelnethamPR (Sf); Sophia *Baylham* 1834 ib. From Baylham (Suffolk).

Balch

: v. BELCH

Balcock, Ballcock

: Williara *Balcok* 1263 FFL; Henry *Balcok* 1332 SRWa; Richard *Bacock* 1440 ShefA. From *Bald*, a short form of the common OG *Baldwin*, or from OE **Beald*, plus the diminutive—*cock*. v. also BAWCOCK.

Balcomb, Balcombe, Bawcombe

: John *de Balecomb* 1327, Thomas *Bakombe* 1525 SRSx; William *Bawcom* 1591 ArchC 48. From Balcombe (Sx).

Bald, Bauld

: (i) Simon *le Bald'* 1178 P (Ess); Hugo *Catvus* 1198 FF (Herts); John *Balde* 1221 AssWo; William *le Ballede* c1248 Bec (W). ME *ballede*, used first of rotundity or corpulence (1287 NED), later, of baldness (c1386 ib.). cf. Madoc *le Balled* 14th AD vi (Ch), whose seal was inscribed s. MADOCI CAL[VI], and v. BALLARD. (ii) *Balde* c1150 DC (L), 1191 P (Lo), 1198 P (Beds); *Bald'filius Bald'* 1199 P (Herts); *Boold* 1332 SRLa. A short form of the common OG *Baldwin* or *Baldric* or of OE **Beald*. *Balt* 1066 DB (Y) may be OE or continental. cf. BALDING. Survives occasionally as BOLD.

Balder

: *Balder* 'Martell' 1160–2 Clerkenwell (Do); Thomas *Balder* 1524 SRSf. A rare surname from the not common OE *Bealdhere* 'bold army'.

Balderson, Bolderson, Boldison

: Probably assimilated forms of *Balderston* and *Bolderston* rather than from the rare *Balder*.

Balderston, Balderstone, Bolderston, Boulderstone

: William *de Baldreston* 1292 WhC (La). From *Balderston* (Lancs) or *Balderstone* (Lancs).

Balderton

: Robert *de Baldertona* 1218–9 RegAntiquiss. From *Balderton* (Ch, Nt).

Baldery

: v. BALDREE

Baldey, Baldie, Baldy, Boldy

: William *Baldith* 1204 P (Gl); Simon, John *Baldy* 1274 RH (Sf), 1332 SRSx. OE *ǣ* (f) 'bold combat', a woman's name not recorded before the Conquest but noted once in *Baldith* uxor c1170 Rams (Hu) and, possibly, in a corrupt form in *Baldethiva* 13th AD iv

(Wa). In Suffolk, we may have ON *Baldi*. In Scotland, *Baldie* is a pet-form of *Archibald* or *Baldwin* and, as a surname, late: Thomas *Baldy* 1540 Black.

Baldick, Baldock

: Hugh *de Baldoca* 1185 Templars (Beds); Thomas *Baldac* c1280 SRWo; Robert *Baldec* 1331 IpmW; William *Baldocke* 1460 IpmNt. From Baldock (Herts), a town founded in the 12th century by the Knights Templar, and given the name of Baghdad in its OFr form.

Balding, Belding, Bolding, Boulding

: Joscius *filius Balding'* Ric 1 Cur (L); Gilebertus. *filius Balding* 1212 Cur (L); William, Joan *Bolding* 1255 RH (Sa), 1327 SRSf; Alice, John *Baldyng* 1327 SRSx; Robert *Beldyng* 1332 SRSx. OE **Bealding*, a derivative of *Beald*, not recorded before the Conquest. In 1674 HTSf Anthony *Baldin* and Bartholomew *Baldinge* occur side by side with *Baldwin*, so that *Balding* is sometimes a late development of *Baldwin*. A possible earlier example is Alexander *Baldyne* 1251 Rams (Hu).

Baldree, Baldrey, Baldry, Baldrick, Baudrey, Baudry, Baldery, Boldero, Bolderoe, Boldra, Boldry

: *Baldric* 1066, 1086 DB; *Baldricus* 1127–54 Holme (Nf); *Baldri* de Grendal Hy 2 DC (L); *Baudricus* de Lawdecote 1208 Cur (Sr); William *Baldri* 1185 Templars (Herts); Aluredus *Baltriht* 1197 P (W); Henry *Belrich* 1203 P (O); Alexander *Baudri* 1205 Cur (Sf); Richard *Balrich* 1238 Oseney (O); Walter *Baldrich* 1275 SRWo; Robert *Baldrik*, Henry *Baudrik* 1327 SR (Ess); Francis *Baldry*, *Boldery*, James *Baldery* 1674 HTSf; Mrs *Balderoe*, Stephen *Bolderowe* ib.; Martin *Boldroe*, Widow *Boldery*, *Boldry* ib. OG *Baldric* 'bold rule', common in the French forms *Baldri*, *Baudri*. The cognate OE **Bealdrīc* is unrecorded but such forms as *Belrich*, *Balrich* and *Baldrich* suggest that it did exist and was used after the Conquest.

Baldwin, Balwin

: *Baldewinus* c1095 Bury (Sf); *Randulfus filius Balduini* Hy 2 DC (L); Stephen *Baldewin* 1200 P(Ha); John *Baudewin* 1260 AssC. OG *Baldwin* 'bold friend', a popular Flemish name, common in England both before and after the Conquest.

Baldy

: v. BALDEY

Bale, Bales

: v. BAIL

Balfour

: John, William *de Balfure* 1304, 1331–5 Black; Michael *de Balfoure* 1365 ib. From the barony of Balfour(Fife).

Ball, Balle, Balls, Le Ball

: (i) Godwin *Balle* 1137 ELPN; Norman *Balle* 1183 P (Nth). *Balle* is here disyllabic and may be from *Balle*, an ODa personal-name found in Scandinavian place-names in England and possibly surviving as *Balla* 1250 Fees (Ha). If a nickname, it might be OFr *balle* or OE **bealla* 'ball', or an adjective *ball* might have developed from *ball* 'a bald place', *balle* being the weak form. In later examples, *balle* became monosyllabic and is a form of *bal*. (ii) Robert, Matilda *le Bal* 1296, 1327 SRSx. Either ME *bal*, *ball(e)* 'the

rotund one' or an adjective *ball* in the sense 'bald' from *ball* 'a white streak, a bald place'. v. NED s.v. *ball* and ELPN 137. (iii) Alfwin' *attebal* 1166 P (Nf); Henry *atte Balle* 1327 SRSo. From residence near a *ball*, 'a knoll', 'a rounded hill' (1166 MED). v. MELS 5–6, PN W 422.

Ballaam

: v. BALAAM

Ballance, Ballans

: Roger *Balance*, *Balounce* 1196 FF (Wa), 1221 AssWa. Metonymic for 'balancer' from AFr *balancer*, OFr *balancier* 'one who weighs with a balance'. cf. Thomas *le Balauncer* 1283 LLB A.

Ballard

: Peter, Adam *Ballard* 1196 Cur (Nth), 1210 Cur (C). ME *ball* plus *-ard*, 'a bald-headed man'. Where Wyclif has 'Stye up, ballard!', Coverdale translates, 'Come vp here thou balde heade'. cf. Robert *Balheved* 1316 FFEss, Thomas *Balhefd* 1402 FA (Sf).

Ballaster, Ballester, Ballister, Balster

: William *le Balister* 1293 AssCh. OFr *balestier* 'cross-bowman' (c1450 MED). v. ALABASTAR.

Ballcock

: v. BALCOCK

Baller

: Alan *le Batter* 1243 AssSo; Geoffrey *Ballar* 13th Rams (C). A derivative of ME *ball*, either ‘maker of balls’ or ‘dweller by a rounded hill’ v. BALL.

Ballet, Ballett

: (i) Cristina *Balet* 1327 SRSo; John *Ballett* 1641 PrSo. A diminutive of OG *Ballo*. (ii) Robert *Balheved* 1316 FFEss; Richard *Balleheved* 1327 SRSo; Thomas *Balhefd* 1402 FA (Sf). ‘Round-headed’, OE **beall*, *hēafod*.

Balley, Bally

: (i) Richard *Balli* 1176 P (K); Margaret *Bally* 1314 LLB D. ON *Balli*, an original nickname from ON *ballr* ‘dangerous’. (ii) Ralph *de Battey* 1327 SRSf. Probably for BAILEY.

Balinger

: William *Balinger* 1221 AssSa. AFr *balinger* ‘a small fast naval vessel’, hence ‘a sailor’. Or for BERRINGER.

Balliol

: Rainald *de Balgiolle* 1086 DB (St); John *de Ballio*, *de Baillio* a1187 DC; Ely *de Bailleul* 1235 FFEss. From Bailleul (Somme), or Bailleul-la-Gouffern (Orne). v. OEByn 70.

Ballock, Ballox

: Lewin *Balloc* c1110 Winton (Ha); Simon *Ballok* 1227 Cur (Sx); William *Ballok* 1381 AssL. OE *Balloc*, probably an original nickname from OE *bealluc* ‘testicle’. cf. Robert *Blakehalloc* 1243 AssSo ‘black testicle’; Roger *Gildynballokes* 1316 Wak (Y) ‘golden testicles’.

Ballon, Balon

: *Baloun*, *Balun* 1276 RH (Lei); John *le Balun* 1275 RH (He); John *Ballon* 1297 MinAcctCo; Thomas *le Balon* 1327 SRWo; Walter *Ballun*, *Ballom* 1296, 1327 SRSx. OFr *Ballon*, cas-régime of OG *Ballo*. The *le* proves we have also a noun, OFr *balon* ‘little ball or pack’ (Cotgrave), ‘package’, which may be metonymic for ‘a packer’ or a nickname for a little man of rotund form.

Bally

: v. BALLEY

Balman

: *Baldeman* filius Fabri 1188 BuryS (Sf); Nicolaus *filius Baldeman* ib.; Adam *Baleman* 1332 SRSx; Richard *Balman* 1415 LLB I. OE **Bealdmann*.

Balmer

: Richard *le Baumere* 1305 LoCt. A derivative of ME *balme*, *bawme*, an aromatic

substance prized for its medicinal qualities; a spice-dealer or seller of ointments.

Balne, Balme

: Robert *de Balne* 1175 P (Y); Alice *de Balne* 1297 MinAcctCo; Thomas *de Balme* 1379 PTY. From Balne (WRY).

Balsam, Balsham, Balsom, Balson

: Pinna *de Belesham* 1086 InqEl; Margaret *de Balsham* 1260 AssC; William *Balsham* 1317 AssK.; Alan *Balsam* 1523 ArchC 41; John *Balson* 1642 PrD. From Balsham (C), or Balstone (D).

Balshaw

: Robert *de Balsagh* 1246, Robert *Balshagh* 1401 AssLa; Thomas *Balshay* 1512, William *Baldshawe* 1522 FrY. From Balshaw (La).

Balsom, Balson

: v. BALSAM

Balster

: v. BALLASTER

Balston, Balstone

: Robert *Balston* 1327 SRSf. Probably OE **Bealdstān* ‘bold stone’.

Balwin

: v. BALDWIN

Baly

: v. BAILEY

Bamber

: Malger *de Banburc* 1190, *de Bamburc*’ 1202 P (L); John *Bamburgh* 1428 FFess; William *Bamber* 1524 SRSf. From Baumber (L). Sometimes, perhaps, from Bamborough (Nb).

Bamfield, Bampfylde

: Richard *de Bamfeld* 1272 PN Herts 56; Thomas *Bamfeld* 1462, Matthew *Bampfeld* 1492 FFess; John *Bampfyld* 1642 PrD. From Bamville Fm in Wheathampstead (Herts), Bampfylde Lodge in Poltimore (D), or ‘dweller by the bean field’, OE *bēan, feld*.

Bamford, Bamforth, Bampford, Bampforth

: William, Thomas de *Bamford* 1228 Cur (Sf), 1312 WhC; Christopher *Bamfurth* 1539 CorNt. From Bamford (Derby, Lancs).

Bampton

: Jordan de *Bampton* 1208 Cur (O); Thomas de *Bampton* 1332 SRCu; John *Bampton* 1642 PrD. From Bampton (Cu, D, O, We).

Banbery, Banberry, Banbury

: Algot de *Banneberi* 1178 P (O); Henry de *Bannebury* 1310 LLB D; James *Banbury* 1426 Black. From Banbury (O).

Bancroft, Bangcroft, Bencroft

: Stephen de *bancroft* 1222 DBStP; John *atte Bencrofte* 1296 SRSx; Thomas *Bancrofte* 1481–2 FFWa. From Bancroft in Ardeley (Herts), Bancroft Field in Soham (C), or ‘dweller by the bean field’, OE *bēan, croft*.

Banden, Bandon

: Richard de *Bandon* 1206 Cur (Sr); John de *Bandone* 1353 LLB G; Arthur *Banden* 1642 PrD. From Bandonhill in Beddington (Sr).

Bane(s)

: v. BAIN

Baney, Boney

: John, William *Bani* 1279 RH (Bk); Agnes, Alice *Bonye* ib. (O). Early examples of *bony* (a1515 NED), from ME *bān, bon* 'bone'. cf. BAIN, BONES.

Banfater

: v. BAIRNSFATHER

Bangcroft

: v. BANCROFT

Banham

: Geoffrey *de Banham* 1206 Cur (Nf); Thomas *de Banham* 1337 LLB E; Robert *Banham* a1466 Paston. From Banham (Nf).

Banister

: v. BANNISTER

Banker

: Albrice *le Baunker* 1245 FFC; Thomas *Bankar* 1358 Putnam (Nth). ‘Dweller by a bank.’

Bankes, Banks

: Walter *del Banck*’ 1297 SRY; Matthew *Banke* 1327 SRSf. ‘Dweller by a slope, bank, hillside’ (ME *banke*). The plural form may conceal an original *-hous*: William *Bankhous* 1482 FrY; Robert *Bancus* 1513 Gild Y.

Bann, Banne

: Brucstan *Banne* 1066 Winton (Ha); Richard *Banne* 1249 AssW; William *bann* 1327 SRLei. Probably an unrecorded OE **Banna*, v. OEByn 150. Sometimes, perhaps, from OFr *bane*, *banne* ‘hamper, pannier’, metonymic for a maker of these.

Bannerman

: Dovinaldus *Banerman* 1368 Black. A Scottish name, ‘standard-bearer, ensign’ (1450 MED).

Bannister, Bannester, Banister

: Turstan, Richard *Banastre* 1149–53 EngFeud (L), 1186 Eynsham (O); Richard *Banester* 1459 AD vi (St); John *Banyster* 1554 FrY. OFr *banastre* ‘basket’. Metonymic for a

basket-maker.

Banstickle

: Adam *Banstikel* 1275 SRWo. A nickname from ME *banstikel* ‘a kind of fish, the three-spined stickleback’.

Banwell

: John *de Banwell* 1327 SRWo; Nicholas *de Benewell* 1332 SRSx; Walter *de Banewell* 1335 Glast (So). From Banwell (So), or Banwell Fm in Mundham (Sx).

Banyard, Bnnyard

: Ralph *Baignard*, *Bangiard*, *Baniardus* 1086 DB (Herts); Robert *Baniard*, *Bainard* 1207, 1208 Cur (Nf); William *Banyard* 1346 FA (Sf). A variant of *Baynard*, due to the Englishman’s difficulty in pronouncing the French *n mouillé*. cf. the English *onion* from the French *oignon*.

Baram

: v. BARHAM

Barbarel, Barbarell, Barberell

: *Barberella* c1210 Cur (Nt); Geoffrey *Barberell*’ 1192 P (K); William *Barberel* 1225 AssSo. *Barbar-el*, a diminutive of *Barbara*. William *Barbet* 1212 is also called William *Barberel* 1219 Fees (Berks).

Barbary, Barbery

: *Barbery* Marbeck 1581 Bardsley; Richard *Barbary* 1327 SRLei; John *Barbery* 1674 HTSf. The usual vernacular form of *Barbara*.

Barbe

: Bernardus *Barb* 1086 DB (Ha); Willaim *Barbe* 1229 Pat (K). A pet-form of *Barbara*, or OFr *barbe* ‘beard’. v. BEARD.

Barber, Barbour

: Alan, John *le Barbur* 1221 AssWa, 1248 FFess; Thomas, Richard *le Barber* 1281 LLB A, 1298 LoCt; Seykin, Robert *le Barbier* 1299 LLB C. *Barbour* is from AFr *barbour*, OFr *barbeor* (c1320 NED), *Barber* from OFr *barbier* ‘barber’. The barber was formerly a regular practitioner in surgery and dentistry.

Barberell

: v. BARBAREL

Barbery

: v. BARBARY

Barbet, Barbett, Barbot, Barbotte

: *Barbetta* 1190, *Barbeta* 1191 P (K); *Barbota* (f) 1240 FFess; William *Barbette* 1195 P (Berks); Henry *Barbot* 1206 Cur (L); Richard *Barbot* 1303 FFY. *Barb-et*, *Barb-ot*, diminutives of *Barb*, a pet-form of *Barbara*. Occasionally, perhaps, a diminutive of OFr *barbe* ‘beard’.

Barbon, Barebone

: Robert *Barebayn* 1301 SRY; Thomas *Barbon* 1494–5, Wyllyam *Barebone* 1569 LedburyPR (He). The first example makes it clear that this is a nickname, ‘bare bone’, OE *bær*, ON *beinn*/OE *bān*, presumably for a thin man. Sometimes, perhaps, from *Barbourne* (We). But the surname is usually Huguenot from a refugee family living at Wandsworth. Praise-God *Barebone* belonged to this family (Smiles 361).

