The Balliol Herefordshire Domesday, the first of three items bound up as Balliol College MS.350, is a twelfth-century transcript of the Great Domesday Book folios for Herefordshire. A monochrome facsimile edition of the manuscript, with a transcription of the text and introduction by V. H. Galbraith and notes by James Tait, was published by the Pipe Roll Society in 1930.¹

The manuscript was described by Galbraith in his introduction as 'no mere official list, but a handsome book, finely illuminated', and consists of a more or less faithful and unabridged transcript of the Herefords. folios of GBH.² The transcript is written in two hands, the first running to the bottom of fo. 4r and the second, responsible for most of the manuscript, from there to the end. The first hand is not particularly distinctive, but the writing of the second was described by Galbraith as being in the 'set or most formal hand of the royal curia'. The text is in single column, allowing for wide margins which take up almost one-third of the width of the leaf. In these margins a third hand has entered, in red ink, the names of the DB holdings given in the text, the number of hides at which they were assessed, and, occasionally, the name of the 1086 tenant. Beneath these marginalia another scribe or scribes, or possibly the same one, has added in red, and usually in a smaller size of writing, the names of just over one-third of the tenants in the reign of Henry II.

From comparison with the Pipe Rolls and the Red Book of the Exchequer, Galbraith found that all but one of these rubricated personal-names referred to people recorded as living at some time during the reign of Henry II (1154-89). In addition to these names there are also a number of later marginal additions, in black ink, of both personal- and place-names. These later annotations are written in several less formal hands, but Galbraith established that they could not have been written much later than the red marginalia, and concluded that the text of the manuscript was written in the earlier part of Henry II's reign, with the marginal additions in red and black having probably been made piecemeal and over a period of time extending to the close of the reign or even somewhat later, but not much if at all beyond 1200.

Discussing the possible origin and purpose of such an undertaking, which appears to be a unique but unfinished attempt to bring the tenurial information of Great Domesday Book up-to-date for a single county, Galbraith suggested that the rather grand nature of the manuscript, together with the evidence of the
script, indicated a personal experiment originating in the royal curia. He pointed out that much of the detailed information given in the marginia could have been available only to someone well acquainted with local conditions in Herefords., and went on to argue that the masternind behind the enterprise was possibly Thomas Brown, Thomas cognomento Bruns, who was described in Richard FitzNigel's Dialogue of the Exchequer, written c.1179, as an important figure at the Exchequer. He is known to have had property interests in Hereford and, as king's almoner, is the most likely source for a statement of royal obligations which is found on a folio at the end of the Domesday transcript.

The marginia are clearly of great importance for the manorial history of Herefords., since DBH helps to fill the gap between the Domesday Survey itself and the feudal records of the thirteenth century. The manuscript is no less important to the toponymist of the county, providing late-twelfth-century forms for over 300 major place-names. This comprehensiveness is especially valuable in a county such as Herefords, which is very poorly served for English pre-Conquest material. Alexander Rumble has reminded us that 'there is room for more study of the place-names as found in one particular source'. DBH would appear to be an excellent candidate for such a study, offering an opportunity to apply the source-based approach within a county framework. Such a study would, however, clearly be beyond the scope of a paper such as this, and I shall discuss here only one of the interesting aspects of this manuscript, namely the light it sheds on the toponymic situation on the English/Welsh linguistic border in Archenfield and the Golden Valley in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in particular the evidence it provides for variation, change, and loss of place-names.

