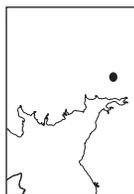


AN EIGHTH-CENTURY REFERENCE TO THE MONASTERY AT HODDOM



MICHAEL PARKER

Ipswich

INTRODUCTION

This study is intended to put on record the discovery of what appears to be an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon reference to the monastery at Hoddom in Dumfriesshire, for which, till now, no direct historical evidence has been acknowledged. I shall be concerned firstly to show that the reference is of good textual quality and is not a late interpolation into the text where it appears; secondly, to show that the reference really is to Hoddom and supports a new etymology for the name; and, thirdly, to begin a discussion of the historical implications of the reference. The proposed reference is more than three centuries older than what is otherwise the first citation for this place, in the inquisition of Earl (later King) David (1124), in which Hoddom appears as a possession of the see of Glasgow in a list of places including several in or near to the modern Dumfriesshire.¹ As far as I can tell the apparent earlier reference to Hoddom remains unknown and unpublished;² while the spelling of the name is not referred to in any place-name publication I know.³

THE SOURCE OF THE REFERENCE

The reference occurs in the long-published collection of the letters of Alcuin in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum* vol. iv, edited by Ernst Dümmler.⁴ Alcuin's letters, written mostly from the palace school at the court of Charles the Great in Aachen to a variety of addressees across the Christian world, are preserved in numerous medieval manuscript collections, but the manuscript sources of the relevant letter are two late pre-conquest English

¹ Lawrie 1905, 44–47, notes 299–304, list on p. 46, Innes 1843 i, 1–5.

² There is an extensive academic bibliography for Hoddom, including (history) Rawnsley 1888, esp. 9, 24–5, Jackson 1958, Cowan 1967, 82, s.n. Hoddam (*sic*, the alternative modern spelling), Whidden Green 1998, esp. 3, 26–29, Gough-Cooper 2003, (art and archaeology) Radford 1952–53, Crowe 1982, Bailey and Cramp 1988, esp. 3, 6, Lowe 1991, Lowe 2006, the excavation report.

³ Place-name sources checked include Watson 1926, Johnston-Ferguson 1935, Williamson 1942, Nicolaisen 1976 and 2001, Fellows-Jensen 1985 and Daphne Brooke in Lowe 2006, 199–204. For a collection of early Old English place-name spellings see Cox 1976, but this deals only with material to c.735 (i.e. the death of Bede). No analysis currently exists, to my knowing, of the corpus of pre-Scandinavian or pre-Conquest place-name material for Northumbria.

⁴ Dümmler 1895, specifically letter 70 on p. 113.

collections of letters written by Alcuin and others. The relevant letter, Dümmler's no. 70, is addressed from Alcuin to an abbot Wulfhard (*Vulphardo* in Dümmler's heading), who is described in the *lemma* or head-note of Dümmler's manuscript A1 as *abbatem Hodda Helmi* 'abbot of *Hodda Helm*'. Dümmler took his text here from three manuscripts which he called A1, A1* and A2. His A2, from which he takes the head-note for his printed heading, is B(ritish) L(ibrary), Cotton Vespasian A XIV. This manuscript, of about 1000 AD (henceforward V – the description refers to fos 114r–179v), is described by various authorities as a letter-book of Wulfstan, bishop of London (996–1002), bishop of Worcester (1002–1016) and archbishop of York (1002–1023). A1* is a copy (end of 17th century, henceforward Gale) by the antiquarian Thomas Gale of A1, which is BL Cotton Tiberius A XV (fos 1–173, henceforward T). This manuscript was very badly damaged in the Ashburnham House fire of 1731, so Gale's copy is often used for the parts of it which are damaged or illegible. A1 (T) is dated 11th century by Dümmler and is closely related to A2 (V) and to Archbishop Wulfstan. Probably but not certainly from our MS T come the summaries by Leland, published by Hearne in the *Collectanea*.⁵ Extensive excerpts of the letters, also from T or a close relative, were incorporated by William of Malmesbury into his *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum*, and there are more in the two manuscripts of William's edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, as described by R.M. Thomson.⁶ In his edition of Alcuin's letters, Dümmler used V, T and the Gale copy extensively (as well as many continental manuscripts), presenting variant text and variant headings frequently in his footnotes. Though over a century

⁵ Dümmler 1895, 9–10. The discussion and dating of Tiberius in the authorities refers to fos 1–173, see below. Subsequent items are later additions or attachments. Gale's copy is Trinity College Cambridge (Wren Library) O.10.16 (1468), pp.1–220, which I checked. Gale 'improved' his exemplar, however (Chase 1975, 10, Bullough 2004, 81), perhaps using early foreign printed editions of Alcuin letters and William of Malmesbury's extracts, which he cites in his margins – to judge from some of his headings possibly MS V as well. Leland's extracts (see *Collectanea*: Hearne 1715 and 1770) are from T or a close relative (see Thomson 2003, 158 and n. 24, Carley and Petitmengin 2004, 205). Wulfstan's handwriting has been identified and Ker (1971, 326–27) gives a list of his contributions and annotations in MS V.

⁶ Thomson (2003, 154 n. 3, originally published 1987) indexes Malmesbury's extracts in the *Gesta Regum* and *Pontificum*; from this index their text can be found in Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom 1997–98, Winterbottom and Thomson 2007; William's *Liber Pontificalis* is unpublished, but see Thomson 2003, 119–36, Bullough 2004, 152, esp. n. 73. The Wulfhard letter is wanting in Leland and Malmesbury, though several of the other relevant letters appear, see below. Bullough (2004, 82 and n. 199 and 98–99) was in two minds on the relationship between T and the versions of Malmesbury and Leland. One relevant letter, that of Pope Paul (757–58 AD), is also in Wilkins 1737, see below.

old, his edition is still in general use among academics. Letters in the two manuscripts which were not written by Alcuin appear in various other publications.⁷

In this study I shall be concerned with the letter to Wulfhard, but also with the specialists' opinions about the scribal transmission of the two English letter collections down to the 11th century and the representation in them of Old English names. The spellings of place- and personal names in Alcuin's letters (and in the other letters, of the eighth to tenth centuries, in the two collections) have as a group attracted little comment, as the numbers are small, though the texts themselves, and the identities of Alcuin's correspondents, have long been the subject of detailed academic study. The main exception to this lack of interest was Professor D.A. Bullough, who wrote on Alcuin's Northumbrian context at some length and made various observations about the place- and personal names.⁸ He wondered if this abbot Wulfhard might be the same person as a bishop of Hereford of a slightly later date but did not identify the place-name.⁹ Wulfhard (*Wulfheard* in the more usual West Saxon spelling of Old English) is a common name in Old English records, but Bullough's identification of him is still possible; to my mind the distance between Dumfriesshire in northern Northumbria and the Mercian diocese of Hereford does not rule it out. Yet Wulfhard's monastery, apparently called *Hodda Helm*, may be named in the head-note precisely because there was at the time more than one prominent man bearing this name.¹⁰

The online BL manuscript catalogue describes both V and T as early 11th century. Modern research has entertained the possibility that one manuscript might be a copy of the other; however, the latest authorities maintain that the two may have been compiled over an overlapping period of time, by separate groups of monks who were in contact with one another and helping one another's letter-collecting activities. The result was two related collections of letters, many by Alcuin, but a number by other authors, most of the latter of

⁷ E.g. Haddan and Stubbs 1869–71 iii, 394–96 and 615–16, Whitelock 1979, 830–31 and 875–76, the letters Pope Paul to Ecgerht and Eadberht and of Ecgreto to Wulfsige, both cited below.

⁸ Northumbria, Bullough 2004, 127–76; Hexham, Bullough 1993, 99, n. 11, Bullough 1999, Bullough 2004, 92; Wearmouth, Bullough 2004, 92 and n. 226, with an observation about the conservative character of the spelling; Coxwold, Bullough 2004, 152 and n. 73, though I do not follow the comment.

⁹ Bullough consulted Dr Margaret Gelling on the question of whether *helm* was a plausible place-name element in that part of England and was told that it was; see Bullough 1984, 77 and n. 14, repeated in Bullough 2004, 92. Both correspondents have since died (Bullough 2004 was posthumous), so I do not know any detail.

¹⁰ For *Wulfheard*, see, for example, lists in Searle 1897, 500–10, 584.

the eighth and tenth centuries. T was probably written in the south of England, Canterbury, Glastonbury and Malmesbury being noted as possible places, and V possibly in Worcester, otherwise York, though with a question-mark: perhaps really all of the copying activities took place a good deal further south than York, so that Wulfstan could have a copy to take north with him (from Worcester?) after he became archbishop.¹¹ Although the various authorities argue persuasively that the letters preserved in the 11th century derived from a collection at York, it is far from clear whether they were actually retrieved from York in the 11th century or were taken south at an earlier date, perhaps by some ecclesiastical refugee who left the city in the late ninth. In his survey of the use of Latin in the ninth century, Dr Lapidge was able to show that, despite the decline in the writing and copying of books in the relevant period, some books were probably preserved at York and survived into the post-Scandinavian era. He included the two English manuscripts of Alcuin's letters in his discussion of the evidence for Latin books at or from York and suggested that a manuscript of the letters might have been compiled there c. 825.¹² He also suggested that an early manuscript might still have been available at York when Wulfstan arrived there as archbishop. I tend to favour the earlier date for the departure of Alcuin's letters from York, along with the long-standing theory, most recently stated by Thomson, that MS T was compiled from a mixture of smaller gatherings and individual letters. Thomson's view best accounts for the relationship between the two collections. Given Lapidge's observation that high quality decorated books were the most

¹¹ BL *Online Catalogue* under search items Cotton MS Vespasian A XIV and Cotton MS Tiberius A XV. Bullough (1993, 95) dated T '(?mid-)eleventh century' and V 'somewhat earlier' (p. 96); cf. Bullough 2004, 81–82 (T) and 82–83 and n. 200 (V). Gneuss 2001, 68 no. 368 dates T fos 1–173 's.xi in.' (i.e. start of 11th century). Chase (1975, 8) dated V early 11th century. Ker's evidence (1971, 326–27), and the association with Wulfstan, places V in his lifetime. Dumville (1993), in discussion of the handwriting of the two MSS (pp. 66 n. 290, 108 and n. 125 (to which cf. pp. 2–4)), implies a date for both not much after c. 1020. Thomson (2003, 157–58) suggested a Canterbury origin for T. Brett (1991) dated T fos 1–173 first half of the 11th century and suggested it might have been begun in Canterbury and finished at Glastonbury, an idea noted by Carley and Petitmengin 2004, 204–05 and n. 41. Overlap in composition: Brett 1991, 56–57. Ganz 1993, 169, Thomson 2003, 154–55 and Mann 2004 say V was made for Wulfstan; Ganz adds that it is a copy of T (contradicted Bullough 2004, 98), date c. 1000. Judging from the authorities referred to, Carley and Petitmengin's date of c. 1100 (p. 204) for T seems to be a misprint for c. 1000. Only Bullough explicitly stated that he thought V the older text, though the dating in the BL *Online Catalogue* may imply this. Compilation of the letter books, Wallach 1959, esp. 266–74, Allott 1974, Chase 1975, esp. 1–2, 8–9.

¹² Lapidge 1996, 425–32, esp. 428, and 438; Alcuin's letters, 429. I owe this important reference (see also text and next note) to an anonymous referee.

valued and therefore the most likely survivors through the difficult period of the Scandinavian invasions, the gatherings and loose sheets required by this theory seem more likely to have survived in the more favourable conditions of southern England.¹³

Alcuin's letter to Wulfhard is a short one and the contents add nothing about this abbot or his church, beyond what is in the words of address.¹⁴ This fact, along with its relegation by Dümmler to his notes, may have contributed to lack of academic scrutiny of the place-name. Dümmler dated the letter to c. 789–796.