Barbot, Barbotte

: v. BARBET

Barby

: *Barby Barby* 1642 PrD; Thomas *Barby* 1641 PrSo; John *Barby*, Nicholas *Barbey* 1642 PrD. A pet-form of *Barb*, a short form of *Barbara*.

Barchard

: v. BURCHARD

Barclay, Berkeley, Berkley

: Roger *de Berchelai*, *de Berdeia* 1086 DB (Gl, So); Henry *de Barclay* 1327 SRDb; Helewys' *de Berkele* 1327 SRSx. From Berkeley (Glos), Berkley (Som), or Barklye in Heathfield (Sussex). William *de Berchelai*, Chamberlain of Scotland in 1165, and the Scottish Barclays probably came from Berkeley (Glos).

Barcroft, Bearcroft

: William *de Bercroft* 1274 RH (Y). From Barcroft in Bingley, or Barcroft in Haworth (WRY).

Bard, Barde

: (i) Ralph *Bard* c1155 DC (L); Hugh *Bard'* 1219 P (Y); John *Barde* 1327 SRSO. OFr *barde* 'horse armour'. Metonymic for a maker of this. (ii) Simon *le Bard* 1364 Black. Gaelic *bàrd* 'poet'.

Bardell, Bardill

: Aschetill *Bardel* 1159 P; William *Bardell* 1327 SRC. Perhaps OFr *bardelle* 'pack-saddle', and metonymic for a maker or user of this. But late forms are probably for BARDOLPH.

Barden, Bardens, Bardin

: Abraham *de Barden'* 1176 P (L); William *de Bardene* 1327, John *Barden* 1332 SRSx.

From Barden (NRY, WRY).

Bardeney, Bardney

: Richard *de Bardeney* 1306 RegAntiquiss. From Bardney (L).

Barder

: (i) Hugh *Bardur* 1202–3 FFWa; Nicholas *le Barder* 1328 KentRecs 18; OFr *barde* ‘armour’, hence a nickname for an armourer. (ii) Herbert *Barbe de Auril* 1187 P (R); William *Barbe de Or* 1230 P (C); Roger *Barbeder*, William *Barbedor* 1279 RH (C). ‘Golden beard’, OFr *barbe, or.* v. also GOLDBARD.

Bardill

: v. BARDELL

Bardin

: v. BARDEN

Bardney

: v. BARDENEY

Bardolph

: *Bardolfus* de Fotipoi 12th DC (Nt); Hugo *Bardulfus*, *Bardol* 1142–53 DC (L); Thomas *Bardolf* 1184 Gilb (L); William *Bardoul* 1418 DKR 41. OG *Bartholf*.

Bardsey

: John *de Berdeshey* 1334–7 SRY; Hugh *de Berdesey* 1404 IpmLa; Robert *Bardsey* 1469–70 FFSr. From Bardsea (La), or Bardsey (WRY).

Bardsley, Beardsley

: William *de Berdeslega* 1195 P (Gl); Thomas *de Bardesleg'* 1242 Fees (Sa); Peter *Bardeslay* 1453 FrY. From Bardsley (La).

Bardwell, Beardwell

: Tedricus *de Berdewelle* 1190 P (Sf). From Bardwell (Suffolk).

Bare

: John, Roger *Bare* 1274 RH (Sf), 1327 SRSf. OE *bær* 'bare' in one of its early senses, 'unarmed, defenceless, deserted, indigent'.

Barebone

: v. BARBON

Barefoot, Barfoot

: Robert *barefot* c1160 EngFeud (Nth); Reginald *Berfot* 1203 P (Cu); John *Barfot* 1317 AssK. OE *bær* and *fōt* 'with bare feet', 'barefooted', used of friars, pilgrims and those doing penance. cf. Simon *Barleg* 1297 MinAcctCo, Emeloth *Baresanke* 1221 ElyA (Nf) 'bare-legged'.

Bareham

: v. BARHAM

Barff

: v. BARGH

Barfield, Barefield

: Nigel *de Bereuile* 1086 DB (Bk); Robert *de Bereuili* 1204 P (D); Philip *de Bardefeld* 1275 SRWo; Simon *de Berdefeld* 1312 LLB D. The first two examples are perhaps from Berville-la-Champagne (Eure), but there are six Bervilles in Normandy, three in Eure, two in Seine-Maritime, and one in Calvados. Other possible sources are Barfield Copse in Godalming (Sr), or Bardfield (Ess).

Barford

: Henry *de Bereford* 1204 P (Gl); William *de Berford* 1325, John *Berford* 1419 FrY. From Barford (Beds, Nf, Nth, O, Sr, W, Wa), or Barforth (NRY).

Bargain, Bargaine, Bargayn, Bargayne

: Thomas *Bargayn* 1297 SRY; Richard *Bargayne* 1365 FrY; Philip *Bargaine*, Walter *Bargin* 1642 PrD. ME *bargaine* 'a business arrangement or agreement'. Probably metonymic for a merchant or trader'.

Bargate

: Adam *de la Bargate* 1275 SRWo. 'Dweller by the gate that bars entry into the town.' The surname may also refer to the keeper of the Bargate.

Barge

: Peter *del Barge*, mariner 1359 FrY. 'Bargeman, seaman.' OFr *barge* was originally used of a small sea-going vessel with sails.

Bargh, Barff, Barugh

: Robert *de Bargh* 1310 FFSf; John *de Bergh* 1365 FrY. The modern northern form of BARROW, ME *bergh*, OE *beorh*. 'Dweller by the hill' as at Barff Hill (ERYorks) and Barugh, pronounced Barf (NRYorks).

Barham, Baram, Bareham, Bearham

: John *de Barham* 1238–9 FFess; Helewys *de Berham* 1296 SRSx. From Barham (C, D, Hu, K, Sf, Sx).

Bark, Barke, Barks

: Jordan *le Barc* 1197 P (Nf/Sf); Ralph *le Berk'* 1249 AssW; William *Barke* 1327 SRY. ON *borkr* 'bark'. Metonymic for BARKER.

Barkas

: v. BARKHOUSE

Barkaway

: v. BARKWAY

Barke, Barks

: v. BARK

Barker, Berker

: (i) Ralph *Berker* 1185 Templars (Y); Aluredus *le berkier* 1193 P (L); John *le Bercher* 1212 Cur (Ha). OFr *berchier, bercher, berkier, berker* ‘shepherd’. OFr also had the form *barcher* which may well be represented below. Later, when ME *-er* had become *-ar*, *barker* ‘shepherd’ would be indistinguishable in form from *barker* ‘tanner’. (ii) Jordan *le Barkere* 1255 Ass (Ess); John *le Barker* 1260 AssC. A derivative of ME *bark* ‘to tan’, a tanner.

Barkhouse, Barkas, Barkis

: Thomas *del Barkhous* 1379 PTY. ‘A barkhouse’ (1463 DbCh, 1483 NED) was a tannery. In 1383 Hugh *de Barkhowse (del Barkhous* 1384 DbCh) granted all his goods and chattels in his tannery at Beauchief to Ralph de Dore. The surname is thus occupational, ‘a tanner’.

Barkshire

: v. BERKSHIRE

Barkston, Barkstone

: Richard *of Barkeston* 1218–9 FFY. From Barkston (L, WRY), or Barkestone (Lei).

Barkway, Barkaway

: Walter *de Berqueie* 1141–51 Colch (Ess); John *de Berkwey* 1281 LLB B; Richard *Barkaway, Barkway* 1674 HTSf; James *Barkaway* (signed *Barkerway*) 1776 SfPR. From Barkway (Herts).

Barkwith, Barkworth

: Robert *de Barcword* c1150 Gilb; Roger *de Barkworth* 1339 LoPleas; John *Barkword* 1371 AssL; Richard *Barkwith* 1524 SRSf. From *Barkwith* (L), *Barcuurde* DB.

Barlas

: v. BURLES

Barlett

: Willelmus *filius Berlet'* 1219 AssY; Robert *Berlet* 1206 P (Nt); John *Barlet* 1242 Fees (W); Adam *Berilot* 1327 FrY. *Ber-el-ot*, a double diminutive of *Ber-*, from OG *Berard*.

Barley, Barlee

: (i) Jordan *Barlie* 1221 AssWa; John *Barlich*, Reur' *Barliche* 1279 RH (O, C). OE *bærlic*, ME *barlich*, *barli* 'barley', used for BARLEYMAN or by metonymy for a maker or seller of barley-bread or cakes. cf. Josce *Barlibred* 1185 P (Nf) (c1320 NED), Roger *Barliwastel* 1210 FFL. (ii) Leofric *de Berle* c975 OEByn (Herts); Henry *de Berel'* 1219 AssY. From *Barley* (Herts, Lancs, WRYorks). v. also BARLOW.

Barleycorn

: William, Godfrey *Barlicorn* 1233 Cl(L), 1279 RH (C). *Barleycorn* (1382 NED) was used of both the plant and the grain. The surname may refer to a grower of or dealer in barley. cf. GRANDAGE.

Barleyman

: Peter *Barlyman* 1332 MEOT (L). A dealer in barley.

Barling

: Baddewin *de Barling* 1240–1 ForEss; William *de Berling* 1327 SRSx; John *Barling* 1461 PN K 214. From Barling (Ess), Barlings (L), Barling Green Fm in East Sutton (K), or Birling Fm in Eastdean (Sx), *Barlyng* 1363.

Barlow

: Thomas *de Barlowe* 1260 AssLa; John *de Berlowe* 1379 PTY; Margery *Barley* or *Barlowe*, William *Barlee* or *Barlowe* 1509 LP (Db, Ess). From Barlow (Derby, Lancs, WRYorks), but there seems also to have been some confusion with BARLEY.

Barlthrop, Bartrop

: v. BARTHORP

Barman, Bearman, Berman

: Alsì, Gilbert *Berman* 1137 ELPN, 1222 Cur (Sr); Ralph *Bareman* 1275 RH (Beds); Simon *le Berman* 1281 MEOT (L); Geoffrey *le Barman* 1301 SRY. OE *ber* 'bearer, porter'. *Berman*, without the article, may also be personal in origin. *Walterus filius Bereman* 1198 P (K) may have been the son of a porter, but his father may have borne the name of **Beornmann*, unrecorded in OE, but of a type common in the 11th and 12th centuries. Occasionally we may have the rare OE *Beornmund*. cf. Adam *Beremund* 1204 P (Lo); William *Beremund* 1272 Ass (Ha).

Barmby, Barnby

: Roger *de Barnebia* 1179 P (Y); Robert *de Barnneby* 1282 IpmY; William *de Barneby* 1347 FFY. From Barnaby, Barnby in Lythe (NRY), or Barmby on the Moor, on the Marsh (ERY). The place-names may also have contributed to *Barnaby*. v. BARNABE.

Barnabe, Barnaby, Barneby

: (i) Roger *Barnabe* 1327 SRC; Roger *Barnaby* 1331 FFC. The English form of *Barnabas*, not common in the records, but found in the 14th century (ODCN) and surviving until the 19th century as in Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*. (ii) Richard *de Bernaldeby* 1160 Guisb (Y). From Barnaby in Skelton (NRYorks).

Barnacle, Barnacal, Barnikel, Burnikell

: Richard *Bernikel* 1344 Cl (K); Richard *Barnakyll* 1514 Oxon; John *Barnacle* 1545 Bardsley. Barnacle (Warwicks), DB *Bernhangre*, did not reach its modern form before 1547. We are, therefore, clearly concerned with a nickname from ME *bernacle*, *barnakyll*, a diminutive of ME *bernak*, OFr *bernac* 'a kind of powerful bit or twitch for the mouth of a horse or an ass', used to restrain a restive animal, also used as an instrument of torture. The nickname might have been applied to an expert in taming horses or to a torturer or it might have been given to a man of savage, unrestrained temper who needed such restraint. A further possibility is a nickname from the barnacle goose, ME *barnakyll*, a species of wild goose (cf. WILDGOOSE).

Barnaclough

: v. BARRACLOUGH

Barnard, Barnet, Barnett, Bernard

: *Bernardus* 1066 DB (Hu), 1101–16 Holme (Nf); Ricardus *filius Bernardi* 1205 Cur (So); Hugo *Bernard'* 1130 P (L); Thomas *Bernhard* 1260 AssC; Robert *Barnard* 1446

FrY. OFr *Bernart*, OG *Bernard* ‘bear-brave’.

Barne

: (i) Siuuard *Barn* 1066 DB (Wa), *Bearn*, *Barn* 1071, 1072 ASC D, E; Gamell’ *Barn* 1166 P (Y); Adam *le Barn* 1212 Cur (Y); William *le Barne* 1232 Pat (L). ON *barn* ‘child’. Used in DB as a byname of men of the upper classes, it might also have had the meaning ‘a young man of a prominent family’. cf. the English CHILD. (ii) *Beornus* 1066 DB (Sf); *Bern* 1066 DB (Do); Tomas *filius Bern*’ 1177 P (St); þirne *Beorn* c1050 YCh; William, Simon *Bem* 1190 P (Wo), 1202 AssL. In Yorks, Lincs, Staffs and Suffolk we have the Scandinavian personal-name *ǫ* anglicized as *Beorn*. In Dorset and Worcs we may have OE *Beorn*. The source may occasionally be OE *beorn* ‘warrior’. (iii) Eilwin *de la Berne* 1211 Cur (Sr); Richard *atte Berne* 1275 SRWo; Peter *del Barne* 1316 Wak (Y). From residence near or employment at a barn (OE *bere-ærn*). v. BARNES.

Barnecut, Barnecutt

: v. BARNICOT

Barnell, Barnhill

: Richard *de Bernhull* 1275, *atte Bernhuinm* MELS (Wo). ‘Dweller at the hill with a barn on it’, OE *bere-ærn*, *hyll*.

Barnes, Barns

: Philip *de Bernes* temp. John Seals (Sr); Peter *del Bernes* 1327 SRDb; William *Bernes* 1380 AssC; Joan *Barnes* 1450 Rad (C). From Barnes (Surrey) or residence near or employment at the barns. cf. BARNE.

Barnet, Barnett, Barnitt

: Brictnod *de la Bernet* c1200 MELS (Sx); William *atte Bernette* 1296 SRSx; Jordan *atte Barnette* 1310 LLB D. From residence near land cleared by burning (OE *bærnet* ‘burning’) or from Barnet (Herts, Middlesex), or Barnett Fm in Wonersh (Surrey).

Barnfather

: v. BAIRNSFATHER

Barnfield

: William *de Bernefeld* 1195 P (K); Robert *de Bernefeld* 1296 SRSx; Thomas *Barnefeild*, *Barnefilde* 1642 PrD. From Barnfield Shaw in Mayfield (Sx), or Barnfield Fm in Luppitt (D).

Barnham, Barnum

: Walter *de Bernham* c1191 BuryS (Sf); Robert *de Bernham* 1296, Thomas *Barnam* 1525 SRSx. From Barnham (Sf, Sx), or Barnham Broom (Nf).

Barnhill

: v. BARNELL

Barnhouse

: William *Bernehus* 1147–61 CartAntiq; Williard *de Bernehus* 1278–9 FFSx; John *Barnehowse* 1524 SRD. From Barn House in Brightling, Barnhouse Fm in Shipley (Sx), or ‘dweller at the house by the barn’, OE *bere-ærn, hūs*.

Barnicot, Barnicott, Barnicote, Barnicoat, Barnecut, Barnecutt

: Thomas *de Bernecot*’ 1279 RH (O); Walter *de Bernycot*’ 1297 MinAcctCo. From Barnacott in Stoke Rivers, in Westleugh (D).

Barnikel

: v. BARNACLE

Barningham

: Leomer *de Berningeham* 1121–38 Bury; Walter *de Berningham* 1203 Cur (Sf); Peter *de Berningham* 1219 AssY. From Barningham (Sf, NRY), or Little, Winter, Town Barningham, Barningham Norwood (Nf).

Barnish

: Ralph *barnage* 1130 P (Do); William *Barnage* 1270 AssSo; Reginald *Barnage* 1311 PN Do ii 112. OFr *barnage*, a contraction of OFr *baronage* ‘the qualities or attributes of a

baron', hence 'courage, nobleness, &c'. cf. Fr Bernage. v. also BURNAGE.

Barnsley

: John *de Barnsley* 1340–1450 GildC; Alice *de Berneslegh* 1354 Putnam (Ch); Adara *de Barnesley* 1440 ShefA. From Barnsley (Do, Gl, WRY, Wt).

Barnum

: v. BARNHAM

Barnwell

: Clac *on Byrnewillan* 972 BCS 1130; Eustace *de Bernewell'* 1177 P (C/Hu); Thomas *de Bernewell'* 1270 Acc; John *Bernewell, Barnewell* 1475 FFEss. From Barnwell (C, Nth).

Baron, Barron

: Lefuine *Barun* c1095 Bury (Sf); Geoffrey *le Barun* 1236 Ass (Ha); John *Baron* 1296 SRSx. EME *barun*, OFr *barun*, *-on* 'baron', sometimes, no doubt, denoting title or rank, but more often, especially when applied to peasants, a nickname, proud or haughty as a baron. The term was anciently applied to freemen of the cities of London and York who were homagers of the king and also to the freemen of the Cinque Ports who had the feudal service of bearing the canopy over the head of the sovereign on the day of coronation. Gervase *le Cordewaner* or *camerarius* was also called Gervase *Baronn*, no doubt because he was alderman of Aldgate Ward 1250–6 (ELPN 137). This was an old surname in Angus where it originated from the small baronies attached to the Abbey of Coupar-Angus. The tenant of the barony of Glenisla became Robert *Barrone*, tenant of Glennyay (1508), etc. Elsewherein Scotland 'barons' were land-owners who had a certain amount of jurisdiction over the population of their lands (Black).

