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PREPARATORY TO

A DICTIONARY OF SUSSEX PLACE-NAMES

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First tranche: place-names in A, E, I, O and U

Foreword

It is now almost 90 years since the publication of Allen Mawer and Frank Stenton's standard county survey *The place-names of Sussex* (English Place-Name Society [EPNS] vols 6-7, Cambridge University Press, 1929-30). While I was living and working in Sussex, before 2006, it had long been my intention to produce an updated but scaled-down of this major work to serve as one of the EPNS's "Popular" series of county dictionaries. Many things have intervened to delay the fulfilment of this aspiration, but it struck me that I could advance the project a little, put a few new ideas into the public domain, and possibly apply a spur to myself, by publishing from time to time an online "fascicle" consisting of analyses of selected major or important names beginning with a particular letter. Here are the first five, dealing with the letters A, E, I, O and U. Readers are invited to send any comments, including suggestions for inclusion or improvement, to me at richard.coates@uwe.ac.uk.

With that end in mind, the present work consists of an index in electronic form of the names covered by Mawer and Stenton, kindly supplied many years ago, before I was acquainted with the joys of scanning, by Dr Paul Cavill. For some of these names, those which Percy Reaney called "names of primary historical or etymological interest" (interpreted subjectively), I have constructed a dictionary entry consisting of evidence and commentary in the usual way, plus a National Grid reference and a reference to the relevant page-number in Mawer and Stenton (e.g. "Sx 409"). Abbreviations for published and unpublished sources of evidence are exactly as used by Mawer and Stenton. Any final published version of this work will expand some of the conventional abbreviations familiar to academic users. The Old English elements presented in **bold** can be referred to in the element index in volume II of their book, or in A. H. Smith's English place-name elements (EPNS vols 25-26, Cambridge University Press, 1956), or David N. Parsons (and collaborators)' Vocabulary of English place-names (English Place-Name Society, 1997-, in progress), or the glossary in Victor Watts's CDEPN, xlii-xlix. I have added a reference to one or more of the standard national-level place-name dictionaries published since 1930 (Ekwall 1960 (DEPN), Mills 1998 (Mills) and Watts 2004 (CDEPN)) whenever fuller discussion or divergent ideas about a name may be found in them. The element **hamm** is referred by number to Watts' summary of types (CDEPN: xlv).

The names of those smaller places discussion of which I have chosen to omit for the present purpose are left in their proper alphabetical place with a page-reference to Mawer and Stenton, and these can be regarded as potential candidates for inclusion in any eventual book. At present, then, this work is an annotated index to Mawer and Stenton.

More attention is given here than in Mawer and Stenton to the etymology of any personal name occurring in a place-name.

My working title is meant to be understood literally, and not to invite comparison with Lady Stenton's edited collection of Sir Frank's published papers tilling the ground for his *Anglo-Saxon England*.

Richard Coates Stoke Gifford, Gloucestershire, 6 March 2017

Frequently used abbreviations, mostly not used in Mawer and Stenton

B = W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium saxonicum* (BCS in Mawer and Stenton), followed by a manuscript reference number

CDEPN = Victor Watts, *Cambridge dictionary of English place-names* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

DEPN = Eilert Ekwall, *Concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names*, 4th edn (Clarendon Press, 1960)

ERN = Eilert Ekwall, English river-names (Clarendon Press, 1928)

ESRO = East Sussex Record Office

ESx = East Sussex

K = J. M. Kemble, *Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici* (Cambridge University Press, 1839-48), followed by a manuscript reference number

Lf = *Locus focus, forum of the Sussex Place-Names Net* (1996-2007), followed by a volume and issue number, e.g. 3.2.

S = P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon charters*, followed by a manuscript reference number which can be followed up in The Electronic Sawyer, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html

SAC = Sussex Archaeological Collections followed by a volume number

VEPN = David N. Parsons and others (1997-, in progress) *Vocabulary of English place*-names, several volumes. Nottingham: English Place-Name Society.

WSx = West Sussex

WSRO = West Sussex Record Office

Works referred to only in individual entries are listed at the end of each section.

Notes on the format of the entries

References separated by a slash, such as B 997/S 1291, are two references to the same document.

Place-name elements given in **bold** are Old English (OE) unless it is stated otherwise.

Asterisked *forms are forms which are not actually recorded, but confidently reconstructed by linguists on the basis of comparative evidence from other languages or dialects.

The abbreviation (p) after a source in Mawer and Stenton, meaning that the place-name spelling in question is found in the name of a person (i.e. usually a surname), is replaced by the symbol after the spelling itself.

Symbols enclosed in [square brackets] are indications of pronunciation, using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Symbols enclosed in <angle brackets> are individual letters of the alphabet.

Sussex place-names in

A

Abbeylands Fm, 213

Abbot's Wood (TQ 5607, wood in Arlington). So called since 1540. It was in the hands of Battle Abbey before the Dissolution (1538), and it is curious that the present name is not recorded till afterwards. Its earlier name was *Lindhersse*, *Lyndhershe* 14th century, *Lynershe wood* 1535 *FM*. 'Abandoned ploughland with linden (lime, *Tilia*) trees', **lind** + **ersc**. The two names coexisted for a while. Sx 409.

Abesters Copse, 113

Abingworth (TQ 1016, farm in Thakeham). *Abbyngewerth* © 1296 SR, *Abbyngeworthe* © 1301 Ass. 'Abba's people's smallholding', a recorded Anglo-Saxon given name + **worð**; but since all the records are in surnames of the type *de Abbyngeworth* it is probably from the surname originating from Abinger (Surrey), a major estate with a name having the above origin and meaning. Sx 180.

Aburton (TQ 2311, farm in Edburton). From a local pronunciation of the name of the home parish, as indicated already by *Abberton* 1377 Pat. Sx 207.

Accold's Fm, 108
Adam's Fm (Crowhurst), 503
Adam's Hole (Herstmonceux), 482
Adams Well (Frant), 376
Adder Wells, 360
Ades, 299
Admiral's Bridge, 330

Adsdean (SU 7909, farm, house and park in Westbourne (presently in Funtington)). *Addesden, Addesdene* 1194 P, ⊚ 1279 Ass, 1315 Inq aqd; occasionally prettified to *Ashdean* in modern times. 'Æddi's valley', from the male given name Æddi in the genitive case with *-es* + **denu**. The farm is in a dry downland valley. Sx 55.