THE REFERENCE, ITS SPELLING AND TEXTUAL HISTORY.

The alternative *lemma* or heading reads in the original manuscript (MS T, microfilm at the British Library) EPLΔ ΔΙ ΜΓ ΔDPULE ΗΑRDUM ΔBBΔTEM HODDΔ HELMI. From this Dümmler printed *Epistola Albini magistri ad Pulehardum abbatem Hoddabelmi* 'a letter of Master Albinus (Alcuin's pen-name) to Pulehard, abbot of *Hodda Helm*'. The letter As are almost without feet and the apparent name Hoddom is divided as shown, but the script is clear, apparently because the ink used in the headings resisted water damage more than the rest of the text. Here *Pulehardum* is a misreading by a scribe who struggled with the insular Anglo-Saxon script in his exemplar, at least in the letters of the heading. For this reason initial *P*- has been written instead of the English insular *W* (initial *p*, small *p*) known as *wynn*, which resembles a *P*, and *e* (mis-)represents an insular *f*; doubtless the name spelling in front of the scribe was really *Wulfhard(um)*. As the Vespasian manuscript reads *uulfhardo* (*V*- as printed is editorial, though the *lemma* in MS V has

¹³ Thomson (2003, 156) cites Dümmler 1895, 10–11 and his source, all suggesting that T was compiled from at least three small collections, plus scattered single letters. This agrees with Bullough's analysis (2005, 85–86), in which groups of Alcuin's letters are given different source locations in England, at or near York and Canterbury. Mann (2004) analyses the quires of MS V in detail and concludes that the presence of items in quire 6 (which includes the Wulfhard letter) was down to Wulfstan and that their positions in T are of earlier origin (pp. 240–41, 256–57). Any single compendium of letters surviving at York would probably have had to have been young enough to include the letter of Bishop Ecgred to Archbishop Wulfsig (Whitelock 1979, 875–76, Haddan and Stubbs 1869–71 iii, 615–16) (only in T), dated c. 830–837. York is the obvious place of preservation of this letter: the date is at the start of Lapidge's (1996, 432–36) lean period for Latin literacy and book production – he cites this letter as a unique example of literary composition from the period. We could allow for the addition of oddments to a single volume, but this is itself a partial concession of the theory in favour of separate quires and items.

¹⁴ Duckett (1951, 163 and n. 111 (last item)) calls this a pleasant letter, noting that it 'commends a penitent to the charity of Wulfhard, an English abbot'.

UULFHARDO), V is not the source of the variant heading in T, and that is certainly the implication of the fact that the name *Hodda Helm* is not in V.¹⁵

If we look at the evidence of spellings to find evidence of the date of the Wulfhard letter's heading, the result is favourable to an early date. To judge from philological reference works, the immediate exemplar of the Wulfhard letter was probably not Northumbrian, but 10th-century and southern English: the rune-derived symbol for *w* was not established in Northumbrian writing, even after Wulfhard's day, though it is present in early Mercian texts.¹⁶ And there is more of relevance to the transmission of the Wulfhard letter in this area of enquiry. Firstly, both place- and personal names in the letters show evidence of occasional updating to late West Saxon spelling norms and suggest that the exemplars (whether books, gatherings or loose items) of all or a part of the letter collections in T and V were southern English 10th-century texts.¹⁷ Another peculiarity of the manuscripts is that mistranscription of Old English letter forms (which occur only in the Anglo-Saxon names in both) seem to be quite common, and there are close parallels for the scribe's trouble with Wulfhard's

¹⁵ As printed by Dümmler 1895, 113. I checked the two manuscripts at the British Library using their microfilms: T fos 13r–14r, V fo 163v. Mann (2004, 240) says that a decorative initial letter (?wynn) has been omitted from MS V, whereas Dümmler treated the first of the visible letters as initial and capitalised it.

¹⁶ For *wynn*, see Hogg 1992, 10, 41 §2.2, 2.77, Campbell 1959, 20 §50 and n. 1, and 26 §60. *Wynn* appears early in the Corpus and Erfurt Glossaries, which are mainly Mercian (Campbell 1959, 9 §12, 26 §60). Bullough (2004, 91) made no distinction of dialect in the use of Old English rune-derived signs but, if the observations of Hogg and Campbell apply, the *wynn* spellings cannot belong to the early Northumbrian phases of transmission. Chase (1975, 10) noted two examples in MS V. Campbell (1959, 26) discusses the start date of the use of these symbols in Northumbrian and more southerly English. For *P-*, see Bullough 1984, 77 and n. 14, also notes on *-e-* for *-f* etc. in Bullough 2004, 91. The scribe may have been especially confused by the large initial letter *wynn* of *Wulfhard* in the head note. Similarly in the copy letter of Pope Paul I, *wynn* is present in the name Coxwold (see below). The large insular initial *wynn* (*P*) is a more angular letter than the clear P (with a round loop) of the *lemma* in MS T. The implication of Campbell 1959, 25 §57 (6) and n. 1, is that *p* is also unlikely to be a spelling from Alcuin's time.

¹⁷ Cf. the place-name form *adhegſtalding* for Hexham noted in Bullough 1993, 99 n. 21, Bullough 2004, 92, from Dümmler 1895, 72, letter 31, *-ing* perhaps simply a false expansion of *-ig*, or of a smudged *-esig*, *-ig* being 'island' etc. in a late West Saxon spelling; possibility not noted by Bullough 2004, 92 and n. 227, cf. Bullough 1999, Cox 1976, 22. T (at Dümmler's 26', really an adjacent folio) is illegible to me; Gale 27, p. 38, has *ad Heggſtalding* (| is a line end) in a marginal note; this is where he put headings from T when he used a different one for his text. Also relevant here is *Nyniga* for the name of St Ninian in letter 273 (Dümmler 1895, 431: *nynia*, *nyniga*, V, Gale 34, p.46: *Nynja*, *Niniga*, both crossed out and *Niniani* written); *-iga* is also a late Old English spelling. Malmesbury in *Gesta Pontificum* iii §118.2 (Winterbottom and Thomson 2007, 389) has *Niniae* (genitive) from Alcuin, *Ninia* (nominative) in extracts of the letter, a Latinisation of the above spelling, and does not employ the conventional *Ninianus*.

name. In Dümmler's letter 122, MS T has *ardpulfuus rex* 'King Ardwulf';¹⁸ in the letter of Egred, Bishop of Lindisfarne, to Archbishop Wulfsig of York, in MS T, we find PULESIGUM for *Wulfsigum*, and Gale has *pulesigum* in one version of the head note, *pulesigo* in the other, both crossed out and *Wulfsgo*, *-um* substituted. In text V of Dümmler letter 8, Alcuin's letter to Joseph, the words of the name *aedætraedus filius aedelpaldi* have been written in scratchy letters which contrast with their neighbours; apparently over a full or partial erasure. Perhaps a first scribe had made a mess of them, and the corrected *w* is clearly *wynn* and not *p*.¹⁹ There may be a clue as to why the first scribe struggled in the same letter, where he wrote the personal name *eanfrīðo* (Latin dative) as *eanfrigīðo*, a mis-spelling which suggests to me that he may not have been a native speaker of English.²⁰

This is important because it tells us something about the transmission of the letters which would not otherwise be apparent. It is clear that the scribes of manuscripts T and V were not responsible for introducing the Anglo-Saxon letters into their text, but were struggling with letters that were in their exemplars. At the same time, the evidence of Northumbrian spelling is very

¹⁸ Dümmler 1895, 178–80, no. 122 on p.179; T fos 136'–138' (checked; Dümmler's numbering). Gale no. 115, pp.161–64, has *Ardulfus*, Leland 402 *Ardulphus*. Malmesbury in *Gesta Regum* i, §70.4, §94.2, Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom i, 114–15, 138–39, does not have this name.

¹⁹ Egred's letter, T fos 61–62 (Haddan and Stubbs' numbering, iii, 616). For Dümmler 8 to Joseph, MS V, fos 167v–168r (Brett 1991, 68); for which Gale has *Ædhelrædus filius Aedhælpaldi* and *Eanfrīdo*, Leland has *Aethelredus filius Ethehwaldi*. Dümmler (1895) letter 8, pp.33–34, seems to be taking readings from Gale and from T, though the microfilm is scarcely legible; Chase 1975, 27–29, no. 5 uses V. Bullough 2004, 343 n. 35 notes the corruption of Eanfrīð's name but has no explanation. Malmesbury in *Gesta Regum* i, §72.2, Mynors, Thomson and Winterbottom (i, 106–07) modernises as *Ethelredus filius Adelwaldi*. I did not find Egred's letter in Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (see Winterbottom and Thomson 2007, i, 376–77, 406–11), though his information on ninth-century York and Lindisfarne was limited. Cf. also Duckett 1951, 29, 158–59.

²⁰ Rather than hypercorrection based on Old English *sæde* beside *sægde* 'said', *frīnan* beside *frignan* 'to ask', unlikely in a formally transparent name, this looks like an error explained by the fact that the Old French *freid*, *froid* 'cold' is derived from and equivalent to the Latin *frigidus* 'cold, chilling', i.e. a hypercorrection by a native speaker of French who at that date still perceived Latin spelling as the proper way to put down the words of his vernacular. Unconsciously he saw the similar sequence of sounds and letters in the name *Eanfrīð* as if to do with that French word. If this is right, one of Wulfstan's scribes would have been a Frenchman. See Gamillscheg 1928, 444 s.v. *froid*; Campbell 1959, 104 §243, Hogg 1992, 284–85 §7.70–71 and footnotes. This would explain why mistakes with insular letters were made even in a 10th-century letter in the Wulfstan collection (Bullough 2004, 91). Damage to T makes it hard to prove that individual mistakes were common to both, but an *e* for *f* in V fo 133 (the letter of Alchfrid, who is *Alcheridi* (Latin genitive) in V and Gale (Bullough 2004, 91 n. 224, Levison 1947, 297 and n. 5) may be an example.

much against the Anglo-Saxon letter-form *wynn* having been present since the early ninth century. This stratigraphy of spelling affects both the headings and the body of the letters in the two manuscripts and, in the case of Wulfhard's letter, indicates that the heading cannot have been introduced at the latest stages of transmission, but does not prove whether or not it belongs to the earliest part of the transmission process. On various grounds, however, Bullough and the other authorities seem to believe that the headings are early and this philological evidence is either compatible with that or supportive. Nothing therefore in the academic literature and nothing about the process of transmission of the letters down to the time of Wulfstan's collections has undermined my confidence that the apparent reference to Hoddom is ancient.

In cases like this, where manuscripts have been copied several times and the spelling of names has been inconsistently updated along the way, the nature of individual spellings is the most important guide to their age. The spelling of Wulfhard's name with final *-hard*, not *-heard*, and of *Hodda Helmi* with an apparent genitive case of a personal name in the weak declension as *-a*, not *-an* (see below), both look Northumbrian, and both certainly look out of place in the 10th century or the early 11th, even though the spelling of Wulfhard's name has gone through a 10th-century stage. I feel that common sense and the general history of the period is in favour of the age of both items. It is unlikely that an 11th-century scribe would have known or added the name of any pre-Viking Northumbrian monastery not mentioned in Bede's history or in one of the other northern sources known to us, and extremely unlikely that he would have known of Wulfhard or of Hoddom from verbal report. He must have had written evidence for a Wulfhard of Hoddom and it seems very unlikely that this wasn't simply his source text of the letter. It is equally unlikely that he had heard of Hoddom as a place, or independently of Wulfhard, by any other means, a century or more after a time when southern English contact with what remained of the Northumbrian church had become very limited. I find it convincing that the apparent reference to Hoddom is original to the letter it heads, or was at least an addition made in Northumbria at a date before the Scandinavian conquest of York by somebody who knew who Wulfhard was and counts for our purposes as a more or less contemporary witness.