Barr, Barrs, Le Barr

: (i) *Anger de la Barra* c1216–17 Clerkenwell (Lo); *Peter de Bar* 13th Lewes (Nf); *John ate Barre* 1283 Battle (Sx). OFr, ME *barre* ‘barrier, gateway’ (c1220 NED). cf. Temple Bar and v. BARRER. In the fens *bar* was used of an obstruction (perhaps a weir) in a stream. The Scottish Barrs derive from Barr in Ayrshire or Barr in Renfrewshire. *Atkyn de Barr* was baillie of Ayr in 1340 (Black). (ii) *Edricius de la Barre* 1170 P (St); *William de Barre* 1199 AssSt. From Great Barr (Staffs). This is from Welsh *bar* ‘top, summit’ and refers to Barr Beacon. (iii) *Richard de Barra* 1086 DB (So). From Barre-en-Ouche (Eure), or, perhaps, from Barre-de-Semilly (La Manche). (iv) *Hugo Barre* 1155 DC (L); *Alexander Barre* 12th Riev (Y). OFr *barre* ‘a piece of any material long in proportion to its thickness or width’, a bar or stake, used as a nickname for a tall, thin man, or metonymic for a maker of bars. cf. Robert *Barremakere* 1347 LLB F.

Barraclough, Barrowclough, Barrowcliff, Barrowcliffe, Barnaclough, Berecloth, Berrecloth, Berrycloth

: *Peter del Baridoughe, de Barneclough* 1315, 1316 Wak (Y); *Robert Bereclough* 1493 GildY; *Henry Barrayclught* 1561 RothwellPR (Y); *Thomas Baradough* 1588 ib.; *Anne Beraclough* 1606 ib.; *Francis Barocclough, Barrowclough* 1612, 1631 ib.; *Elizabeth Barraclue* 1627 Bardsley; *Edward Barracliff* 1765 ib. From an unidentified place, probably near Wakefield (WRYorks). The pronunciation is *Barracluff*, in London *Barraclow* or *Barraclue*.

Barras, Barrass

: *Richard Barras* 1672 HTY; *Joseph Barrass* 1713 FrY. Perhaps ‘dweller by the outwork of a fortress’, OFr *barrace*. But cf. Fr *Barras* ‘a seller, dealer’.

Barrat, Barratt, Barrett, Barritt, Barrott

: Matthew *Baret* c1 150–5 DC (L); Robert *Barate* 1165 P (Nt); Jordan *Barat* 1185 Templars (Herts); Seman *Barette* 1207 P (Ha); William *Barrette* (*Barat*) 1327 SR (Ess). This is a difficult name. There seems no evidence for a derivation from OG *Beroald*, OFr *Beraud*, as has been suggested. ON *Bárðr* is found in Yorks and Lincs in DB as *Bared*, *Baret*, but there is no proof of its continued use. The commonest form is *Barat* and this must be from OFr *barat*, ME *bar(r)at*, *bar(r)et(te)*, which accounts for all the forms. The original sense in Romanic seems to have been ‘traffic, commerce, dealing’ and in ME ‘trouble, distress’ (c1230); ‘deception, fraud’ (1292); ‘contention, strife’ (c1300), from any of which a nickname could arise. Occasionally we may have OFr *barrette* ‘a cap, bonnet’, as an occupation name, ‘a maker of caps’.

Barrell

: Turstin *Baril* 1166 P (Nf); William *Baril* 1185 P (Wo). OFr *baril* ‘a barrel, cask’. Perhaps chiefly for a maker of barrels, a cooper. cf. Stephen *le Bariller* 1224 Pat. It may also have been used as a nickname for a man with a well-rounded belly. cf. ‘the ydell and *barrell bealies* of monkes’ (1561 NED), *barrel-belly*’ *d* (1697 ib.); or, perhaps, of a man with the capacity of a cask. cf. ‘olde barel ful of lies’ (1386 ib.), ‘to drinke a barelle fulle of gode berkylene’ (1436 ib.), *barrel-fever*, a disease caused by immoderate drinking. Also a late form of BARWELL: John and Susan *Barrell*, *Barwell* 1688, 1691 Bardsley.

Barrer, Barrere

: Gilbert (*le*) *Barrer* 1221–2 Cur (D, Do), 1229 Cl (Sx); William *Barrer* 1332 SRSx (in the town of Arundel). Equivalent to *atte Barre* ‘dweller by a town or castle gate’. v. BARR. Gilbert *le Barrier* 1210 P (Sx) is probably identical with Gilbert *Barre* 1221 Cur (K) and Walter *atte Barre* 1296 SRSx with Walter *le Barrer*’ 1327 ib.

Barrick

: v. BERWICK

Barrie

: v. BARRY

Barrington

: Fulk *de Barenton* 1198 FFess; Geoffrey *de Barrington*' 1219 P (Do/So); Nicholas *de Baryngton* 1344 FFess; John *Barrington* 1642 PrD. The first example is probably from Barentin (Seine-Maritime), the later ones from Barrington (C, Gl, So).

Barrow, Barrows, Berrow

: Adam *de Barewe* 1192 P (L); John *de la Berewe* 1242 Fees (Wo); William *del Berwe* 1260 AssC; John *atte Barwe* 1327 SRSo. Either 'dweller by the grove', OE *bearu*, dative *bearwe*, giving modern *Barrow*, or 'dweller by the hill', OE *beorg*, ME dative *berwe*, *barwe*, modern *Berrow*, *Barrow*.

Barrowclough, Barrowcliff

: v. BARRACLOUGH

Barrowman

: v. BORROWMAN

Barry, Barrie

: (i) Nest *de Barri* 1185 P (Sx); Richard *Barri* 1195 FFSf. Though most examples are without a preposition, the surname must, in the absence of any evidence for a personal-name or any suitable attribute, be local in origin. It was probably brought over from France where it survives as *Barry* and *Dubarry*, from OFr *barri* ‘rampart’, later applied to the suburb below the rampart, hence ‘dweller in the suburb’ (Dauzat). The Irish Barry is also chiefly Anglo-Norman, deriving from Philip *de Barry* (1179). It is also for *Ó Báire* ‘descendant of *Báire*’, short for *Fionnbharr* ‘fair-head’ or for *Ó Beargha* ‘descendant of *Beargha*’, ‘spear-like’. (ii) William *de Bany* 1360 Black. The Scottish surname derives from Barry in Angus.

Barryman

: v. BORROWMAN

Barsham, Basham, Bassham

: Henry *de Barsham* 1198 FFNf; Martin *Barsham*, *Bassham* 1367 ColchCt. From Barsham (Norfolk, Suffolk).

Barson

: Hugo *Bertson* 1332 SRCu. ‘Son of *Bert*’, a short form of *Bertelmeu* ‘Bartholomew’. v. BART.

Barstow

: v. BAIRSTOW

Bart

: Award *Bart* 1246 AssLa; William *Barte* 1420 LLB I. A short form of *Bartelmew* (Bartholomew).

Barter, Bartter

: Hugh *le Bartur* 1279 RH (O); Thomas *Bartour* 1360 FFW; John *Bartyr* alias *Bartour* 1561 Pat (Do). OFr *barateor*, *barateur* ‘a fraudulent dealer, cheat, trickster’. Sometimes, perhaps, a derivative of ON *barátta* ‘one who fights, a hired bully, quarrelsome person’.

Bartholomew, Berthelemy

: *Bartholomeus* canonicus 12th DC (Nt); Robert *Bartelmeu* 1273 RH (Hu); Nicholas *Bertelmev* 1296 SRSx; Walter *Berthelmeu* 1334 LLB E. *Bartholomew*, Hebrew ‘son of Talmi’ (‘abounding in furrows’), a common medieval name, with numerous diminutives.

Barthorp, Barthorpe, Bartrap, Bartrip, Bartrop, Bartropp, Bartrup, Bartrupt, Bartup, Bathrup, Barlthrop, Barltrop

: William *de Baretorp* 1200 P (L); William *de Barkentorp* 1219 AssY; Walter *Berthrop* 1327 SRWo; John, William *Baltrip* 1341 LLB F, 1351 AssEss; Bartholomew *Balthroppe* 1586 DenhamPR (Sf); Jonathan *Barthrope* 1673 Shef (Y); Hester *Bartrap* 1687 Bardsley; Christopher *Barthrup* 1706 FrY. From Barthorpe Bottoms (ERYorks).

Bartie

: v. BARTY

Bartin

: v. BERTIN

Bartindale

: John *Bartendale* 1424 FrY. From Martin Dale, a depopulated place in Hunmanby (ERYorks).

Bartle, Bartill

: *Bartill* Laurenson 1625 Black; *Bartholomew* Chastiloun and Sarah his wife had a son known as John *Bartyll* and a daughter known as Alice Busche 1384 Husting; William *Bartle* 1672 HTY. A shortened form of *Bartilmew*, i.e. *Bartholomew*. Sometimes, perhaps, local: John *of Bartale* 1401 AssLa.

Bartlet, Bartlett, Bartleet, Barttelot, Bertalot

: Godricus, Walter *Bertelot* c1157 Holme (Nf), 1296 SRSx; Thomas *Bartelot* 1294 FFC, 1327 SRSx; Thomas *Bartlot* 1379 PTY. *Bart-el-ot*, *Bert-el-ot*, double diminutives of *Bart-*, *Bert-*, from *Bartelmew*, *Bertelmew* (Bartholomew).

Bartley

: Francis *Bartley* 1571 Oxon (So); Richard *Barkeley* or *Bartley* 1592 Oxon (Gl); Andrew *Bartley* 1642 PrD. The forms are late and could be local from Bartley Regis (Ha), Bartley Fm in Wadhurst (Sx), or Bartley Green (Wo). They could also be late forms of BARCLAY, or from BARTHOLOMEW.

Barton, Barten

: Ælfric *at Bertune* 1015 OEByn; Paganus *de Barton* 1163 P; John *de Barton* 1300 FFY; Thomas *Barten*, *Bartyn* 1586, 1609 Shef. From one or other of the many places of this name.

Bartram, Bartrum, Barttrun, Bertram, Bertrand, Batram, Batrim, Batterham, Battram, Borthram, Buttrum

: *Bertrannus* 1086 DB; *Bertram* c1150–60 DC (L), identical with *Bertrannus* a1183 ib.; William *Bertram* 1086 DB (Ha); Henry *Bertran* c1155 DC (L); John *Bartram* 1278 LLB A; John *Bartrem* 1332 SRSt; Mariota *Berteram* 1332 SRSx; Nycolas *Bartrum* 1524 SRSf; William *Battram*, George *Bartrom*, *Bateram* 1674 HTSf. OFr *Bertran(t)*, OG *Bertram*, *Bertran(d)* ‘bright raven’.

Bartrap, Bartrip, Bartrop, Bartropp, Bartrup, Bartrupt

: v. BARTHORP

Barttelot

: v. BARTLET

Bartter

: v. BARTER

Bartup

: v. BARTHORP

Barty, Bartie

: Robert *Barty* 1552 Black (Dundee); John *Bairty* 1587 ib. (Edinburgh). A Scottish diminutive of *Bartholomew*.

Barugh

: v. BARGH

Barways, Barwise

: Robert *de Beriwis* 1246 Misc (Cu); Henry *de Barweis* 1291 Cl (We); Anthony *Barwis*

1561 Pat (Cu). From Barwise (We).

Barwell

: Elyas *de Barewelle* 12th DC (Lei). From Barwell (Leics). *v.* also BARRELL.

Barwick

: *v.* BERWICK

Bascot, Bascott

: Adam *de Bascote* 1206–7 FFWa; Adam *de Baskote* 1373 Oriel (O). From Bascote (Wa).

Base

: *v.* BASS

Baseley, Basley, Bazeley, Bazley, Basil, Bassil, Bassill, Bazell, Bazelle

: *Basilia* 1134 40 Holme (Nf), Hy 2 DC (L); Willelmus *filius Basilie* 1219 AssY; *Basill'* Vidua 1296 SRSx; Ralph *Basille* 1251 Rams (Hu); John *Basyly* 1252 Rams (Hu); Walter *Basely* 1275 SRWo; Thomas *Bazill* 1674 HTSf. OFr *Basile*, *Bazile*, *Basyle*, *Basille* (f), from Lat *Basilia*, feminine of *Basilius*, from Greek *βασιλειος* 'kingly'. The English form was *Basil* or *Bassilly*. The masculine *Basilis* found occasionally: Ricardus *filius Basilli*

1252 Rams (Hu).

Basford, Bashford, Bashforth

: John *Basheford* 1525 SRSx; Edmond *Bashford* 1695 Bardsley. From Basford (Nt).

Bash, Baish

: Robert *de Basche* 1199 AssSt. For *Bach*, with a change of *sh* for *ch*.

Basham

: v. BARSHAM

Basil

: v. BASELEY

Basing

: (i) *Besing* c1150–60 DC (L); *Basing* de Blaikemare c1200 DC (L); Robert *filius Basing* 1202 AssL. OE *Basing*. (ii) Cola *de Basinga* 1066 DB (Ha); John *de Basing*’ 1200 P (Ha); Henry *de Basyng*’ 1297 MinAcctCo. From Basing (Ha).

Bask

: Henry, Roger *Baske* 1332 SRSt; 1357 AssSt. ME *baisk*, *bask*, ON *beiskr* ‘bitter, acrid’, ‘ungrateful or irritating to the senses’.

Baskerville, Baskerfield, Basketfield, Baskeyfield, Basterfield, Baskwell, Paskerful, Pasterfield, Pesterfield

: Roger *de Bascheruilla* 1127 AC (Gl); James *Baskerfield*, *Baskervyle* 1530 StarChSt. From Boscherville (Eure).

Baskett

: (i) William, Henry *Basket* 1191 P (Sr), 1198 CurR (Ess). ME *basket*, here used of a basket-maker. cf. BASKETTER. Or used for one who carried the *baskettes* full of stones to the lime-kiln (Building 151). (ii) Basilia *de Besecot* 1221 AssWa; Adam *de Baskote* 1373 Oriel (O). From Bascote (Warwicks). (iii) Margeria *atte Bascat* 1319 SRLo; Thomas Kent *atte Basket* beside Billyngesgate 1424 LondEng 184. One who lived or worked at the sign of the Basket. Probably a basketmaker.

Basketter

: cf. William *Basketwricte* 1229 Pat (L). ‘A maker of baskets.’ *Basketter* is ME *basket* plus *-er*.

Baskin

: Adam *Baskyn* 1274 RH (Db). OG *Basso*, with the diminutive ending *-kin*. v. Michaelsson 86,88.

Baskwell

: v. BASKERVILLE

Basley

: v. BASELEY

Bason

: v. BATESON

Bass, Base, Baiss

: (i) Aelizia *Bass*' 1180 P (Wa); David *le Bas* 1205 P (Gl); Geoffrey *Base* 1274 RH (L). OFr *bas*, *basse*, ME *bass* 1393, *bace* c1440, *base* 1425 'low, of small height'. A man with short legs. cf. BASSETT. (ii) Osbert *Bars* 1207 P (Gl); Richard *le Bars* 1327 SRSx. OE *bærs*, now *bass*, a fish; cf. *Bace*, fysche c1440 PromptParv.

Basset, Bassett

: Ralph *Basset* 1086 DB (Herts, Beds), 1115 Winton (Ha); Milo *Basseth* 1139 Templars (O); Philip *le Basset* 1260 LLB B. OFr *basset* 'of low stature', a diminutive of *bas* 'low'; 'a dwarf or very low man' (Cotgrave). According to Ordericus Vitalis, Ralph Basset was raised by Henry II from an ignoble stock and from the very dust, 'de ignobili stirpe ac de pulvere'.

Bassham

: v. BARSHAM

Bassick

: v. BASTICK

Bassil(l)

: v. BASELEY

Bassinder

: v. BAXENDALE

Bassingthwaighte, Bassingthwait

: John *Bassyngewhytt* 1568 SRSf. From Bassenthwaite (Cumb).

Bastable

: Richard *de Bardestapel* 1219 FFEss; Ralph *Barstaple* 1327 SRSo. From Barstable Hall (Essex) or Barnstaple (Devon).

Bastard

: Robert *Bastard* 1086 DB (D); William *le Bastard* 1201 AssSo. OFr *bastard* (1297 NED). Not always regarded as a stigma. The Conqueror himself is described as ‘William the Bastard’ in state documents.

Basten

: v. BASTIAN

Baster, Baister

: Baldwynus, Peter *le bastere* 1230 P (D); 1327 SRSt. OFr *bastier* ‘saddler’.

Basterfield

: v. BASKERVILLE

Bastian, Bastien, Basten, Bastin

: *Bastianus* a1200 Dublin, 1221 AssWo; Colin *Bastin* 1225 Pat; John *Bastian* 1317 AssK. A pet-form of *Sebastian*, from Lat *Sebastianus* ‘man of Sebastia’, a city in Pontus.

Bastick, Bassick

: Geoffrey *de Bastwyke* 1335 AssC. From Bastwick (Norfolk).

Baston, Bastone

: (i) Ernaldus, Richard *Bastun* 1191 P (Sf), 1203 AssNth; Nicholas *Baston* 1279 RH (O). A nickname from OFr *bastun* 'a stick', used as a personal-name in the first element of Bassenthwaite (Cumb). (ii) Turstan *de Baston*' 1191 P (L). From Baston (Lincs).