River **Adur** (present mouth TQ 2304), formed of two main branches, the **Western** and **Eastern Adur**. *Adur* 1612 Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (song 17). The name seems to have been invented by the topographical poet Michael Drayton. He must have extracted it from the Romano-British name *Portus Adurni* found in the 5th-century *Notitia Dignitatum*, which he believed, probably wrongly, to have been a name for Shoreham Harbour. The river was earlier *aqua de* '[Latin for] river of', *water of, river of* various places along its course including *Brembr'* 1249 Ass (Bramber), *Schorham* 1263 Ass (Shoreham), *Hulkesmuth* 1303 Ass (= Shoreham Harbour itself; cf. the hulk depicted on the town seal), *Pende* 1301 Ass (Pen Harbour, Lancing) and *Cneppe* about 1270 Gervase of Tilbury (Knepp in Shipley). *Aqua de Brembr'* may in one sense continue its Anglo-Saxon name, which appears in charter bounds in 956 (B 961/S 624) in phrases like *be eastan bremre* 'on the east side of the *Bremer'*, and it seems probable that the OE river-name was transferred from **Bramber**. Sx 3 and 223; ERN 48. For another probable Drayton fabrication, see **Ouse**.

Adversane (TQ 0723, Billingshurst). A reinterpretation of an earlier name found as Hedefoldeshurne 1279 Ass, which represents *Hadfoldes hyrne 'the corner of or near Hadfold', Hadfold being a farm in Billingshurst. This name would have become ['(h)advəzṛn] in Sx dialect, and that would have put it close to Latin words such as adversus 'opposite, fronting; (metaphorically) unfavourable' which have influenced its modern form – perhaps an unknown antiquarian's mental leap from the fact that it is on the Roman road Stane Street. Adversanus is an occasional Latin adjective meaning 'from Aversa', the 'city of 100 churches' just outside Naples; someone may have known of this. It is not clear what the hyrne 'corner' is; there is a slight deflection of the line of Stane Street through the hamlet, but none in the direction of Hadfold Farm, which is a short way to the north-east of the hamlet. The reference might therefore be to a junction, since one can only get from Stane Street to Hadfold by leaving the road for a country lane, but no such junction is apparent here now. Sx 148.

Aglands, 212 Agmerhurst, 164, 477 Agmond's Wood, 314 Ailies Fm, 401 Akehurst Fm, 439 **Albourne** (TQ 2616, parish). *Aleburn(e)* © 1176 onwards P, *Albourne* 1401 IpmR. Probably 'alder stream', **alor** + **burna**, though the very early loss of the first [r] by dissimilation is unusual; if not, the first element is unknown. Formally the first element might be **ealu** 'ale' (?'stream with water resembling or good for making ale'), but no parallels in a stream-name are known. Sx 215; CDEPN 6. Gives its name also to **Albourne Green**.

Albursham, 405 Alchin, 390

Alciston (TQ 5005, parish). *Alsi(s)tone* 1086 DB, generally latinized *Alsistona* or *Alcistona* in medieval records. 'Ælfsige's farm', **tūn** with a recorded male given name 'elf (in the genitive case with *-es*) + victory'. Sx 414. Gave its name to the medieval **Alciston hundred**, Sx 414.

Aldingbourne (SU 9205, parish). *Aldingburne* 683 and 692 (14th), *Ealdingburnan* about 880 (copied about 1000) B 553/S 1507, *Ældyngborna* 957 (13th). Seems to be 'stream associated with Eald(a)', **burna** (seen in the dative case-form in King Alfred's will of about 880) + recorded male given name 'old' with **-ing-**. Since the record shows no trace of the genitive case-form of the first element, an alternative would be 'stream called *Ealding'*, i.e. 'the old stream', with *eald* 'old' + the name-forming suffix **-ing**, implying landscape change, natural or deliberate. Sx 62; DEPN 5; CDEPN 7.

Aldrington (TQ 2705, parish). *Eldretune* 1086 DB, *Aldringeton* time of William II, 1200, *Aldrinchtona* (latinized with -a) 1121 AC, *Aldrington* 1138 AD. 'Farm associated with Ealdhere', -ing-tūn with a frequently recorded male given name 'old + army', which survived long enough to be used in the surname *Alderson*. Sx 288; DEPN 5. Gave its name to the eastern half-hundred of the later **Fishersgate**, Sx 288.

Aldsworth (SU 7608, Westbourne). *Aldeswerde* 1271 Ch, *Aldeswrth* 1279 *Ass*. 'Smallholding of Eald', **worð** with an unrecorded but suspected male given name 'old' in the genitive case with *-es*. Sx 56.

Aldwick (SZ 9198, Pagham). *Aldewyc* 1235 FF, *Audewik'* 1271 Ass. 'Old specialized farm'. OE **eald** (in an inflected form) + **wīc** (possibly plural). Sx 93. Gave its name to **Aldwick hundred**, which was till the 15th century known as **Pagham hundred**, Sx 90.

Aldworth House (SU 9230, house in Lurgashall). This large house was built in 1859 by the poet Tennyson and named after Aldworth in Berkshire, former home of his wife; the name appears as part of his own baronial title.

Alfriston (TQ 5103, parish). *Alvricestone* 1086 DB, *Alferichestune* between 1091 and 1125 AD, *Alfrichestunam* (Latin form) in the reign of Stephen (1135-54) and forms consistent with these through Middle Ages. 'Farm of Ælfrīc', **tūn** with common male given name 'elf + power' in the genitive case with *-es*. A man of this name was tenant before the Norman Conquest; it is an open question whether it is his name which appears in the village-name. Later (?16th century) reduced in pronunciation to *Auston*, *Auson* and similar, but now usually ['ɔ:lfrɪstən] (sometimes ['æl-]) with a restored second syllable. Sx 415.

Aliblastairs, 158
Alkesford Fm, 370
Allen's Fm (Cuckfield), 266
Allen's Fm (Horsted Keynes), 337
Allen's Fm (Mayfield), 384
Allen's Wood (Battle), 500
Allen's Wood (Warbleton), 470
Alfrees Wood, 477
Allfreys, 212

Allington (TQ 3813, farm in St John Without by Lewes). *Alitone, Alintune* 1086 DB, *Alinctona* AC, *Alyngton* 1278 FF. 'Farm associated with Ælla', **-ing-tūn** with a recorded male given name borne by a king of Sussex: or with some similar name, given that no early record contains a spelling with double <l>. Sx 321. This place probably once formed a single estate with **Allington House** (Chailey), for which no early spellings have been identified.

Allin's Fm, 336

Almodington (SZ 8297, extinct parish united with **Earnley** from 1526). *Almodintona* (© 1166 RBE (Latin form with -a), generally *Almodi(ng)ton(e)* in medieval documents), with <y> for <i> sometimes. Rather late first record; probably 'farm associated with Ælf-, Æðel- or Ealhmōd', **-ing-tūn** with a recorded male given name 'elf, noble or shrine + courage'. Sx 85.

Almonry, Upper and Lower, 496 *Alversham*, 110

Amberley (TQ 0313, parish). *Amberle* 957 (copied in the 14th century) B 997/S 1291, *Ambrelie* 1086 DB, *Amberle(gh)* 1227 etc. Ch. 'Woodland settlement of buntings'; less

likely 'of the Ambre (name of a Germanic people)'; OE **amer** (which survives in *yellowhammer*) + **lēah**. Sx 146; CDEPN 12; VEPN (á-box) 13. Gives its name to **Amberley Wild Brooks**, Sx 147, with **wild** in the sense of 'not in cultivation' and **brooks** in the sense of 'marshy meadows'.