The opinions of the modern authorities are certainly compatible with this. In one discussion, Bullough proposed that a collection of Alcuin letters was made at York by Alcuin's correspondent Dodo (alias *Cuculus*, as identified by Dümmler and Bullough) soon after 800, and if this is right he could have added the place-name *Hodda Helmi* in the head note, even

if it is not absolutely original.²¹ Elsewhere, however, Bullough suggested that the detailed headings in MS T are from an original register of Alcuin's letters, assembled in Francia in the 790s. Bullough proposed a lost register to explain the presence of personal information which identifies or describes the addressees of numerous letters. Some of this information may not have been in the actual address wording of the letters as sent, for example the noting of an addressee Adalhard (of Corbie in France, a common personal name) as *propinquum Caroli* 'kinsman of Charles (i.e. Charlemagne)'. But this does make a useful distinction for a register of addressees created to help search through an archive of letters.²² This is a context to which the naming of Wulfhard and *Hodda Helm* may also belong (Bullough quoted it among the examples) and would make the two names into very early content. Obviously, further clarification by specialists in the field of the transmission through the ninth and tenth centuries of the two Wulfstan letter books could help to make all of this clearer; I am reliant on the opinions already published.

Important for Hoddom is other onomastic information in Alcuin's letters, which supports the contention that Wulfhard's letter came from a collection at York and contained name references and spellings appropriate to the late eighth and early ninth century. The letters in the two manuscripts name several places and monasteries known from Bede: York, Lindisfarne, Whithorn, Hexham, Wearmouth and Jarrow, Canterbury, and Mayo, the English monastery in Ireland.²³ Wearmouth appears in the early spelling *ad uuiorensis familie abbatem*, in which *familia* indicates a monastic community.²⁴ Alcuin's spelling of York as *Euborica*, *-aca*, *-acia*, from various manuscripts and apparently representing an Old English form **Eoforic*,²⁵ is of

²¹ For Dodo, see Bullough 2004, 93–94, following Dümmler 1895, 107–09 letter 65, cf. verses on 107 and 109, 109 n. 4, discussing a poem of Alcuin's about Cuculus and the identification; also letters 226 and 232, pp. 369–70, 376–78, when Dodo was returning to York; also Duckett 1951, 153–54, 297. York was Bullough's favoured place for the proto-T collection (2004, 85, 88). *Dodo* looks like a continental form for *Doda* in Old English. For the register kept in Francia, see Bullough 1999, 424 and n. 9.

²² Bullough 2005, 91–92, Dümmler 1895, 34–35 letter 9; *lemma* from A1 (T) in the footnotes, p. 34.

²³ E.g. Lindisfarne, Dümmler 56–58 no. 20, *lemma* p. 57, alternative p. 56; Whithorn 431–32 no. 273, *lemma* on p. 431; Hexham 72–73 no. 31, in alternative *lemma* on p. 72; Jarrow 444–45 no. 286, *lemma* on p. 444; Wearmouth and Jarrow 53–56 no. 119, *lemma* and variants on p. 53; Canterbury 191–92 no. 129, *lemma* with variant on p. 191; Mayo 445–46 no. 287, *lemma* and variants on p. 445.

²⁴ In the head note of Dümmler letter 67 (pp. 110–11), Alcuin 'to Aethelbald abbot of the community of Wearmouth', *Guiorensis* in Gale, *uuiorensis* read by Bullough (2004, 92) from MS T fo 4v; discussion of spelling *ibid.*, p. 92 and note 223.

considerable interest. Also interesting are the spellings of obscure names not known from Bede and therefore immune to emendation towards his spellings by a copier. The letter of Pope Paul 1 to Ecgberht, Archbishop of York, and his brother Eadberht, king of Northumbria, (in both T and V) dated 757–58, names three apparent Yorkshire monasteries, Stonegrave and Coxwold and ‘Don Mouth’; also an abbot Forthred. The various copies of the letter have slightly differing spellings of the names. Leland’s summary in the *Collectanea* looks very Old English and is similar to Gale: their spellings are evidence for the now illegible text of MS T.²⁶ The best spellings of the names in this letter make it clear, however, that it has gone through much the same sequence of copying as the Wulfhard letter and the other Alcuin items.²⁷ There are six versions plus the illegible T.²⁸ Also relevant are the unidentified *australes fratres Baldhuninga* in Dümmler 7, Alcuin’s letter to Colcu.²⁹ The letter of

²⁵ See Dümmler 1895, 43 letter 16 (42–44), 177 letter 21 (175–78). This form is also found in Alcuin’s *York Poem*, as at Godman 1984, 12 (line 91) *Euborica*, 4 (18), 110 (1409) *Euboricae*, the title *Versus ... de Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae* etc. In Latin text it may be a habit of Alcuin. Discussion of name form, Godman 1982, cx–cxii. **Eoforic* may antedate the later type in *-wic*, see Smith 1937, 275–77; Alcuin’s spelling seems to have been amended over time towards Bede’s *Eboraca* in many MSS, including the English ones, *Euborica* letter 177 is *Eboraca* Gale; similar in letter 16, p. 43, letter 42, p. 85; on p. 87, letter 43, *Euboracensibus* in Dümmler’s K1 is *Eboracensis* in V (A2).

²⁶ Birch 1885–93 i, 262–64, item 184, translated with notes in Whitelock 1979, 830–31, item 184. For Stonegrave and Coxwold, see Smith 1928, 54–55, 191–92; see Mann 2004, 256–57, on the position of this letter in V quire 6. ‘Don Mouth’, Parker 1985. Birch is based partly on our text V fos 162v–163r (Dümmler’s fo 161), partly on Haddan and Stubbs 1869–71, iii, 394–96, which is in turn from Wilkins 1737 i, 144–45. Wilkins quotes a manuscript of Archbishop Ussher, which Bullough (2004, 88) identifies as a transcript of T. If so, Ussher or Wilkins modernised all of the insular letters and expanded *e* to *æ*. The letter is summarised by Leland on p. 397 (both editions), an independent witness to the name spellings, as T (52v–53v) is illegible at this point.

²⁷ Gale 56–58 is similar to Leland but misrepresents the insular letters. The two versions of William’s *Liber Pontificalis* (see above at n. 6) H, the BL Harleian MS 633 (late 12th century, fos 44v–45v Bullough, but numbered 46 (v–d) in a relatively recent hand, no gaps in numeration, original checked) has minor differences of wording relative to the Wulfstan texts. K, Cambridge University Kk.IV.6 (2021), dating from the 1130s, though older, is much more corrupt (fos 276v–277v, recent numbering, 276va Bullough 2004, 152 n. 73). Thomson (2003, 126) remarks on the many errors. The mistranscription *-frage* for *-grafe* for Stonegrave comes from a common ancestor of the two MSS, but other name errors are specific to K. As the archaic name of Coxwold cannot have been correctly restored without textual authority, H is not here a corrected transcript of K. V (incomplete, microfilm checked) and Wilkins (assuming he followed an old source) look less Old English than Leland and Gale.

²⁸ Spellings: Coxwold: *cuha palda* V (slight gap), *cuchauualda* H, *cuthalda* (*t* for *c* and haplography) K, *Cuchapalda* (with possibly early *-ch-*) L, *Cuchapalda* (gap before *p*?) Gale, *Cuchawalda* Wilkins. *Cuha-* in V may have been miswritten for *Cubha-* (equivalent to *Cucha-*). Stonegrave: *staninga graue* V, *sta-|ninga frage* (*sic* for *-grafe*, | = line end) H, *staninga frage* K

Ecgrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, to Wulfsige, Archbishop of York, (dated 830–37) is valuable because the matter is clearly Northumbrian and the place of archiving, so to speak, must have been York.³⁰ The Ecgrid, Colcu, Pope Paul and Wulfhard letters were most probably all among the York collection.³¹

THE NAME *HODDOM*

At this point I turn to the name Hoddom itself and its relationship to *Hodda Helmi* in the head note of Alcuin's letter. The context of the early sculpture at the site has hitherto been, strictly speaking, unknown, and the recent archaeological excavations equally without any clear historical input, other than the legends which were written down in the late 12th century associating Hoddom with Saint Kentigern.³² Hoddom's authentic history begins, our letter aside, when it appears in the list of property of the see of Glasgow in the early 12th century. It has long been assumed that the site was an Anglian monastery – and with good reason, given the repeated assertions from art historians about the quality and the cultural context of the sculpture – but it makes a serious difference to have this description (indirectly, by means of the Latin word for *abbot*) in contemporary literature.³³

The following remarks can be made, with this new reference as backup,

(*sic* – microfilm checked), *Staningagrafe* L, *Stanjngalgrafe* Gale, *Staningagrave* Wilkins. Don Mouth: *done muþe* V (with a slight gap), *donemuþe* H, K, *Donemuþe* L, *Donemude* (gap before *m*?) Gale, *Donaemuthe* Wilkins. Forthred: *forþreth* V, *forðredus*, *for|ðredo* H, *forthered'*, *fortheðo* (*sic*) K, *Forðredus*, -o L, *Fordredus*, -o Gale, *Forthredus*, -o Wilkins.

²⁹ Literally, 'the southern brothers of a place *Baldhuningas* or of Baldhun's people', thus Gale pp. 8–9, Leland 392–93 on 393; V 166v–167v has *fʳs* for *fratres*; the place need not be Northumbrian but is still of linguistic value: no version of the letter has a West Saxon spelling *Beald-*. Cf. Chase 1975, 4.

³⁰ For Ecgrid, see Whitelock 1979, 875–76 no. 214. Haddan and Stubbs 1869–71 iii, 615–16; Bullough (2004, 89) dates this 830–837, Whitelock (1982, 47) to c. 835. One of the persons concerned was named Pehtréd: spellings Whitelock (1982, 48–49) (from T (her C), Gale and Leland) gives *Pech't'redi*, *Pehtrédi*, *Pehtréd* 2x; Gale no. 46, pp. 67–69, has *Pechredí*, *Pethredj*, *Pehtréd* 3x; Leland 398 has *Pechredí*, *Pethredí*, *Peb(t)red*, 2nd edn *Pethred* 2x. The West Saxon spelling *Peohtr-* is absent.

³¹ Bullough (2004, 88) takes the letter of Pope Paul as belonging to this group. The southern composition but northern relevance of MS V is also the opinion of Mann 2004, 265.

³² See Forbes 1874, Rawnsley 1888, Whidden Green 1998, Gough-Cooper 2003. Modern research associates the Kentigern hagiography with the 10th or 11th century, and no earlier, and with the rise of the see of Glasgow, following Jackson 1958, esp. remarks on 279, 299, 305 (Gaelic etymologising), 315, 336–37, app. 343–57, and 319–21 on Hoddom and Abermillk, 330–32 on the overall date; Jackson is followed by Meyvaert 1992, 160.

