The colonisation of England by Germanic tribes on the basis of place-names*

Jürgen Udolph
University of Leipzig

After the Romans had left the Province of Britannia, Germanic tribes were able to conquer and settle the land. In accordance with the literary sources, Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland are often considered the origin of these Germanic tribes. However, place names have rarely been used to determine the movements of the tribes. By identifying transferred place-names that were carried over by the emigrants, this chapter tries to locate the continental origins of the Germanic settlers. It argues that the Germanic tribes who invaded England during the fifth century did not come directly from Schleswig and Denmark across the North Sea, but rather from parts of Northern Germany, the Netherlands and Flanders, across the Channel.

1. Introduction

A common historical starting point for the investigation of the early Germanic settlers of England is the widespread and popular view based on the traditions of the Venerable Bede and his Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.1 Here, Bede gives the famous year of AD 449 for the arrival of the early Germanic settlers in England. According to Bede, these early settlers came from three powerful tribes: the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes (Book I, Chapters 14–16). He further provides detailed information as to their continental homelands and their settlement in England. This suggests that the early settlers originated from the Jutland peninsula, i.e. the area of modern Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark. Since “this is the only definite and comprehensive statement regarding the origin of the invaders which has come down to us” (Chadwick 1924: 51), it is natural that such a precise statement about an otherwise very obscure age

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should be easily accepted by scholars. Thus, this view has been widely acknowledged and it has also found its expression in several illustrations, such as that shown in Map 1.

Map 1. Traditional view of the Saxon emigration (based on Hickey 2005)

However, one of the main objections to Bede’s account is its simplicity and clear-cut tribal distinction, which does not reflect the complexity of these early settlement movements (Piroth 1979:1; Collingwood & Myres 1963:347). Furthermore, the fact that Bede was writing nearly two centuries after the age of conquest also strongly implies "that he [Bede] was inevitably influenced by the political geography of his own day" (Collingwood & Myres 1963:328), which had already become more structured compared to the early settlement days. This notion is supported by Chadwick's (1924:52) remark concerning this account: "Bede's statement as to the origin of the various nations in Britain are so definite that we should certainly expect to get evidence for the same classification elsewhere. Such evidence, however, is not easy to find." Therefore, the aim of the present paper is to locate the continental origins of the Germanic settlers of England with the help of place-names.

Is it possible to trace back migration movements by using place-names? More than 300 years ago the philosopher Leibniz (1765:242) advanced the following view:
Et je dis en passant que les noms de rivieres, estant ordinairement venus de la
plux mieux le vieux langage et les anciens habitans, c'est pourquoi ils meriteroient
une recherche particulaire.

"And I say in passing that river names are usually the best sources of old language
and peoples, and they therefore merit especial study."

Together with river names, ancient place-names are among the oldest monu-
ments of peoples and show the origin of their relations and the migration of the
peoples.

Can place-names unveil migration routes? This question can clearly be
answered with ‘yes’ if one has a look at the example of the Dutch emigration to
America shown in Map 2.

Map 2. Dutch place-names and their equivalences in America (Bathe 1954/1955:96)

From this map it can be seen that tracing back settlement movements using place-
names represents a valid method. The present paper is based on the fact that
immigrants take their language, and also their habits of naming places, with them. With the help of transferred place-names on the Continent and in England, it will be possible to demonstrate the origins of the early settlers of England. Hence, the place-name scholar may be able to trace back the migration of the Anglo-Saxons and Jutes to England.

Some place-names of the very old strata rather agree between the Continent and England than between Scandinavia and England. However, the astonishing fact about the existing work relating to this topic is that the results are utterly unsatisfying. Laur (1964:296), in a seminal article concerning this topic, drew the conclusion that there are only a few names that can be considered to have been taken over from the Continent to Britannia by the Anglo-Saxons. Nonetheless, he still assumed that Schleswig-Holstein is the most important starting point for the migration to England, which also supports Bede’s view (see Map 1).

Are such maps in accordance with the distribution of place-names? Hey (2008:262) in his recent work states the following:

By the end of the 8th century Anglo-Saxon colonists controlled all of the area south of the Forth and as far west as Wales and Cornwall [...] The colonists were Germanic peoples from separate parts of north-west Europe [...] Hey (2008:262) also notes that “[p]lace-names shed much light on Anglo-Saxon settlement, but the evidence has been reinterpreted to match the archaeological discoveries and old views have been discarded”.

However, one might ask whether the significance of place-name studies for the study of ancient migrations has really been appreciated. Not much research concerning the connection between the Continent and England has been carried out by British researchers. Although there have been intensive investigations on single place-name elements, and sometimes even a link to their Germanic origin, all of this research is restricted to England (e.g. Jacobsson 1997). This is even more surprising bearing in mind the amount of research that has been carried out on Scandinavian elements in English place-names. The Danish researcher Fellows-Jensen is a leading investigator in this field of study (Fellows-Jensen 1972, 1978, 1985). She compares Scandinavian and English place-names in order to trace back their original connection. However, her investigations have tended to relate to younger strata of place-names and are thus not relevant for the early settlement of England.

The main advantages of place-names as historical material are their persistence, consistency, and antiquity. They “remain stable for centuries, sometimes millenia” (Clark 1992:485). Furthermore, since it is generally known that the English language belongs to the West Germanic language family (with strong influences of Celtic, Latin, North Germanic and French), the roots are to be
found in the continental areas settled by West Germanic peoples. Moreover, in a recent investigation on early place-names of southern Scandinavia and England, Fellows-Jensen (1995:72) came to the following result:

In conclusion it must be admitted that the migration-period place-names in England and southern Scandinavia would not seem to provide much evidence for close contact between these two regions at that period. The specifically southern Scandinavian element lev is absent from England and name-types characteristic of England […] are not evidenced in southern Scandinavia.

Investigations into a continental connection of this type have only recently been revived (cf. Udolph 2006a). However, already in 1898, pioneering work on the continental connection with England was carried out by the German philologist Jellinghaus. In two important investigations (Jellinghaus 1898, 1902) he compared place-name elements of the Low German language area (mainly Westphalia, Lower Saxony and parts of Saxony-Anhalt) with the ones found in England. He discovered numerous parallels between the two areas. Although his approach has been approved by later historians and place-name scholars, Schwarz (1943–1952:229) states that this valuable work only found few successors. Yet, most investigations based on a comparison of place-names, both early and recent, yield the same result: the origins of the Anglo-Saxon settlers of England are definitely not restricted to Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland, as suggested by the historical authorities, but seem to include parts of Lower Saxony, Westphalia, Belgium, Flanders and northern France.