Amberley Fm (Ifield), 208

Amberley Wildbrooks: see Amberley.

Ambersham, **North** and **South** (South Ambersham is SU 9120, parish, a detached part of Hampshire till 1832). *Embresham*, *Æmbresham* 963 (copied in the 12th century) B 1120/S 718, *Ambresham* 1166 P and consistently thereafter. 'Major estate of Æmbri', **hām** with an unrecorded male given name of uncertain origin (possibly from the tribename *Ambre*, see the less likely possibility for **Amberley**, or from a reduced form of *Ēanbeorht*, see **Amberstone**) in the genitive case with *-es*. The second element may instead be **hamm** 'hemmed-in land, land in a river-bend, riverside meadow, etc.'; South Ambersham is in a significant bend of the Rother, making it a likely **hamm-1**. Sx 97; CDEPN 12; PN Ha 22.

Amberstone (TQ 6011, hamlet in Hailsham). *Ambeford* 1212 P and usually, *Ombeford* 1370 IpmR, *Ombefordstone* 1470 Hailsham, *Amberstone* 1588 DuLa. The base-name is 'ford of Eamba,' **ford** with a male given name in the genitive case originally with -n, possibly a short form of Eanbeorht 'lamb (a word inferred from Eanian 'to give birth to (lambs)') + bright'. **Stone** is added late in the Middle Ages with probable reference to a local boundary stone. There were other places with names including Eamba in Hailsham. Sx 435.

Amblehurst, 131 Amiesmill Fm, 225

Ancton (SU 9800, farm in Felpham). *Aneg(h)eton* 1279, *Ancketon* 1288 Ass. 'Farm of a person (possibly) called *Anneca*'. **tūn** with an unrecorded male given name in the genitive case originally with -n, derived from the recorded one *Anna*, of unknown origin but shared with a 7th-century king of the East Angles. Sx 140. The early forms appear irregular in a way paralleled in the history of **Donnington** and **Duncton**.

Andredesweald (thus in 1018 ASC), ancient name of the Wealden forest. 'Woodland called *Andred* or called after the place called *Andred*'; **weald** 'wooded upland', with the transferred ancient name (in the genitive case with -es) of the Roman fort of Pevensey which is recorded as *Anderitos*, *Anderidos* 5th century ND, from British Celtic *ande-ritu

'great ford', possibly suggesting a wadeway from the site of Pevensey Castle across the mouth of the bay, across what became marshland, to Cooden. This ancient name may instead have been plural *ande-rita, which may also be suggested by the Latin forms in -s, but this is not clear. The form *Anderida* has traditionally been used to refer to the fort, but it has no ancient authority. Sx 1; CDEPN 657. See also **Pevensey**.

Andrew's Farm (Warnham), Sx 239, **Andrew's Hill** (Billingshurst), Sx 150, and **Andrew's Wood** (Ewhurst), Sx 521, illustrate a common way of forming surnames based on the father's name, with no *-son* and no *-s*. It is particularly striking in medieval Sussex from the 13th century, and has also been found as the name of a Flemish immigrant family in 1449 (McKinley 1988: 7, 309).

Angmering (TQ 0604, parish). Angemeringatun, Angemæringum about 880 (copied about 1000) B 553/S 1507, Angemare 1086 DB and similar through to 1310, Angemeringe 1292 Ipm and similar to date. There are two names in question here. One is 'people of Angenmær', an unrecorded but regularly-formed male given name meaning 'spear + famous' with -ingas, i.e. an ethnic or group name used as a place-name. The other is 'farm of the people of Angenmær', with tūn. The shorter form won out. The Domesday form also omits the -ing, as do many medieval forms; this may be because the -mer- was taken to be the word mere 'pond', making the -ing hard to understand as part of the structure of the name. Sx 163; CDEPN 14. Now also Angmering on Sea for the seaward end of the parish, which is actually in East Preston.

Angmering Park, 166

Annington (TQ 1809, farm in Botolphs). (æt) Anningadun 956 B 961/S 624, Haningedune 1086 DB, Hanningedon 1262 Ass, Aningedon 1235 FF. 'Hill or down of those associated with Anna', male given name Anna + -ingas in the genitive plural form -inga, with dūn, the hill being the spur now called Annington Hill; altered in modern times by association with the many names in -ington. The medieval vill of this name must have extended to the outskirts of Bramber, because it was recorded as Annyngdon al. Vetere Ponte (Latin for '[at the] old bridge') 1428 FA. Sx 222 and note 1.

Annwood Fm, 336 Anscombe Wood, 306

Ansty (TQ 2923, Cuckfield). *Anstigh* 1313 Orig, *Ondestye* © 1332 SR. One of a number of similar names nationwide, this consists of **ānstīg**, whose meaning has been much debated. It means a track of some sort, literally 'one-path', and has been held to mean 'track on a hill where two paths merge and then divide again'. The case for that at this

place is clear; three ways converge on the village centre from west, north and east, and two more arriving from the south merge as a stretch of the B2036, avoiding small valleys to west and east, before joining with the more northerly three. Otherwise perhaps 'narrow path' or 'ascent'. Sx 261; CDEPN 15; Gelling and Cole 2000: 66-67.

Antye Fm, 305

Appledram: see Apuldram.

Applesham (TQ 1907, farm in Coombes). *Aplesham* 1086 DB, thereafter usually in the modern spelling. Most likely 'apple farm or hemmed-in land', **hām** or **hamm** (the farm is on a slight promontory, so possibly a **hamm-2a**) with **æppel** as a qualifying word in the genitive singular with *-es*, *æpples*. Sx 224 (the editors suggest a diminutive given name as the first element; not convincing).

Apuldram or **Appledram** (SU 8403, parish). Generally *Apeldreham* in medieval documents from the reign of Henry I (1100-35) onwards. 'Apple-tree estate or hemmedin land', OE **apuldor** (perhaps in the genitive plural with original -*a*), **hām** or **hamm-2a**, with occasional medieval spellings suggesting the base-form of the OE word (*Appeldoreham* 1248 *Ass*) or the transparent modern word (*Apeltreham* 1296 SR). Said to be good orchard land. Sx 65; DEPN 11; CDEPN 16; Dodgson 81.

Apsley Fm, 181 Arches Fm, 394 Arden Grange, 215

Ardingly (TQ 3429, parish). *Herdingele*, *-leye*, *-legh* reign of William II (1087-1100), 1240 FF, *Erdingelege* 1107x1118 AC, 1205 FF (latinized *-lega*), *Hardingelegh* 1248 *Ass*, *Erdinglegh* 1256 *Ass*. 'Woodland settlement of people associated with a person having a name whose first element was *Eard*- meaning "native place"', possibly later confused with the frequent male given name and surname *Harding*. **lēah** with a male given name with **-inga**-. Later-medieval spellings show a temporary form with (meaning [ð]) instead of <d>; modern ESx dialect pronunciation of [ð] as [d] could have reversed the change. Sx 251-2; DEPN 12 suggests the given name **Eorēd* 'horse + counsel', which appears unlikely; Coates 1980 for the pronunciation of the final syllable rhyming with *lie*.