The name Archenfield has been applied since at least the tenth century to the district bounded by the rivers Wye, Monnow and Womn in south Herefords, on the borders of Gwent. This English name, first recorded in the year 918, means 'open land of the people of Erging' (the Welsh name of the district), and by the time of Edward the Confessor the district to which it applied seems to have been a semi-autonomous Welsh area subject to the English Crown but preserving its native customs and language (DB A/1/1-10). Great Domesday Book records that half a hide was held in 1086 by Hugh the ass at Eltric in Sellick hundred (DB 29/20). An addition in black ink, Strangeif', which appears above the DBH marginal form Eaton (DBH 71), was taken by Tait to refer to the name of an unknown tenant, but it is clear that it represents the place-name Strangford found in Sellack parish on the west bank of the Wye in the southern half of a large S-shaped meander (see Map 1). The GDB name Eaton is evidently identical with that of another manor, given as Eodon in GDB (DB 19/7) but corrected at Eaton in DBH (59); the place concern can be identified as Eaton Tregoe (a name lost in the nineteenth century) on the opposite bank of the Wye. It seems likely that Eaton (appropriately enough from OE Eodon 'riverine estate') was once the name of an estate with land on both sides of the Wye. Although Eaton Tregoe was an important manor in medieval times, its ecclesiastical centre was on the 'Welsh' side of the Wye at Foy, east of Strangford. Foy is a truncated form of a Welsh name first recorded in the Book of Llandaf c.1130 as Lann Tioci and Lann Tioci 'church of Tioci' (LL 231, 275).5 Sellick hundred, with a unique name which has puzzled commentators,6 should probably be linked with Sellack, the parish to the west of Foy, which is Lann Suluc 'church of Suluc' in the Book of Llandaf (LL 231, 275-7). Sellack is not mentioned by name in GDB, but was probably subsumed under the entry for Baysham (DB 1/5/6). Although Baysham is now only a hamlet in Sellack parish, in the Middle Ages the parish was usually referred to as 'Baysham', presumably because the manorial centre was there. By the sixteenth century the parish was being referred to as Baysham alias Cellach, and it was the name of the church which finally prevailed as the name of the parish. (Note the similarity to Eaton/Foy, where too the manorial name was English and the parish name a truncated form of a Welsh llaun- name.) A problem arises here in that Baysham is not stated in GDB to be in Sellick hundred but in fine Arcenefelde 'within Archenfield'. Perhaps, however, one should interpret Suluce not as a scribal error for Suluck, which is quite possible palaeographically, but as a compound of Suluc with the OE element suluc 'settlement, dwellers'; the GDB form might represent a Welsh pronunciation (sylset) of an OE form *Suluc-sylset. Suluc is a not uncommon element in group- and later territorial, names in the West Midlands, where, as Margaret Gelling has pointed out, it often seems to refer to groups occupying an area about the size of a later hundred.6 One might cite as a parallel the Domesday hundred of Ruesset, the first element of which is probably ON riu (so spelt in place-names) 'a hill-side, a slope'. Gelling further observes that the feature described by the first element in such names sometimes seems to lie on or beyond the boundary of the territory occupied by the group in question. If Sullock hundred is a name of this type, then it could possibly be interpreted as 'dwellers by the boundary of Sellack' or even 'territory adjacent to Sellack'. Eltric/Strangford was held in 1066 by a man with an English name (GDB Eltric, or OE Aeltric or Aelfric), and the hundred
may have represented, as Frank Thorn puts it, an English manorial intrusion into Archenfield (DB 29/20 note). A Welsh presence is, however, indicated by the characteristically Welsh honey-renders mentioned in the GDB entry.

This English intrusion onto the 'Welsh' side of the Wye is mirrored, in the northern half of this meander, by a Welsh intrusion onto the 'English' side, where the Domesday manor of Capel (King's Caple) was stated in GDB to be in fine Arcenefelde (DB 1/55); in later medieval times it was and remained in the deanery of Archenfield. Five Welshmen were mentioned in connection with the Domesday holding, and it appears to have been held with Sellack parish over the Wye, for not only were both estates held by the same tenant and sub-tenant in 1086, but there were also later manorial links and, from 1334, King's Caple is recorded as a chapelry dependent on Sellack.

The element contained in the name Caple also features in two other names in DB: Capel (How Caple), a five-hide episcopal manor (DB 2/14), and Caplefore (DB 2/15). In a DBH marginal note Caplefore is called Brochanttona (DBH 26), which identifies it as the present-day parish of Brockhampton-by-Ross. Again DB records a Welsh presence on the eastern bank of the Wye: there were said to be five English hides and three Welsh hides there. The element in question here was explained by Ekwall as Norman-French caple 'a chapel', but since the GDB form Caplefore itself, possibly 'ford at/near/in Caple'. At all events, the name Caple must have applied to a fairly large area in late Anglo-Saxon times. Here, as with other Herefordshire estate-names, we find recorded in DBH a shift away from topographical settlement-names towards such forms as Brochanton incorporating habitative elements such as OE *coen-.