³³ Items speculatively making Hoddom a pre-English bishopric on the evidence of the life of Kentigern are a case in point, but the absence affects all authorities quoted. Lowe 2006, 192–97, notes academic theorising around Kentigern and also the Northumbrian takeover of

about the name itself. Firstly, if the form *Hodda Helmi* (Latin genitive) quoted above is the ancestor of the modern name via the later medieval spellings listed by Fellows-Jensen and others, the name Hoddom is clearly of Old English, not Scandinavian origin. I give a list of spellings which have come to my notice during this research:

- Hodelme* 1119 or 1124 [e. 13] ESC no. 50 (Reg. Glasg. no. 1), 1170 [e. 13] Reg. Glasg. 26, 1170 [e. 13], 1181 [e. 13], 1186 [e. 13], Reg. Glasg. 51, 57, 62, 1199 CDS i, 44 (p), 1211–12 CDS i. 85 (p),
- Hodelma* 1161–74 (1309) CDS ii, 422 (p)
- Hodolme* 1174–99 Mel. Lib. no. 169 (p), l. 13 Bagimond
- Hodelmia* 1179 CDS i, 23 (p), c. 1190 HMC Buccleuch no. 66 (p) [Annandale no. 1], 1200 CDS i, 46 (p)
- Hodelm* c. 1180–90 *Vita Kentigerni*, 1187–89 [e. 13] Reg. Glasg. 72, 1187–89 [e. 13] ib. 73, 1189 Bain i, 29, 1191–1214 HMC Buccleuch no. 67 (p), e. 13 Reg. Glasg. 72 (heading), e. 13 ib. 73, (heading), c. 1245 CDS v, 137 (p)
- Hodolmia* 1194–1214 CDS i, 107 (p), c. 1215 CDS i, 112 (p)
- Hodalimia* 1194–1214 (2x) CDS i, 107 (both (p)), 1292 CDS ii, 151 (p)
- Hodolm* 1194–1214 CDS i, 108 (p), 1296 CDS ii, 199 (p) [Ragman Roll], 1296 CDS ii, 203 (p) [Ragman Roll]
- Hodelmo* (Latin ablative) 1194–1214 Annandale no. 2 (p), 1202 [e. 13], e. 13 96 (heading) Reg. Glasg. 96,
- Hodealme* 1209 CDS i, 75 (p)
- Hodaume* 1209 CDS i, 75 (p)
- Odoum* 1201 CDS i, 80 (p)
- Hodielme* 1210–11 CDS i, 83 (p)
- Hodalme* 1210–12 CDS i, 98 (p)
- Hodalm* 1212 St Bees (p)
- Hodholm* 1215–51 Holm Cultram, 1258 [18] Reg. Glasg. 205 (Cod. Univ. Glasg. F. 217b)
- Hodeholm* 1257 CDS i, 408 (p), 1257–58 CDS i, 409 (p)
- Hodolm'* c. 1296 CDS ii, 550 (seal) (p)
- Hodume* c. 1296 CDS ii, 555 (seal) (p)

the area, with no new conclusion. Cf. Meyvaert (1992, 160–61), unsure which meaning of the term 'Celtic background' is applicable to Hoddom, if any. I cannot supply the context desired for Ruthwell by Orton 2003, 88–92, and Wood 2003, 109, 113 (cf. 119). If Hoddom were the chief place of a constellation of monasteries and churches covering Ecclefechan, Abermilk etc., this might also provide a sort of context for Ruthwell.

Hodholme 1315–21 RMS i (p)³⁴

This list shows several features. The first syllable is *Hod-*: a trace of a connecting vowel between two apparent elements is just possible in *Hodielme*, *Hodealme*. The second part is usually *-elm(e)*, which may reflect the ordinary Old and Modern English tree name *elm*. Spellings with *-o-* in the second part or element, with and without *h-*, reflect association (from the early 13th century, and probably the late 12th) with the Middle English and Middle Scots word *holm* ‘island, water-meadow’, a loan from Norse *holmr*, *holmi*. Another group with *-alm-* might reflect the influence of Old Norse *almr* ‘elm-tree’, found in Danelaw place-names, but may simply be a scribal Latinisation of the type represented by *-aume*, *-calme*.³⁵ These appear in spellings of the derived surname found in English records and are probably Anglo-Normanisms for *-elm* or *-helm*. Although the collection is slightly larger than published hitherto, it is weaker than it looks, for most spellings come from copy charters in the *Glasgow Register* or from the English sources in Bain’s *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, and the latter are all spellings of a derived surname – the relevant family was prominent in Cumberland in the 12th century.

That *Hodda Helm* is to be related to this place seems very probable. There are not so many named Anglo-Saxon monasteries that the similarity is at all likely to be a coincidence. The specific element of the early name has the general shape of a personal name, and the second looks like the term *helm*. Each needs to be considered.

THE PERSONAL NAME *HODDA*

The first element appears to be an Old English masculine personal name, *Hodda*. This is formally close to *Hoda*, a name in the weak noun declension (*n*-declension), which appears in several place-name derivations listed by Ekwall, including Hodcott, Berkshire (*Hodicote* 1086), and Hodnell, Warwickshire (*Hodenhelle* 1086, *Hodenhull* 1196). In the case of names of similar form in the strong noun declension (*a*-declension), Ekwall was unable to make a clear distinction between names in *-d* and *-dd* on the post-conquest evidence for his list of names, citing *Hod* in Hoddesden (Hertfordshire, *Hodesdone* 1086, *Hoddesdone* 1166), Hodssock, Nottinghamshire (*Hodeshac* 1188), and a

³⁴ Cf. Fellows-Jensen 1985, 134, also Williamson 1942, 320–21. Early references to Hoddom are also listed in Cowan 1967, 82. In my list, which does not claim to be exhaustive, abbreviations are those used by the Scottish History Society, this journal and Williamson, in upright type, because taken from the printed editions. Figures in square brackets are the dates of manuscripts.

³⁵ Smith 1956 i, 8 *almr*, 150 *elm*, 258–59 *holmr*.

boundary point of the same form *Hodes ác*.³⁶ The large collection of spellings available for Hodssock made the derivation from *Hodd* a great deal stronger, but *Hodd* is cited in the English Place-Name Society volumes for Hodgemoor Wood, Buckinghamshire, and Hoddesden, Hertfordshire, on a much lower Middle English prevalence of *-dd-*.³⁷ Ekwall allowed either in a list of charter boundary points cited as parallels for Hoddington, Hampshire, one of them, *Hoddes Stoc*c (Sawyer no. 468), also clearly having a double consonant.³⁸ The same variation or uncertainty attends the items in the English Place-Name Society volumes ascribed to *Hod(d)*, *Hoda* and *Hodda*, though on Middle English evidence it is hard to distinguish between items with an original single or double *d* without a large number of spellings. There are also some items ascribed to *Hudda*, which look more like *Hoda* or *Hodda* on the spellings cited, and this might reflect a genuine variation or a later confusion between *Hudda* and *Hod(d)a* in the names.³⁹ *Hudd*, *Huda* and *Hoda* are also cited for places in the north of England.⁴⁰ *Huda* and *Hudda*, which are recorded in pre-conquest sources, might be variants of *Hod(d)a*; a *Hudda* appears as a witness to Sawyer 291, a copy of a charter of 842 AD relating to Rochester.⁴¹

The evidence of philology suggests that the duplication of the syllable-final consonants in hypocoristic personal names was very common in Old English names. Redin, the principal authority on this, noted several explanations

³⁶ Ekwall 1960, 243–44.

³⁷ Hodssock, Gover et al. 1940, 82. *Hodes ác* is from Sawyer no. 786, but Mawer and Stenton (1927) index this under *Höd* and it is not necessarily identical to *Hodssock*. Hodgemoor, Mawer and Stenton 1925, 230; Hoddesden, Gover et al. 1938, 228–29.

³⁸ Gelling 1973–76 ii, 505, quoting examples in Ekwall, 1960, 243–44. Ekwall's spelling of Hoddington as *Hoddingatun* 1046 may preserve an error, as all printed authorities I have checked except Ekwall's immediate source cite the spelling with single *-d-*.

³⁹ Hodenho, HRT, Gover et al. 1938, 167, to *Hodda* but mostly *-d-*; Hodford MDX, Gover et al. 1942, 59 to *Hodda* but with *-dd-* only once; in Gloucestershire, Smith 1964–65 ii, 122–23 *Hodyntro* in Churchdown to *Huda*, but could be *Hod(d)a* or *Hod(d)* iii, 243, The Hudnalls in St Briavels, to *Hud(d)a* but could be *Hod(d)a*, and list iv, 206, several items with similar variation, listed under *Hod*, *Hodd(ell)*, and *Hud(d)a*. *Hudd* with *-dd-* is cited for *Huddes igge*, *Huddes ig* 944 (c. 1240) in the bounds of Blewbury BRK, Sawyer 496, Gelling 1973–76, 758, 760 point 35, 794; Mawer 1920, 119, relating to Hudspeth.

⁴⁰ Smith 1961–63 i, 271, Hodroyd in South Hiendley from 1143–54, to *Hoda*, with discussion, all *-d-* before 1500; vii, 299 *Huda*. Cumberland examples of *Hudd* (or *Hudda*) at Armstrong et al. 1950–52 i, 216 and iii, 504, Huddlesceugh. Hoddlesden LAN in Darwen, Ekwall 1922, 75, with frequent *-dd-*, appears to have *Hodd* with later intrusive *-l-*, Hudspeth NTB, Mawer 1920, 119–20, *Hod*.

⁴¹ Redin 1919, 98. Redin 1919, 62, 63 treated *Dod(d)a* and *Dud(d)a* as mutual variants, etymologically speaking, see under *Dudd* (p.16); perhaps with the variation between short *-o-* and *-u-* in Germanic languages in mind, as in Campbell 1959, 43 §115. Cf. the same argument in Mawer 1920, 119–20.

for double consonants, some possibly arising from consonants present in dithematic names which were shortened to one theme in hypocorisms, some in the speech of children (the so-called lall-words), some in emphatic address and casual speech. None of these explanations covered all of the names (many are etymologically obscure) and Redin felt that geminations of different origin had coalesced into a generalised phenomenon by historic Old English times, so that variation between *Beaga* and *Beagga*, *Cuda* and *Cudda*, *Tida* and *Tidda* (examples he quotes) simply seemed natural to Old English speakers.⁴²

A hunt through Sweet's edition of the *Liber Vitae* of Durham, first scribe, which belongs to the same kingdom and culture as Hoddom, produced almost 50 *n*-declension hypocorisms, plus duplicates, with a double internal consonant, for several of which apparently parallel names with one consonant also appear: *Ana* beside *Anna*, *Onna*, *Tuda* beside *Tudda*, *Ofa* beside *Offa*, *Baca* beside *Bacca*, *Backa*, *Hada* beside *Hadda*, and more (*Abba*, *Adda*, *Cudda*) which have apparently parallel names with a single consonant in the lists supplied by Redin.⁴³

PERSONAL NAMES IN DUMFRIESSHIRE PLACE-NAMES

Given this evidence, it seems fair to take our spelling from Alcuin's letters as the personal name form *Hodda* with double *dd* in the weak declension and in the characteristically Northumbrian genitive form without the word-final *-n* of more southerly varieties of Old English.⁴⁴ The regular interpretation of this sort of evidence would be that *Hodda* was a person of the seventh or eighth century, who had land at or some association with Hoddom. This may have been his formal name or a byname.⁴⁵ Old English personal names are rare in the

⁴²An etymology for *Hodda* might be helped by examples of shortening of first syllable vowels in hypocorisms, with and without double consonants, e.g. *Tidda* beside *Tida* from the theme *Tid-* 'time', *Tunna* from *Tūn-*, *Tumma* sometimes from *Tūnberht* with an assimilation (or perhaps **Tūnmund?*), *Cuda*, *Cudda* from the theme *Cūp-*, Redin 1919, XXXV, 55, 56, 72; 16, 62; *Cidda Cidding* (both recorded) and *Cidd* (known in *ciddesbeara* (2x) in the charter, Sawyer 969) beside *Cida*, from the base of *cīdan* 'to contend, quarrell', are discussed by Smith, 1961–63 ii, 196 in respect of Chidswell in Upper Soothill YOW; citing Tengvik 1936, 141 (*Cidding*), 303 (*Cida*, *Cidda*). *Hodda* could therefore be from *hōd* 'hood', or from *hord* 'hoard, treasure', with an assimilation like that in *Brodd(a)* from *Brord-*, *-brord* (Redin 1919, 5, 45), with *Brodda* among the examples of *Brorda*; Smith 1961–63 i, 71 proposes *Brodd* from this root for Brodsworth YOW. If *Tiddanufri* c. 710–20 (Cox 1976, 28) is Tidover YOW (Smith 1961–63 v, 43), the same post-conquest appearance of *-dd-* as *-d-* applies as I propose in Hoddom.