Argos Hill (TQ 5628, Rotherfield), with its landmark restored windmill. *Argarshill*, *Ergershill* 1577 Ct, *Argos Hill* 1724 Budgen's map. 'Hill', with an uncertain first element, perhaps obscurely related to a local 13th-C surname *Orgar*. The modern form has been

influenced by someone's knowledge of the ancient town in southern mainland Greece. Sx 377.

Arlington (TQ 5407, parish). *Erlington*, *Herlintone* 1086 DB, *Erlington* (and with <y> for <i>) throughout the MiddleAges, *Arlyngton* 1573 FM. 'Farm associated with Eorla', **tūn** with an unrecorded male given name derived from *eorl* 'earl', less probably with the word *eorl* itself. Sx 408.

Arndale Bridge, 515

River **Arun** (present mouth TQ 0201). Appears for the first time in William Harrison's addendum to Raphael Holinshed's chronicle (1577). The Tudor historians, and Harrison especially, were addicted to creating river-names from names of towns on their banks, in defiance of any local traditions, and this is a case in point, from **Arundel**, loosely understood as 'dell [i.e. valley] of the Arun', but OE *dell* meant 'pit, quarry, dingle'. The river was earlier *Tarente* about 725 (copied in the 14th century) B 145/S 44, identical with the Dorset Tarrant and the Trent, a British Celtic name of uncertain meaning, perhaps 'the many-wayed' or 'trespasser'. Ptolemy's *Geography* about 150 (copied in the 13th century) recorded its estuary in Greek as *Trisantōnos potamou ekbolai* 'mouth of the river Trisantōn-'. Sx 3-4; ERN 18; CDEPN 19. The old name was found still in the medieval Arundel street-name *Tarrant Street*.

Arundel (TQ 0107, castle, town). *Harundel(le)*, *Arundell(e)* throughout the Middle Ages. Beyond question 'hoarhound pit, quarry or dingle', OE **hārhūn** + **dell**, i.e. one where white hoarhound (*Marrubium vulgare*) grew, a spot close by in the Park being one of only a handful of places in Sussex where this plant flourished till it was finally trampled out by cows in around 1972 (Penfold 2001). The name, correctly interpreted by Henry Bradley a century ago, must originally have applied to the Norman castle site. The loss of <h> is typical of names affected by Anglo-Norman speech and writing. Sx 136. The town gave its name to the medieval territorial division **Arundel rape**, Sx 99, also 8.1

Asham House (TQ 4407, Beddingham). This farm associated with Virginia Woolf, now demolished because of quarrying, is on record from the reign of Stephen (1135-54) as *Assaham*, apparently 'ass estate or hemmed-in land', **assa** in the genitive singular originally with -n, or a given name of the same form, + hām or hamm, more likely the latter, perhaps a hamm-2a, since Asham was never a major estate. Sx 358.

12

¹ An attempt by Theo Vennemann to associate the name with Basque *aran* 'valley' as part of a wider theory about the languages of post-Ice Age Europe is inconsistent with the record of medieval spellings.

Ashburnham (TQ 6816, parish). *Esseborne* 1086 DB, *Esburneham* 12th century (copied in 1432) Pat, *Esseburneham* 1211 RBE, *Ashburnhame* 1320 Misc. 'Major estate or hemmed-in land by the [stream called] ash-tree stream', OE **æsc-burna** + **hām** or **hamm-2a** (from being on a ridge between two streams), formerly recorded mostly in what appears to be a Kentish pronunciation indicated by initial <E->. The last element is missing from the Domesday spelling. Occasionally misunderstood as if "Ashburgham", and till recently pronounced ['eʃbrəm]. Sx 477; CDEPN 20.

Ash Chalk Pits and Shaw, 422

Ashcombe House (TQ 3809, St Ann Without). *Acescombe* 1086 DB, *Achescumbe* 1091x1125 AD, © 1327 SR. 'Bowl-shaped valley of Æcci', **cumb** with a male given name of unknown meaning in the genitive case with *-es*. The base-name was till recently pronounced with stress on second syllable. Sx320.

Ashdown Farm (about TQ 7911; Hollington) is recorded as the composite *le Aysshe and Downes* in 1457 *Add*, and reformed to resemble the forest-name. Sx 503.

Ashdown Forest (centred TQ 4529; part of the Weald, medieval royal forest, disafforested 1662). *Hessedon* about 1200 *FM*, *Essendon* 1207 *P*, *Ashendon* 1234 Cl, *Assesdune* about 1275 Ipm, *Essedon* 1284 *MinAcct*, *Asshedo(u)n* in the high Middle Ages (each of these spelling-types is repeated). More difficult than it appears. The second element is **dūn** 'hill, down'. Ash-trees are relatively uncommon in this area (SPA), and it is hard to think such a large tract took its name from a single tree or a small number (but if so, from **æsc** in the genitive singular with *-es*, or the adjective *æscen* 'ash-grown'). It has also been suggested that the first element could be the male given name *Æsc* 'ash; spear'. The spellings are contradictory, suggesting at least two different structures, one with *-es* and one with *-en*. The **foresta** (Latin for 'land set apart from regular jurisdiction') must have been established soon after the Conquest. The traditional way of referring to the area is *on Ashdown*. Sx 2; CDEPN 20.

Ashen Wood, 473 Ashes Fm (Icklesham), 512 Ashes Wood (Battle), 500 Ashfold (Lower Beeding), 205 Ashfold (Slaugham), 278

Ashfold Crossways (TQ 3328, Lower Beeding). Named from Ashfold Farm in Slaugham, which is 'swinepasture marked with an ash-tree or ash-trees', OE **æsc** + **falod** 'fold,

swinepasture (woodland grazing for pigs)'. Sx 278.

Ashfolds (Rusper), 234 Ashgate, 158

Ashington (TQ 1316, parish). *Essingeton* 1073 France, 1268 FF and similar in Middle Ages – sometimes with initial <H>, sometimes with <y> for <i>, sometimes with the Latin suffix <-a>, *Ashshintone* 1305 FF. 'Farm associated with Æsc', **-ing-tūn** with a male given name meaning 'ash; spear'. Sx 183.

Ashlands, 463 Ashleigh, 229

Ashling, **East** and **West** (SU 8207 and SU 8007, Funtington). *Estaslingge* 1287 *Ct*, *Westaslyng*, *Ashlyng* 1288 *Ass*. The 12^{th} -century Pipe Roll records of the form *Estlinges* are misleading. Originally perhaps 'settlement of Æscel', singular **-ing** with an unrecorded but regular male given name Æscel, derived from æsc 'ash; spear', the occasional later plural form being encouraged by the fact that there are two hamlets called *Ashling*. Sx 60. CDEPN 21 suggests the possibility of *Eastlingas* 'those who live to the east [of Funtington]', but this does not suit the majority of the early spellings.