Moving now upstream and crossing the Wye again, we find DBH providing evidence on the borders of Archenfield both for the replacement of Welsh names by English ones and for the encroachment of English and, later, Norman administrative and tenurial arrangements in an area formerly solidly Welsh. One of
the places said in GDB to be within Archenfield is called there Mainwa (DB 1/58). This represents OE mainwa 'multiple estate', to use the term favoured by Glamille Jones, who has argued for the great antiquity of some of these estates in Wales. The GDB form is repeated in the margin of DBH, but a later annotation in black ink adds the form Birches (DBH 20), an English name referring to Much and Little Birch, distinguished as such from the late thirteenth century (see Map 2). They are both small parishes, and Professor Jones believes that the estate recorded here may also have once included the two holdings, totalling seven hides, called in GDB Westwood (DB 1/61) and Westeode (1/62), the larger of which was held in 1086 by St Peter's, Gloucester. This name does not appear to have survived the Middle Ages, but in the late medieval History of St Peter's the abbey's holding is called Westwood in Jerchenfield in Llanwarne, implying that some at least of it was in or near Llanwarne, some two miles south of Much Birch. Like one of the GDB forms, the DBH ones have a medial -e- (Westeade, Westeode, Westwood(e)), which suggests that the OE form of the name may have been (be) wastan wudu '(estate) to the west of the wood'. This would accord well with early medieval evidence of an extensive tract of woodland running N.-S. from a few miles south of Hereford, probably as far as Pencoyd (Welsh pencoyd 'end of the wood'), the parish to the south-east of Llanwarne. The name of the parish north of Pencoyd and east of Llanwarne, Harewood (Harewooda DBH 19, genus de Harewooda 1138) also indicates the presence of woodland east of 'Westwood' (see also below).

The hundred heading under which this estate is entered in GDB is that of Worneilo (Wernela) hundred (DB 1/61), which in 1086 was co-extensive with the manor of 'Westwood' and seems to have been an English administrative inroad into Archenfield before the Norman Conquest. The specific of the hundred-name is derived from the name of the River Worn, probably representing an Old Welsh name meaning 'the dusky one', and the generic is OE huel 'a mound'. This mound, probably artificial, was the meeting-place of the hundred (DB [C]1/3) and survived until recent times as Worneilo Tump. It was prominently sited on a summit beside the (Roman) road from Hereford to Monmouth at the junction of three later parishes, and it may have been the focus of Professor Jones's putative multiple estate consisting of 'Westwood' and the Birches.

Three other holdings are mentioned in GDB as forming part of, or being called, 'Westwood'. One part (DB 1/61), held by Roger de Lacy, is unnamed in GDB but is called Wementon' in a black marginal addition in DBH (20). Another part (DR 1/41), again unnamed in GDB, where it is described as held by Ralph
de Salcey, is annotated in black in DBH (21) as Wremeton. This - another lost name - appears in the thirteenth century as Wremton, Wrominton and Wrometon, evidently a -dwm or -dun formation on the name of the river. The exact position of these lost 'Wromington' names is still unknown, but presumably they lay on or near the River Wrom, probably in or near Much Dewchurch, whose English name, recorded from c.1225, is probably a translation of an older Welsh name Lann Dewi, Ros Cerion 'Dewi's church by Ros Cerion ['Cerion's moor'], recorded in the Book of Llandaf (LL 275). The fourth holding, one hide held by Ralph de Tosny, is called Westeude in GEO (DB 1/62) and Westwood in a marginal note in DBH (21), but a further DBH marginal annotation adds Dewi's well', 'Dewi's well', identifying it as Dewall north of Much Dewchurch. On the map the parish of Dewall very much gives the impression of having been carved out of a larger unit including Much Dewchurch. As well as supplying new names for these three subordinate holdings in 'Westwood', that is, the two 'Wromingtons' and Dewall, DBH (20) also has a black marginal note Villa Asmacun at the beginning of the 'Westwood' entries. This has defied conclusive explanation, although David Walker has ingeniously suggested that Asmacun might be a corruption of Latin ad victum in the phrase ad victum monachorum 'for the sustenance of the monks'.