⁴³ Sweet 1885, 153–66. Redin 1919, 80, *Ab(b)a*, 81 *Ad(d)a*, 62 *Cud(d)a*, though *Cuda* is sometimes for *Cūda* and may be so in the *Liber Vitae*.

⁴⁴ Conveniently discussed in Anderson 1941, 118–19, Campbell 1959, 189 §472, Hogg 1992, 298–99 §§7.98–100.

Anglian place-names of Dumfriesshire and not, for that matter, very common in neighbouring Cumberland, so the probable association of *Hodda* with this place is noteworthy. The Old English personal names in Cumberland place-names in the list supplied in the *Place-Names of Cumberland* are contained in about 42 place- and field names, but more than half are field names: 19 or less are territorial names in *-hām* and *-tūn* or topographical names applied to townships and manorial holdings.⁴⁶ The list of Scandinavian personal names is considerably longer. In Dumfriesshire, like Cumberland, personal names in place-names seem to increase towards the end of the first millennium; yet even in the etymologically Scandinavian *-by* (*-bie*) names in the south-eastern half of Dumfriesshire and the adjacent north of Cumberland, several of the personal names are of Anglo-Norman origin, and these coinages belong to the 12th century.⁴⁷ Personal names in earlier Dumfriesshire names are very few. Apart from Hoddom itself, already in the reckoning with Brooke's etymology 'Hoda's elm-tree', there is Shearington (Caerlaverock parish), if from an Old English *Scīr* or *Scīra*. Burnswark, if 'Brūn's fortress',⁴⁸ Barburgh (Closeburn, *Bridburgh* 1247 Carlaverock, 1319 [1554–79] RMS i, *Brydeburgh* 1319 [c. 1629] ib.) if **Bridda*'s fort makes better sense than 'fort of the chicks or birds'; the lost *Wintertonegan* (1227 [13] Glasg. Reg., in Nithsdale) if from an Old English *Winter* or *Wintra*,⁴⁹ Cowdens, if *Colehtaun* 1124 Glasg. Reg., is this place and corrupt, possibly for 'Cola's tūn' according to Brooke,⁵⁰ and three other very doubtful items.⁵¹ We have to cross the border to the nearest part of Kirkcudbrightshire to get Edingham which I prefer to a location near

⁴⁵ For the sake of simplicity and probability, I assume for the above discussion that *Hodda* represents the genitive case of a masculine name *Hodda*, though the identical genitive of a feminine **Hodde* is not out of the question. The *a*-declension variant is clearly masculine (genitive *-es*).

⁴⁶ List, Armstrong et al. 1950–52 iii, 504–05; Scandinavian personal names, *ibid.* 505–06.

⁴⁷ The *-by* names are discussed in Nicolaisen 1976, 100–03, Nicolaisen 2001, 130–33, following Fellows-Jensen 1985, 25–43, 328–32; noted by Daphne Brooke in Lowe 2006, 202–03.

⁴⁸ Williamson 1942, 4, Shearington (if not 'the sheriff's manor' from Old English *scīr-gerēfa* and *tūn*) 71, Burnswark.

⁴⁹ Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 13, 38. *Bridd* (strong declension) is known, see Redin 1919, 18. Similar names in England with no *-s* are usually referred to the word *bird* (OE *bridd*). *Wintra* is cited for Winterton, and Winteringham LIN, Wintringham YO, HNT (Ekwall 525), but Winterton NFK is 'tūn used in winter'.

⁵⁰ Brooke in Lowe 2006, 201.

⁵¹ Skelston (Dunscore): *Ske[]toun* 1595 Pont, *Skelstoun* 1644 Gordon, *Skrestoun* 1654 Blaeu, *Skelston* 1747–53 Roy, if 'Sceld's tun' scandinavianised; *Sceld* is known in place-names, though a Norse **skjaldr* is also possible. Cf. Shelsley Beauchamp WOR (Ekwall 1960, 416, with other examples of the personal name). For *sk-* by Norse influence, cf. Skinford in this parish, *Skinfurd* 1573 SAS Charters, 1585 Parliamentary Register, 1595 Pont, *Skynfurde* 1577, 1598 RMS,

Dumfries as *Edyngabeym* in the Glasgow Register.⁵² This is a short and tentative list. Its shortness is perhaps explained by the limited material available for Dumfriesshire, though Old English place-names, including names ending in *tūn* with a significant word as the preceding element, are more frequent. There are Scandinavian personal names additional to those in the well-known list of *by*-names, for example the lost 'Bagthorpe' in Middlebie (*Bagthrop*, *Bagthrope* 1416 Carlaverock (*Baggi*, and the only *þorp* in the county), Arkleton (Ewes) from *Arnketill*, *Arnkell*, and Ericstane (Moffat), probably 'the stone of *Eiriker*').⁵³

THE TERM *HELM*

The first question to be considered in respect of the specific element is whether the generic element really is *helm*. The generic element of the early name, placed second, looks like this term, which is known from Anglian Scotland as well as England. English place-name studies reckon with an extension of meaning for this word from literally 'helmet' to 'shelter', 'sheltering structure or hill', 'hilltop' or 'farm building'. The Scandinavian explanations of Hoddam suggested by Williamson and Fellows-Jensen are parallel with this because a similar extension of meaning affected the Norse cognate *hjalnr*, which they cite as the generic, and which would appear as *-helm* in an Anglo-Scandinavian place-name. Obviously, if a pre-Scandinavian example exists, the extension of meaning must be native to Old English, but, for the sake of certainty, the evidence from areas beyond Scandinavian lexical influence is also relevant. The loss of the initial *h*- of the second syllable is not unusual and has perhaps been helped along by association with the ordinary word *elm*, although I have noticed no parallel for this term as the generic of a substantial place-name in England.⁵⁴ In addition, *-helm* was a common theme of Old English and continental

Skinfuird 1618 RMS, 1644 Gordon, from Old English *scinna* 'goblin', scandinavianised, and *ford*. Fiddleton (Ewes): thought worth citing by Williamson 1942, 34, if from a very doubtful Old English *Fidela*, better *Fitela*, if the development is paralleled in Moodlaw (Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 37) in Eskdalemuir, if from 'moot law, hill', Old English *gemôt*, *hlāw*. *Fitela* is found in place-names, see examples in Ekwall 1960, 180–81. For Laverhay, in Wamphray, Johnson-Ferguson (1935, 129) has *Læofhere*, *gehæg*, which suits the (late) spellings, cf. Loversall YOW (Smith 1961–63 i, 34–35).

⁵² Brooke 1987, 50–53, 'the territory of Ēda's or Ēada's people'.

⁵³ Williamson 1942, 152. Bagthorpe appears as *Boigthroppil* in Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 91, apparently 'Bagthorpe Hill'.

⁵⁴ Williamson 1942, 320–21, Fellows-Jensen 1985, 134. Cf. also Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 56, with more spellings but no usable etymology. Hence Daphne Brooke in Lowe 2006, 201, made Hoddom 'Hoda's elm', getting as close as she could have without the ancient spelling. The word (Old and modern English) *elm* is common in place-names (see Smith 1956 i, 150), but, as a specific, very occasionally a simplex; no examples in the published indexes of English Place-Name Society volumes are generics, except very minor names. Other tree names do

personal names. It can appear as *-elm* in the former in late Old English, and as *-elme*, *-aume*, *-ealme* in Old French: association with this doubtless explains the loss of *b-* and the spellings of the family name *de Hodealme* (etc.) in Cumberland. But the word *elm* is clearly not original if Hoddom is *Hodda Helm*, and interference from *elm* and *holm* is found in Scotland's other major *-helm* names. These are all Roxburghshire: Buckholm (Melrose), *Bucchehelm* 1180; Chisholme (Roberton), *Chesehelm* 1296 (2 sources), *Chesolm* 1296, *Cheselm* 1296, with the same substitutions as in Hoddom,⁵⁵ and Branxholme (Hawick), *Brankishelme* 1315–21, but *Branxelm* 1463–64. In Buckholm, *-holm* starts as late as the 16th century; Branxholme has much confusion with *-hame* and a spelling with *-emell*, which seems to reflect the form with metathesis of its consonants in my notes of the dialect word (see below).⁵⁶ Williamson also listed two minor names: a lost *Gorkhelm* c. 1485, possibly the top of Galahill near Galashiels, and Staney Hill (Teviothead parish, Roxburghshire, *Stonyhelme*, Blaeu); these apply the word to a hill (see below).

The English examples of the word are found in several parts of the country, some very distant from Scandinavian influence. The fullest discussion is that of Dr Gelling in connection with Helm in the parish of Hungerford, a name with a good record back to the 12th century. Citing parallels in Worcestershire and Herefordshire, she remarked on the belief then current that the extension of meaning of the word *helm* must be native in English.⁵⁷ Examples outside the main distribution of Norse place-names include the Elms in Hallow,

appear as generics and also as boundary names in early charters, e.g. in Gelling 1973–76 iii, 769–792 s.vv. *ác*, *apuldor*, *béam*, *þorn*, *þyrne*. But I found no example of *elm* in this position in the searchable Briggs 2008.

⁵⁵ Williamson 1942, 55–56. For Buckholm add *Buchelm* c. 1230 [16] Dryb., *Buckhelm* 1538 RSS, *Bukholme* 1547, c. 1564 (2x) 1594 Mel Reg Rec, *Bukholm* 1578 Mel Reg Rec, *Buckholme* 1605 RMS, 1658 etc. Mel Reg Rec, *Buckhome* 1618 RMS, *Buckhoom* c. 1636–54 Gordon 56, *-hoome* 1654 Blaeu (2 maps), *Buckholm* 1658 (2x), *Buckeholme* 1659 Mel Reg Rec. Chisholme is also *Chesolme* 1446 SB (p), *Chesholm* 1456 SB (p), *Chesame* 1500 SB.

⁵⁶ Branxholme is also *Branxishelme* 1329–71 [1554–79] RMS i App. 2A no. 138, *Branxhelme* 1329–71 [1554–79] RMS i App. 2A no. 138, 1482, 1484 (3x), 1487, 1487 (2x), 1500, 1500 (2x), 1517, 1528 (2x), 1550, 1551, 1553 (5x), 1574 (2x), 1599, 1599 SB [= *Scotts of Buccleuch*], 1577 Douglas Book, *Branchselme* 1420 (1431, 2x) SB, *Branchsemell* 1420 [1431] SB, *Brankishelme* 1447 (2x) SB, *Branxhelm* 1456, 1517, 1519 (3x) SB, 1565 RSS, *Branxelm* 1463 SB (5x), 1488 (4x), 1516 SB, *Brankishame* 1446 (2x), 1446 (2x), 1446 SB, *Brankysshame* 1446 SB, *Branxhame* 1475 SB, 1492 (3x), 1494 SB, *Brankisholme* 1447 SB, *Branxholm* 1488, 1663 SB, c. 1636–52 Gordon 56, 1654 Blaeu, 1654 Gordon, 1659 Jansson Map, *Branxholme* 1329–71 [1629] RMS i App. 2B no. 138 (24), 1571 Annandale (3x), 1574 (6x), 1574, 1633 (3x) SB, *Branksholme* 1572, 1642 Annandale, 1574, 1575, 1599 (4x) RMS.