Ash Plats Wood, 330 Ash Reeds Copse, 19, 26 Ashreed Wood, 403 Ashton Green, 355

Ashurst (TQ 0716, parish). *Esehurst* 1248 *Ass*, *Es*(*s*)*eherst* or *-hurst* - sometimes with initial <H>, sometimes with <ss> in the Middle Ages. 'Ash(-tree) wood', **æsc** + **hyrst**. Sx 183. **Ashurst Farm** (Plumpton) comes from a surname with the same origin, though not necessarily from the parish, Sx 303; like the parish-name are also **Ashurstwood** (a *foresta* (1164) in Forest Row), Sx 327, and **Ashurst Wood** (West Hoathly), Sx 273, and **Ashurst Wood** (Mayfield), Sx 384, each being 'wood called *Ashurst*'.

Atherall's Fm, 345

Atherington (TQ 0000, eroded coastal village in Climping). *Arringthon* early but undated, *Arin(g)ton*, *Aurinton* 1203 Cur, *Atherington* generally in Middle Ages to the present. 'Farm associated with Eadhere', a recorded male given name 'riches + army', or 'associated with Æðelhere', male given name 'noble + army', in either case with **-ing-tūn**. Sx 139.

Atlingworth (TQ 2509, former farm in Portslade). *Athelingeworthe* 1091x1125 AD, *Athelyngeworth* 1296 SR, in the 13th century also with <d> for and with the second <e> absent. 'Smallholding associated with Æðel' or 'with people associated with Æðel', **worð** + male given name 'noble'. Formally, it could instead be 'of the princes', OE *æðelinga*, but that seems improbable for a smallholding. Sx 290. After the farm was deserted, the name long persisted on the map of Portslade in *Atlingworth Barn*, and the surname derived from it continued in the name of a former manor in Brighton, which is still found in the name of a street close to the seafront at TQ 3103.

Attwood Fm, 470
Auronehelle, Hundred of, 408
Austen's Fm, 516
Austford Fm, 525
Avenals Fm, 166
Avery's Fm, 211
Avins Fm, 255

Avisford House (SU 9706, Walberton) *Auesford* 1253 AD, *Avesforde* 1331 AD. 'Æfi's ford', **ford** + unrecorded male given name in the genitive singular with *-es*. Sx 143. Gave its name to **Avisford hundred**, recorded from 1166 P. Sx 136. DEPN 19 suggests that the given name is the recorded *Æfic*.

Awbrook, 225, 340 Awell Barn, 252 Axmas Fm, 233 Aylward's Corner, 319 *n.* Aylwins, 384

Additional references for A:

Coates, Richard (1980) A phonological problem in Sussex place-names. *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* (new series) 15, 299-318.

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McKinley, Richard (1988) *The surnames of Sussex.* Oxford: Leopard's Head Press (English Surnames series 5).

Penfold, F. (2001) *Marrubium* in Arundel Park. *Sussex Botanical Recording Society Newsletter* 51 (January). Online at http://sussexflora.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Newsletter Jan 2001.pdf.

PN Ha = Coates, Richard (1989) *The place-names of Hampshire*. London: Batsford.

SPA = Hall, P. C. (1980) *Sussex plant atlas*. Brighton: Booth Museum of Natural History.

A foretaste of B:

Brighton (centred TO 3104; parish, later borough, county borough, now part of the city of **Brighton and Hove**). *Bristelme(s)tune* 1086 DB, in French-influenced writings usually Bristelmeston in 12th and 13th centuries, Bric(h)telmestune, -ton 1091-1215 AD, *Bright(h)elmeston* generally in later Middle Ages (sometimes with <y> for <i>), *Brighthem(p)ston* 1514 LP, 1732 Morden's map, *Brighthelmston* generally in 18th and 19th centuries. 'Farm of Brihthelm [West Saxon form *Beorhthelm*]', **tūn** with a common male given name meaning 'bright + helmet' in the genitive singular with -es. The later history of the name shows some exotic reductions: *Bryghneston* 1324 Pat, *Bryghteston* 1437 MinAcct, and eventually Brighton' 1553 ESRO microfilm XA 4/1 (from a MS. in Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone), Brighton 1683 ESRO RYE 10/17 (these being the oldest genuine instances of this spelling known to the author); the last of these eventually triumphed, becoming normal in the early 19th century, possibly building on the 18th-century fashion for abbreviation which was perceived as a vice of the idle rich, a species not invisible in 18th-century Brighton. Uncertainty about the name in the 17th century is shown by the odd Brighthelmsted 1610 Camden, and Brighter Limeston (surely to be read as "BRIGHT-elimston" not as if *limestone*) 1636 SAC 50, 78. Sx 291-2. Possibly the consonant structure of the name [b..r..t..l..m] suggested the dedication of

the 12th-century Cluniac priory of St Bartholomew, which survives in the street-name *Bartholomews*. Brighton has had various nicknames, none really current now, including *The Queen of Watering Places* and *Old Ocean's Bauble* (both inventions of the London poet and novelist Horace Smith) and *Doctor Brighton* (coined by W. M. Thackeray and best known now as the name of a city-centre pub). *London by the Sea* is essentially due to the writer A. B. Granville, author of *The spas of England and principal sea-bathing places* (1841), who called the place "the 'west end' of London *maritimized*."

Additional reference for B:

Whittick, Christopher (2003-7) A significant antedating of the short form of *Brighthelmstone*. *Locus focus* 7.1/2, 29.

Sussex place-names in

E

Earl's Down, 474 Earl's Fm, 387 Early Fm, 386

Earnley (SZ 8196, parish). *Earnaleach* 780, *Earnelegh* 780 (copied in the 14th century) B 237 and 1134/S 1184, *Earneleia* [Latin form] 930 (copied in the 14th century) B 669/S 403, *Ernelee* and *Erneleye* general in the Middle Ages. 'Eagles' wood or glade', from **earn** in the genitive plural with -a, + **lēah**. The eagles in question may have been white-tailed eagles (*Haliaeëtus albicilla*), now often called *sea-eagles*, but once regularly found in inland and woodland habitats. Sx 82; DEPN 202.

Eartham (SU 9309, parish). *Ercheham* [read as *Ertheham*] reign of Henry I *AD*, *Urtham* 1279 QW, *Ertham* 1279 *Ass*. Apparently 'hemmed-in land with ploughland', **ierð** + **hamm**, but it is not in a characteristic *hamm* site, not a **hamm-5b** as CDEPN suggests (though says **-6b**). The church, pub and home farm are on a slight rise between two shallow valleys; the rise culminates in a hill in both directions, making the site a classic if modest saddle as at **Saddlescombe**. If the second element is **hām** 'major farming estate', it is hard to imagine why it should be distinguished by *ierð*. Perhaps, whichever the second element is, the first is **eorðe** 'earth' in the sense of an animal's lair, e.g. a *foxearth*, suggested also by the medial vowel in some early spellings. Sx 70; CDEPN xlv, 203.