The present work will try to locate the continental origins of the Germanic settlers. This is done by a comparison of the distribution of place-names on the Continent and in England. It is suggested here that such a comparison allows us to draw conclusions about the origin of the West Germanic settlers.

2. Germanic *fani/-ja “bog, moor”

An old term for “bog, moor” but also for “low lying grassland”, the Germanic element *fani/-ja appears in Gothic *fani “mud”; in most cases, the variant *fanja is used in place-names.

There are hundreds of Fenn-names in Western Europe (see Map 3). In Germany there are, for instance, Ackerfenne, Fanhusen, Fehn, Fehnhusen, as well as Venusberg in Bonn, further Venusbruch and Venushügel near Wernigerode and Vienenburg, 1306 Datum Vineburch. Furthermore, morphologically older types appear as Finne in Thuringia, 1106 in silla Vin etc.; Viningi and Viningeburg near Lüneburg; there are also forms with -r- derivation in Fiener Bruch near Genthin,
1178 in palustri silva, que Vinre dictur; Vinnen (Hümmling), about 1000 Vinnum, Finnnum; and with -str- suffix: Vinster (Oberlahnkreis), 893 (copy 1222) Veneter, Wenestre, Venestre, 1312 (and more frequently) Vinstern.

In several cases, equivalent examples can be found in the Netherlands, Belgium and Northern France: Bakkeveen; Berkver; Diepenveen, among them apa-names like Vennep, about 960 Vannapan, Vennapen, and Venepe, 1138–53 Venepe, 1144 Venepe; compare Venlo.

Map 3. Germanic 'fanja' in place and field-names (Udolph 1994:315)


The map reflects a strong presence of this element in north-west Germany, at the Lower Rhine, in Flanders and in England. On the other hand, Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland are not much involved. The map thus seems suggest that the early West Germanic settlers might have come to England via the channel rather than directly across the North Sea.

3. Old High German horo "mud, mush, dirt, soil"

A sparsely noted but well-attested word in German, Dutch and English appears as Old High German horo "mud, mush, dirt, soil", Middle High German hor, hore
"marshy ground, dirty soil, excrement, dirt, mud", Old Saxon horu "mud, dirt", Old Frisian hore "mud, excrement", Middle Dutch hore, hor "lutfum; Modder", Old English horh, horu "filth, dirty".

German place-names such as Haarbach, Haarhausen, Harmke, Horbach, Harbrücken, Harburg near Hamburg, Horb, Horburg, Horchheim, Hordorf contain this word. Place-names including this word can also be found in the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and France: Althorn near Saargemünd, 783 Horone; Hoerenkreek (Zeeland); Hoorebeke near Oudenaarde, East Flanders, 1090 Horenbecka; Hoorsik in Gelderland and several others.

The occurrence of the word in English place-names is also very common: Harborne; Harlick; Harmers; Harpole, 1086 Horpol; Harwood Gate; Horton, 1249 Horton; Hawley; Hollowmoo; Holyport, 1220 Horipord; Horbling, 1086 Horbelinge; Horbury, 1086 Horberie; Horcott, -field, -wood; Le Horemede; Hormerestall; Horpeut; Horfield, 1086 Horrefelle; Horham, ca. 950 Horham; Horish (Wood); Horley, 1374 Horlawegreene; Great, Little Horemede, 1086 Horremede; 1243–64 Hormede, with field-names Horpits und Horpyt; Horralake; Horrell; Horrell, old Horsele, Horsell, Old English horgesella; Horwell; Horwood, 1086 Horewode; Wapooole; Wharley; Worley's Fm. There are many compounds with -ton in Horton, 1086 Hortune; 1086 Hortona; 946 (copy 13th century) hore tuninge. On Map 4, they are marked by special symbols (\(\text{\textcircled{V}}\), \(\text{\textcircled{\nabla}}\)) (cf also Udolph 1994:318–330).

The map suggests that the main connection between the Continent and England proceeds from the Lower Rhine via the South of the Netherlands and Belgium across the channel.

4. **Germanic -mar- “moor”**

An old Germanic word, latent in place-names with equivalents and relatives in other Indo-Germanic languages is -mar-. It is cognate with Latin mare, Slavic more (Pomorze/Pommern) and also attested in Celtic place names such as Aremorica (cf. Udolph 1994:330–377). There is an ablaut to German Meer < *mari and German Moor < *mòra. In Germany it can be found in numerous North and Middle German place-names: Behlmer, Bettmar, Bleckmar, Bothmer, Dilmar, Dittmern, Eschmar, Flettmar, Friemar, Geismar, Gelmer, Gittmer, Görmar, Hadamar, Heumar, Härstmar, Horsmar, Horstmar, Homar, Hukesmäre, Komar, Lettmar, Lohmar, Ostmar, Palmar, Rethmar, Rettmar, Rethmar, Ringmar (compare the English place-name Ringmer, with the older variant Hringamara), Rottmar, Schötmar, Schöttmar, Villmar, Villmar, Versmar, Voßmar, Wechmar, Weidmar, Weimar, Weitmar, Weltmar, Wichmar, Widmar, Wiedemar, Wismar, Wißmar, Witmar, Wittmar.

To the West of Germany, we find the element in Aalsmeer, Alkmaar, Alsmaar, Berdemare, Bommere, Bossemer, Echmari, Gaastemere, Hetmere, Hoemere, Hotmier, Purmer, Schermer, Spilmer, Wormer and Zonnemaire, 1190 Suthmier.

The place-name element is likewise common in England: Badlesmere, Blakemere, Boldmere, Bradmore, Bulmer, Colemere, Cuckmere, Duddernere, Falmer, Grasmore, Holmer, Homer, Keymer, Marton, Minsmere, Ringmer, Rugmere, Sledmere, Stammer.

The distribution of the element shows that there are two large territories connected with each other across the channel: northern Germany, the Netherlands and Flanders on the one side and England on the other. The territory of Schleswig-Holstein is, again, irrelevant.

5. German *Riede* "mud, mush, dirt, soil"

The German water-term *Riede*, which is relatively frequent in the area along the North Sea, has often been examined in terms of its distribution and etymology. Its Low German equivalent is *ride*, *ried*, *rien* "natural watercourse, small river, rivulet in the mudflat"; the Middle Low German term is *ride*, *rie*, *rige* (*ride*, *rije*, *rige*) "brook, small river, rift". In Old Saxon it is *ritha*, *rithe* "watercourse, small river"; Frisian *riede* "canal, small river in the mudflat", *ryi*, *ryd(e)"brede greppel", North Frisian *ride*, *riet*; Old Frisian *reed* "small river" and *rith* "brook"; Dutch *rijt* "water-loop", Middle Dutch *rijt*, Old Low Franconian *rith* "brook".