Other plausible explanations are that it is a scribal corruption of Wremton or the like, or that it is a miscopying of Asmacun for *Asmacun, a lost OE place-name meaning 'Asmacun's estate'. There is also the possibility that Asmacun might represent a Welsh personal-name, and that Villa Asmacun might be either a noun phrase 'estate of Asmacun' or a translation of a Welsh place-name consisting of a habitative element such as tref(f) and a personal-name. The name, if such it is, appears opposite the phrase in the main text Una ex his [sc. vi hidal] habet wallisicam consequutur est and may refer to a Welsh settlement rather than to an alternative name of the 'Westwood' estate itself.

I have discussed this last example at some length because it illustrates rather well the complicated patterns of creation, creation and loss that affected place-names in this period of changing political and administrative fortunes on the English/Welsh border. DBH contains two more examples of apparent name change or variation in Archenfield, both of which present difficulties of interpretation. GEO lists an unnamed holding in Archenfield held TRE by one Wesstan (OE Wæstæn) (DB 1/52). A black marginal addition in DBH (19) calls this Meiner Reau. The first element here appears again to be ON rena, but what of the qualifying element? Professor Jones suggests 'very tentatively' that it stands for Welsh fro [vro], the lenited form of bro 'vale, lowland', and that the whole phrase means 'lowland multiple estate'. He has, however, taken the marginal annotation to refer not to this holding of Wersstan's but to the previous DBH entry relating to Ballingham, part of which does lie on relatively low ground in a loop of the Wye. Close attention to the facsimile, however, shows that it is Weresstan's holding which is referred to. This entry has a further black marginal addition in DBH, Harewade, referring probably to the foresta mentioned in the text. This is Harewood, recorded as a royal forest in the twelfth-century Pipe Rolls, so it seems likely that Meiner Reau was centred not on Ballingham but in or near Harewood, which is several miles south and by no means occupies a lowland site. A further difficulty raised by Professor Jones's interpretation is that it is very hard, unless one assumes gross scribal or phonetic corruption, to see how Reau could represent Welsh fro. One could perhaps accept the loss of the initial fricative, but the spelling <æau> in twelfth-century French orthography would have indicated at least a diphthong, if not a triphthong.

It may be suggested that the form Reau here stands for either an ON personal-name, perhaps Reuv, which is recorded twice in the Book of Llandaf (LL 169, 201), or for the ON common noun riu 'hillside', 'slope', which would fit the topography near Harewood. If this is accepted, then Meiner Reau 'hillside estate' would of course mean the opposite of the 'lowland estate' of Professor Jones's interpretation.

The second difficult name appears in GEO as Lagadenar, applied to a place which is said to have belonged to Archenfield TRE (DB 1/50). The text of DBH repeats this form, but a black marginal annotation to it reads Garadu (DB 19), which appears to denote the present parish of Garway in the far west of Archenfield by the River Monnow. Similar forms are attested from the twelfth century (Garou 1138, Garadu 1189) and become common in the thirteenth. Garway is called Langrevel in 1199 and has been taken to be the place called in the Book of Llandaf Lann Gulobhoe and Lann Gulolhoe (LL 162, 164-6, 192) 'church of Guello', ('with the name of the church's first priest, who is referred to in the same text'), though Egerton Phillimore, while accepting that the name Garway may have had the same origin, cited evidence that it is unlikely to be the Lann Gulolhoe of the Book of Llandaf. Even if one accepts this origin, however, the GEO form Lagadenar presents problems. Barnister noted the 'traditional' identification of the form with the Archenfield Licat Amir (with ni for Am variants An, Amir) of the Historia Brittonum ('Nennius'), p.830. This, despite the fanciful etymology recalled there of a spring by the burial mound
of 'Anir the son of Arthur', is more prosaically interpreted as 'source (on licat, literally 'eye') of the Anil', a stream or river apparently identical with that called Annir, Annir in the Book of Llandaf (LL. 174, 200), usually taken to be the Gomer Brook. The source of this stream is at Gomer Head (SO 4929) less than a mile south of the site of Wormelow Tump. The association in the Historia Brittonum of the place called Licat Anir with the burial mound of 'Anir' could well be explained by the nearby presence of the large mound recorded as a hundred meeting-place in DBB and the fact that Annir was also an ON personal-name. Despite the phonetic plausibility of identifying DBB Llagadener with Licat Anir/Anilr (ON c = [g] and t = [d]), there remains, however, the difficulty that Garway is several miles west of Gomer Head, which anyway would probably have lain geographically within the Domesday manor of 'Westwood' discussed above. It may be necessary, therefore, to reject the identification of Llagadener with Licat Anir and to consider whether Llagadener might represent another place-name containing ON licat or an ON name consisting of 'ann and a qualifying element, such as an ON personal-name in Cat-. The latter supposition would, of course, imply that the Garway holding could apparently be referred to by two distinct Lann-names in the twelfth century.