⁵⁷ Gelling 1973–76 ii, 301–02, *Helme* 1181 (p), 1187–89 *et freq.*, the discussion supplements Smith 1956 i, 242.

Worcestershire, Elm Green Farm in Ewyas Harold, Herefordshire, a lost *Helmhouse* in Ampney St Peter, Gloucestershire,⁵⁸ a lost *Barlehelme* in Lyme Handley, Cheshire, where the meaning is clearly agricultural;⁵⁹ and, in Durham, Bensham (Gateshead), Helm Park (Wolsingham) and *Ravenshelm*, an old name of Ravensworth Castle.⁶⁰ To these I can add the Helms, the name of a stretch of sand-hills at New Romney in Kent, using the word in a topographical sense,⁶¹ and the two oldest spellings of the name Goathill in Dorset.⁶²

Conversely, the word is not common in Scandinavian England, apart from modern minor place-names and field names in Yorkshire, mainly the West Riding, and Westmorland. In fact no examples are listed in the short Survey volumes (which have few minor names and field names) for the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, areas with a strong Scandinavian element, largely of East Norse origin. However a search through *Access to Archives* produced only two field names each for the East and North Ridings, four for the West Riding (excluding those in the published survey) and nothing for Lincolnshire or Nottinghamshire.⁶³ There are six or seven in the

⁵⁸ Mawer and Stenton 1927, 131: The Elms in Hallow, *Helme* 1240, 1275, both (p); Coplestone-Crow 1989, 214, Elm Green in Ewyas Harold, *Heaume* 1215, 1219, *la Helme* 1300 (p), *The Helm* 1642. Smith 1964–65 i, 55 in Ampney St Peter, *le Helmhouse* 1542.

⁵⁹ Dodgson 1970–97, v (1:i), xviii, in addenda to vol. 1. *Le Barlehelme, le Barle Helme* 1466, ‘the barley barn’, the editor noted that the latter word gives the name a Scandinavian and north-country feel, probably struck by it because this is an area far from most of Cheshire’s Norse place-names. However, in vol. v (2) in his discussion of the Norse element in Cheshire (pp. 230–47), *helm* was not listed by Dodgson or his posthumous editor among the Norse or ambiguous place-names and elements at pp. 237, 240–41, 246–47.

⁶⁰ Watts 2002, 7, *Benchelm*’ 1249, where the specific is *benc* ‘bench’ used topographically; (p. 57) *Helme Park, le Helme* 1382, possibly from a hill; thus for *Helmington Hall* (p. 58), discussion of an Old English **Helming* and *Helm* denoting a local hill. Cf. elements list (p. 154) where Norse influence is not mentioned. Watts makes *helm* in the lost *Ravenshelm* (Ravensworth Castle) ‘stronghold’ (2002, 102), an idea borrowed from the Durham antiquarians; the reference in *Ravenshelm* 1334, 1352, 1393, *Ravenshelm* 1351, 1384 (2x), *Ravenshelm* 1368 (all Durham IPM, for which see Watts 2002 xxviii), is to ‘the lady of’ and ‘the manor of’; the hill immediately south-west of the castle may really be behind the name. Watts 2007 contains an additional *Artherhelme* 1663 in Greatham village field names (p. 86).

⁶¹ (*their*) *Helmes* 1556 Kent History Centre NR/LB/18/2, (*lez, the*) *helmes* 1562 NR/IC/1, (*the ...*) *Helmes* 1558 × 1603 NR/LB2/6, (*the*) *Helmes* 1599 EK- U270/T236/3,4, 1604 NR/TL/25, 1623 NR/TL/27, 1652–73 NR/TL/31, 1846–66 NR/TL/33, all from *Access to Archives*.

⁶² Mills 1998- iii, 382–83, *Gatelme*, 1086 DB, *Ingatelma* 1086 Exeter Domesday. All later spellings suggest *-hill*. Dr Mills suggested ‘summit of a hill’ as a possible meaning of *-helm*, and its replacement by *-hill* is in favour of this. But a farm building is not impossible given the specific ‘goar’. I am grateful to Dr Mills for this reference. Both spellings would have to be correct if *-hill* (Old English *hyll*) was intended in 1086.

Westmorland survey, only one, probably a hill-name, with medieval spellings, the next oldest recorded item is 16th century, four are only 19th.⁶⁴ There are none in Cumberland, except a local name Hembles Gate, which may reflect the metathesised dialectal form of *helm* (see below).⁶⁵ Five places are indexed in Smith's vast survey of the West Riding, plus numerous field names, mostly but not all in the west of the county. The old items include Helm in Kirkheaton (from 1198), Helme in Meltham near Huddersfield, earliest record dated 1421 and a lost *Helmbolm* 12, 1130–39 etc., in Long Drax, which looks genuine and cannot refer to a hill, but is once confused with *elm*.⁶⁶ Ekwall gave two examples in Lancashire, Helmshore in Haslingden (from 1510), a lost *Helme* in Read, and Elmridge in Chipping, which was formerly simplex *Helm*. He quoted the meaning 'shed' but as two names are close to prominent ridges the reference of these is uncertain.⁶⁷

Compound examples implying a building or agriculture include Buckholme and Chisholme, *le Barlehelme* in Cheshire, Spink Helm Farm in Blubberhouses, West Riding,⁶⁸ probably Buckholme and possibly *Gatelme* (Goathill, Dorset). These are scattered widely in the areas where the word occurs. The simplex names in Berkshire and the low-lying parts of Yorkshire, where there is no sheltering hill available, must have the same meaning.⁶⁹

The word *helm* survived till modern times in some northern English dialects,

⁶³ The oldest are *the Helme* 1684 in Hackness YON, East Riding Archives DDHU/16/3. *Patrickshelm* 1365 in Askwith YOW, West Yorkshire Archives WYL639/39, where there is a *Helm Close* 1769, Smith 1961–63 v, 62, *le Helme Close* 1547 in Headingley YOW, East Riding Archives DCC/131/34, archive items from *Access to Archives*.

⁶⁴ Smith 1967 i, 99, 147, 187, 200–01, ii, 85, 90. Items on i, 100, 113, 123 and 202 derive from nearby examples and are not independent. There are possible *Hemmel*-names at ii, 85 and 90 (see below on dialect).

⁶⁵ Armstrong et al. 1950–52 i, 68.

⁶⁶ There are more than Smith's index (1961–63) suggests: ii, 182, 225, 283, 284; iii, 46, 140, 144, 174, 257, 260, 266, 274; iv, 8, 13, the lost *Helmbolm*; 66, 100, 161, 203, 207, 218; v, 36, 57, 62, 72, 122, 186; vi, 11, 23, 25, 27, 93, 190, 236, 246, 257 (2x), 271. There seem to be no examples in vol. 1, though the east of the area covered is very Scandinavian.

⁶⁷ Ekwall 1922, 91 (*Helme* 1215, 1324 (p) in Read); Elmridge, (logagia de) *Helme* 13, *Helm*' 1332 (p), *Helm* 1377 (p) (p. 143), later associated with *elm*.

⁶⁸ Smith 1961–63 v, 122, *Spinkhelm* 1749. The meaning 'finch *helm*' would imply a farm building where corn was stored, but the word *spink* was also a surname. There is also a late field name Waggon Helm close 1841, in Acaster Selby (ibid. iv, 218).

⁶⁹ This is probably also true of a possible example in Suffolk represented so far only by surnames: ('of') *Helm* e. 13, m. 13, l. 13 Norfolk RO MC2234/31, 30, 42, and possibly of another in Islip NTP which is either *-helm* or *-holm*: *Joshelm*' 1411–12, *Josseholm*' 1417–18, *Josholm*' 1412–13, 1413–14, 1415–16, *Joshelmesthyng* 1423–24, *Ieshelm*' 1416–17, Northants RO FH434, 435, 438, 439, 442, 440, 441, all from *Access to Archives*.

and in parts of Scotland, with meanings relating to small agricultural buildings and sheds, especially among the bewildering assemblage of terms for isolated sheds out in the fields.⁷⁰ It also appears with reference to buildings within farmsteads, cart-sheds and the like, on the unbeatably empirical authority of the *Survey of English Dialects* responses.⁷¹ The presence of this word in place-names far outside the areas of Scandinavian domination shows that its use in northern names is of Anglian origin, even if reinforced in Yorkshire and Westmorland by Norse influence. This is clearly proved by the new reference, which antedates the arrival of the Vikings in Northumbria. The 11th-century date of the copy of Alcuin's letter is no problem in this context for the reasons I have set out above.

HODDOM AND THE MIDDLE SYLLABLE OF *HODDA HELM*

We can also be confident that the *HELM* of Wulfhard's letter means what it says. The word *elm*, which several later spellings could suggest, would not be written in this way in an eighth or ninth-century letter. I looked at place-names which might have an *-h-* introduced into the spelling (or pronunciation, as far as we can gauge it) of a hiatus such as in **Hodda elm*, but have found no early examples. The early names collected by Cox include Lastingham (North Riding) and Oxney (Kent), and the spellings (*Lastingaeu*, *Lastingaei*, *Lastingae* 731 EH, *Oxnaiea* 724 (15) S1180) show that a similar hiatus stood as it was, and this is true of later pre-conquest records such as for Athelney, Somerset, *Æpelingaeigge* 878 ASC, *Æthelingeæg* c. 894 [e.11] Asser.⁷² Eventually the sequence of vowels was simplified by the loss of the first part, the unstressed *-a*; the process can be

⁷⁰ For *helm*, *Oxford English Dictionary* vii (*Hat–Intervacuum*), 123, *helm* sb. 1, meaning 7; first citation 1501; *Middle English Dictionary* iv, 617–18, esp. paragraph 2 on p. 618, citations of place-names and surnames (no definition given); *English Dialect Dictionary* iii (H–L), 137, *helm* sb. 2, and 139, *hemmel* sb. 1; *Scottish National Dictionary* v, 107, *helm* and 108–09, *hemmel*. The dialectal distribution of *hemmel* was from the Scottish borders to Yorkshire. The word seems to have arisen as a metathesis of *hellem*, a disyllabic pronunciation of *helm* similar to the widespread *ellem* for *elm*, *hallem* for *haulm*, *fillem* for *film* and the like. For *haulm*, see *Survey of English Dialects B., The Basic Material, Vol. 1, The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man* i, 164 (question ii.4.4), and for disyllabic forms of *elm* ii, 439–40 (question iv.10.4). There are no citations for *helm* in this sense, or for *hemmel*, from literary Scots, as collected in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* iii (H–L), 92 and 94.

⁷¹ For *helm*, *Survey of English Dialects B.* (as above) i, 135 (question i.11.7, a disyllable). The metaphorical and secondary senses of the Old English word *helm* listed in Bosworth and Toller (*Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* i, 527, and ii, 530) seem quite distant from the concrete dialectal use of the word. It may be of some sociological interest if an idiomatic usage relating to an object of importance to the Old English-speaking peasant class is present in Dumfriesshire's oldest-recorded Anglian place-name, probably coined in the seventh century.