Very early the word was encountered in English: it is found in Old English *rið*, *riðe*, *riðig* "small river", *riðe* "brook, drawn-out narrow lowland, old streambed", English *rithe*, *ride* "small river, originated by rain, small stream", *rigatt* "a small channel from a stream made by rain" (cf. Udolph 1994: 377–394).

In Germany, numerous examples of place-names with this element can be found. Some of them belong to younger strata and are thus not very significant for the present investigation, which focuses on the older strata: Achterriede, Aschrihe, Borgerriede, Bassriede, Bickenriede, Bleckriede, Bollriede, Borgriede, Botterriede, Brandriede, Bruchriede, Brunriede, Diekriede, Eilenriede, Ellerige, Jachlerriede, Janrieden, Middel Rie (Middels Rie), Exerriede, Feldriede, Feldriede, Flehmanns Rieh, Flämischen Rie, Weekenlands Rie, Flissenriede, Fluthriede, Fohlenrieh, Fuhlenrieh, Fuldenriede, Fuhle Riede, Die Große Riede, Grotrüeh, Haferriede, Hauenriede, Holtride and many more.

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Examples that belong to an older stratum are: 726 (copy about 1222) Araride (near Cologne), Brüchter near Ebeleben, 876 Borahtride, 1290 Bruchtride, also Burichtride, Borantride; Corveyer evidence from about 826-876 Hrithem (with inorganic h-).

In the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and North France, the following examples have been detected: Bruggenrijt, Dieprijt, het Dikke Riet, Munnikenzijlster, Ekkersrijt, Huttirijt, Jouresriet, Pielrijt, Pieperij, Riet, Rijt, Segerijd and others; some of these are, however, young formations.

England shows numerous examples containing this element. Some represent very early coinages, such as Abberd; Beverley Brook, 693 (copy 11th century) beferiði; Blackrith; 972 (copy 1050) Bordriðig; Chaureith, 1086 Cearuride; Childrey, Coldrey, 973/74 (copy 12th century) (to) colride; Coleready; Cropedy; Cottered, 1086 Chadrei; 1228 Ealdmererithi; Eelrithi, 680 ad Adlriðe; Eferiddy; Erith; Fingrith; 693 river- and stream-names Fugelriði; Fulreadi; Fulriðe; Gosereye; Hendred, 984 Henna rið; 774 Hweolriðig; Landrith; Shottory, 699-709 (Map 11th century) Scortarið and many more.

The distribution on the map (see Map 6) shows that these place-names occur especially in Northern Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and England. Thus, it may also suggest that the settlers immigrated to England via the channel.

Map 6. Riede, ride, rithe, riet, rið in geographic names (Udolph 1994:393)

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6. German *Hude* "timber yard, staple market located at a watery place, ferry point"

An old word that particularly connects Northern Germany and England is German *Hude*. A German native speaker recognises this element only in connection with place-names such as *Buxtehude, Fischerhude, Harvestehude* and the *Steinhuder Meer* (Sea). The meaning of this word is unknown to today's speakers. *Hude* occurs in Northern Germany especially in place-names which are closely located to water. In Middle Low German it is attested as *hūde* "timber yard, staple market located at a watery place, ferry point". It is also unknown in Modern English, but attested in Old English: *hūð* "place where the ship enters, a low bank, a small harbour" (cf. Udolph 1994: 460–473).

The distribution of the place-names with this element is very interesting. In Germany, the following examples have been found: *Altenhude; Aschenhude; Billerhude; Dockenhuden, 1184 Dockenhuthe; Dodenhuden; 1346 Eckhude; Fischerhude, 1124 Widagheshude; Flemhude; Frauenhude; Grönhude; Hamhude; Harnewshude; Heemhude; Huden near Meppen, 1037 -huthun in the evidence Hlareshuthun; Hodenhagen, 1168 (copy 18th century) de Hode (and more frequently); Hude (frequent), also with umlaut Hūde; Hudeu, about 920 Huthun; Hudau; Hudenhühen; Kayhude; Nedernhude, Oberhude; Pahlhude; Ritterhude; Stapelhude, 1258 in loco qui dictur Stapelhuthe; Steinhude at Steinhuder Meer (Sea), 2nd half of 14th century To der Stenhuide; Tesperhude; Winterhude.

The element is also observable in place-names in the Netherlands: *Coude Hide* in Seeland; *Coxeyde, 1270 de Coxhyde; Coxeyde (Koksjide); Hude, 1405 Hude Hude driesch; Hudenerstrate; 1359 le Hyde, near Dünkrenchen; Nieuwe Yde near Nieuwoort; Oostduinkerk, 1277 Nova Hida; Ravensijde, 1401 Wilravens hyde; Lombartsijsde, 1408 Lombardeis yde; Yde, 1331 in die Hide.

The place-names in England are old, and thus, important: *Aldreth, 1169–72 Aldreða, -hūda; Bablock Hythe; Bleadney, 712 (copy 14th century) ad portam quae dictitur Bledenitha; Bolney, 1086 Bolleheide; Bulverhythe; Chelsea, 785 Cealcyth, Cealcyð, 801 Cealchyt; 1275 Chollesethe; Claythitha, 1268 Clayheth; Covehithe; Creeksea, 1086 Crichesea; Downham Hythe, 1251 Dunham hythe; Earith, 1244 Herheth; Erith, 695 Earhyð; Fishhythe; Freycinghythe; Glantry, 675 (copy 13th century) Glenthythe; Greenhithe; Heath (several examples); Hidden, 984 (copy about 1240) (innan) Hydene; Hithe Bridge; Hive, 959 (copy about 1200) Hydē; Hive, 1306 atte hethe; Horstih, 1249 Horsyth(e); Hyde, 1333 atte Hithe; Horseway, 1238 Hors(e) hythe; Hullasey, 1086 Hunlafesed; Hyton, 1086 Hitune; Hythe (Surrey), 675 (copy 13th century) huþe; Hythe (Cambridge), 1221 Hethelod; Hythe (Kent), 1052 (on) Hyþe; Hythe (Hampshire), 1248 (la) Hithe; Knaith, 1086 Cheneida, < cnēōhþþ;
Lakenheath, about 945 æt Lacingahids; Lambeth, 1041 Lambheð; Maidenhead, 1202 Maideheg; Prattishide, about 1250 Prattshithe; Rackheath, 1086 Racheitha; Rotherhithe, about 1105 Rederheia; Sawtry, 974 Saltreiam; Small Hythe, 13th century Smalide; Stepney, about 1000 Stybhanhyre; Swavesey about 1080 Suavesheda; Welshithe, allegedly 675 Weales hûðe.