Easebourne (SU 8922, parish). *Eseburne* 1086 DB, *Isenburna* [Latin form] 1165 P, *Esebourne* 1322 Ipm, *Eseburne* 1346 Ipm, *Eseburn al. Eastborn* 1447 Inq aqd, *Estborne* 1595 Hope. 'Ēsa's stream', from the male given name $\bar{E}sa$ (perhaps derived from $\bar{o}s$ 'a god, a divinity'), originally in the genitive case with -n, + **burna**, named from a stream flowing into the western river Rother here. Confusable, and sometimes confused, with

Eastbourne after the latter acquired its *east* from the later 13th century onwards. Pronounced locally /'ezbrn/. Sx 16. Gave its name to **Easebourne Hundred**, Sx 15.

Easewrithe Hundred, East, 10, 174 Easewrithe Hundred, West, 10, 130 *n.*, 146

Eason's Green (TQ 5118, in Framfield). *Eston* $\textcircled{\circ}$, *Estone* $\textcircled{\circ}$ 14th-century records SR, *Esteton* $\textcircled{\circ}$ 1340 NI, *Eston Grene* 1543 *Ct*, *Easons al. Sharpes Fm* 1686 *FM*. Originally Middle English $\overline{e}st + toun$, i.e. the east farm of Framfield parish (it is south-east of the village centre) or of Little Horsted manor, of which it was a member. The *Green* is a late arrival, as is the impression of containing a surname in the genitive case with *-s*. Sx 393.

Eastbourne (TQ 5900, parish). *Borne, Burne* 1086 DB, the latter being the usual medieval spelling, *Estburn* 1279 *Ass, Estborne* 1364 *CplM*. 'The stream', from **burna**, with **East** attached during the medieval period to distinguish it from **Westbourne** in the far west of the county. The perennial stream here was and is actually known as *the Bourne stream*, its course marked by *Bourne Street*. Eastbourne, a royal manor at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, has sometimes been thought to be the *Burnham* mentioned in king Alfred's will (between 873 and 888, B 553/S 1507), but that may be Burnham in Somerset. Sx 426. Gave its name to **Eastbourne Hundred**, Sx 426.

East: for place-names consisting of two words in modern official usage where *East* contrasts with a nearby name in *West* (occasionally *North* or *South*) suggesting an original single parish or manor, see the base-name: **Ashling, Dean, Harting, Itchenor, Lavant, Lavington, Marden, Preston, Wittering**. It is notable that onomastic evidence for estates subdivided in this way is confined to western Sussex.

East Blatchington (TV 4899, parish). *Blechinton* 1169 P, *Blachington*, *Blachyngton* 1225 FF, *Blachington juxta Mare* [Latin for 'by the sea'] 1340 NI, *Blachynton* 1433 ESRO MS. GLY/1640/1654. 'Farm associated with *Blæc(e)a or *Blæcc(e)a', from a (probably) male given name embodying either *blæce* 'leprosy' or less likely *blæcce* 'darkness, blackness' + **-ing-tūn**. *East* for distinction from **West Blatchington** near Hove, but the word makes a late appearance; as late as 1793 we find "[t]he manor of Blachington otherwise Blatchington and the manor house called Blachington" (ESRO MS. SAS-DD/312). Sx 362; DEPN 48; CDEPN 64.

Eastbrook, 248

East Chiltington (TQ 3715, parish). *Childeltune, Childentune, Childetune* 1086 DB, *Chilting'* 1212 Fees, *Chiltigton* [sic] *juxta* [Latin for 'near'] *Lewes* 1283 *Ass.* 'Farm near a

place called *Chiltin*', from a probably pre-English word or name for a steep slope, **Ciltā*, seen in a suffixed form as *Ciltine* in Bede's *Ecclesiastical history* IV: 15, + **tūn**, reformed on the model of the many Sussex names in + -**ing-tūn**. There is no evidence of an early personal name anything like **Cilta*. Named in distinction from **West Chiltington** east of Pulborough. Sx 299; DEPN 104; **Cilta* is fully discussed in Coates 1984: 7-15.

East Court, 332

East Dean (SU 9013, parish, West Sussex). *Estdena* [Latin form] 1150 (copied in 1227) Ch. 'The eastern place called *Dean'*, from **denu** '(long, narrow) valley'. The valley in question is the long dry one rising from the main valley of the river Lavant at Singleton. Whether this place and/or adjacent **West Dean** is mentioned in pre-Conquest documents is a controversial matter. It may be (æt) *Dene* 725 B 144/S 43, but that has alternatively been identified with Preston by Brighton. Mawer and Stenton suggested an identification with Æpelingadene 1001 ASC (A), Edelingedene 1002 (in an inspeximus of 1259-60) K 707/S 904, and that name must have survived as *Ellingsdean*, the name of a rabbit warren in West Dean (Tittensor and Tittensor 1985, Gardiner and Coates 1987). Probably, therefore, the huge original combined area of both *Dean* villages (60 hides, according to the charter underlying K 707/S 904) was called Æpelinga denu 'princes' valley'; it was indeed a royal estate in late Anglo-Saxon times, in the gift of Æthelred II. Sx xlv, 47; CDEPN 181. See also Eastdean. [To be moved to D, Dean, East.]

Eastdean (TV 5598, parish, East Sussex). *Dene, Esdene* 1086 DB, *Estdeñ* 1279 *Ass, Eseden* 1291 Tax, *Estdene by Seford* 1322 FF, *Estdene juxta Fryston* 1389 *Ass, Estdeyn* 1545 *Will*. The spelling in a will of 1545 records the obsolete local pronunciation /dein/ "dane". 'The east place called *Dean'*, from **denu** '(long, narrow) valley', with OE **ēast** 'east'. The valley in question is that rising from Birling Gap on the coast, distinguished from **Westdean** in an adjacent valley, and also from the pair of villages with the same names in West Sussex. The West Sussex villages were often written with the names as two words, and the East Sussex ones as one word, but this was never consistent. The two pairs were also distinguished in Latin documents as *occidentalis* 'western' and *orientalis* 'eastern'. See also **East Dean**. Sx 417.

Eastergate (SU 9405, parish). *Gate* 1086 DB, 1399-1400 *TNA Exchq*, *Gates* 1248 *Ass*, *Ester*- or *Estregate* 1263, 1279 FF, *Estergate* 1347-8 *TNA Exchq*, *Gate al. Estergate* 1442 Cicestr. At first simply Old English *gatu* 'gates', the plural form of *geat*, developing a new ME plural form with *-es* and later distinguished from adjacent **Westergate** (earliest *Westgate* 1230 P). There seems to be no agreement about what the gates might have been; probably they, along with some at Westergate and **Woodgate** in Westergate, offered access to a park hereabouts. There was an unlocated *park way street* in

Eastergate in 1596. There was a park of the bishop of Chichester in adjacent Aldingbourne, recalled by *Park Farm*. The bishop had right of free warren in Eastergate in the 12th century. But the Domesday entry indicates that the place, and presumably the name, predated the Conquest and therefore also any park. *Woodgate* suggests an enclosed wood, as at **Abbots Wood**, and that might supply the answer. Sx 140.