⁷² Cox 1976, 23, 25 (I ignore Lindisfarne (p. 24) because of its disputed etymology); Ekwall 1960, 18.

seen in Billingham, Lincolnshire, 'the island of the Billingas', where *Billingeia* 1186 may be a last vestige.⁷³ An exception in the later spellings of Lavington is instructive: *Lestingaheu* c. 1130 SD is from Symeon of Durham, who was writing literary Latin in his antiquarian role and doubtless added the *-h-* to what is otherwise Bede's spelling in order to make this Old English name and its difficult sequence of vowels look less out of place in his Latin text.⁷⁴ On the contrary, in the spelling record of Old English, intervocalic *-h-* (which meant a breathing in this context) disappeared at the beginning of the historic period to reflect a phonological process which produced complex vowel and diphthong sequences which were then simplified.⁷⁵

More useful is the widespread evidence for the retention of *-n* of the weak declension (the genitive of personal names or the dative of adjectives) in place-names where the following word began with a vowel, or, less often, with *h-*. Both phenomena are found, in northern Mercia and even in Northumbria, even though oblique *-n* was sometimes lost in recorded Mercian Old English writing and regularly in Northumbrian. The process of loss of *-n* in Northumbrian is in fact reflected in the earliest texts and was apparently incomplete in the names in Bede's history. Anderson quotes *degsastan*, *pægnalech*, *tilaburg* (Tilbury, Essex) and possibly *tunnacastir*, as containing the genitive singular of personal names with loss of *-n*, and *beardaneu*, *peartaneu* (Bardney, Partney, Lincolnshire) and *bosanhamm* (Bosham, Sussex) for its retention before vowels and *h*.⁷⁶ We could add *Tiddanufri*, (perhaps Tidover, West Riding), the form *Coludane urbis* for Coldingham, Berwickshire, and the lost *Cedenan ac* (Lincolnshire?) from the items collected by Cox.⁷⁷ The same rules apply widely in Middle English, where place-name forms are partly inherited.⁷⁸ This can be shown in Lincolnshire, in the north of the Mercian region, for example in Edenham, Leadonham, 'Eada's, Lēoda's estate' before *h*, and in numerous place-names from Old English *ēa*

⁷³ Cameron 1998, 14. *-heia* comes in at the end of the 12th century by association with *gehæg* and the *h* follows the *g*. Similarly Fotheringhay, NTP (Ekwall 1960, 185), if it is an *-inga-* name.

⁷⁴ Smith 1928, 60, cf. Cox 1976, 23.

⁷⁵ Campbell 1959, 98–104, §234–39, 180 §461; Hogg 1992, 172–85 §§.131–154; 271–75 §7.44–50.

⁷⁶ Anderson 1941, 118–19; for the places, Cox 1976, 19–20, 25, 36, 37; and 16, 30, 25. Cf. Campbell 1959, 189 §472–73, Hogg 1992, 298–99 §7.98–100. The process was apparently incomplete in Alcuin's day, as there is a spelling *Offane regis* 'of King Offa', in Dümmler 1895, 376, letter 231, where the Latin genitive form seems to be suggested by Old English *Offan*.

⁷⁷ Cox 1976, 28, 31–32, 19. If the identification is right the *-n-* of Tidover did not survive, see Smith 1961–63 v, 43. The spelling for Coldingham is relevant if from a weak declension derivative personal name **Coluda*, as Cox implies.

⁷⁸ Jordan and Crook 1974, 161 §170 remark 2.

'river' and *ēg* 'island' in which *-n-* has been retained till modern times.⁷⁹ This is despite the strong Scandinavian influence in Lincolnshire, which would tend to reinforce the loss of *-n* in English. The element *ēg* is less common in Northumbrian place-names, but *ēa* occurs with *-n-* retained in the river-names Foulness and Mickley Dike, East Riding, in the heart of Northumbria and in the teeth of powerful Scandinavian influence on the form of place-names.⁸⁰ Two Durham examples are Cocken, *Cokene* 1138 × 41, *Cokenne ee* c.1190, *Cocca's river*, and McNeil (a corrupt modern form), *Matnel* 1296, *Macknale* 1647, '*Macca's river-island*', from the Old English **ēl*, **ēgel*.⁸¹

CONCLUSIONS ON HODDOM

Because of this I believe that the second syllable of Hoddom cannot originally have been the word *elm*. Our lost eighth or ninth-century source would have written *HODDAN ELMI*, but there is no evidence that he did. The *H* is clearly an *H*, and I have noticed no evidence for confusion of *h* and *n* in the letter forms used in the headings of the Wulfstan letter collections.⁸² As the copyists had before them another initial *H* at the start of *HODDA*, it seems especially unlikely that the reading is an error. In addition the 11th-century scribe clearly thought that there was a word division before the word *HELM* of the head note, and he was probably copying what went before in putting the *H* at the start of a separate word. In contrast, the reduction of the name to *Hodelme*, in an area where Anglian place-names were later shared with speakers of Norse, Cumbric and Gaelic, is plausible. The name will also have been known to Gaelic speakers at the bishop's establishment in Glasgow before 1124, and the 1124 spelling may reflect their form of it. It might just be possible to claim that Hoddom is from an unknown *Hod(d)an elm*, that the middle syllable was later lost, as in the one uncertain example, Tidover from *Tiddanufri* (if the identification is right), and that *Hodda Helm* was a different place, even though this leaves us with a major Northumbrian monastic site with no name, and a very similar

⁷⁹ Freshney, Friskney Fulney and Ludney from *ēa* with the dative singular of an adjective as specific; Bardney, Blankney, Cadney, Gedney, Partney, Tetney from a personal name and *ēg*. Cameron 2002, 46–48, 82–83; 9, 15, 26, 50, 97, 124.

⁸⁰ Smith 1937, 4, 9. Foulness even has an Old English spelling *Fulanca* 959 [c. 1200], Sawyer no. 681 from a document in West Saxon spelling but confirmed by the later development. Scandinavian influence, xxii–xxiii. Rare northern examples before *b-* are Beadnell, NHB, Ekwall 1960, 32, Bēda's *halb*, Ricknall DUR, Watts 2002, 103–34, first word uncertain.

⁸¹ Watts 2002, 27, 75; this interpretation supercedes Mawer, 1920, xxvii, 13, 49.

⁸² *Niglacum* for *Hig-* in Gale, Levison 1947, 297 n. 5 is the nearest I have seen to an example. There is also *Aeðelwardum*, *n* erased, in Dümmler's MS C, Corpus Christi Cambridge 190, in letter 17, noted twice in Dümmler 1895, 614 addenda; 17 is one of three letters (two of them incomplete, all also in T and V) used in this MS.

name for an unknown, probably Northumbrian monastery with connections in the highest ecclesiastical and political circles in Europe. This seems to me to be simply stepping around the evidence, which all tends to confirm that Alcuin's reference is to Hoddom, that the elements of *Hodda Helm* are compatible with the later form of Hoddom, and that they were available in seventh and eighth-century Northumbria for the formation of place-names.

As a final, none too serious, remark, I suppose I can say that if Hoddom, Ruthwell and, perhaps, the site at Ecclefechan,⁸³ were parts of another of those constellations of monastic places which we find in the Anglo-Saxon church, then in the name of Wulfhard we might have a record of a man who knew whoever commissioned the sculpture at Hoddom and Ruthwell, and who even may have known whoever it was who inscribed the early version of the *Dream of the Rood* on the Ruthwell cross. Whether we have the name of the commissioner, or of the author, is beyond the limits of inference, but we are closer to them through Abbot Wulfhard and his letter from Alcuin, than we are ever likely to get by other means.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to the British Library, Cambridge University Library and Trinity College (Wren Library), Cambridge, for assistance with the manuscripts listed below; to Professor Richard Cox for help with access and technical matters and to Drs Paul Cavill and David Mills for answers to questions about *helm*.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

British Library Cotton MS Vespasian A XIV (11th century; includes letter collection, many of Alcuin); microfilm consulted; cited as V.

British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A XV (11th century, includes letter collection, many of Alcuin); microfilm consulted; cited as T.

Trinity College Cambridge (Wren Library) O.10.16 (1468), pp. 1–220; copy by the

⁸³See Innes 1843 i, 43, Lawrie 1905, 46, Cowan 1967, 58 (Ecclefechan), 82 (Hoddom), 176 (Ruthwell). 'little church', Watson 1926, 168, Nicolaisen, 1976, 17, Nicolaisen 2001, 221, Brooke in Lowe 2006, 199. Jackson's remarks about Abermilk (Castlemilk) church look relevant here (1958, 320). Spellings in Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 55. The 12th-century property list of the see of Glasgow included nearby Abermilk/Castlemilk (pp. 5, 29) and apparently Edingham, Kirkcudbrightshire, which was connected to the later parishes of Colmonell and Urr (pp. 34, 205–06). For discussion of the Glasgow grant, see Lowe 2006, 197, with list. I prefer the identification of the place *Edynghaheym* in this document with Edingham for the reasons set out by Brooke 1987, 52–53, to an old identification with a lost *Ednemland* near Dumfries (Lawrie 1905, 303, Nicolaisen 1976, 73, and 2001, 95, the latter unaltered from the old edition which antedates the paper by Brooke). Whether these other places were Northumbrian monastic properties is possible but at the limits of documentary inference; only archaeology could say for sure. I hope to publish a different identification for the place mentioned by John of Hexham (Brooke 1987, 53 and n.13).

antiquarian Thomas Gale of British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A XV (as above), letters of Alcuin and others, slightly edited with reference to other sources and with some miscellanea at the end; dated end of the 17th century. Original consulted: cited as Gale.

British Library Harleian MS 633, fos 4–71, text of *Liber Pontificalis*, in William of Malmesbury's version from the year 757, but from another source before that. Original consulted.

Cambridge University Library Kk.IV.6 (2021) fos 224–80, text of William of Malmesbury's version of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Microfilm consulted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations: CUP: Cambridge University Press, EPNS: English Place-Name Society, OUP: Oxford University Press.

Allott, S., 1974, *Alcuin of York, his Life and Letters* (York: Ebor Press and Sessions Book Trust).

Anderson (Arngart), O.S., 1941, *Old English Material in the Leningrad Manuscript of Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (Lund: Gleerup).

Armstrong, A.M., Mawer, A., Stenton F.M. and B. Dickens, 1950–52, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 3 Parts, EPNS vols XX–XXII, (Cambridge: CUP).

Bailey, R.N. and R. Cramp, 1988, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Vol. 2, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands* (Oxford: OUP).

Birch, W. de G., 1885–93, *Cartularium Saxonicum, a Collection of Charters relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, 3 vols (London: Whiting).

Bosworth, J., and T.N. Toller, 1898–1927, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Brett, C., 1991, 'A Breton pilgrim in England in the reign of King Athelstan', G. Jondorf and D.N. Dumville, eds, in *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Essays by Members of Girton College, Cambridge, in Memory of Ruth Morgan* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press), 43–70.

Briggs, K., 2008, *Anglo-Saxon Charters with OE Bounds*, online at <keithbriggs.info/documents/AS_charters_junirg.pdf>, searchable text.

British Library *Online Catalogue: Archives and Manuscripts*, at <searcharchives.bl.uk/primolibweb/action/search> – accessed 16/12/2011.

Brooke, D., 1987, 'The deanery of Desnes Cro and the church of Edingham', *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd series, vol. LXII, 49–65.