Map 7. German *luhe*, English hyð in place-names (Udolph 1994:472)

More than a century ago, Jellinghaus (1898:290) suggested that the *luhe*-names testify to the origin of the Southern English tribe from the German lowlands.

The distribution of the names on Map 7 gives conclusive evidence that the early settlers of England did not come from Schleswig-Holstein or Jutland. Yet, the place-names in Flanders should be considered in detail, because they seem to connect the German and English place-names.

7. Germanic *lauha*- “wood”

Germanic ‘lauha’ is generally accepted to be the oldest term for “wood” which can be found within the Germanic languages (Ramge 1987). In Germany, it occurs in place-names as -lohn, in the Netherlands and Flanders as -lo(o), in England mainly as -ley, Old English -lēah. Apart from the element -ton, it is the most frequent place-name element in England (cf. Udolph 1994:513–573).

The vast number of place-names that exemplify this element includes the following: Gittersloh, Dorla, Hangelo, Islohe, Lindlohe, Oldesloe, Pullach, Ramelslohe,

Map 8. Germanic *lauha* in place- and field-names (Udolph 1994:568)

The distribution of the names (see Map 8) produces a by now familiar picture. It may be noted that Germanic *lauha* became a highly productive place-name element in England. However, this should not lead to the assumption that the starting point of the element's spreading was in England. The distribution shows us that a secondary productivity may distort the impression which we get from a distribution map and may lead to false assumptions. Although the element is far more frequent in England than on the Continent, this does not necessarily mean that its origin is to be found there. As the starting point for the immigrating settlers was the Continent, the point of origin is likely to consist of those areas in which -lo(o), -loh occurs, that is, Northwest Germany, Belgium and Flanders.
8. Germanic *tuun- "fence"

Even more frequent than -ley in England is the place-name element -ton < Germanic *tuun-, also attested in Old English tun, Old High German zūn, German Zaun, Low German tun "fence", Old Frisian tuun "fence, manor", Dutch tuin "garden", Old Saxon tūn "fence", Old Norse tún "fence", "fenced piece of land", "village", further developed in the Nordic and English language into "fenced place", compare English town (cf. Udolph 1994:609–764).

One eighth of the English place-names are composed with this element, making up tens of thousands of names, such as Newton, Norton, Weston, Eaton, Horton, Hampton, Remington. It is also known in Scandinavia: Altuna, Dingtuna, Fröštuna, Hovtun, Nicktuna, Sigtuna. There are only a few instances in Germany: Anderten near Hannover, about 990 Ondertunun; Anten near Bersenbrück, about 890 Northanthetun; Barnten near Hildesheim, 1149 Barint-hune; Bovenden near Göttingen, 949 Bobentun; Dörnten near Goslar, 1053 Dormzuni; Flechtzheimerhof next to Brakel near Höxter, about 930 Flechtunum; Giften, place-name close to Hildesheim, 1203 de Gifthenen; Ilten near Sehnde, 1227 de Ylenem; Lochtum in the district of Goslar, Annales Lamberti Loctuna, 1129 de Lochenem; Nörten North to Göttingen, 1055 (copy 16th century) Northun, Northunum; Thünen/Toennem near Soest; Unterrieden near Witzenhausen, Trad. Corb. Ungrotun, Ungroten (marginal note), Traditiones Fuldenses Vngerod, villa Ungerodet.

The map (see Map 9) clearly shows the frequency of this element in England. In comparison, the frequency of occurrence of this element is negligible in Germany and Scandinavia. However, there is an important complement. Especially in Germany, there are place-name types in -ing- which also carry another extension. These include coinages with -inghusen/-inghausen, such as Recklinghausen, -ingdorp/-ingdorf, such as Gugging, 11th century Guukkingin, -ingerode, such as Wernigerode and -ingheim, such as Tinallinge, 11th century Ingaldingon, also attested in England, cf. Birmingham. However, the corresponding formations with -ing-ton only exist in England and are very frequent there; examples include Barrington, Bollington etc. They have also been transferred to America, cf Arlington and several other examples. On the Continent, this specific type can only be found in one single area, that is, Northern France, with such examples as Albinthun, Alenthun, Alincthun, Audenthun, Audincinuth, Baincthun, Colincthun, Dirlington, Florincthun etc.

It was suggested long ago that this development goes back to the settlers coming back from the island to the Continent via the channel (Ehmer 1937). Two maps illustrating this movement were drawn independently, yet at the same time, by a French linguist (Martinet 1996:6–7; see Map 10) and a German onomastician (Udolph 1999a: 440; see Map 11)

Map 10. Place-names with -ing-hem/-hen and -ing-(th)un in North France (Martinet 1996:6–7)

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Map 11. Place-names with -ing-t(h)un in North France (Udolph 1999a:440)

The important point here is that the Channel has been a geographical route of migration in both directions. It is beyond question that contact and/or migration movements took place via the channel. In the present case, the question concerns settlers emigrating from England to the Continent. However, the distribution of the place-name elements strongly suggests that the Germanic settlers used the same route for settling England.

9. German horst “bushes, undergrowth”

More than 70 years ago, a dissertation was written in Göttingen concerning a place-name element whose distribution is relevant to the origin of the early settlers of England. This dissertation, by Denker (1924), investigates place-names containing the element -horst, which in most cases has the English equivalent -hurst.

Jellinghaus stated that the element Horst is an exclusively Saxon–Dutch place-name. It means "old wood". Whereas the south of England features numerous place-names with hurst, these place-names are absent from the area north of Suffolk. The element horst is unknown to Danes and Frisians. This might suggest that the Germanic invaders of the northern parts of England came from the Friesland area including Holstein, while the settlers of southern England seem to be more strongly connected to the area of the Saxons.
The word appears as German horst, Middle High German hurst or härste, Old High German hurst, Old Saxon hurst "bushes, undergrowth", Middle Low German, Middle Low Dutch hurst, horst, Dutch horst, Old English hyrst. English hurst specifically means "copse, bushes, shrubbery, brushwood", also "overgrown small ridge in marsh and moor", or younger "bird's nest".