Bastow

: v. BAIRSTOW

Baswin

: *Basuin* 1066 DB; *Basewlmis* 1203 P (Nth); Richard *Baswyn* 1160 RegAntiquiss; Robert *Basewin* 1202 AssL; Osbert *Basewine* 1208–9 Pleas. OG *Basuin*. v. Forssner 282.

Batch

: v. BACH

Batchelar, Batchelder, Batchlor

: v. BACHELOR

Batcock

: v. BADCOCK

Batcomb, Batcombe

: John *Batecumbe* 1327 SRSo. From Batcombe (Do, So).

Bate, Bates

: (i) *Bate* 1275, 1286 Wak (Y); Rogerus *filius Bate* 1327 SRDb; Roger *Bate* 1275 SRWo; Richard *Bates* 1297 MinAcctCo (Y); John *Bat, Bate* 1394, 1396 LLB H. A pet-form of *Bartholomew*, found also as *Batt*. For the variation between *Bat* and *Bate*, cf. *Add* and *Ade* for *Adam*, and *Pat* and *Pate* for *Patrick*. (ii) Thomas *del Bate* 1270 Ipm (Nb); William *of Ye Bate* 1297 SRY. This might be OE *bāt*, Northern ME *bat* ‘boat’, used for a boatman. More probably we have ON *bati* ‘dweller by the fat pasture’. v. BATT. It can have no connexion with the common Northern *bait* ‘food’, etc., which always appears as *bayt, beyt*.

Bately

: v. BATLEY

Bateman, Baitman, Batman, Battman

: *Bathemanus* de Staunford’ 1222 Cur (R); *Bateman* le Keu 1267 Pat; *Batman* d’ Appleton 1313 FrY; Alexander *Bateman* 1260 AssC; William *Batemon* 1275 SRWo;

John *Baytman* 1553 FrY. *Bateman* ‘servant of Bartholomew’ is a type of surname formerly common in Yorkshire. cf. ADDYMAN, HARRIMAN, etc. Here it is used early and often as a christian name, perhaps on the analogy of such names of *Blæcmann*, *Dēormann*, etc. *Pateman* was similarly used in Scotland in the 15th century as an alternative for the christian name *Paton* (Patrick).

Bater

: Edmund, Robert *le batur* 1199 P (Gl), 1210 P (Ha). OFr *bateor* ‘one who beats’ has been taken to mean a beater of cloth or fuller, or as a short form of *orbatour*, a beater of metals. It probably means ‘a coppersmith or dealer in *baterie*, i.e. beaten copper or brassware’ (LoCt). Stephen *le Coperbeter* (1286) was identical with Stephen *le Batur* (1292 LLB A). v. BEATER.

Bateson, Baitson, Batson, Battson, Bason

: John *Batessone* 1327 SRDb; Richard *Bateson* 1327 Wak (Y); John *Battson* 1467 GildY; William *Baitson* 1662 PrGR. ‘Son of *Bate* or *Batt*’. v. also BEATSON.

Batey, Batie, Baty

: William *Baty* 1277 AssSo; Hugo *Baty* 1301 SRY. A pet-form of *Bate* (Bartholomew). cf. BEATY.

Bath, Bathe

: Walter *de la Bathe* 1275 SRWo; Alexander *Bathe* 1327 SRSf; Robert A *Bathe* 1545 SRW. From Bath (So), or Bathe Barton in North Tawton (D).

Batha, Bathe, Batho, Bather, Baddcr

: *Atha ap Aiha*, William *ap Atha* 1327 SRSa; *Atha* Gogh 1332 Chirk; Jevan *ap Atha*, *ap Adda* 1391 ib.; John *Bathowe* 1537 Morris (Haverfordwest); Jevan ap John ap Gryffyd *Batto* 1538 Chirk; Humffrey *Bathowe*, John *Batowe* 1538 SaAS 3/viii; Richard *Bathaw* 1574 Bardsley (Ch); William *Batha*, Adam *Batho* 1610, 1613 ib.; Elizabeth, Hannah *Bather* 1683, 1782 ib. Morris (155) gives *Batha*, *Batho*, *Bather* as Shropshire and Cheshire variants of *Batha*, i.e. *ap Atha* ‘son of *Atha*’, probably correctly, since the Welsh personal name was common in Shropshire and Chirkland in the 14th century. *Badder* may be from the by-form *ap Adda*, and the variation in the unstressed final syllable can be paralleled in other names.

Bathley

: Henry *de Bathele* c1220–7 RegAntiquiss; William *of Bathele* 1246 FFY. From Bathley (Nt).

Bathrup

: v. BARTHORP

Bathurst

: William *de Batherst* 1296 SRSx; Geoffrey *de Bathurst* 1327 SRSx; Katherine *Batherst* 1392 CtH. From Bathurst in Warbleton (Sussex).

Batisson

: Remiger *Batisson* 1332 SRCu. ‘Son of *Bate* or *Batey*.’

Batkin

: *Batekyn* clericus 1274 RH (Ess); Thomas *Batekyn* 1325 FFEss; Hugh *Batkyn* 1332 SRSt. A diminutive of *Bate* (Bartholomew).

Batley, Battley, Bately

: Oto *de Battelay* 1191 P (Y); John *de Bateley* 1274 Wak (Y); Ephraim *Batley* 1672 HTY. From *Batley* (WRY).

Batman

: v. BATEMAN

Baton

: v. BATTEN

Batram, Batrim

: v. BARTRAM

Batrick

: v. BADRICK

Batsford, Battisford

: Richard *de Batesford* 1182–1211 BuryS (Sf); Everard *de Bateford*, *de Batesford* 1202 FFSf; John *de Batesford* 1300 Eynsham. From Batsford (Glos), Batsford in Warbleton (Sussex), or Battisford (Suffolk).

Batson, Battson

: v. BATESON

Batt, Batte, Batts

: (i) Reginald, Richard *le Bat* 1275 RH (Y), 1296 SRSx. A nickname from the bat, a form first found c1575 and replacing an earlier *bakke*. v. BACK. (ii) William, Herbert *Bat* 1170–87 ELPN, 1182 P (Sa); Matilda *Battes* 1279 RH (C); John *Bate* or *Batt* 1570 Oxon. Without the article, the surname is common and may be a nickname ‘the bat’ or a pet-name of Bartholomew. Both Gascoigne and Gabriel Harvey addressed their friend Bartholomew Withypoll as *Batt(e)*. We have also to take into account the byname of a Winchester monk: Ælfricus qui *Bata* cognominabatur (c1051 OEByn). This has given rise to various conjectures, none wholly satisfactory. Tengvik suggests a nickname from OE *batt* ‘a cudgel’, as does Ekwall for the first form above. Tengvik considers the reference is to a person of stout heavy appearance. For the byname *Bata* Ekwall suggests a personal name OE **Bata* which he finds as the first element in Batcombe (Dorset, Som), and other place-names, but, in view of the triple occurrence of Batcombe, he suggests also the possibility of a common noun *bata*, corresponding to ON *bati*, OFris *bata* ‘profit, gain’, in some transferred sense such as ‘fat pasture’ (v. below), or even ‘good husbandman’. With this surname we must also take BATTOCK. This is clearly a diminutive, either OE **Batuc*, from **Bata*, or a noun **batuc* ‘the little good husbandman’. OE **Battoc* is the source of Battisborough (Devon). (iii) Walter *atte Batte* 1327 SRSO. This form seems to confirm Ekwall’s derivation of Batcombe (Som) from a topographical term. ‘Dweller by the fat pasture’.

Battell

: v. BATTLE

Batten, Battin, Batting, Baton

: *Balin* Bythemore, *Bathon* Mayster 1327 SRSo; Walter *Batun* 1248 FFess; Robert *Batin* 1261 AssSo; William *Baton* 1275 SRWo; John *Batten* 1327 SRSt. Diminutives in *-in*, *-un* of *Bat* (Bartholomew).

Batterham

: v. BARTRAM

Battersby

: William *de Bathresby* c1170–89 YCh; Roger *de Batersby* 1401 AssLa; John *Badersby* 1428, Edmund *Batlersby* 1501 FrY. From Battersby (NRY), or Battersby Fm in Slaidburn (WRY).

Batterson, Batteson, Battison, Battisson

: Andrew *Batenson* 1561 Bardsley (Du); Abraham *Battison* 1699 FrY; George *Battison* alias *Pattison*, son of John *Pattison* 1758 FrY. ‘Son of *Batten*’, later confused with *Patterson*. Also, no doubt, ‘Son of *Batty*’.

Battiscombe

: John *Battiscombe* 1440 AD ii (Do). From Bettiscombe (Dorset).

Battle, Battell, Battyll

: Hubert *Bataile* c1140 AD i (Ess); William *de la Bataille* 1196 Cur (Nth); John *de Labatil* c1245 Black (Inchaffray); Simon *le Batel* 1327 SRSx. OFr *de la bataile* '(man) of the battle-array, warrior'.

Battley

: v. BATLEY

Battman

: v. BATEMAN

Battock

: Turchil *Batoc* 1066 DB (Wa); Thomas, John *Battok* 1327 SRSf, 1362 Shef (Sf). v. BATT.

Battram

: v. BARTRAM

Batrick

: v. BADRICK

Battrum

: v. BARTRAM

Battson

: v. BATESON

Batty, Battye, Battey, Battie

: Johannes *filius Batti* 1332 SRLa; John *Batty*, William *Baiti* 1308, 1316 Wak (Y). A pet-form of *Batt* (Bartholomew).

Battyll

: v. BATTLE

Baty

: v. BATEY

Baucutt

: v. BAWCOCK

Baud

: Simon, Reginald *le Baud* 1219 Cur (Nth), 1239 FFC. OFr *baud* ‘gay, sprightly’ (c1400 NED).

Baudechon

: *Baudechon* le Bocher 1274 RH (Lo); *Baudechon* le Chaucer 1311 LLB B; Robert *Baudechum* 1249 AssW; John *Baudechon* 1325 CorLo. OFr *Baudechon*, a hypocoristic of BALDWIN.

Baudr(e)y

: v. BALDREE

Baugh

: Madog, Jevan *Bach* 1391 Chirk; Madog Lloit *Bach* 1391–3 ib.; Geoffrey *Bagh* 1450 SaG; Rychard *Bawgh* 1545 SRW. Probably Welsh *bach* ‘little’.

Baulch

: v. BELCH

Baverstock, Baveystoch, Beverstock, Bavastock

: Walter *Barberstooke* 1576 SRW. From Baverstock (W).

Bavridge

: v. BEVERIDGE

Bawcock, Bawcntt, Baucutt, Bowcock, Bowcott, Boccock, Booccock

: Geoffrey *Balcok* 1276 RH (Y); Alan *Balkok* 1279 RH (Hu); Walter *Boucok* 1297 MinAcctCo; Ibbot *Bolkok* 1379 PTY; Sara *Bawcoke* 1627 Bardsley; William *Bo(o)cocke* 1627, 1641 RothwellPR (Y). *Bald*, a short form of *Baldwin* or *Baldric* (v. BALD, BALDREE) and the diminutive suffix *-cock*.

Bawcombe

: v. BALCOMB

Bawden, Boaden, Boden

: *Boden* or *Bawden* Maylle 1591–5 Bardsley; *Bawden* Richards 1642 PrD. Late forms of BALDWIN.

Bawtree, Bawtry

: Peter *Bautre* 1298 AssL; Nicholas *de Bautre* 1316 FFHu; John *Bawthrie* 1576 SRW. From Bawtry (WRY).

Bax

: v. BACK

Baxby

: John *Baxby* 1410–1 IpmY; Thomas *Baxby* 1432 TestEbor. From Baxby in Husthwaite (NRY).

Baxendale, Baxendall, Bassinder

: From Baxenden (La).

Baxter, Bagster

: Liueger *se Bacestere* a1093 OEByn (D); Hanne *Bakestre* 1260 AssCh; William *le Baxtere* 1333 FFSf. OE *bæcestre*, fem. of *bæcere* ‘baker’. *Baxter* is found mainly in the Anglian counties and is used chiefly of men. Only two examples have been noted with a woman’s christian name. Fransson found only four.

Bay

: (i) *Robert filius Bay* 1275 RH (Y). OE *Bēaga* (m), *Beage* (f). (ii) Gilbert *le Bay* 1317 AssK; Agnes *le Bay* 1332 SRWa. OFr *bai* ‘reddish-brown’, of hair or complexion. (iii) John *ate Bey* 1279 RH (C); Roger *Attebege* 1327 SRY; William *Bay* 1373–5 AssL. ‘Dweller at the bend’, OE *bēag*.

Bayard

: Ralph *baird (baiart)* 1086 InqEl (Herts); Godfrey *Baiart, Baiard* 1161–2 P (Y); Simon *Bai(h)ard* 1203, 1206 Cur (Herts). OFr *baiart, baiard* ‘bay-coloured’, used generally of a bay horse, but in particular of the bright-bay-coloured magic steed given by Charlemagne to Renaud and hence as a mock-heroic allusive name for any horse. cf. Chaucer’s ‘proud Bayard’. Later, ‘Bayard’ was taken as the type of blindness or blind recklessness. As a surname, this may be used of reddish-brown hair or complexion, but more probably of a proud, haughty or reckless disposition. cf. ‘Þ blustered as blynde as bayard’ (c1325 NED); ‘But as Bayard the blinde stede ...He goth there no man will him bidde’ (1393 ib.). The surname may also be occupational in origin, from OFr *bayard, baiart* ‘a hand-barrow used for heavy loads’ (1642 NED), used by metonymy for OFr, AFR *baiardeur* ‘a mason’s labourer’. NED doubts the use of this in England. *Bayardours*, however, is found in 1359 (Building 439) and *baiard* ‘hand-barrow’ in 1278 (ib. 243). In the Vale Royal accounts of 1278 the *bayarders* or *bairdores* are defined as ‘men carrying with barrows large stones to be carved into the workshop and out’ (Building 353).

Bayer, Beyer

: John *Beyer* 1261–2 FFWa; William *le Beier* 1327 SRSx; Alice *Bayer* 1351 ColchCt. A derivative of OFr *baies*, ME *bayes*, from the adjective *bai* ‘chestnut-coloured, bay’, the name of a cloth, probably so-called because of its original colour. It was a coarse woollen stuff, with a long nap, now used chiefly for linings, coverings, curtains, &c., but in

warmer countries for articles of clothing, e.g. shirts, petticoats. Formerly, when of lighter and finer texture used also as a clothing material in Britain. Its manufacture is usually said to have been introduced into this country by immigrants from France and the Netherlands in the 16th century, but the word certainly appears much earlier in English. Sometimes, perhaps, a derivative of OE *bēag* 'bend', hence 'dweller by the bend'.

Bayfield

: Adam *de Baifeld'* 1208 Cur (Nf); Simon *de Bayfeld* 1390–1 NorwLt; Alan *Bayfeld* 1461 Paston. From Bayfield (Nf).

Bayhouse, Bayus

: Randulf *de Baiwes* 1143–7, *de Baius* c1155–60 DC; Matilda *de Baiocis* 1185 Templars (L); Adam *Bayous* 1277 IpM^Y; Robert *Bayhuse* 1326 Ass^Y; John *Bayhouse* 1404 IpM^Y. From Bayeux (Calvados).

Baylay, Bayley, Baylie

: v. BAILEY

Bayldon

: v. BAILDON

Bayles

: v. BAIL

Bayliff(e)

: v. BAILEFF

Baylis, Bayliss, Bayless, Bailess

: Thomas *Baittis* 1547 FrY; Samuel *Baylles* 1635 ib. OFr *baillis*, nominative of *bailliff*.

Baynard

: Rotbert' homo *bainardi* 1086 InqEl (Sf); Ralph *baignart*, *bainard* 1086 DB (Ess), InqEl (Nf); Robert *Bainard* 1182 Guisb (Y); John *Baynard*, *Beynard* 1317 AssK. OG *Beinhard*, *-hart*, probably compounded of ON *beinn* 'ready, willing' and OG *hart* 'hart'. v. also BANYARD.

Bayne(s)

: v. BAIN

Baynham

: v. BEYNON

Baynton

: v. BAINTON

Bayus

: v. BAYHOUSE

Baz(e)ley, Bazell(e)

: v. BASELEY

Beabey, Beaby

: v. BEEBY

Beach

: v. BEECH

Beacham, Beachamp

: v. BEAUCHAMP

Beacock

: Henricus *filius Becok* 1332 SRLa; Stephen *Becoc* 1279 RH (O); John *Becokson* 1366 SRLa. *Be*, a pet-form of *Beton* or *Beatrice*, plus the diminutive suffix *-coc*.

Beade, Beed

: Alanus *filius Bede* de Swainton' 1230 P (Y); Raymond *Bede* 1260 AssC; Robert *Beda* 1275 RH (W). OE *Beda*. The name of the Venerable Bede remained in use, though rare, until the 13th century, long enough to become a surname.

Beadel, Beadell, Beadle, Beadles, Beddall, Bedell, Bedells, Bedle, Beedell, Beedle, Biddell, Biddle, Biddles, Buddell, Buddle, Buddles

: Brun *Bydel* 11th KCD 1353 (So); Bricmarus *Bedel* 1066 DB (Sf); Erneis *bedel*, Luinus, Richard *budel* 1148 Winton (Ha); Ailsí *le Bedeil*' 1175 P (Lei); Robert *le Budel* 1327 SRSt; Margaret *ate Budeles* 1332 SRSr; Richard *Bedle* 1541 RochW; Richard *Byddell* 1559 FFHu; John *Biddle* 1655 FrY; William *Beadle*, John *Beddall* 1674 HTSf; Adam *Buddle* 1676 EA (OS) iv. OE *bydel* 'beadle'. OE *y*, in ME dialects, became *i*, *e* or *u*, all of which have survived. Some examples of *bedel* are from OFr *bedel* (Lat *bedellus*), especially in counties such as Hants where OE *y* became *u*. These surnames may also be late forms of BEDWELL. For *Buddle*, v. also BOODLE.