Eastfield Barn, 60 Eastgate, 11

East Grinstead (TQ 3938, parish). *Grenesteda* [Latin form] in the reign of Stephen, document preserved in France, *Estgrenested* 1271 *Ass*, *Est(e)grinstede* 1275, 1316 *Lewes*, 1335 Ipm. 'Green place', from **grēne** + **stede**, distinguished from **West Grinstead**. (East) Grinstead hundred (*Grenesteda hdr* 1170 P) existed before the town, which was founded in the early 13th century, probably by Gilbert de Aquila, lord of the rape of Pevensey. The town is situated in his rape, and is named from the hundred meeting-place, perhaps to be identified with the site of Sackville College (Leppard 2001: 4-5). Sx 331.

East Guldeford (TQ 9321, parish). *Newguldford* 1508 *Ipm, New Guldeford al. Guldeford* 1511 Cicestr, *Est Guldeford* 1517 *Recov*. The settlement was new around 1500, the parish church consecrated in 1505. It stands on land reclaimed from the sea by Sir Richard Guldeford, and the present name distinguishes the place from Guildford, Surrey, which is the source of Sir Richard's surname. It is locally pronounced in the same way, /(i:st) 'gılfəd/. Hence also **East Guldeford Level**, the stretch of reclaimed land at the western end of Walland Marsh, which was *Guldefordsynnyng* 1509 LP (with *inning* 'reclaimed land').

East Hale Bottom, 28, 429

Easthampnett or **East Hampnett** (SU 9160, in Boxgrove). *terram heantunesem* [Latin for 'land belonging to *Heantun*'] 680 (really ?685, copied in 10th century, forgery) B 50/S 230), *Antone* 1086 DB, *Esthamconecte* [read as *Esthamtonete*] 1272 RH, *Esthamton al. Esthamptonette* 1347 Ipm. The base-name *Hēantūn* is '(at the) high farm'; there is nothing distinctively high here, but note the nearby modest eminences mapped as *Crockerhill* and *Pear Tree Knap. East* is in distinction from nearby **Westhampnett**, both named from the perspective of Boxgrove village. The reason for the appearance of the French diminutive suffix *-et* is not known, but it is also found in a name with the same origin, *Hampnett* in Gloucestershire. In the Middle English period, a name originating in *hēantūn* would be easily confused with one in **hāmtūn**; one might suspect that each of the Hampnetts was understood as half a **hāmtūn** and that the suffix was added to them

individually to distinguish them from **Littlehampton**, some 9 miles to the south-east, which did not acquire its *little* till the 15th century. Sx 67-68.

East Hoathly (TQ 5216, parish). *Hodlegh, Hodleghe*, the usual medieval spellings from 1287 *CplM, Parva* [Latin for 'little'] *Hodeleye* 1312 Orig, *Hothlegh* 1401 *FM, Esthothelegh* 1438 SRS 14 [= Sx Ipm]. 'Heath clearing', from * $h\bar{a}\delta$ + $l\bar{e}ah$, the first word persisting as Sussex dialect *hawth*. Named in distinction from **West Hoathly** south-west of East Grinstead, fifteen miles to the north-west, which must have been larger than East Hoathly in the 14th century. The final syllable is pronounced /-lai/ "lie". Sx 400.

Easthouse, 217
Eastland Coppice (Wilmington), 414
Eastland Fm, 212
Eastlands (Whatlington), 501
Eastland Shaw (Brede), 516
Eastland Wood, 348
Easton Fm, 86
Easton's Fm, 407
Eastport Lane, 319 n.
Eastridge, 212
Eastshaw, 32
Eastwick Barn, 294

Eatenden Wood: see Eatonden Manor Farm.

Eaton, South, 148

Eatonden Manor Farm (TQ 6726, in Ticehurst). A modern name given by an early 20th-century owner, Colonel Edward Octavius Eaton, modelling it on the frequent Wealden place-names in *-den* from **denn** 'swinepasture', and perhaps conscious of **Eatenden** (Wood) in Mountfield, about 5 miles to the south-east. The older name was *Biggs Farm*, from a locally recorded surname. This was never a real manor. Sx 452. Eatenden was a far older name, *Itintune* 12th century Bello, *Ytintun* 1261 Pens, *Itynton* (©) 1296 SR, 'Ita's farm', from an unexplained male given name *Ita* + **-ing-tūn**. Sx 475.

Eatons Fm, 217

Ebernoe (SU 9727, in Kirdford). *Hyberneogh* 1262 *Ass, Iburnehew* 1271 *Ass* [for -how], *Hyburnehowe* 1279 *Ass, Yburnehou* 1316 FA, *Iburnehow* 1332 SR, *Ebernowe* al. *Ibernowe* 1608 *FF*. A difficult name which Mawer and Stenton explain as 'spur of land by the

marsh-land stream', from **īeg** + **burna** + **hōh**, where for 'marsh-land' they might have done better to put 'marsh-island'. The spur on which Ebernoe House stands is surrounded on three sides by streams, the valley of the one on the north side being marshy and the stream presumably once named **Īeg-burna* 'island stream'; close to its junction with the stream which descends from the north along the parish boundary with Northchapel there is a small lake with an island, but it is unclear whether this is artificial and modern. The hydrology has in any case been affected by mill-works. Sx 104; DEPN 159. Hence **Ebernoe Common** with its nature reserve.

Ecclesbourne Glen (TQ 8310-8410, in Fairlight). Perhaps *stream called Agnesborne* 1706 DKR, *Eglesbourne* 1724 B. The Glen is named from the stream there, which runs into the sea east of Hastings Old Town; its name is recorded only late and contains **burna**, but is otherwise of uncertain origin. *Glen* in English place-names, recurring in nearby **Fairlight Glen**, is typically Victorian; things Scottish were the height of fashion from the 1820s onwards. Sx 507.

Ecclesden (TQ 0704, manor and farm in Angmering). *Ikelesdon* ©1176 P, *Yclesdon* ©1177 P, *Ec(c)lesdune c.*1220 Pens, *Ec(c)lesdon* 1230 FF and the usual medieval spelling(s), *Ecclesden al. Eglesdon* 1641 Ipm. Probably 'hill of Eccel', a male given name (compare **Etchingham**) with a diminutive suffix in the genitive case with *-es*, giving the contracted form *Eccles*, + **dūn**, though often spelt in a way suggesting Latin *ecclesia* 'church' or the recurrent Brittonic-origin place-name deriving from it (*Eccles*). There is no evidence of an early church here. Probably the earlier name of **Highdown Hill**, on whose western flank the farm sits. Sx 165.