Bullough, D.A., 1984, 'Alcuinus deliciosus Karoli regis: Alcuin of York and the Shaping of the early Carolingian Court', in L. Fenske, W. Rösenser, and T. Zotz, eds, *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef*

- Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke), 73–92.
- Bullough, D.A., 1993, 'What has Ingeld to do with Lindisfarne?', *Anglo-Saxon England* 22, 93–125.
- Bullough, D.A., 1999, 'The place-name Hexham and its interpretation', *Notes and Queries* 244 (new series 46), part 4 (December 1999), 422–27.
- Bullough, D.A., 2004, *Alcuin, Achievement and Reputation, being part of the Ford Lectures delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980* (Leiden and Boston: Brill).
- Cameron, K., 1998, *A Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*, EPNS Popular Series vol. 1 (Nottingham: EPNS).
- Campbell, A., 1959, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Carley, J.A. and P. Petitmengin, 2004, 'Pre-Conquest manuscripts from Malmesbury Abbey and John Leland's letter to Beatus Rhenanus concerning a lost copy of Tertullian's works', *Anglo-Saxon England* 33, 195–223.
- Chase, C., 1975, *Two Alcuin Letter-Books, from the British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian A XIV* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies).
- Coplestone-Crow, B., 1989, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 214 (Oxford: BAR).
- Cowan, I.B., 1967, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, SRS vol. 93 (Edinburgh: SRS).
- Cox, B., 1976, 'The place-names of the earliest English records', *Journal of the English Place-Names Society* 8, 12–66.
- Crowe, C., 1982, 'Archaeology without a spade – looking for a monastery at Hoddom', *Popular Archaeology* 4, no. 6 (December 1982), 34–36.
- Dodgson, J. McN., 1970–97, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, EPNS vols XLIV–XLVIII LIV, LXXIV (completed by A.R. Rumble; Cambridge, CUP and Nottingham, EPNS).
- A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, from the Twelfth Century to the Seventeenth*, ed. W.A. Craigie, A.J. Aitken, M. Dareau et al., 12 vols, 1937–2002 (Edinburgh: University of Chicago Press, OUP).
- Duckett, E.S., 1961, *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne, his World and his Work* (New York: MacMillan).
- Dümmler, E. ed., 1895, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum Tomus iv, Epistolae Carolini Aevi ii*. (Berlin: Weidmann), available on line at <<http://www.mgh.de/dmgh/>> (site in German) – accessed 2010–12).
- Dumville, D.N., 1993, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950–1030* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).
- Ekwall, E., 1922, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, Publications of the University of Manchester English Series No. XI (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Ekwall, E., 1960, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. J. Wright, 6 vols, English Dialect Society, 1898–1906

(London: Henry Frowde).

- Fellows-Jensen, G., 1985, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, Navnestudier udgivet af Institut for Navneforskning nr 25 (Copenhagen: Reitzels).
- Forbes, A.P., ed, 1874, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, Compiled in the Twelfth Century, the Former by St Ailred, the Latter by Jocelinus*, *Historians of Scotland* vol. 5 (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas).
- Gamillscheg, E., 1928, *Eymologisches Wörterbuch der Französischen Sprache*, Sammlung Romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher, iii Reihe, Wörterbücher, no. 5 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter).
- Ganz, D., 1993, 'An Anglo-Saxon fragment of Alcuin's letters in the Newberry Library, Chicago', *Anglo-Saxon England* 22, 167–77.
- Gelling, M., 1973–76, *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, 3 parts, EPNS vols 49–51 (Cambridge: CUP).
- Gneuss, H., 2001, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* vol. 241 (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies).
- Godman, P., ed., 1982, *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, *Oxford Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Gough-Cooper, H., 2003, 'Kentigern and Gonothigernus, a Scottish saint and Gaulish bishop identified', *The Heroic Age* 6 (Spring 2003), 15 pp. plus appendixes, online journal at <www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/6/gough-cooper.html> – accessed 14/12/2006.
- Gover, J.E.B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, 1938, *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire*, EPNS vol. XV (Cambridge: CUP).
- Gover, J.E.B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, 1940, *The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire*, EPNS vol. XVII (Cambridge: CUP).
- Gover, J.E.B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, 1942, *The Place-Names of Middlesex apart from the City of London*, EPNS vol. XVIII (Cambridge: CUP).
- Haddan, A.W., and W. Stubbs, 1869–71, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Edited after Spelman and Wilkins*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Hearne, T., ed., 1715, 1770, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 6 vols numbered as three in four plus two appendixes (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre; 2nd edn London: W. & J. Richardson); Alcuin letters at vol. 1, part 2, pp. 392–404 in both editions.
- Hogg, R.M., 1992, *A Grammar of Old English Volume 1: Phonology* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Innes, C., ed., 1843, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis: Munimenta Ecclesie Metropolitanae Glasguensis a Sede Restaurata Seculo Ineunte XII ad Reformatam*

- Religionem*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs).
- Jackson, K.H., 1958, 'The sources for the life of St Kentigern', in N.K. Chadwick et al., *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge: CUP), 273–357.
- Johnson-Ferguson, E., 1935, *The Place-Names of Dumfriesshire* (Dumfries: Courier Press); reprinted as Castlepoint Press Reprint Series no. 1, Colvend (Dalbeattie) 2001.
- Jordan, R., and E. J. Crook, 1974, *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*, Janua Linguarum Series Practica 218 (The Hague: Mouton).
- Karkov, C.E., and F. Orton, eds, 2003, *Theorising Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (Morgantown, West Virginia: West Virginia University Press).
- Ker, N., 1971, 'The handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in P. Clemoes and K. Hughes, *England before the Conquest, Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (Cambridge: CUP), 315–31.
- Lapidge, M., 1996, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 600-899* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press).
- Lawrie, A.C., 1905, *Early Scottish Charters, Prior to 1153* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons).
- Leland, J., *Collectanea*, see Hearne.
- Levison, W., 1947, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, the Ford Lectures, 1943 (Oxford, OUP).
- Lowe, C.E., 1991, 'New light on the Anglian "Minster" at Hoddom', *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd series, Vol. LXVI, 11–35.
- Lowe, C.E., et al., 2006, *Excavations at Hoddom, Dumfriesshire, an Early Ecclesiastical Site in South-West Scotland, with Specialist Contributions* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).
- Malmesbury, William of, see Mynors; Winterbottom.
- Mann, G., 2004, 'The development of Wulfstan's Alcuin Manuscript', in M. Townend, ed., *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: the Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, University of York Studies in the Early Middle Ages, vol. 10 (Turnhout: Brepols), 234–78.
- Mawer, A., 1920, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnological Series (Cambridge: CUP).
- Mawer, A. and F.M. Stenton, 1925, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire*, EPNS vol. II (Cambridge: CUP).
- Mawer, A. and F.M. Stenton, 1927, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, EPNS vol. IV (Cambridge: CUP).
- Meyvaert, P., 1992, 'Ecclesia and Vita Monastica', in B. Cassidy, ed., *The Ruthwell Cross*, Index of Christian Art Occasional Papers 1 (Princeton: Princeton University).
- Middle English Dictionary*, eds H. Kurath, S.M. Kuhn, J. Reidy, R.E. Lewis et al., 14

- vols, 1952–2001 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press).
- Mills, D., 1998-, *The Place-names of Dorset*, EPNS vols LII–LIII, LIX–LX, LXXXVI–VII, ongoing (Nottingham, EPNS).
- Mynors, R.A.B., R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, eds, 1998–99, *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum, the History of the English Kings*, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Nicolaisen, W.F.H., 1976, *Scottish Place-Names, their Study and Significance* (London: Batsford); second expanded edn, 2001 (Edinburgh: John Donald).
- Orton, F., 2003, ‘Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments’, in Karkov and Orton (2003), 65–92.
- Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed, eds J.A.Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, 20 vols, 1989 (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Parker, M., 1985, ‘An Anglo-Saxon monastery in the lower Don valley’, *Northern History* XXI, 19–32.
- Radford, C.A.R., 1952–23, ‘Hoddom’, *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 31, 174–97.
- Rawnsley, H.D., 1888, *Five addresses on the lives and work of St Kentigern and St Herbert, delivered in St Kentigern’s Church, Crosthwaite* (Carlisle: Thurnam & Sons).
- Redin, M., 1919, *Studies in Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1919, Filosofi, Språkvetenskap och Historiske Vetenskaper 2 (Uppsala: A-B. Akadamiska Bokhandeln).
- Sawyer, P.H., 1968, *Anglo-Saxon Charters, an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society). Also on-line *Electronic Sawyer* at <www.e-sawyer.org.uk>.
- The Scottish National Dictionary*, eds W. Grant and D.W. Murison, 10 vols, 1933–76 (Edinburgh: Scottish National Dictionary Association).
- Searle, W.G. 1897, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum, a List of Anglo-Saxon Proper Names from the Time of Bede to that of King John* (Cambridge: CUP).
- Smith, A.H., 1928, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, EPNS vol V (Cambridge: CUP).
- Smith, A.H., 1937, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, EPNS vol. XIV (Cambridge: CUP).
- Smith, A.H., 1956, *English Place-Name Elements*, EPNS vols XXV and XXVI (Cambridge: CUP).
- Smith, A.H., 1961–63, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, EPNS vols XXX–XXXVII (Cambridge: CUP).
- Smith, A.H., 1964–65, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, EPNS vols XXXVIII–XLI (Cambridge: CUP).
- Smith, A.H., 1967, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, EPNS vols XLII–XLIII (Cambridge: CUP).

- Survey of English Dialects B., The Basic Material, Vol. 1, The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man*, eds H. Orton and W.J. Halliday, University of Leeds, 3 vols, 1962–63 (Leeds: E.J. Arnold).
- Sweet, H., ed., 1885, *The Oldest English Texts, Edited with Introduction and Glossary*, Early English Text Society, Original Series no. 83 (London: OUP).
- Tengvik, G., 1938, *Old English Bynames: Nomina Germanica*, Arkiv för Germansk Namnforskning Utgivet av Jöran Sahlgren 4, University of Uppsala (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells).
- Thomson, R.M., 2003, *William of Malmesbury* (revised edn, Woodbridge: Boydell Press; 1st edn, 1987, same).
- Wallach, L., 1959, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology vol. XXXII (New York: Cornell University Press).
- Watson, W.J., 1926, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood; repr. 2004, Edinburgh: Birlinn).
- Watts, V., 2002, *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names*, EPNS Popular Series vol. 3 (Nottingham: EPNS).
- Watts, V., 2007, *The Place-names of County Durham part 1, Stockton Ward*, ed. Paul Cavill, EPNS vol. LXXX111 (Nottingham, EPNS).
- Whidden Green, C., 1998, 'Saint Kentigern, Apostle to Strathclyde: a critical analysis of a northern saint', MA thesis (Faculty of the Department of English, University of Houston, Texas), published on-line via <www.stumbleupon.com> and at <www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/CynthiaWhiddenGreen-SaintKentigern1998.asp> – accessed 18/12/2011.
- Whitelock, D., ed, 1979, *English Historical Documents vol. 1, c.500–1042*, 2nd edn (London: Eyre Methuen and New York: OUP).
- Whitelock, D., ed., 1982, 'Bishop Ecgred, Pehtred and Niall', in D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville, *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge: CUP), 47–68.
- Wilkins, D., ed., 1737, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae (&c)*, 4 vols (London: R. Gosling et al.).
- Williamson, M.G., 1942, 'The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh).
- Winterbottom, M., and R.M. Thomson, eds, 2007, *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, the History of the English Bishops*, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Wood, I.N., 2003, 'Ruthwell, contextual searches', in Karkov and Orton 2003, 104–30.