Beadman

: William *Bedman* 1327 SRSO; William *Bedemon* 1381 SRSt. ME *bedeman* 'a man of prayer', one who prays for the soul of a benefactor.

Beadnell, Bednall, Bednell

: Thomas *de Bedenhale* 1194 StCh; Thomas *de Bedenhal*' 1230 P (Nb); Adam *de*

Bedenhale 1279 AssNb. From *Beadnell* (Nb), or *Bednall* (St).

Beadon, Beedon

: Robert *de Bedon* 1297 MinAcctCo; Nicholas *Beaden* 1642 PrD. From *Beedon* (Berks).

Beaglehole, Bagilhole, Baglole

: Henry *Bagelhole* 1560, Thomas *Bagglhole* 1631 HartlandPR (D); Charles *Bagelhole* 1642 PrD; Jane *Bagalhole* 1667 HartlandPR (D). Probably from *Bagley Hill* in *Axminster* (D).

Beal, Beale, Beales, Beals, Beall, Beel, Beels

: (i) *Bele* 1194 Cur (Sx); Alexander *filius Bele* 1203 P (L); *Bella, Bele* Coty 1275 RH (L); Thomas *Bele* 1206 Cur (Ess); John *Bele* 1275 SRWo; Ralph *le Bele* 1279 RH (C); Joan *Beles* 1327 SRSO; William *Beall* 1379 PTY. OFr *bele* ‘beautiful’, used also as a woman’s name. (ii) Simon *de Beel* 1275 SRWo; Thomas *de Behil* 1382 Bardsley (Nb); John *Bele* 1517 ib. (Nb). From *Beal* (Northumberland), earlier *Behill*, or *Beal* (WRYorks), *Begale* DB.

Bealey

: v. BEELEY

Beam

: (i) Osbert *la Beme* Hy 3 HPD; Agnes *Bem* 1319 SRLo. OE *bēam* ‘beam (of a loom)’,

and metonymic for a weaver. (ii) Osborn *Atterbeame* 1274 RH (Ess); Henry *atte Beme* 1332 MELS (Sr). ‘Dweller by the tree or post’, or ‘by the footbridge’, OE *bēam*.

Beaman, Beamand, Beament, Beamont

: v. BEAUMONT

Beamer

: v. BEEMER

Beames, Beamish, Beamiss, Beams

: William *Baumis*, *de Beaumis* Hy 2 DC (L); Richard *de Beames*, *de Belmes* 1191–2 P (Sa); Robert *de Beaumeis* 1208 FFHu. From Beaumais-sur-Dive (Calvados). v. ANF.

Bean, Beane, Been

: (i) Roberlus *filius Biene* 1168 P (Cu); Ricardus *filius Bene* 1278 AssLa; Gerard, Ailwardus *Bene* 1166 P (Nf), 1180 P (Lo); Juliana *Bean* 1301 SRY. *Bene* is an original nickname from ME *bēne* ‘pleasant, genial, kindly’ (a1200 NED) which itself is also used as a nickname. We have also OE *bēan* ‘bean’, used like *Barley*, of a grower or seller of beans. cf. John *le Bener* 1282 LLB A. Also a nickname. The bean was regarded as typical of things of small value. cf. ‘Al nas wurth a bene’ c1325 MED. cf. Adam *Benecod* 1221 ElyA (Nf). Or we may have reference to the Twelfth-night custom when the man in whose portion of the cake the bean was found was appointed King of the Company. (ii) The Scottish *Bean* is from Gael *beathán*, a diminutive of *betha*, *beatha* ‘life’.

Beanland

: John *Beanland* 1672 HTY; Edward *Beanland* 1746 FrY. ‘Dweller by the land on which beans are grown’, OE *bēan, land.* cf. Beanlands Park (Cu).

Bear, Beara, Beare, Beer, Beers, Bere, De La Bere

: (i) Ordric *de Bera* 1168 P (D); William *de la Bera* 1168 P (Ha); Nicholas *Attebere* 1247 AssSo; Henry *del Beer* 1327 SRDb. Walter *de la Bere* lived in 1263 at Beare Green in Capel (Surrey) and owed his name to his residence near a swine-pasture (OE *ḡ*). v. PN Sr 267. But the real home of this name is in the south-west. In Devon there are 18 places called Beare or Beara and 17 named Beer, Beera or Beere, from most of which surnames were derived, usually in the form (Robert) *atte Beare* (1330). These are from OE *bearu* ‘grove’, the normal dative of which (*bearwe*) would become *barrow*. In Devon and the neighbouring counties of Somerset and Dorset, it had a dative *beara*, ME *bere*. (ii) Tedric’ *Vrs*’ 1130 P (O); Theodoricus *le Bere* 1166 Oseney (O); Ralph *Bere* 1177 P (Nf); Nicholas *le Urs* 1219 AssSt; Robert *le Beer* 1296 SRSx. OE *bera* ‘bear’ (translated by Lat *ursus*, OFr *urs*).

Bearaway

: John *Beraway* 1260 AssCh. ‘Carry away’, OE *beran, onweg.* cf. Gilbert *Beritaway* 1279 RH (O) ‘bear it away’; John *Berebac* 1290 IpmW ‘carry back’; William *Berecorn* 1327 SRSo ‘carry corn’.

Bearcroft

: v. BARCROFT

Beard

: (i) *Ælfsige mid þam berde* c1100–30 OEByn (D); Hugo *AlaBarbe, Barbatus* 1086 DB

(Ha); Baldeuinus *cum barba* 1086 ICC (C); Alsi *berd* 1086 InqEl (C); Alwine *bierd* 1148 Winton (Ha); Alfwin' *berd* 1155 P (Herts); Robert *a la barbe* 1178 P (Bk); Thomas *Ouelabarbe* 1280 AssSo; William *od la Barbe* 1311 LLB D. OE *beard*, frequently translated by Fr *barbe*, and often in a prepositional form, '(the man) with the beard'. v. BARBE. (ii) Adam *de Berd* 1327 SRDb. From Beard (Derby).

Beardfield

: Ralph *de Berdefelde* 1337 CorLo. From Bardfield (Ess).

Beardless

: Thomas *Berdles* 1225 FrLei; Robert *Berdeles* 1342 Glapwell (Db). 'Without a beard', OE *beard*, *l̄eas*. cf. Richard *Shaveberd* 1286 AssCh 'shave beard'; Matilda *Shereberd* 1306 IpmGl 'shear beard'.

Beardsley

: v. BARDSLEY

Beardwell

: v. BARDWELL

Bearham

: v. BARHAM

Bearwafd

: Fulk *le Bereward* 1208 Cur (C); Stephen *Bereward* 1275 SRWo; Edward *Bereward* 1356 LLB G. ‘Keeper of the bear’, OE *bere, weard*.

Bearryman

: v. BERRIMAN

Beasley

: v. BEESLEY

Beaston

: v. BEESTON

Beat

: v. BEET

Beatell, Beatle

: v. BEETELL

Beater, Better

: Richard *Batere* 1166 P (Berks); Jordan *le Bettere* 1200 Cur (L); John *le Betere* 1275 RH (W). OE *bēatere* ‘beater, fighter, champion’. cf. CHAMPION. It may also be a short form of the common *Coperbeter*, *Flaxbeter*, *Goldbeter*, *Ledbeter*, *Wodebeter*, *Wolbeter*.

Beatey

: v. BEATY

Beaton

: v. BEETON

Beatrice, Bettriss

: Richard *filius Beatricie* 1212 Cur (Y); Geoffrey *Beatriz* 1210 Cur (C); John *Baytrise* 1662 *HTEss*. OFr *Beatris*, *Bietriz*.

Beatson

: John *Batisoun* 1458 Black; William *Beatisoun* 1627 ib.; Thomas *Beatson* 1691 FrY. A Scottish form of BATESON, found also as *Battison*.

Beaty, Beatey, Beattie, Beatty

: *Baty*, Flessor c1340 Black; David *filius Bety* 1342 ib.; John *Bety* 1558 ib.; Hew *Batie* 1569 ib. A Scottish form of BATEY.

Beauchamp, Beachamp, Beacham, Beachem, Beecham

: Hugo *de Belcamp* 1086 DB (Herts); Williard *de Bellow Campo* 1161 Templars (Lo); Robert *de Beauchamp* 1203 FFess; John *Bechaumpe* 1376 LLB H; Oliver *Beacham* 1674 HTSf. The DB family came from Beauchamps (La Manche). Others may have come from other French places named Beauchamp.

Beauford, Beaufort, Bewfort

: Henry *Bewefort* 1340–1450 GildC; Gylbert *Bowfort* 1545 SRW. From one or other of the numerous places in France called Beaufort.

Beaufoy, Boffee, Boffey, Boffy, Buffey

: Ralph *de Bellafago, de Belfago* 1086 DB (Nf, Sf); William *Belfou, de Belfou* ib. (Herts, W); Nicholas *de Bealfo* 1114–16 Holme (Nf); Thomas *de Beaufow* 1185 RotDom (R); Robert *de Biaufey* 1210 Cur (Db); Emma *de Beaufey, de Beaufo* 1212, 1236 Fees (Nt); Thomas *Buffy* 1276 RH (O); William *Bouffaye* 1544 FFHu; Anne *Boffey* 1793 Bardsley. The DB tenants came from Beaufour (Calvados), *Belfou, Beaufo* 1100, *Bettefai* c1160 OEByn.

Beaufront

: Alan *Beaufrunt* 1281 IpmY; Adam *Beaufront* 1327 SRY; John *Beaufront* 1382 AssLo. A nickname, 'beautiful forehead', OFr *beau*, *front*. cf. Henry *Beaubraz* 1228 FFO 'beautiful arms'; John *Beucol* 1327 SRY 'fair neck'; Ivo *Beaudonte* 1327 SRSO 'beautiful teeth'; Richard *Beapel* 1218 P (D) 'beautiful skin'.

Beulah, Beulieu

: v. BEWLAY

Beuman

: v. BEAUMONT, BOWMAN

Beaumont, Beaument, Beumant, Beaman, Beamand, Beament, Beaumont, Beuman, Bemand, Belmont, Bemment

: Rogerius *de Belmont*, *de Bellomonle* 1086 DB (Do, Gl); Ralph *de Belmunt* 1187 P (O); John *Bemund* 1274 RH (Sf); Godfrey *de Beumund* 1275 RH (Nf); William *Beumound*, *Beumon* 1279 RH (O); John *Bomund* 1300 FFSf; Robert *Beaumont* 1332 SRSx; Laurence *Beamond* 1369 LLB G; Wedow *Beament*, Mrs *Beamonte* 1568 SRSf; Mrs *Bemant*, Peter *Beaman*, Widow *Bomant* 1674 HTSf. From one of the five places in Normandy named Beaumont. The DB family came from Beaumont-le-Roger (Eure).

Beausire, Bellsyer, Bowser

: Geoffrey *Beusire* 1226 Cur (Ess); John *Belsire* 1274 RH (K); Gregory *Bousyre* 1314–16 SRSt; Alexander *Belsier*, *Belshyre* 1542 Oseney. OFr *bel*, *beu* and *sire* ‘fair sir’, a term of address (cf. GOODSIR, SWEETSER), confused in the 16th century with BELCHER.

Beautement, Beautyman

: v. BUTEMENT

Beavan, Beaven, Beavon

: v. BEVAN

Beaver, Beavers, Beavors, Beever, Beevers, Beevor, Beevors, Bevar, Bever, Bevers, Bevir, Biever

: (i) Ralph *de Belueeir* 1170 P (Y); John *de Beauveir* 1204 AssY; William *Bever*, *de Beever* 1207–8 Cur (Lei, Do). From Belvoir (Leics), pronounced *Beever*. (ii) Godwyn *Beure* 1084 (c1300) ELPN; Adam *Bever* 1274 RH (So); Thomas *le Bevere* 1327 SRSx. A nickname from the beaver (OE *beofor*).

Beaves, Beavis, Beevis, Beves, Bevis, Beviss, Bovis

: (i) Goisbert *de Beluaco* 1086 DB (Herts); Thomas *Beueys* 1317 AssK; Philip *de Beauveys* 1321 QW (La); Robert *de Beueys* 1327 SRC. From Beauvais (Oise). (ii) Odo *Belfiz* 1176 P (Ha); William *Beaufiz*, *Biaufiz* 1208 Cur (Gl); Hugo *Beaufiz*, *Beauuiz* 1221 AssWa. OFr *bel*, *biau*, *beau* ‘fine’ and AFr *fiz* ‘son’. *Bel* was often used as a term of affection, hence ‘dear son’.

Beavill

: v. BEVILL

Beavin

: v. BEVIN

Beazley

: v. BEESLEY

Bebbington, Bebington

: Adam *de Bebyngton* 13th WhC; Hugh *Bebynton*' 1403 KB (Lo); Peter *Bebynton* 1492 PN Ch iv 24. From Bebington (Ch).

Bec

: v. BECK

Beccle

: v. BECKLES

Bech

: v. BEECH

Becher

: v. BEECHER

Beck, Becke, Bec

: (i) Walter *Bec* 1086 DB (Bk); Geoffrey *de Bech* ib. (Do); Robert *de Becco* 1199 AssSt. The DB under-tenants probably came from Bec-Hellouin (Eure). Others may have come from one of the numerous places in France named Bec. (ii) Adam *del Bec* 1207 Cur (L); Henry *Delebec*, Ralph *del Bek* (his son) 1263 Ipm (Ess); Robert *Attebek* 1297 SRY. ‘Dweller by the brook’, ME *bekke*, ON *bekkr*, common in the North, the Danelaw, and in Scotland. (iii) Æluuin *Becce filius*, Brun *Becce filius* c1095 Bury (Sf); Robertus *filius Beck* 1297 MinAcctCo (Y). OE **Becca*, from *becca* ‘pick-axe’, or OE *Beocca*. (iv) Osbert *Becche* c1140 ELPN; Terricus *Becce* c1166 ib.; Robert *Becke* 1296 SRSx. Either from the personal-name above or from OE *becca* ‘mattock’, metonymic for a maker, seller or user of mattocks. (iv) Henry *Bec* 1196 P (L); Bartholomew *Beck* 1297 MinAcctCo (W). OFr *bec* ‘beak, bill of a bird’. According to Suetonius, Antonius Primus, as a boy, had a nickname *Beccus*, ‘id valet, *gallinacei rostrum*’, a nose like a cock’s beak. cf. also *Naso adunco*, a beake-nose 1598 Florio.

Beckard

: John *Bekard* 1242–3, Philip *Bekard* 1330 FFY; William *Bekard* 1402 IpmY. OE *Becca* plus the suffix *-ard*, or a derivative of OFr *bec* ‘beak’. It is also probably one of the sources of BECKETT.

Beckers

: Nicholas *Bekar*' 1327 SRSx; Alice *Beckar*' 1379 PTY. A derivative of OE *becca* 'mattock'. A maker or user of mattocks.

Becket, Beckett, Beckitt

: William *Bechet*, *Beckett* c1155 DC (L); Robert *Beket* 1176 FF (Berks); Robert *Becket* 1379 PTY. This surname, common in the 12th and 13th centuries as *Beket*, without article or preposition, must be a diminutive of OFr *bec*, 'little beak or mouth' (Moisy). v. BECK (iv). The only evidence noted that this might possibly be 'at the beck-head' is: Elezabeth *Becked* 1549 RothwellPR (Y). It may occasionally be local, from Beckett (Berks): John *de Beckcote* 1279 RH (O); or from Beckett (Devon), from a 1333 surname *Bykecole* (PN D 179).

Beckford

: Nicholas *de Beckeford* Hy 3 IpmGl; Robert *de Becford*' 1245–50 RegAntiquiss. From Beckford (Gl).

Beckles, Beccle

: Tankard *de Beccles* 1191 P (Nf); Richard *de Bekles* 1278 LLB B; John *Bekyllis* 1487 TestEbor; Lancelot *Beckle* 1642 PrD. From Beccles (Sf).

Beckley, Beckly

: Ralph *de Beckele* 1211 Cur (Sf); Richard *de Beckele* 1327 SRSx; John *Beklay* 1446 FrY. From Beckley (K, O, Sx).

Beckwith

: John *Bekwyth* 1379 PTY; Richard *Bekwyth* 1415 IpmY; Adam *Bekwith* 1423 FrY. From Beckwith (WRYorks).

Bedale, Bedall

: Leticia *de Bedale* 1348 DbAS 36; John *de Bedale* 1351 FrY; John *Bedale* 1412 IpmGl. From Bedale (NRY).

Bedd, Bedde

: Roger *Bedde* 1248 AssBerks; Thomas *of the Bedde* 1312 Pat; Roger *de la Bedde* 1327 Misc (Mx). 'Dweller at the plot of ground where plants are grown', OE *bedd*.

Beddall

: v. BEADEL

Beddard

: v. BEDWARD

Beddingfield, Bedingfield

: Walkelin *de Bedigfelde* 1198 FFess; Adam *de Beddingefeld* 1200 Cur; Roger *de Bedyngfeld* 1332 SRLo. From Bedingfield (Sf).