The other area of Herefordshire which is worth looking at for evidence of name variation is the Golden Valley, the fertile valley of the River Dore (see Map 3). The name of the valley has a rather complicated history. It appears in the Book of Llandaf as Ynis Stradour (recte: ym) Istradour, Istrator and Estrator (LL. 76, 32, 42), the first element of which is ON ístrat 'broad valley' and the second the name of the river, Dour [Dovr], from late British *Ynysfaw 'the water(s)'. The form Estrator suggests that already by the twelfth century Welsh scribes had begun to interpret the spelling Istrad(d)our [astrad(d)our] 'Dove Valley' as though it were Istrator [astradwyd] 'Golden Valley', through false segmentation of the phrase and misinterpretation of the ambiguous ON spelling <yw> as [ow] rather than [oy]. In the immediate pre-Conquest period the west bank of the Dore appears to have been the western limit of English penetration; the date of the English takeover is unknown, though it was probably later than the eleventh century, when the Book of Llandaf states that the Welsh king Ichel restored to the surviving tenants lands in the Golden Valley ravaged by the English. In DBB the area is called once Stradel hundred, but in other cases Valls Stradele and variants, and Frank Thorn has suggested from
palaeographical evidence that the scribe seemed uncertain of the correct administrative designation of the area (DB 2/54 note); GDB also states specifically that it contained only 56 hides (DB 25/7). There also seems to have been some variation in the English form of the name itself in post-Conquest sources. The normal form recorded in the Pipe Rolls of the late twelfth century is Strada, probably a latinization of ÖN (litrat, while other early sources give such forms as Stradellie and Stradele, suggesting a second element leah, or Straddele, Stradale, pointing to [litrat plus ME dale 'valley']. Twenty named Domednye holdings and two that are unnamed are stated to be, or can confidently be inferred to have lain, in Stradell hundred or the Golden Valley; of the twenty named holdings, five represent places not actually in the valley itself but beyond the Dore watershed in the Wye Valley. There is also one place, Pontillas, which lies geographically in the Golden Valley but was administratively in Archenfield in 1086.