The word occurs in hundreds of place names, for instance in Germany we come across Ahrenhorster Ort, 1233 Arnhorst, 1249 Arnhorst etc.; Honhorst near Hellern, 1160 Hoinhorst, from about 1200 onwards Honhorst; Horst (frequent); Rumpeshorst, place-name near Wimmer; Wallenhorst near Osnabrück, 851 Walonhurst, 1160 Walnhurst. It is also well attested in the Netherlands: Aalhorst, in Overijssel; Aelshorst, 1457 mentioned in Dalsen; de Aepenhorst near Dingsperlo; Bakhorst; Beerhorst in Laren (Gelderland); Binkhorst near Losser (Overijssel), 1st half of 11th century. Binkhorst etc.

In England, there are also numerous place-names containing this element, such as Bayhurst in Middlesex, 13th century. Baynhurste; Boleness, place-name in Cambridgeshire, 1438 Bolneyhurst field; Chippinghurst in Oxford; Fingest, place-name in Buckinghamshire, 1163 Tingehurst, 1233 Tingeherst, 1426 Tingeherst; Gayhurst, 1086 Gatehers, and many more.

Map 12 is based on the supplemented material collected by Denker (1924).

Map 12. Place-names with -horst and -hurst (Udolph 1994:791)

The distribution of the place-names speaks for itself. The connection between Western Lower Saxony, the Netherlands, Belgium and Flanders on the one side and England on the other can hardly be doubted. Schleswig-Holstein, Jutland and Denmark are insignificant.
10. The generic -set

The county names Somerset and Dorset in England are well-known. It is worthwhile to look into the etymology and the history of the generic -set. Here, there also seems to be an unequivocal connection between this area and Northern Germany.

The generic belongs to the so-called in-pago-names which contain as a second element forms like -seton, -seti, -setae, -seten, -sazon, -sazi, -saza, -sacia etc. They are ascribed to Germanic *sēṭjōn, m. "a person sitting, living somewhere", "inhabitant", a nomen agentis with a n-stem (of Germanic *sit- "sit") which is attested in formations as -sā[z]ō in Old High German, -sēze in Middle High German, as -setio in Old Saxon, as -sēto in Old English, -seti in Old Norse (Polenz 1961: 191). In some cases, it is not easy to distinguish these forms from other compounds with similar elements, such as Middle Dutch sate (sāt) "settlement, construction site, fenced site", Old High German sāza, gisāzi, Middle High German saxe, sez "place, settlement".

Polenz (1961: 192) suggests that, apart from the weak *sēṭjanez, there was also a strong variant *sēṭ[j]ōz. It is not unreasonable to assume that two types of word-formation processes coexisted. Consequently, this whole group can be subsumed under *sēṭjanez/-sēṭ[j]ōz.

Jellinghaus (1898: 314) pointed out the frequent occurrence of this element type in Western Lower Saxony and the striking concordance with English equivalents. A listing of the corresponding place-names confirms this view (cf. Udolph 2000). In Northern Germany, we find Beckstedt to the south of Wildeshausen, 1291 von Bekeseten; Bekesete to the east of Münster, 1250 Bekesete; Bekisetthhuson, (deserted) near Lüdinghausen, 10th century Bekisettihuson, to Lower German bēk(e) "brook"; Bersten near Wellendorf, 1182 de Bersten; Bexete to the south-east of Münster, about 1050 Bikieseton; Bexten near Salzbergen, also Vorbexten, 1050 Bekesete; Bexten near Bad Salzuflen, Vita Meinwerci Bikeseethon; Bexten, today Schlingort (district of Osnabrück), 1402 Bexten, Bekeste etc.; Brosterhaus, (deserted) near Selm, 1240–50 Brocsatherhusen; Broxten, frequently near Osnabrück and Melle, about 1050 Brocsethon, including Low German brōk "bog, march, mud"; Bulsten to the north-east of Melle, 12th century Bulseton; Felsen to the north of Osterkappeln, 1090 in Velzetem; Felsen to the south of Herzlake, 1280 Velseten; Firihsazi, name of a district between the estuaries of Weser and Elbe, 9th century Firihsazi; Fleeste to the south of Bremerhaven, 1105 Flietsete, to North German fleet; Fohrste near Alfeld (Leine), 8th/9th century (copy 12th century) Wojesete, 990 Foresazi; Fürste near Hildesheim, (beginning of 12th century) in Vorsete; Geestenseth to the east of Bremerhaven, 1123 Gestensethe; Hardensetten near Iburg, 12th century.
Horseten; Harsten near Wellingholzhausen (district of Osnabrück), 12th century Horsten; Hollenset near Warendorf, 1050 (Freckenhorster Heberolle) Holon-, Hollenseton; Holstein, Adam v. Bremen Holctae, Holsati, Holtsati), Saxo Grammaticus: in Holsatiam, Holsatis, Annalista Saxo: Holcete, Old Saxon root *Holtsëtion, *Holtsätun "an inhabitant of the forest"; Holsten to the north of Hoya, about 1230 Holcethen; Holsten near Ankum (district of Osnabrück), (end of 12th century) (copy 16th century) Holzetten; Holsten(-Mündrup) to the south-east of Osnabrück, a. 1182 Holtsaten, Holsten; Holsterehausen, urban district of Essen, middle of 12th century Holsterehusen; Hopsten near Ibbenbüren, 1265 Frethericus de Hopseten; Horst near Nottuln, 10th century Hornseti; Laxen near Gimbute, 10th century Lahsetium, lauk- "leek" + satium; Laxten to the east of Lingen; Leste near Anreppen, 1031 (copy 12th century) (Vita Meinwerci) Lassetæ; Loxten near Ankum, (end of 12th century) (copy 16th century) Locieten; Loxten near Halle/Westfalen, 1182 Locseten; Loxten, also Westloxten, (deserted) near Everswinkel (to the east of Münster), about 1050 Lactoten; Mersten-gau to the west of Hannover, (after 814) Marsdieim, 826–876 (copy 15th century) in pago Marstern, < *Mersëton; Middelseten, (deserted) near Harrewinkel, 1196 Middelseten; Moltenseten, old name (deserted) of Sandfort (district of Osnabrück), 1147 Mulenseten(n); Moorhüsen near Itzehol, 1247 de Morsatenhusen; Morschenich to the west of Cologne, 1158 Morsaz; Oberholstern near Melle, about 1240 Holtzeten; Ouseten, 1358 and 1402 mentioned close to Dissen; Reste, (deserted) near Schwalenberg, 1031 in Refsetæ; Senst near Coswig, 1228 Sinsatin; Uelsen to the west of Lingen, 1177 de Uelseten; Varenseten near Bad Iburg, 12th century Vernsetæ; Velsen near Warendorf, 1050 Velseten; Vorste, (deserted) near Hameln, 1245 in Vorsetæ; Waldsati, in 9th century mentioned district at the Wümme to the north-east of Bremen; Waltsazi, (deserted) near Ohrdruff (Thuringia), 11th century Walsazi, Waltsazi; Westerbeverstedt, 860 (copy 11th/12th century) Westerianbeverigseti; West to the south-west of Rheine, 1280 Weisetæ; 998 mentioned area Uuigsæi, to the north-east of Sömmerda; Winkelset to the east of Wilhelmsnade, about 1370 Wynkelesyde; Winkelseten near Laer, 1175 Winkelsete; Winkelshütten near Halle/Westf., 1240 Winkelseten; Woltzetan near Emden, 10th/11th century Uualtsation; Wursten, 12th/13th century Wurthsati, Wursatia.