Beddingham, Bedingham

: Robert *de Bedingham* 1206 Cur (Nf); William *de Bedyngheham* 1296 SRSx; Richard *Bedyngham* 1461 PN C 241. From Beddingham (Sx), or Bedingham (Nf).

Beddoe, Beddoes, Beddow, Beddowes, Beddows

: *Bedo* ap Richard 1493 SaAs 2/xi; Johanna *Bedowe* 1577 Bardsley; John *Beddoe* 1641 SaAS 3/iv. From *Bedo*, a pet-form of *Meredith*.

Bedell, Bedle

: v. BEADEL

Bedford, Bedforth, Bedfer

: Osgar *de Bedeford* 1066 DB (Beds); Robert *de Bedeford* c1180 Bury (L); John *de Bedforth* 1379 PTY; William *Bedford* 1465 Paston. Usually from Bedford (Beds), but sometimes from Bedford (La), or Bedforth in Thornhill (WRY).

Bedingfield

: v. BEDDINGFIELD

Bedingham

: v. BEDDINGHAM

Bedloe

: William *Bedeluu*, *Biedeluu* 1191–3 P (C). OE **Bīedlufu*, an otherwise unknown woman's name, from OE *bēodan* 'to command' and *-lufu* 'love'.

Bednall, Bednell

: v. BEADNELL

Bedser

: Alice *de Bedesore*, John *Badesore* 1296, 1327 SRSx. From a lost place, possibly near Bexhill (Sussex).

Bedward, Beddard

: Dafydd *ap Edward ap Hoell* 1498 Chirk; John *Bedhard* 1643 FrY. Welsh *ap* 'son' of *Edward*. cf. BOWEN.

Bedwell, Bidwell, Biddwell, Bidewell

: Stephen *de Bedewell*' 1229 Cl (Ess). 'Dweller by the spring or stream in a shallow valley' (OE **bydewelle*), as at Bedwell (Essex, Herts), Bedlar's Green (Essex), Bidwell (Northants, Beds, Devon, Som), or Biddles Fm (Bucks). v. PN Nth 222. Bedwellhay in Ely is *Bedelhey* 1576, *Beddlehay* 1615 PN C 127. Later forms have been confused with BEADEL.

Bedwin, Bedwyn

: Walter *de Bedewynde* 1309 LLB D; Richard *Bedewynd* 1392 LoCh; Henry *Bedwyn* 1452 FFEss. Frora Bedwyn (W).

Bee

: Walter *le Be* 1195 Oseney (O); Robert *Be* 1198 CurR (Y); William *le Beo* 1243 AssSo. OE *bēo* 'bee', used, no doubt, of a busy, industrious person.

Beeby, Beebee, Beabey, Beaby

: John *de Beby* 1327 SRLei; Richard *Bebie* 1596 FrY; Robert *Beeby* 1674 HTSf. From Beeby (Lei).

Beech, Beach, Bech

: John *de la Beche* 1236 Fees (Wo); Idonea *de Beche* 1240 FFEss; Jacob' *atte Beche* 1296 SRSx; William *de la Beche* 1340 FFSt. *Beche* may be for OE *bece* 'stream', *bēce* 'beech', or from OE *bæce* 'stream', and without further evidence it is impossible to distinguish these in ME. In *Worcs and Staffs*, where *bæce* normally survives as *Bach(e)*, *beche* is probably a variant of this. Robert *de Beche* (1327 SRC) came from either Landbeach or Waterbeach, both earlier *Beche* 'stream, valley'. Elias *ater Beche* (1296 SRSx) probably lived at Beech Fra in Battle. 'Dweller by the stream or the beech-tree'.

Beecham

: v. BEAUCHAMP

Beecher, Becher

: John *Becher(e)* 1279 RH (C), 1428 FA (Sx). 'Dweller by the beech-tree' (OE *bēce*). v. BEECHMAN.

Beechey

: Thomas *de la Beechey* 1279 RH (O) 'Dweller by the beech-enclosure', OE *bēce*, (*ge*) *hæg*.

Beeching

: John *Bechyng* 1471 CantW; Elizabeth *Bechinge* 1585, Godley *Beechinge* 1610 StaplehurstPR (K). Either a derivative of OE *bece*, *bæce* 'stream', hence 'dweller by the stream', or of OE *bēce* 'beech-tree', hence 'dweller by the beech-tree'. Perhaps also a derivative of OE *Becca*.

Beechman

: John *Becheman* 1332 SRSr. Identical with BEECHER.

Beedell, Beedle

: v. BEADEL

Beeding

: John *Bedyng* 1392 LoCh. From Beeding (Sx).

Beedon

: v. BEADON

Beeld

: v. BELD

Beeley, Bealey, Bealy, Bely

: Thomas *de Beghley* 1316, Geoffrey *de Beley* 1357 DbCh; Mark *Bealy* 1642 PrD. From Beeleigh (Ess), Beoley (Wo), or Beeley (Db).

Beel(s)

: v. BEAL

Beeman, Beman, Beaman

: *R.Bcnum* 1283 SRSf; William *le Bemon* 1324 LaCt. OE *bēo* ‘bee’ and *mann*, ‘bee-keeper’. The modern forms may also be for BEAUMONT.

Beemaster

: v. BEMISTER

Beemer, Beamer

: Normannus *Bemere* 1160–5 ELPN. OE *bīemere* ‘trumpeter’.

Been

: v. BEAN

Beer(e)

: v. BEAR

Beesley, Beasley, Beazleigh, Beazley, Beisley, Bezley

: Thomas *de Besleg* 1246 AssLa. From Beesley (Lancs).


Beeston, Beaston, Beeson

: (i) William *de Beston(e)* 1153–66 Holme (Nf), 1205 P (Nt). From Beeston (Notts), pronounced *Beeson*, or one of the other Beestons, explained as *Bēostun* ‘tūn where bent-grass grew’ (DEPN). (ii) Andrew *de Bieston*’ 1203 P (Y); Herbert *de Beston*’ 1219 AssY; Richard *de Bestayn* 1297 MinAcctCo (Y). From Beeston (WRYorks), *Bestayn* 1297 MinAcctCo, a place called ‘by the stone’, OE *bī*, *be* and ON *steinn*, alternating with OE *stān*. (iii) Ralph *de Bestune* 1279 RH (C). Ralph came from The Beesons in Sutton (Carabs), *Estounesende* 1302, *Beestoun* 1348 ‘(the place) to the east of the hamlet’, in contrast to *Westounesende* de Sutton (PN C 239). (iv) William *Besteton*, Ralph *Biesteton* c1248 Bec (Ha); Ralph *Byeston* 1256 RamsCt (Hu). ‘(The man who lived) to the east of the hamlet’, OE *bī ēastan tūne*.

Beet, Beat

: Adam *Bete* 1298 DbCh, 1332 SRLa. *Bete* is a pet-form of *Beton* (Beatrice).

Beetell, Beetle, Beatell, Beatle

: Gilbert *Betyl*’ 1248 AssBerks; John *Betel* 1317 AssK; William *Betill* 1502, John *Betytt* 1544 FFess. Anglian *bētel*, West Saxon *bītel*,  ‘a beetle, an instrument for driving in wedges, ramming down paving-stones, &c.’. Metonymic for a maker or user of this.

Beetham, Betham

: Ralph *de Bethum* 1279 AssNb; Robert *de Bethum* 1379 PTY; Stephen *Betham* 1541 FFess. From Beetham (We).

Beetle

: v. BEETELL

Beeton, Beaton

: *Beton* de Wath 1379 PTY; *Bete* or *Betune* (Betryse) c1440 PromptParv; John *Betoun* 1311 ColchCt; Richard *Beton* 1327 SRDb. *Beton*, a diminutive of *Bete* (Beatrice), still used as a christian name in Cornwall in 1630 (Bardsley).

Beevens

: v. BEVAN

Beever(s)

: v. BEAVER

Beevis

: v. BEAVES

Begg, Begge, Beggs

: (i) Edwin *le bege* 1214 P (D); Henry *Begge* 1327 SRSo; Robert *Begge* 1503 TestEbor. Perhaps OFr *bègue*, a variant of OFr *béguin* ‘a member of a 13th-century religious sect’.
(ii) Malcolm *beg* c1208–14, Malise *Beg* 1300 Black. Gaelic *beag* ‘little, of small stature’.

Beggar, Begger

: Richard *Beggere* 1210–11 PWi; Adam *le Beggare* 1275 SRWo; Adam *Beggere* 1314 IpmW. OFr *begart*, *begar(d)* ‘beggar’. The feminine form also appears: Avelina *Beggestere* 1301 FS.

Begge

: v. BEGG

Begger

: v. BEGGAR

Beggs

: v. BEGG

Beilby

: v. BIELBY

Beild, Bield

: *Begild* (f) 1202 AssL; *Begilda* (f) 1271–2 FFL; Henry *Beyhild* a1290 CartAntiq; Geoffrey *Beilde* 1332 PN Do i 130. OE *Bēaghild*.

Beisley

: v. BEESLEY

Belch, Belk, Balch, Baulch, Boalch

: William *Belch* 1185 Templars (O); William *le Belch* 1295 ParlR (Ess); Robert *Balch* 1327 SRS_o; Richard *le Balch* 1332 SRS_x. ME *balche*, *belche*, *belke*, from OE *bælce* (*bælce*), (i) a belch, *eructatio*, (ii) stomach, pride, arrogance. From this latter sense a surname could arise. cf. PRIDE. The word probably had also in ME the same meaning as OE *balca* ‘balk, beam, bank, ridge’, and *le Balch*, *le Belch* may have meant ‘the beam’, used metaphorically for a man of stout, heavy build. *Belk* was also used as a topographical term: Henry *del Belk* 1252 Ipm (Nt), probably ‘dweller by the bank or ridge’.

Belcham, Belchem, Belsham, Belshem, Bellsham

: These Essex surnames preserve the correct *-ham* and the local pronunciation (*Belsham*) of Belchamp Otton, St Paul's and Walter (Essex).

Belchambers

: v. BELLCHAMBER

Belcher, Belsher, Belshaw, Beuscher, Beushaw, Bewshire, Bewshaw, Bewshea, Beaushaw, Bowsher

: Thomas *Belcher* 1219 AssY; Richard *Belecher* 1274 RH (GI); Alexander *Belcher* 1453 FFess; Margaret *Bewcher* 1530 SIA (Sf); William *Bewshawe* 1539 FrY; Henry *Bowschere* 1575 Oxon; Henry *Belsher* 1662 HTEss. OFr *bel(e)*, *beu* and *chiere*, originally 'fair face', later 'fair look', one of a cheerful, pleasant demeanour. The surname was often confused with BEAUSIRE, and in the York Plays is used as a term of address, often derogatory: Herod addresses a messenger, 'Bewcher! wele ye be', and when Annas orders a boy who has been bound to be brought in, the soldier announces, 'Lo, here is the belschere broght that ye bad bring'. cf. GOACHER, GOODFAR.

Beld, Beeld, Bield

: Roger *le Belde* 1317–18 FFSr; William *Belde* 1378 LLB F; Henrie *Beld* 1545 SRW. OE *beald* 'brave, courageous'. v. also BEILD.

Beldam, Beldan, Beldham, Beldom

: Godfrey, Richard *Beledame* 1296, 1332 SRSx. AFr *beledame* 'fine lady', a derogatory nickname. ME *beldam* 'grandmother' is not recorded before c1440 and the sense 'aged woman, hag' not until the 16th century.

Belden, Beldon

: Hugh *de Beldon* 1204 AssY; John *Beledon* 1371 FFess. From Beldon Hill in Manningham (WRY).

Belding

: v. BALDING

Belenger

: v. BERRINGER

Belford

: James *de Beleford* p1147 Black; Thomas *de Belfford* 1390 FrY; William *Belford* 1421 IpraY. From Belford (Nb, Roxburgh).

Belfrage

: John *Belverage* 1685, Thomas *Belfrage* or *Beveridge* 1690 Black. A Scottish form of BEVERIDGE, with intrusive *l* as in *Calmeron* for Cameron and *Chalmers* for Chambers. In Fife, the name also occurs as BERRIDGE: John *Berrage*, *Berrige* 1675, 1711 Black.

Belgian, Belgion, Belgions

: William *Belegambe* 1185 Templars (So); Nicholas *Belejaumbe* 1221 AssWo; John *Belgeam* 1492 Black. AFr *bele jambe* ‘fine leg’.

Belgrave, Belgrove, Bellgrove

: Reginald *de Belegraue* Hy 2 Seals (Lei); Henry *de Belgrave* 1241 FFO; John *Belgrauk* 1365–6 FFWa. From Belgrave (Lei).

Belham, Belhomme

: v. BELLHAM

Belk

: v. BELCH

Bell

: (i) Ailuardus *filius Betti* 1086 DB (Sf); Ricardus *filius Bell* 1279 RH (Hu); Osbertus *filius Belle* 1297 SRY. *Bell* may be a pet-form of *Isabel*. *Bella* is probably a latinization of *Bele*, OFr *belle* ‘beautiful’. v. BEAL. *Bellus* is a Latin form of OFr *Bel* ‘beautiful’, otherwise unknown as a personal-name. (ii) Seaman *Belle* 1181–7 ELPN; Serlo *Belle* 1190 P (Y). OE *belle* ‘bell’, probably metonymic for BELLMAN or BELLRINGER. (iii) Hugo *bel* 1148 Winton (Ha); Robertus *bellus* ib.; Robert *le bel* 1186–1200 Holme (Nf). OFr *bel* ‘beautiful, fair’. (iv) Roger *del Bel* 1209 P (Nf); Robert *de la Belle* 1222 DBStP;

John *atte Belle* 1332 SRLo. The last example denotes one who lives at the sign of the Bell. This type of name is not so common as has been suggested and the other examples are unusually early. They may denote a dweller by the church or town bell or bellhouse or be metonymic for the bellman or bellringer.

Bellaby

: v. BELLERBY

Bellam

: v. BELLHAM

Bellamy

: Walter *Belami* 1185 Templars (Y); Ralph *Belamy* 1214 Cur (Nf). OFr *bel ami* 'fair friend'.

Bellanger

: v. BERRINGER

Bellar, Bellars, Bellers

: Hamo *Belar* c1166 DC (L); Hamond *Belar* 1211–2 FFWa; John *Bellars* 1432 FFEss. Fr *belier* 'ram', a nickname. cf. Kirby Bellars (Lei). Sometimes, perhaps, a derivative of OE *belle* 'bell', and metonymic for a bellringer or a bell-founder.

Bellas

: v. BELLHOUSE

Bellasis

: Gregory *de Belassis* 13th Lewes (Nf); Robert *de Beleassise* 1305 FrY; Peter *Belassise* 1351 AssL. From *Belasis*, *Bellasis* (Du), *Bellasis* (Nb), *Bellasisize* (ERY), or *Belsize* (Herts, Nth). There was also a Jewish name which may have contributed to the surname: *Belesez* Judea 1181 P (O); *Jacobus Belasez* 1209 P(Ess).

Bellby

: *Bussell de Bellebi*, *Leftham de Belleby* 1202 FFY. From *Belby* (ERY).

Bellchamber, Bellchambers, Belchambers

: Thomas *Belchambre* 1369 LLB G. This surname has been regarded as a corruption of *Bellencombre*. The family of William *Belencumbre* (1235 Ass) settled in Essex and has long been extinct. Their name survives in Belcumber Hall in Finchingfield and there is no evidence that the name ever took the form of *Belchamber*. The solitary example above (nearly 500 years earlier than the first example in NED) was earlier *atte Belchambre*. The bellhouse was originally a detached structure. The belfry (c1440 NED) was generally attached to the church and later (1549) was used of the room or storey where the bells were hung. This must also have been called the bellchamber. A man could hardly live in this and if he lived by the bellchamber, a more natural name would have been *atte church*. Hence, the surname probably refers to the keeper of the bellchamber or the ringer of the bells, often, no doubt, the same man.

Bellenger

: v. BERRINGER

Beller

: Richard *le Beller* 1281 MEOT (L); Henry *Beller* 1332 SRCu. A derivative of OE *belle* 'bell', a bell-founder.

Bellerby, Bellaby

: Elyas *de Belreby* 1251 AssY; Robert *de Bellerby* 1327 SRY; John *Bellerby* 1421 FrY. From Bellerby (NRY).

Bellers

: v. BELLAR

Bellelt, Bellot, Bellott, Bellotte

: *Belet* 1188 BuryS (Sf); William *Belet*, *Belot* 1086 DB (Do); Herueus *belet* 1130 P (O); Adam *Belot* 1279 RH (Hu). *Belet*, which was very common, may be a nickname from a diminutive of OFr *bel* 'beautiful'. Both *Belet* and *Belot* are diminutives of *Bel*, a pet-form of *Isabel*.

Bellew, Bellewes

: Gilbert *de Beleawe* c1160 Black; Thomas *de Bellew, de Bella Aqua* 13th PN Ch iv 95; John *de Belewe* 1274 IpmY; John *Belewe* 1367 FFY. From Bellou (Orne). Later examples may be from Belleau (L).

Bellgrove

: v. BELGRAVE

Bellham, Belham, Bellam, Belhomme

: Reginald *Belhume, Belhome* 1179, 1180 P (C, Sx); William *Belhom* 1279 RH (C). OFr *bel* 'beautiful, fair' and *homme* 'man'.

Bellhanger

: v. BERRINGER

Bellhouse, Bellas

: Ernald *Belhus* 1167 P (Nf); Richard *de Bellus, de Bellehus* 1206 P (Y), 1230 P (Ess); Walter *atte Belhous* 1266 LLB C; Richard *Bellus* 1572 RothwellPR (Y); William *Bellas* 1653 FrY. From residence near a detached bell-house or tower, OE *bell-hūs*.