There are two striking facts about these twenty-three holdings. The first is that no less than thirteen are described as 'waste' TRE. This can be ascribed to the very troubled state of the southern Marches in the twenty years before the Norman Conquest, when there was almost constant warfare between the Welsh and English. The situation on the border in the 1050s had resulted in the building in Herefords, of some of the Norman castles in England, one of which was almost certainly Eynas Harold near the junction of the Dore and the Monnow.27 The other notable feature here is the nature of the DB place-names themselves, and the apparently very low survival rate of many of them. Thirteen of the twenty-one named DB manors have OE lea as their second element and, of these, eleven have as their first element an OE personal-name. These are GDB Alcanesteone (DB 29/10), Almandesteune (DB 29/9), Burtcastenstone (DB 23/3), Edwardstone (DB 10/18), Elmedstone (DB 10/17), Elwistone (DB 1/56, later Pontillas28), Hadetone (DB 10/18) and Whistlestone (DB 29/7) (all lost names), and Wilmstone (Wilnestone, DB 29/8), Bachetone (Baton, DB 10/16) and Manitone/Mannetone (Womington in Wowlchur, DB 19/11/4) which have survived. Another, Dodintone (Dorstone, DB 23/2), possibly has a personal-name as first element, and Possetetunetone (Poston, DB 14/6) apparently has as its first element a folk-name in -tan. Some of these first elements show variation between a personal-name in the genitive and a singular -ing formation on a personal-name base. These eleven place-names with a personal-name as first element, seven were apparently lost by the twelfth century, because they have not been traced in other sources, but in five cases a DB marginal note provides a different name for the holding. GDB Edwardstone becomes Villa Huardi (DBH 42), probably here not a name but a descriptive phrase, 'Huardi's estate', though the phrase might be a translation of a place-name such as *Huadestun which did not become permanently attached to the place. A man named W. Huard holds Poston in DBH (54), so this holding may have been near there. Whitstone is annotated Rob(eri)t Turai (in) Lenthal in DBH (70), identifying it as in or near Lyonshall in Peterchurch. Turai here may be a mistake for Turie, since a Robertus de Turnai is recorded in the Pipe Roll of 1185 for Herefords, and he, or an ancestor or a descendant may have given his name to the parish of Turnastone, about two miles south of Lyonshall; the name of this place is first recorded in 1242 as Thurneston, and Lyonshall is said to pertain to Turnastone in an inquisition of 1250. Elnodestone has a marginal note (deest) Stradel W. Ethrois in DBH (42). Like Villa Huardi, this may not be a genuine place-name but rather denote 'the holding of W. Devereux in the Golden Valley', though again one cannot rule out the possibility of a transient name such as 'Stradl Devereux'. Frank Thorn has suggested from tenurial evidence that this may have been the later Chastone in Vowchurch, first recorded as Cheinentun (with the French family name Cheyne as first element) in 1242 (DB 10/16 note). Against Almedestone in the DBH margin has been written Sleancet(i) Peteri), which identifies it as Peterchurch, a major settlement with a large Norman church. No other forms of its later name have been found before 1271, when it appears as ecclesia beati Petri in Straddele; the first English form that I have found is Peterscherche in 1302. A priest with a church is mentioned in the GDB entry. GDB Duddistone is glossed in DBH (deest) Dorsinton, which shows that the estate was Dorstone, another major settlement and later parish. Dorsinton may be a singular -ing formation on the OE personal-name Dorsige, though later forms such as Dorston from 1321 probably show that the name was influenced by that of the River Dore on which it lies. Interestingly, Bannister cited a Dudistone as a farm- or field-name in Dorstone in the mid-thirteenth century, which perhaps indicates that the manorial centre of the estate had shifted from a settlement called Dudelington to another called

Besides these changes affecting names in tun, DBH also records one change in a topographical settlement-name. GDB Ruanore (DB 23/4) is given in a red marginal note as Ruanoura in DBH (64), probably from the OE elements ruan 'rough' and ofer 'slope, hill, ridge'. A later marginal note in black adds above this name Pagemenda, containing OE fæg 'variegated, coloured,
'bright' and ME munede, a loanword from Old minid 'hill'. A. H. Smith postu-
lated the use of such a loanword in place-names in the Forest of Dean to
denote 'a piece of waste or open ground in the forest', but the sense here,
as in other examples in Herefordshire and Shropshire, is probably that of the
Welsh original. The name Fagenoura was apparently lost early, but Fagenoneda
survived until recently as Vowyn, the name of a chapelry dependent on
Dorstone. Its official name now is Myndd Brith or, in an over-cymricized
form on the O.S. maps, Myndd Bryd; this Welsh form means 'variegated hill',
and is an exact translation of Fagenoneda. It would be interesting to know
when and how the Welsh name arose, whether as a translation of the English
name, as the model for the English name, or as an independent formation des-
criptive of the site. Bamister observed that the minor names in Dorstone in
the mid-thirteenth century were almost entirely English, whilst in his day
(1916) most of them were Welsh. It is probable that there was a certain
amount of medieval and post-medieval Welsh re-immigration into the Golden
Valley, but to trace the detail of such movements we shall have to await a
full collection of the minor names of the area.

Looking at the Golden Valley names recorded in GDB and DBH as a whole,
it is clear that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was an exception-
tional degree of instability in major settlement-names, with the prevailing
late Anglo-Saxon pattern of settlement-names composed of a personal-name and
CAW and/or -ingCAW being replaced by a more mixed naming pattern, with church
names such as Peterchurch and Powchurch making an appearance and also, signif-
ificantly, names consisting of a French family name plus CAW, such as
Turnastone and Cenastone. This is also a marked feature of Ewyas, the dis-
trict to the west of the Golden Valley, still Welsh in 1086, where the names
Walterstone and Rowdstone, both parish-names, and Gilberstone in Longtown
take their names from followers of the Lacy family, the first Norman lords of
Ewyas. The English names themselves, of course, largely supplanted a Welch
pattern which, despite difficulties of identification, can be glimpsed in the
Book of Llandaf. It seems possible that the extreme transience of many of
these OE settlement-names could be due to the fact that at the time of DB
they had relatively recently replaced Welch names and had not established
themselves firmly enough to survive the thorough Normanization of the area
which had begun even before 1066.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

ASC - C. Plummer and J. Earle, eds, Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, 2

DB = Domesday Book, when used to refer generally to the records of the
Domesday Inquest.