In the Netherlands, Belgium and France we only find a few traces: Hoenzadriel near Driel (Gelderland), 772 (copy 12th century) in uilla Hunseti; Kerkevezaat near Zoelen (Gelderland), 850 (copy 11th century) in Auansati; Wibernessate, mentioned in 1165 (copy 15th century), unknown near Kuinder (Overijssel); Wezet, French Visé, to the north of Lüttich, (877–79) in vico Vissato, 1036 (copy 14th century) Viusatium etc., 1096 Wegsaze, 1149 Uigesetensis, 1176 Wegesatzan.

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England has got some important names. According to Smith (1956:94) Old English sæete (sætan nom.pl., sætina gen.pl., setum dat.pl.) "settlers, dwellers" exists as a toponym in place-names. It is compounded with older place-, river- and stream-names (Arosætæn, Dorset, Esturseæ, Tempsetætæ), with single appellatives (Dunsætæn "dwellers of the mountains") or it forms elliptic types of older place-names (Sumersetæn, Wilsætæn, Peptsetætnæ). The following names can be added here: Arosætæna (Warwick), 7th century Arosætæna land (< river names Arrow, "settlers at the river Arrow"); Beasætæna (Worcester) ("the inhabitants of Beannæl"); Bilston (Stafford), 985 on Bilsætæna gemære, 996 Bilsetætnæ; Bradsetæna gemære (Worcester); Burstwick (Stafford), perhaps burgsætæ-; Cilætætnæna (Oxford), 7th century Cilætætnæna land; Cregætnæna haga, mentioned near Bexley, Kent, < Old English Cregæ-sætæn "settlers along the Cray"; Dorset, about 894 Thornsætæna, 955 (to) Dorsetætnæ, 978 (on) Dorsetætnæ, etc., either to Dorn, older form of Dorchester or elliptical formation of Old English, Dwarsætætnæ "Dorchester"; Dunsætæn (Hereford); Elmætæn (Suffolk), ca. 995 Ylmætæ-; Esturseæ, 1086 mentioned (Kent), "dwellers on the river Stour"; Forætæ (Norfolk), 1086 Forætæna, 1199 Forætænæ, "Fornæsætæ-" (or) "Fornæ-sætæn; Grantætæna (Cambridge), 1086 Grantætæna, Grantætæna, "the dwellers on the Granta (river)"; Guist (Norfolk), 11th century Geisætæ, 1086 Geigætæna, -ætæ, < Gæg-sætæn; Halætæna in Montgomeryshire (Wales), 1249 Hallætænæ; Hessætæ (Suffolk), 1086 Hete-, Etætæna, ca. 1180 Hegætæna; Histætæna (Cambridge), 1086 Histætæna, later Histætæna, < Histætæna-tæn-; Inkætæna (Worcester), old of Incætætnæ gemære; Luxætæ (Warwick), 985 on Loscopeætæna gemære, = Lahtætæ, Loscopeæ, Lochætæn in Northern Germany; Maund, old name of a district in Hereford, 811 on Magonætæna, 872 in Maganætænæ; Merætæna, 1086 mentioned district at the border of Wales; Ombersætæ (Worcester), mentioned in 817 in the form: on Omnætætnæ gemære; Peak (Derby), 7th century Peckætæna land "inhabitant of Peak or Peacland", < Old English pæck "hill", Pebehætæn (Worcester), 956 Peptsetætnæ; Postætæna (Hereford), 1086 Pøsetætnæ, root *Pøtætætnæ; Rumingætæna, 697 mentioned name of a tribe near Romney (Kent); Somerset, 845 mid Sumætætnæ, 878 Suætætnæ; Stætætnæ, 1086 Esturseæ, district in Kent, "dwellers on the river Stour"; Tempætæna, 1086 Temsetæna, district at the river Teme in Salop; Tomætæna in Warwickshire at the river Tame; Wentsætæn in Wales, "resident of the district of Gwent"; Wegreeætæn, end of 9th century Cantætæna and Whtætæn "resident of the Isle of Wight"; Wilsætæn (Wiltshire), 800 mid Wilsætæna, "dwellers on the river Wylæ; Wrekin, mountain near Shrewsbury, old Wrochætæn etc., occurs in the name of the settlers, as well, 7th century Woccætætnæ land, 855 in Wrecocætæna, 863 Wroætætæna.

The distribution suggests very strongly (see Map 13) that there was a connection between the Germanic place-names on the Continent and the place-names in England.

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Map 13. Place-names with *-sētjanaz/-sēt[j]aiz (Udolph 2000: 87)

The distribution of the place-names corresponds to the other maps of Germanic place-names from the North Sea area and thus demonstrates that, concerning toponyms, England is not connected to Schleswig-Holstein in the first instance but rather to Western Lower Saxony, to Westphalia, the Southern Netherlands and Flanders.

11. Suffix -ithi

It is well-known that a great shift in noun-formation took place within the Germanic language history. While compounding has become the most common means of noun formation in the modern languages, as in German Hand-tuch, Auto-reifen, Haus-wand, English main door, foot path, winter tyre, Danish hoved der, skov vej, bildaek, in the Early Germanic period new words were mainly formed by derivation, with the use of suffixes: "gab-lo-, German Gabel "fork", "ham-ijja- German Hemd "shirt". Hence, suffix formations are essential when looking for ancient Germanic place-names. This may be illustrated with the example of the suffix -ithi.

This suffix is no longer productive and it is known to us from the older Germanic languages only by a few words: Gothic avithi "flock of sheep", Old English gesyhtip "saddle oxen", Old English winterfylleþ "October", Old High German winithi "grassland", juhhidu "harnessed team" etc. cf. Casemir (2003, 438-446), Möller (1992), Udolph (1991; 1994:258-288).