Bellinger

: v. BERRINGER

Bellingham

: William *de Belingham* 1274 RH (Nf); John *de Belyngham* 1327 LLB E; Harry *Belyngham* 1401 Paston. From Bellingham (K, Nb), or Bellingham Fm in Highworth (W).

Bellington

: Thomas *Belynton*' 1275 SRWo. From Bellington Fm in Chaddesley Corbett (Wo).

Bellis, Belliss

: (i) John *ap Elys* 1513 Chirk; John *Bellis* 1747 Bardsley (Ch). 'Son of Ellis.' cf. BOWEN. (ii) For BELLOWS, of which the regular form was *bellies* until the 16th century, whilst *bellis*, *bellice* are still found in the dialects (NED). cf. Ursula *Bellies* 1610 Bardsley.

Bellmaine

: Nicholas *Belesmains* 1210 Cur (Herts); John *Belemeins* 1237 Colch (Herts). OFr *belle* and *mains* 'beautiful hands'.

Bellman. Belman

: William *Belman* 1300 Crowland (C); Katerina *Beleman* 1327 SRC; Gilbert *Belman* 1398 Black. OE *belle* and *mann* ‘bellman’, in York and Scotland, used of the town-crier. *Beleman* may mean ‘servant of *Bele*’ (v. BEAL) or it might be a hybrid, OFr *bele* ‘beautiful, fair’ and ME *man*. cf. FAIRMAN, BELLHAM. In the Denham Parish Register (Suffolk) the surname appears as *Beleman*, *Belleman*, *Belliman* (1585–1606), *Billeman* (1776), *Billyman* (1784) and in that of Rushbrook as *Billeman* and *Billerman* (1760, 1791). The persistent medial *vo wel* suggests that this is for ME *beli-man*, from ME *beli* ‘bellows’, ‘bellows-blower’. cf. BELLOW.

Belloc, Bellock

: Peuerel *de Belloc*’ 1137 Eynsham; Bidan *de Beauluc* merchant of Burdeux, Bydan *de Beulok* of Gascony 1305 LLB B. A dialectal form of the common French place-name Beaulieu. There seems also to have been a personal name: Gospatric *filius Beloc* 1163 P.

Bellot(t)

: v. BELLETT

Bellow, Bellows, Beloe, Billows

: William *Beli* 1178 P (Wa); Ralph *Belewe* 1253 Oseney (O); John *Below* 1379 PTY; John *Byllow*, *Below*, *Bellow* 1464–79 Oseney (O). ME *beli*, *belu*, *below*, from OE **bel(i)3* ‘bellows’, used only as a singular until 1400; here, metonymic for a bellows-blower. cf. William *Belymuð* 1275 RH (Nf), ‘bellows-raouth’.

Bellringer

: Richard *Belringer* 1216–72 MEOT (Sr). ‘Bell-ringer’(1543 NED).

Bellsham

: v. BELCHAM

Bellson, Belson

: (i) Thomas *Beleson* 1317 AssK; John *Belessone*, *Bellesson*’ 1339, 1341 Crowland (C). ‘Son of *Bele*’ (v. BEAL) or of Bell(Isabel). (ii) *Belsante*, *Belsant* 1185, 1190 Oseney (O); William *Belsent*, *Belesent* 1327, 1332 SRSx. OFr *Belisant*, *Belisent* (f), OG *Belissendis*.

Bellsyer

: v. BEAUSIRE

Bellwood, Belwood

: Wibald *de Belwoda* 1138–54 MCh; Henry *de Bettewode* 1341 FFY; William *Belward* 1524 SRSf. From Belwood (L).

Belmont

: v. BEAUMONT

Beloe

: v. BELLOW

Belsham, Belshem

: v. BELCHAM

Belshaw, Belsher

: v. BELCHER

Belson

: v. BELLSON

Belt

: Arnold, Robert *Belt(e)* 1203 FFEss, 1327 SRC. OE *belt*, used of a belt-maker, cf. Benedict *le beleter* 1295 FrY.

Belton

: Turgis *de Beltona* 1179 P (L); Thomas *de Belton'* 1298 AssL; John *Belton* 1398–9 FFWa. From Belton (L, Lei, R, Sf), or Bilton (Wa), *Beltone* c1155.

Beluncle

: William *Belunde* 1227 Cur (Sf); William *Belvncle* 1240 PN K 120; Adam *Beluncle* 1338 FFC. 'Uncle, great uncle', OFr *bele, onde*.

Belwood

: v. BELLWOOD

Bely

: v. BEELEY

Beman

: v. BEEMAN

Bemand

: v. BEAUMONT

Bemister, Beemaster

: The local pronunciation of Beaminster (Dorset).

Benment

: v. BEAUMONT

Benbow, Benbough

: William *Bendebowe* 1349 LLB F; John *Benbowe* 1545 FFHu. ‘Bend bow’, a nickname for an archer.

Bence

: Ernisms *filius Bence* 1175 P (Y); Ærnulfus *filius Benze* 1178 P (Nb); Osmund *Benz* 1066, 1086 DB (Db); William *Bence* 1279 RH (O). OG *Benzo*. A diminutive *Benzelinus* occurs in DB (O, W) and gave rise to a surname in Suffolk (Seman *Bencelyn* 1327 SRSf), side by side with *Bence* (Roger *Bence* 1327 SRSf), whilst the feminine *Bencelina* is found in Kent (1207 Cur).

Bench

: Robert *Benche* 1279 RH (C); Thomas *atte Bench* 1327 SRSo. ‘Dweller by the terrace, bank, river-bank’, from OE *benc* ‘bench’. cf. Roger *le Bencher* 1279 RH (O).

Bencher

: Roger *le Bencher* 1279 RH (O); Adam *le Benchere* 1296 SRSx; Robert *Bencher* 1674 HTSf. ‘Dweller by the terrace, river-bank, or bank’, from a derivative of OE *benc* ‘bank’.

Bencraft

: v. BANCROFT

Bendall, Bendell

: v. BENTALL

Bendbone

: Nicholas *Bendbone* 1296 SRNb. 'Bend bone'. cf. HACKBON. But perhaps an error for *Bendboue* 'bend bow'. v. BENBOW.

Benden

: William *de Benden* 1269 FFEss; Robert *Bendyn* 1316 Hylle. Perhaps from Benenden (K), *Bennedene* c1100.

Bender

: Robert *le Bendare* 1327 SRSx. A derivative of OE *bendan* 'to bend' (the bow). Perhaps synonymous with BENBOW.

Bendish, Bendysh

: Thomas *de Benedish* 1315–16 FFEss; Thomas *Bendissh* 1393 FFEss; John *Bendyssh* 1450 Paston. From Bendish (Herts), or Bendysh Hall in Radwinter (Ess).

Bendle

: v. BENTALL

Beneck

: John *Beneneke* 1332 SRDo; Agnes *le Benek*, Richard *le Beneke* 1332 SRSx. A nickname, ‘bean neck’, OE *bēan*, *hnecca*.

Benedict, Bennedik

: Geoffrey *Benedidte* 1221 AssWa; William *Benedicite* 1322 AssSt. Lat *benedicite* ‘bless (you)’, a nickname, no doubt from a favourite saying.

Benfield, Benefield, Benfell

: Goduin *de Benefette* 1066 DB (Herts); Robert *de Benefeld* c1 160–9 YCh; Jul’ *de Benefelde* 1296 SRSx; John *Benefeld* 1381 AssWa. From Benville Manor in Corscombe (Do), Benfield Fm in Hangleton, a lost Benfield in Twineham (Sx), or ‘dweller by the bean-field, or by the bent-grass field’, OE *bēan/beonet*, *feld*.

Benger

: v. BERRINGER

Bengough

: Robert *Benghok* 1332 SRCu; Walter *Bengough* 1663 HeMil. Welsh *pencoch*, *bengoch* 'red-haired'.

Benham

: Eudo *de Benham* 1176 P (Nt); John *de Benham* 1296 SRSx; Robert *Benham* 1384 IpmGl. From Benham (Berks), or Benhams in Horsham (Sx).

Benian

: v. BEYNON

Benington

: v. BENNINGTON

Benjamin, Benjaman

: *Beniamin* 12th MedEA (Nf); Roger *Beniamin* 1166 P (Nf). Hebrew *Benjamin* 'son of the south', interpreted in Genesis 'son of the right hand', much less frequent than *Adam*. The surname is also found in Berkshire, Cambridgeshire and Wiltshire before 1250.

Benley

: Henry *de Benleia* 1203 P (Lo); Adard *de Benekg'* 1221 SPleas (Wo); Henry *Benle* 1332 SRSx. From Benley Cross in Chumleigh (D), or 'dweller at the bee frequented wood or clearing', OE *bēo*, pl. *bēon*, *lēah*.

Benn, Bennis, Bennis

: *Benne* de Ecclesille 1246 AssLa; John son of *Benne* 1306 Wak (Y); Leuvinus *Benne* 1066 DB (Sf); Siuard *Benne* c1190 Gilb (L); Thomas *Ben* 1275 SRWo; Thomas *Bennes* 1524 SRSf. Whether the later Suffolk surname (1327, 1381 SRSp is identical with the DB *Benne* is doubtful. This Tengvik explains as a nickname 'the plump, lumpish one', or from OE *Bynna* or *Beonna* for the post-Conquest use of which there is no clear evidence. The 13th-century *Benne* is more likely to be a pet-name of some common christian name, of *Bennet* rather than of *Benjamin*.

Benedik

: v. BENEDICT

Bennell, Benwell

: Walter *de Benhala* c1165 StCh; Nicholas *de Benewelle* 1279 RH (C); John *Benhale* 1379 AssEss. From Benwell (Nb), Benhall (Sf), or Banwell Fra in North Mundham (Sx). Bennet, Bennett, Bennette, Bennetts, Bennitt, Bennitts: *Beneit* Kernet 12th DC (Nt); *Beneit*, *Benedictus* Kepeherm 1193, 1200 Oseney (O); Roberlus *filius Benite* 1301 SRY; Robert *Beneyt* Hy 2 Gilb (L); William *Benet* 1208 ChR (Du); Robert *Benyt* 1327 SRC; Thomas *Benetes* 1327 SRSt. OFr *Beneit*, *Beneoit*, Lat *Benedictus* 'blessed', a common christian name from the 12th century.

Benneworth, Benneyworth, Benniworth

: Roger *de Benyngworda* c1150 Gilb (L); Margaret *de Benigwrda* 1214 P (Nb); Sibia *Benigworyd* 1275 RH (L). From Benniworth (L).

Bennie

: v. BENNY

Benning, Bennings

: William *Bennyng* 1328 IpmW, 1332 SRSx; Alexander *Benyng* 1463 FrY. OE **Benning*.

Benninger

: v. BERRINGER

Bennington, Benington

: Almar *de Benintone* 1066 DB (Herts); Alan *de Benington'* 1218 AssL; William *Benynglon* 1406–7 IpmY. From Bennington (Herts, L).

Bennion

: v. BEYNON

Bennison

: John *Benetesson* 1396 FrY; Robert *Benyson* 1517 GildY. ‘Son of *Bennet*’.

Benniworth

: v. BENNEWORTH

Benny, Bennie

: (i) Ralph *Benny* 1301 SRY. A diminutive of *Benn*, a short form of *Bennel*. (ii) Hugh *de Benne* or *Bennef* c1201–7, James *Beny* or *Bynne* 1321 Black. From *Bennie* in Alraond (Perth).

Bensington

: Thomas *de Bensintone* 1200 FFO; Peter *de Bensinton*’ 1208 Cur (O). From *Bensington* (O).

Benskin, Binskin

: Thomas *Beynsskyn* 1473 CantW; William *Benskyn* or *Benchekyn* 1508 CantW; Jamys *Bynskyn* 1525 SRSx; Edmund *benchkyn* 1548, *benskyn* 1549 StaplehurstPR (K). A diminutive of *Benn*, a short form of *Bennet*.

Bensley, Bensly

: John *Benssley* 1524 SRSf; David *Bensley* 1641 PrSo. ‘Dweller by the clearing where beans grow’, OE *bēan*, *lēah*.

Benson

: (i) John *Benneson*, Adam *Bensome* 1326 Wak (Y); Alan *Benson* 1332 SRCu; John *Benesson* 1393 FrY. ‘Son of *Benn* (Bennet)’. (ii) Peter *de Bensinton* 1208 Cur (O); Henry *de Benson* 1269 Oseney (O). From Benson or Bensington (Oxon).

Benstead, Bensted, Binstead, Binsted

: John *de Bentestede* 1200 P (K); John *de Benstede* 1311 LLB D; Edward *Benstede* 1402–3 FFWa. From Benstead (Ha), Banstead (Sr), *Benestede* DB, Binstead (Wt), or Binsted (Ha, Sx), all three *Benestede* DB.

Bent

: Nicholas *Bent* 1256 AssNb; Henry, Adam *del Bent* 1327, 1332 SRSt. ‘Dweller by the grassy plain, heath’, ME *bent*, from OE *beonet* ‘stiff grass’.

Bentall, Benthall, Bendall, Bendell, Bendle

: Robert *de Benethal*’ 1221 AssSa; Philip *de Benedhal* 1255 RH (Sa). From Benthall (Salop).

Bentham

: William *de Benetham* 1205 P (Y); William *de Beneteham* 1268 IpmGl; John *Bentam* 1340–1450 GildC; John *Bentham. Benton, Bentom* 1681–5 WRS. Frora Bentham (Gl, WRY).

Bentley, Bently, Bintley

: William *de Benetlega* 1176 P (Db); William *de Benteley* 1316–17 FFWa; John *Benteley* 1388–9 FFSr. From one or other of the many places of this name.

Bentliff, Bintlif, Bintcliffe

: Thomas *Bentclyff* 1455 FrY; Joseph *Bentliffe* 1716 Shef. From Bentcliffe in Saddleworth (WRYJ).

Benton

: William *de Benton* 1234 FFSf; Simon *de Beneton* 1275 SRWo; Richard *Benton* 1450 AssLo. From Little Benton, Longbenton (Nb), or ‘dweller at the farm where bent grass or beans grow’, OE *beonet/ bēan, tūn*.

Bentworth, Bintworth

: Martin *de Bintewrda* 1148 Winton (Ha). From Bentworth (Ha).

Benwell

: v. BENNELL

Benyon

: v. BEYNON

Berald, Beraud

: Stephen *filius Beroldi* 1159 P; John *Berald* 1327 SRSO. OG *Berwald*, OFr *Beraut*.

Berard

: *Berardus* c1125 Bury (Sf), 1143–7 DC (L); Reginaldus *filius Berard'* 1221 AssGl; William, Ralph *Berard* 1208–12 Cur (Y). OFr *Berart*, OG *Berard* 'bear-strong'.

Berden, Berdon

: Robert *de Berdon* 1296 SRSx; John *de Berdene* 1323 CorLo; Thomas *de Berden* 1362 FFY. From Berden (Ess), Bardown in Ticehurst (Sx), *Berdowne* 1410, or Barden in Skipton (WRY), *Berdene* c1140.

Berecloth

: v. BARRACLOUGH

Beresford, Berresford

: William *de Beresford* 1279 RH (C); Adam *de Beresford* 1327 SRSt; John *Berysford* 1447 DbAS 30. From Beresford (St). Bergh: Rogert *de le Bergh* 1221 AssWo. 'Dweller by the hill', OE *beorg*.

Beriman

: v. BERRIMAN

Beringer

: v. BERRINGER

Berk(e)ley

: v. BARCLAY

Berkenshaw

: v. BIRKENSHAW

Berker

: v. BARKER

Berkshire, Barkshire

: William *Berksir* 1249 AssW; William *de Barkescire* 1317 AssK; John *Barksher* 1525 SRSx. The man from Berkshire.'

Berman

: v. BARMAN

Bermingham

: v. BIRMINGHAM

Bernard

: v. BARNARD

Bernays

: John *Bernes* 1356, *de Bernes*, *Biernes* 1364, *Bemys* 1369 LLB G. Perhaps OFr *Bearnais* 'the man from Bearn'.

Berner

: Tetbaldus *filius Bernerii* 1086 DB (D); *Bernerus* 1211 Cur (Bk); William *Bemer* 1150–60 DC (L); Robert *le berner*, *le Bernier* 1190–1 (L); Walter *Berner*, Nicholas *le Berner* 1219 AssY. (i) OFr *Bernier*, OG *Berner* ‘bear-army’; (ii) OFr *berner*, *bernier* ‘keeper of the hounds’; (iii) A derivative of OE *beornan* ‘to burn’, a limeburner or charcoal burner. cf. ASHBURNER; (iv) A toponymic, equivalent to *atte berne*. v. BARNE. v. also BRENNER, BOURNER.

Berners

: Hugo *de Berneres* 1086 DB (Mx, Ess); Goda *de Berners* 1185 Templars (Lo). From Bernieres (Calvados).

Berney, Burney, Burnie

: Ralph *de Bernai* 1086 DB (He, Wo, Sf); Henry *de Berney* 1268 Bardsley (Nf); Walter *Berneye* 1362 LLB G; Roger, Thomas *Burney* 1451 Bardsley (Nf), 1524 SRSf. From Bernay (Eure) or Berney (Norfolk).