DB = F. and C. Thorn, eds, Domesday Book, 17: Herefordshire (Chichester,
1983). References are to the numbered chapters and sections of
this edition.

DBH = V. H. Galbraith and J. Tait, eds, Herefordshire Domesday, circa 1160-
1170, reproduced by colotype from facsimile photographs of Balliol
College MS. 350, Pipe Roll Society LXII (n.s. XVI) for 1947 and
1948 (London, 1950). References are to page numbers.

DEPN = E. Ekwall, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, 4th

EPN = A. H. Smith, English Place-Name Elements, 2 vols, EPNS XX-VI
(Cambridge, 1936).

EPNS = English Place-Name Society.


GDB = Great Domesday Book (for the printed text of the Herefords. folios,
with translation and notes, see above under DB).

LL = J. Gwenogvryn Evans, ed., The Text of the Book of Llan Daf
(Oxford, 1893). References are to page numbers.

ME = Middle English.

OE = Old English.

OW = Old Welsh.

*This is a revised version of a paper given on 6th April 1986 at the XVIIIth
Annual Conference of the Council for Name Studies held at the University of
Exeter. The author is grateful to Oliver Padel for his comments and sugges-
tions regarding the Welsh names discussed here.

1. See list of References, sub DBH.

2. The Herefords. folios constitute fos 179-87 of GDB.

3. A. R. Hume, 'The status of written sources in English onomastics',
NOMINA VIII (1984), 41.

4. (Ion) Iriinga felds, ASC I, 98, s.a. 918.

5. For the printed text of this source, see list of References, sub LL.


8. See O. J. Padel, Cornish Place-Name Elements, EPNS LVI/LVII (Nottingham, 1985), 196-7.


13. The interpretation of the Welsh name is that suggested by B. G. Charles in 'The Welsh, their language and place-names in Archenfield and Oswestry', in Angles and Britons: O'Donnell Lectures (Cardiff, 1963), 90.


15. See DB 1/61 note.


17. See M. K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French (Manchester, 1936), 446.


21. EPNS, 12. K. Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain (Edinburgh, 1953), 510, rejects Davies's etymology and regards a Celtic origin for the name as 'quite uncertain'.

22. See, e.g., an instance at LI 277.

23. Bannister, Place-Names of Herefordshire, 110, cited a Landmore in Garway recorded in TS85. Could this be a later development of Lagad, assuming a not unlikely phonetic development [Lag] > [Lagmar] > [Landmor]?

24. See Jackson, Language and History, 418, where he explains the English form as a borrowing of late O.M.DR (4 early O.M.Dor).

25. Although no other early instances of the name 'Golden Valley' have yet been found, Bannister, Place-Names of Herefordshire, 84, cited a Richard de aurea valle from c.1130. The misinterpretation was doubtless reinforced by both the appropriateness of the description and by the coincidence that a form such as DOR would have suggested the French d'or.

26. See LI 192.

27. See ASC, 180, and DB 19/1 note.

28. The relationship between this name and the present Welsh-looking name of the place, Pontirllas, recorded only from the 18th cent. onwards, is uncertain. It is possible, as Bannister suggested, that Pontirllas is a development of an earlier Welsh form such as Pont Treff (Trefllas), which could have arisen as a partial translation of a form such as Leland's Allstone Bridge. See A. T. Bannister, The History of Ewias Harold (Hereford, 1907), 129-30; idem, Place-Names of Herefordshire, 134-5.

29. See DEPN, 372.

30. A Ralph de Torny was active in or near Turnastone c.1132; see A. T. Bannister, 'A lost cartulary of Hereford Cathedral', Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club (1914-17), 274. I have found two other pre-1300 forms of the p.n. with medial -1/-v-

31. See Bannister, Place-Names of Herefordshire, 114, n.1.


33. As above, n.31.