Whereas it can hardly be identified as an appellative – a fact suggesting a relatively old age – it is a very common element in North and Middle German place-names. Approximately 200 names are still found, including some very famous examples such as: Birgite, 1088 Bergithi; Bleckede at the Elbe; Bünde, 853 (imitation) Buginithi; Dingden near Bocholt, 1163 Tingethe, to Old High German.
thing, ding "people's assembly"; Döhren, urban district of Hannover, about 990 Thurnithi; Essen, 9th century Astnide; Geesthacht, 1216 in Hachede; Gimte, 1088 Gimmethe; Grohnde, (1237–47) in Gronde; Helle near Wiedenbrück, end of 12th century Helethe; Huckarde, urban district of Dortmund, 947 Hucrithi; Hüsedo, 12th century Huisithi; Lengede, 1151 Lencethi; Mengede, urban district of Dortmund, 10th century Megnithi, Mengide; Meschede, 913 Meschede, 1015–25 Meschethi; Sarstedt, (1046–1056) Serceteti, Sercete, 1196 Scardethe; Sehnede, 1147 Senethe; Sömmerda, 876 Sumiridi item Sumiridi.

West Germanic settlers emigrating to England from the fifth century onwards took this element with them and produced some more place-names on the island before the suffix became unproductive and vanished. Examples include: in Kent The Brent, Brent Lane, late 14th century Bremthe; deserted place-name 13th century Bremthe; deserted place-name 1286 Bremthe; 4e Brent Cottages, 1359 Brencha; 1206 La Brenchtethi (for Bremthe?); Further Frant, 956,961 (at) Fyrm(a), 1177 Fernet, 1296 Fernthe, 1332 Frenthe; Rowfant, 1574 Rowfraunte in Sussex; Feltham (Somerset), 882 Falet, Fylethamm; deserted place-name Helthe in Kent, 1242–43 Helthe, Helthe, 1252–54 de Holthi, 1254 de Heilthi, 1270 de Helthi; deserted place-name Horsyth in Dorset, 13th century horside, 1249, 1256 Horsyth(e), 1256 Horseth, 1327,1331,1463 Horsith(e), 1331,1338 Horsith(e); Tilt, place-name in Kent and Surrey, 1328 la Tilthe, Tiltwood in Sussex, 1327 at Tilte, also Backtilt Wood, 1254 de Beketilthe, 1278 de Beketilthe etc. as well as Barettil, 1285 Bertiil, 1313 de Bertilthe in Kent.

The distribution (see Map 14) shows that the suffix was still productive when West Germanic tribes came to England. The suffix had been used for appellative

Map 14. Place-names with the suffix -ithi (Udolph 1994:272)

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place-name formation before it became unproductive and eventually disappeared from the Anglo-Saxon language stock. The distribution of these place-names on the Continent provide another strong suggestion about the origins of these West Germanic settlers: the place names with *-ithi* mark the old settlement areas precisely.

12. **Magdeburg**

Place-names often contain elements and words which have disappeared from the language stock a long time ago. It is often the case that single elements can no longer be reliably identified in place-names. Thus, it happens that they are mistaken for other, better known elements or words. A good example of this phenomenon is the place-name **Magdeburg**.

Until a few years ago, it was assumed that this place-name contains the element underlying German *Magd*, *Mädchen* "maid, servant"; Old Low German *magad*, Old High German *magad*, Gothic *magās*. The name's meaning would then be understood as "site of heathen female beings". Because of the early evidence for the place-name, 805 ad *Magadoburg*, 10th century *Magadaburg*, *Magathaburg*, *Magdeburg*, this explanation has been easily accepted. However, the place-name is not restricted to Northern and Middle Germany, as may be seen in the following examples: *Edeberg*, hill near Plön, 1221 (copy 1286) *Megedeberge; Mägdesprung*, place-name, also mountain name, near Harzgerode; 8th/9th century *circa fontem, qui dictur Magedobrunnus; Maghed Ek*, assumed near Suderburg to the south-west of Uelzen, 1339 *maghed ek; Magetheide*, part of the Luneburg Heath, 1060 (copy beginning 14th century) in *Magetheida; Magetheide* in the district of Winsen/Luhe, also near Dannenberg and Lüdinghausen; *Medebek*, tributary to Trave near Lübeck, 1426 (copy 18th century) in *Meghebeke; Megdebruch*, 1669 mentioned field-name for a marshland between Steinhorst and Grebshorn; *Megedeberg*, hill near Sendenhorst, mentioned in 1311 *Megedeberg; up (under) dem Megedeberge*, field-name mentioned in the 15th and 16th century in Göttingen-Herberhausen; *Megedefelde*, deserted place-name near Bennigsen (district of Hannover), 1149 *Magedevelde; Megedebove*, fenced site near Othfresen, district of Goslar, 1288 *Megedebove; Megedekot*, small settlement near Kulpe (district of Osnabrück), 1277 (1276) *Megedekot; Megederode*, deserted name of unknown location, district of Göttingen), 1224 (copy) in *Megidiroth (Var. Megideroth); Megdeheoph*, high ground near Dötzum (district of Hildesheim), 1462–1478 *Megheudehop; Megedefeld* near Vlotho, 1576 *upm Megedevelde; Meinefeld*, place-name near Stadthagen, 1207–1224 in *Magethevelde*.

However, what does *magad-*, *meged-* actually refer to? If one assumes that the element means "maid" or "virgin", it would suggest that the place-names consisting
of this element mean something like “virgin mountain, virgin oak, virgin heath, maid marsh, maid field, or maid heath”. Yet, concerning place-names and their meaningfulness these conclusions would not be very plausible.