Berrecloth

: v. BARRACLOUGH

Berresford

: v. BERESFORD

Berrey

: v. BERRY

Berrick

: v. BERWICK

Berridge

: v. BELFRAGE

Berridge

: Walter *Berich* 1279 RH (Hu); John *Berage* 1427, Richard *Beryge* 1482 FrY; Richard *Berridge* 1601 FFHu. The first example suggests a personal name as the origin, though most of the forms are too late for any certainty to be possible. Perhaps OE *Beornrīc*, or possibly from Berridge Fm in Woodchurch (K). In Scotland usually a variant of BEVERIDGE.

Berrie

: v. BERRY

Berriff

: v. BRIGHTIFF

Berriman, Berryman, Beriman, Bearryman

: Edricus *Buriman* 1148 Winton (Ha); Alexander *Beriman* 1176 P (Bk). ‘Servant at the manor-house’, from ME *huri*, the manorial use of OE *burh*.

Berringer, Beringer, Bellenger, Belenger, Bellinger, Bellanger, Bellhanger, Benninger, Benger

: *Berengerus* 1086 DB (Nf); Robertus *filius Berengarii* c1150 EngFeud (L); *Bengerus* 1203 Cur (Beds); *Belingar*’ 1207 ChR (Do); *Berenger* faber 1219 AssY; Hugo *Berengeri* Ric 1 DC (L); Walter *Beneger* 1208 Cur (Gl); Reginald *Beringer* c1260 Lewes (C); John *Berenger* alias *Beniger* 1271 Ipm (W); John *Belinger* 1275 SRWo. OFr *Berengier*, OG *Beringar* ‘bear-spear’, the name of one of the paladins in the Charlemagne romances and fairly common in England in the 12th and 13th centuries. The various forms are due to the common Anglo-Norman interchange or loss of liquids in names containing *l*, *n* and *r*. *Berenger* became *Belenger* or *Benenger*, and in the latter the second *n* was lost, giving *Beneger*, later shortened to *Benger*.

Berrington

: Alexander *de Beriton*’ 1221 AssWo. From Berrington Green in Tenbury (Wo).

Berriwin

: v. BERWIN

Berrow

: v. BARROW

Berry, Berrey, Berrie, Bury

: Gilbert *de la Beri* 1202 P (Co); Adam *Biry* 1257 Ipm (Y); Roger *Bury* 1260 AssC; Hubert *Bery* 1268 FFSf; Walter *del Bury* 1275 SRWo; William *ate Bery* 1327 SRSx. OE *byrig*, dative of *burh* 'fort', surviving in Berry Pomeroy (Devon), Bury St Edmunds (Suffolk) and Bury (Hunts, Lancs). ME *beri, biri, buri* was used of a manor-house and the surname must often mean 'servant at the manor-house'. Occasionally *Bury* may be 'dweller by an enclosure near the bower' (OE *būr*) or the fort (OE *burh*): Hugo *de Burhey*.

Berrycloth

: v. BARRACLOUGH

Berryman

: v. BERRIMAN

Bert

: *Berta* 1101–21 Holme (Nf), 1143–7 DC (L); Robertus *vir Berte* 1196 P (Sx); Richard, John *Berte* 1327 SRSf, 1332 SRSx. OFr *Berte* (f), OG *Berhta, Berta*.

Bertalot

: v. BARTLET

Bertenshaw

: v. BIRKENSHAW

Bertin, Bertim, Bartin

: *Bertinus* 1112 Bury (Sf), 1203 Cur (Sx); *Bertinus* Ruffyn 1322 FFK; *Bartyn* de Rankesley 1441 ShefA (Y); Peter *Bertin* 1204 ChR; John *Bertyn* 1296 SRSx. OFr *Bertin*, OG *Bertin*, a diminutive of names in *Berht*-. Michaelsson notes its use as a hypocoristic of *Bertrand*.

Bertram, Bertrand

: v. BARTRAM

Bertwistle

: v. BIRTWHISTLE

Berwick, Berrick, Barwick, Barrick

: Laurence *de Berewyke* 1278 RH (O); Edward *Barwyk* 1463 FrY; John *Barycke* 1547 EA (NS) ii. ‘Dweller at an outlying grange’, OE *berewīc* ‘barley-farm’, as at Berwick (Dorset, Northumb, etc.), Berrick (Oxon), Barwick (Norfolk, WRYorks) and Barricks in High Easter (Essex).

Berwin, Berwyn, Berriwin

: Goscelinus *Beruinus* 1086 DB (D); Matthew *Berewynson* 1428 FrY. OG *Bernwin*.

Besant, Bessant, Bessent, Beszant, Bezant, Bezzant

: Lefwin *besant* 1147–68 Bart (Lo); Robert *Besant* 1186–92 Clerkenwell (Lo), 1195 P (Lo). ME *besant*, *besand*, OFr *besan*, pl. *besanz*, Lat *byzantius* (*nummus*), a gold coin first minted at Byzantium (c1200 NED). *Bizantia* is first recorded in MLWL in 1187. cf. *unam bisanciam* c1179 Bart. Lefwin *Besant* was a moneyer (1168 P).

Bessacre, Bessaker

: John *of Besacre* 1240 FFY. From Bessacar (WRY).

Bessel, Bessell

: *Besellus* de Hibaldestowe 1177 P (L); William *Besell*’ 1205 Cur; Matthew *Beselle* 1327 PN Do i 249. OG *Besel*.

Bessemer

: Ingulf *besmere* 1148 Winton (Ha); John *le Besmere* 1263 MESO (Sx); William *Besemere* 1279 RH (O). A derivative of OE *besma* ‘besom’, a maker of besoms.

Bessick, Bestwick, Beswick

: Thomas *de Bessewik*’ 1297 SRY; Thomas *Besewyk* 1379 LoCh; John *Beswyk* 1411 FrY. From Beswick (La, ERY).

Best, Beste

: William *Best* 1201 AssSo; Wilkin *le Best* 1260 AssCh. ME, OFr *beste* ‘beast’, used of a brutal, savage man, in earlier examples often connoting stupidity or folly. Also metonymic for BESTER.

Bestar, Bester

: *J. le Bestere* 1279 RH (Hu); R. *Bestare* 1311 ColchCt. A derivative of ME *beste*, a herdsman.

Bestman

: John *Besteman* 1327 SR (Ess). ME *beste* ‘beast’ and *man*. Equivalent to BESTER.

Betchley

: William *de Bechely* 1296, John *Becheley*, *Belchley* 1525 SRSx. Probably from Beckley (Sx), *Becheleya* 1253.

Betham

: v. BEETHAM

Bethel, Bethell

: Amicia, Walter *Bethel* 1279 RH (O). The surname is often for ABETHELL, but these forms are too early for such a development. They must be diminutives of *Beth* (Elizabeth). cf. *Betha* de Bureswelles 1176–9 Clerkenwell (Ch).

Bethson

: ‘Son of *Beth*.’ v. BETHEL.

Bethune, Betton, Beaton, Beeton

: Baldwinus *de Betton*, *de Betun* 1195–7 P (Berks); William *de Bettayne*, *de Betton* 1282–8 LLB A. From Béthune (Pas-de-Calais).

Betley, Betteley

: Roger *de Beleleie* 1208 Cur (St); Philip *de Betle* 1296 SRSx; Thomas *de Betteley* 1332 SRSt. From Betley (St), or Betley in Henfield (Sx).

Betson

: Richard *Betessone* 1329 AD i (Hu); William *Bettesone* 1332 SRSt. ‘Son of *Bett*.’

Bett, Bette, Betts

: Reginald *filius Bette* 1197 FF (Bk); *Betta* Caperun 1247 FrLeic; Terri *Bette* Hy 2 Bart (Lo); Richard *Bette* 1175 P (Nt); Emma *Bettes* 1279 RH (O). Usually explained as a pet-form of *Beatrice*, which is possible. cf. BEET. There is, however, evidence that *Bette* was at times, at least, masculine: ‘Bettinus Beaumont and *Bette* his brother’ 1289 LLB A. ‘*Bette* the bocher’ in *Piers Plowman* was also, presumably, a man. This was a pet-name for *Benram* or *Bertelmew* (Bartholomew). cf. Robert *Bet* son of *Bartholomew Bette* 1312 LLB D, where the surname may be due to a family partiality for the christian name *Bertelmew*. The form *Bettes* is more frequent than usual and is probably often a toponymic with loss of the preposition. cf. John *del Bettis* 1379 NottBR, from OE *bytt* ‘butt, cask, flagon. womb’, used topographically like OE *byden* ‘butt’ (cf. BEDWELL) and *trog* ‘trough’. Hence, probably, ‘dweller by the hollows’.

Bettany, Betteny, Betney, Bettoney

: William *Betany* 1524 SRSf; Gilbert *Beteny* 1598 ER 62; Susan *Beteny* 1734 RamptonPR (C). The forms are late, but perhaps a plant-name from OE *betonice* ‘betony’.

Betteley

: v. BETLEY

Bettenson

: v. BETTINSON

Better

: v. BEATER

Betteridge

: v. BADRICK

Betterton

: Ylbert *de Betreton* 1185 P (Berks); Ilbert *de Betelintun, de Betertun* 1211 Cur (Berks).
From Betterton (Berks).

Bettesworth, Bettsworth

: Edward *de Becheswerth* 1296, Thomas *Bettisworth*, William *Bettysworth* 1525 SRSx.
From Bechworth (Sx).

Bettinson, Bettenson, Bettison

: Adam *le fil Betun* 1285 FFEss; Roger *Betonessone* 1316 ib.; Roger *Betissone* 1327 SRSf. ‘Son of *Beton.*’ v. BEETON.

Betton

: v. BETHUNE

Bettoney

: v. BETTANY

Bettridge

: v. BADRICK

Betriss

: v. BEATRICE

Bettsworth

: v. BETTESWORTH

Beumant

: v. BEAUMONT

Beuscher, Beushaw

: v. BELCHER

Bevan, Bevans, Beven, Bevens, Beavan, Beaven, Beavon, Beevens

: Edenevet *ap Ieuan* 1287 AssCh; Howel *ap Evan* c1300 Bardsley; Thoraas *Bevans* 1680 ib. 'Son of *Evan*.' cf. BOWEN.

Bevar, Bever

: v. BEAVER

Beveridge, Bavridge

: Wido, William *Beverage* 1212 Cur (Bk), 1230 P (Sr); Richard *Bevereche* c1240 Rams (Hu); William *Bauerich* 1280 AssSo; William *Beuerege* 1297 MinAcctCo; Robert *Beuerich* 1315 FFHu. ME *beuerage*, OFr *bevrege*, *buverage* 'drink, liquor for consumption' (1275 MED), also used of a drink or beverage which binds a bargain. Bailey in 1721 has '*To pay Beverage*, to give a treat upon the first wearing of a new Suit of Cloths' and Dr Johnson in 1755 '*Beverage*, a treat at first coming into a prison, called also *garnish*'. These must be survivals of a much older custom. cf. 'Bargeyns and beuerages bigonne to aryse' (Langland 1362). At Whitby in 1199 the purchaser of land paid by custom 4*d.* for seisin and 1*d.* to the burgesses *ad beuerage* (ChR i, 14). At a court of the Abbot of Ramsey in 1275, Thomas de Welles complained that Adam Garsoppe unjustly detained a copper he had previously bought from him for 6*d.*, of which he had paid Adam 2*d.* 'et beuerech' and a drink in advance. Later he went and offered to pay the rest but Adam refused to take it and kept the copper 'to his damage and dishonour 2*s.*'.

Adam was fined 6*d.* and pledged his overcoat (Selden i, 138). The nickname may well have been bestowed on a man who made a practice of getting free drinks for clinching bargains he had no intention of keeping. This custom of *beverage* was an old one on the continent where it was called *vin du marché* (Du Cange). v. BELFRAGE.

Beverley

: Albert *de Beuerli* 1145–52 YCh; John *de Beverlay* 1204 AssY; John *Beverlee* 1327 SR (Ess); William *Beverlay* 1401 IpmY. From Beverley (ERYorks).

Beverstock

: v. BAVERSTOCK

Beves

: v. BEAVES

Bevill, Beville, Beavill

: Robert (*de*) *Beyville*, *de Beville* c1225 Rams (Hu). From Beuville (Calvados) or Bouville (Seine-Inférieure). v. BOVILL.

Bevin, Beavin, Bivins

: Simon *Bevin* 1203 FFess; William *Bevin* 1236 Fees (Do); Nicholas *Boyvin* 1243 AssSo. OFr *bei vin*, *boi vin* ‘drink wine’. cf. DRINKWATER.

Bevington

: Nicholas *de Bevington* 1221 AssWa. From Bevington (Wa).

Bevir

: v. BEAVER

Bevis

: v. BEAVES

Bew

: Robert *le Beu*, *le Bel* 1242 AssSo; John *le Beu (Bew)* 1327 SR (Ess). OFr *bel*, *beu* 'beautiful, fair'.

Bewes, Bews

: John *de Baiocis* 1212 Fees (L); William *Baiues* 1235 Fees (Bk); Henry *de Beause*, *de Beuse* 1242 ib. From Bayeux (Calvados).

Bewfort

: v. BEAUFORD

Bewick, Bewicke, Bowick, Buick

: John *de Bewic'* 1219 AssY. From Bewick (ERYorks, Northumb), the latter being *Bowich* 1167 P.

Bewlay, Bewley, Beaulieu, Beulah

: William *de Beulu* 1273 IpmGl; Philip *de Bealeu* 1329 Hylle; Thomas *Bewley* 1545 SRW. From Beaulieu (Ha), Bewley (Du), or Bewley Castle (We).

Bewshaw, Bewshea, Bewshire

: v. BELCHER

Beyer

: v. BAYER

Beynon, Baynham, Benian, Benians, Bennion, Benyon, Binnion, Binyon, Pinion, Pinnion, Pinyon, Pinyoun

: Cadugan *ap Eynon* 1285 Ch (Radnor); Iorworth *ap Egnon* 1287 AssCh; David *Abeinon* 1313 ParlWrits; John *Baynham* 1455 AD i (Wo); John *Beynon* 1507 Oxon; Daniel *Benion* 1610 FrY; George *Benyon* 1621 Bardsley. Welsh *ap Einion*, *ap Eynon* 'son of

Einion. v. ENNION. *Pinnion*, etc., preserve the *p* of Welsh *ap* ‘son’, *Beynon*, etc., the *b* of later *ab*. In spite of appearance, *Baynham* is not local in origin.

Bezley

: v. BEESLEY

Biart

: v. BYARD

Bibbey, Bibby

: *Biby* de Knolle 1240 AssLa; Dobbe son of *Bibby* ib.; William *Bibbe* 1196 P (Sa); William *Bibbi* 1228 AssSt; Robert *Bybby* 1284 Wak (Y). A diminutive of *Bibb*, a pet-name of *Isabel*.

Bible

: *Bibele* 1200 Oseney (O); Godwin, Robert *Bibel* Ric 1 Cur (Sf), 1283 SRSf. *Bib-el*, a diminutive of *Bibb* (*Isabel*).

Bick

: Geoffrey *Bike* 1210–1 PWi; WUliam *le Bike* 1221 AssWo; James *le Byke* 1327 SRWo; John *Byk* 1359 IpmNt. Probably metonymic for BICKER, OE *bēocere* ‘bee-keeper’. cf. ME *bike* ‘nest of wasps, wild bees’.

Bicker, Bickers, Bikker

: (i) Robert *le Biker* 1176 P (St); Reginald *le Bikere* 1207 P (Sf); Jordan *the Bekere* 1286 AssCh; John *Bickers* 1721 FrY. OE *bēocere*, Anglian *bīocere* (ME *bīker*) ‘beekeeper’.
(ii) Richard *Bicre* 1185 Templars (L); Roger *de Bikere* 1193 P (L). From Bicker (Lincs).

Bickerdike, Bickerdyke, Biggadike

: Henry *Bikerdik* 1379 PTY; Barnerd *Biggerdicke* 1584 Musters (Sr); Robert *Bickerdike* 1647 FrY. ‘Dweller by the disputed ditch’, ME *bicker*, OE *dīc*.

Bickerstaff, Bickerstaffe, Bickersteth, Biggerstaff

: Alan *de Birkestad, de Bikerstath* 1246 AssLa; Henry *Bekerstaff* 1397 IpmNt; Robert *Byggerstafe, Beckerstaffe* 1539, 1557 ArchC xxxiv. From Bickerstaffe (Lancs), *Bickerstalh* 1226.

Bickerton

: Adam *de Bikerton* 1191 P (Y); William *de Bykerton* 1287 IpmY; William *Bykerton* 1504–5 FFWa. From Bickerton (Ch, He, Nb, WRY).

Bickford

: Henry *Bickford*, Richard *Bicford* 1642 PrD. From Bickford (St), Bickford Town in

Plympton St Mary (D), or Beckford Fm in Membury (D), *Bykeford* 1408.

Bickley

: William *de Bikeleia* 1187 P (Do/So); Huward *de Bikeleg'* 1227–8 FFK; William *de Bickele* 1310 LLB D. From Bickley (Ch, K, Wo), or Bickleigh (K).

Bickman

: William *Bykeman* 1301 SRY. 'Bee-keeper', ME *bike* 'nest of wasps, wild bees', OE *mann*.

Bicknell, Bignell. Bignall, Bignold

: Thomas *de Bikenhulle* 1214 Cur (Wa); John *de Bikenhull*, Walter *Bykenhulle* 1327 SRSO; Nicholas *Bicknell* 1642 PrD. From Bickenhall (Som), or Bickenhill (Warwicks). *v.* also SIGNAL.

Bidaway

: *v.* BYTHEWAY

Biddell, Biddle

: *v.* BEADEL