First of all, it may be useful to have a closer look at the English evidence. Here, place-names are also found with such an element, which has been interpreted and associated with English maiden (most of the material has been taken from Ekwall (1960), Smith (1956) and Watts (2004)). Occasionally, the Old English term for "camomile", mageþe, maeþe, maegþe, has been suggested instead (cf. Tiefenbach 1989). These attempts at an explanation of the English place-names appear somewhat awkward. Examples of the place-names include: Madley, to the south of Birmingham, with the generic lēah; Maidebury in Cambridge, generic burh; Maiden Down in Devon, generic din; Maiden Castle near Brough (Westmorland), about 1540 etc. Mayden Castell(l), "refers to a rectangular Roman fort [...] near the Roman road over Stainmore [...] The name [...] means "maidens" fortification [...] occurs several times and usually refers to prehistoric earthworks and fortifications" (Smith 1956:71); Maiden Castle in Cumberland and Dorset; Castle Hill in York (West Riding), former Maiden-ecastell; Maiden Castle in Edinburgh, former also Castrum Puellarum; Maiden Way, name of a Roman road near Alston (Cumberland), about 1179 Mayden-gathe etc.; Maidens Bridge in Middlesex; Maidenburgh in Essex; Maidencombe in Dorset, generic cumb; Maidencourt in Berkshire, generic cot (compare the German place-name Mege-de-kot above); Maidenford in Dorset, generic ford; Maidenhead in Berkshire, 1202 Maidehegh, 1241 Maydehuth, Maydeheth, 1248 Maydehuth, generic hyð (cf. above with Map 10), according to Ekwall (1960:311) “the maidens' landing-place”, (notice the further development Maide-hyð > Maiden-head); Maidenwell in Cornwall and Lincolnshire, 1086 Welle, 1212 Maidenwell, “the maidens’ spring” (Ekwall 1960:311). According to Smith (1967:71) maegðe “camomile” is found in Maidford (Wiltshire; generic ford), “but difficult to distinguish from maegð”; wella “spring, brook” is assumed as generic in Maidwell (Norfolk), “perhaps in allusion to 'fertility' springs” (Smith 1956:32) and in Maidwell (Northamptonshire) as well, 1086 Medewelle, 1198 Maidewell, “the maidens' spring or stream” (Ekwall 1960:311); Maidford in Northamptonshire, 1086 Merdeford, 1167 Maideneford, 1200 Meideford; Maidstone, 10th century Maidestana, Meaghon stan, 1086 Medestane, 11th century Maegdestana, according to Ekwall (1960:311). “Probably 'the maidens' stone'. One Old English form seems to suggest the word maegþe as the first element, but 'mayweed stone' gives no good meaning. Probably the original form was maegþa-stan, which came to be misunderstood”; Mayburgh, 1671 Maburgh, place-name near Askham (Westmorland), refers to an old amphitheatre (Smith 1967:206).
Old English "camomile" is also found in Mayfield in Sussex, about 1200, 1248 Magefeud, 1279 Meghfeud, but according to Smith (1956:32) it is also difficult to distinguish from mægð. One should further compare Maybridge in Worcestershire; Mayford (Surrey), 1212 Maiford, 1230 Maynford, 1236 Mayford, according to Ekwall (1960:311) "This may be 'maidsens' ford' (OE mægh) or 'ford where mayweed grew' (Old English mægh(e)"; finally two more examples should be mentioned Maytham (Kent), about 1185 Mailhain, 1242 Meyhamme, 1314 Matham, "harn overgrown with mægh or mayweed" (Ekwall 1960:311); Medbury in Bedfordshire.

Map 15 shows that the place-names have a similar distribution to the ones discussed earlier.

Map 15. *megd-*, *mægd- in German and English place-names (Udolph 1999b:263)

It may be noted that the English and German place-names consisting of an element meged-, magad- have not yet been convincingly explained. Until now, the word has been explained as a noun. However, if we assume that the word is not a noun but an adjective, it resembles in its structure very much the Germanic word for "naked", German nackt, Old High German na(c)kot, na(c)chet, Gothic naqþþs, Old Norse nøykviðr, Old English nacod, nectar, Old Frisian nakad, náket < Germanic *nakad- (< IE *nák* "naked"). Unfortunately, no Germanic adjective *nagad- ("great") has been written down. However, this is not an unusual case in onomastics, since several elements of older place-names are difficult to be traced back. The point is that with an adjective "great" it becomes possible to explain about 60–70 place-names on the Continent and in England with a more sensible and logical meaning than "camomile" or "maidend".
From that point one has to ask the following questions about the place-names consisting of such an element: "What kind of castle?", "What kind of field?", "What kind of street?", "What kind of ford?" etc. The answer might possibly be: "big" or "great", hence, "a great castle" or "a great street" (Roman roads!), "a big heath" (Luneburg Heath!) etc. An etymological connection is found in the Germanic language branch of Gothic, Old English mægcn, German mägen, Old Icelandic magn, meg(t)in, Old English mægen "power, essential thing", Gothic mahts, German Macht "power". Thus, especially in connection with a castle it would make more sense to name it according to its impressiveness or powerfulness and not with a meaning "maiden" or "camomile"?

Magdeburg and the English place-names of Maidebury, Maiden Down, Maiden Castle suggest once again that there is a connection between the ancient names in Germany and England. The combined evidence of all the place-names considered cannot be a coincidence, but is rather the result of the early settlement history.

13. Summary

Thirty years ago, Laur (1964:295f.) uttered the hope that a thorough investigation of all English place-names and a consultation of the Lower Saxon and Dutch coastal regions might shed more light on the topic of the origins of the settlers. At the same time, the Schleswig-Holstein expert remains sceptical and predicts that such an investigation will not produce many more parallels between the continental coastal regions and England. Based on his assumption that he had already investigated the main territories of the early Germanic settlers of England (namely the tribe of the Angles in the former area of the duchy of Schleswig) and his negative results for Schleswig-Holstein, he misleadingly concludes that even if further reliable examples of name transfer were found, they would be unlikely to change the picture. Laur (1964:296) concluded that only a few names may be considered as being transferred from the Continent to Britannia by the Anglo-Saxons.

This paper has, it is hoped, managed to demonstrate that this negative result is only valid for Schleswig-Holstein. It does not apply at all to other areas of the Continent, viz. Lower Saxony, Westphalia, Southern Netherlands and Flanders. The research has focussed on the wrong region, and there has been too much reliance on literary sources, in particular Beda Venerabilis. Arnold (1875:2–3) pointed out more than 100 years ago: "Place-names of every country are a very

important element for the reconstruction of history”. According to him, they are "the most important and most reliable sources for historical geography – even more reliable than the inconsistent traditions of later writers".

The results from the onomastic material differ greatly from the generally accepted view, as shown in Hickey’s map (2005) (see Map 1). The old Germanic settlement areas and settlement movements are to be understood not as a brisk conquest, but rather as a slow settlement process; in contrast, Huns, Avars and other conquerors hardly left any place-names. Map 16 presents, in conclusion, my own mapping of these areas and movements, as they have emerged from the discussion. This mapping demonstrates where the West Germanic settlers of England came from and where they crossed over to England. Denmark, Jutland, and Schleswig-Holstein are irrelevant.

Map 16. The background of the settlers of England, based on the place-name evidence (Udolph 1994:775)

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