Eckenfields, 36 Eckington Corner, 404

Edburton (TQ 2311, parish). *Eadburgeton* 12th century *Lewes, Edburgeton* 1296 SR, *Adburg(h)ton* 1261 *Ass, Ebberton* 1357 FF, *Abberton* 1377 Pat, *Aberton al. Edberton* 1584 *Recov.* 'Ēadburg's farm', from a female given name in the genitive case with -e + **tūn**. The older local pronunciation is registered in the name of **Aburton** Farm. Sx 206. Hence also **Edburton Sands** on the Greensand belt. Sx 207.

Edgerley, 275 Edgington Fm, 519 Edmond's Fm, 256 Eedes Copse, 125 **Egdean** (SU 9920, parish). *Egedene* 1279 QW, *Eggedon* 1288 *Ass*, *Eggedene* 1388 FF. 'Ecga's valley', from the male given name *Ecga* (anciently formed from *ecg* 'sword') + **denu** '(long, narrow) valley'. The valley is presumably that to the west of the church site, south-west of which there is a fairly steep drop, but that is not an especially typical *denu*. Sx 101. The place was alternatively known as **Bleatham**, particularly in church usage.

Eggs Hole, 531 *Egley*, 76

Elbridge (SU 9102, in Bersted). *thelbrycg* 680 (copied in 10th century) B 50/S 230, *Elbrigg'*, *Elbrugg'* 1274 FF. Sx 91. 'Plank bridge', from **bel** + **brycg**. The <th-> has been understood as the definite article and dropped. **Ell Bridge** (SU 7708) in Westbourne has the same origin, Sx 56.

Eleanor Farm *al.* **Ella Nore** (TV 9976, in West Wittering). *Eldenore* 1326 SRS 31 [= Bishop of Chichester's manorial custumals]. Named from a feature on the eastern shore of Chichester Harbour, 'the old (sea-)bank', from **eald** in an inflected form with -an, + \bar{o} ra, for which compare the discussion at **Itchenor**. The first element might instead be a male given name *Ealda*. Fanciful connections have been made with *Ella*, one rendering of the name of the 5th-6th century first South Saxon king Ælla, as if to suggest the place where he might have landed at his first arrival; and later with the given name *Eleanor*. Sx 88.

Elidge, 98 Elkham Fm, 116

Ella Nore: see Eleanor Farm.

Ell Bridge: see Elbridge.

Elliotts, 232 Ellis's Fm, 384

Ellman's Coombe (TQ 4506, in Beddingham). This indentation in the downland escarpment commemorates the famous Sussex breeder of the Southdown sheep, John Ellman, who farmed here in the 18th century; + perhaps a late instance of **cumb** in active use, but possibly continuing a pre-existing simple place-name or place-description. Sx 359.

Elmer Farm (SU 9800, in Middleton-on-Sea). *elmers pol*, *almeres pol* 953 (copied in the 14th century) B 898/S 562, *Elmere* (1279 *Ass*, the usual medieval spelling, *Elemere* 1309 Cl. 'Eel pond', from **æl** + **mere**; the earliest mentions are 'pool of/at or called Elmer', in the bounds of Felpham, perhaps implying that Middleton did not then exist, or that the whole area was part of a larger Felpham. No pool is presently visible. The name, without *Farm*, now attaches to a zone of Middleton. Sx 142.

Elms, The, 209

Elsted (SU 8119, parish). *Elnestede* (© 1212 Fees, 1230 *Box*, 1235 FF, *Elenestede* 1230 *Box*, *Elsted al. Elnested* 1618 *InstPRO*. 'Elder-tree place', from either **ellen** 'elder-tree' or the same word in the genitive plural form *el(le)na* + **stede**. A sequence of early spellings lacks the <n>, including *Halestede* 1086 DB, with assimilation of /ln/ to /ll/, and this, or a renewal of the phenomenon in early-modern times, gives the form which has won through. The records show occasional confusion of the first element with **elm** and **e(a)ld** 'old'. Sx 34. Hence also the wood called **Elsted Rough**.

River **Ems** (present mouth at SU 7505). Modern back-formation from the name of the town of Emsworth ('Æmele's smallholding or curtilage', *Emeleswurth*' 1224 Cl, from a male given name in the genitive case with *-es* + **worð**), founded on the west side of the river in Hampshire. The river-name first appeared as *Emill* in 1577, in William Harrison's addendum to Raphael Holinshed's chronicle, and it has since been readjusted to more closely match the later form of the town's name. ERN 147; Sx 4; PN Ha 72. The river was probably once called simply *Bourne*, from **burna** 'stream', *Burne* 1288 *Ass*, as in the name of **Westbourne** on its east bank in Sussex, at which point it is by no means as substantial as its mouth could suggest.

Endlewick, 413 Ends Place, 239

Eridge (TQ 5535, in Frant). *Ernerigg* 1203 FF, *Erneregge* 1279 Ass, *Arnregge* (\$\text{\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$}}}}\$) 1296 SR, *Ernerugge* 1353 FF, also with occasional spellings in <H->. 'Eagles' ridge', from **earn** in the genitive plural with -*a* + **hrycg**. When the medial vowel was lost in Middle English, a difficult consonant cluster /-rnr-/ was formed, and this was simplified very early, as in *Erege* 1296 Ipm, *Erregge* 1382 FF; this development gives rise to the modern name. Mawer and Stenton point out that before the 16th century there was a nearby place-name *Iweregge* (\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$}}}\$ 1279 *Ass* 'yew ridge', which could be confused with *Eridge*, both places belonging to Lord Abergavenny of the mansion **Eridge Park**. The heart of the old village is now usually called **Eridge Green**. Sx 374.

Old and New **Erringham Farms** (TQ 2007, in Old Shoreham). *Eringeham* 1086 DB, *Heringeham* 1201 Cur, *Yrringaham* 1239 *Sele, Iryngeham* 1293 Ipm (the common medieval spelling), *Herrynggeham* 1314 Ipm. 'Farm of people associated with Erra', from the rare Old English male given name *Erra*, of unknown origin, on record in the late 8thC as the name of a *comes* 'count' in Sussex who sold land at Peppering near Burpham to Osmund, king of Sussex, but not necessarily that person here, + -inga-'people associated with', in the genitive plural form, + hām 'major farming estate'. Sx 246.

Ersham Farm and **Lodge** (TQ 5808, in Hailsham). *oð gifrecis hammes gemæra* 947 (copied in the 13th century) B 821/S 527, *Ivrikesham* 1203 Cur, *Iureckesham* (a) 1261 *Ass, Ershams* 1582 *FM, Iresome* 1594 *FM, Yersham* 1602 *FM.* An ancient name analysed by R. E. Zachrisson as containing a male given name *Gifrīc* 'giving + power, rule', in the genitive case with *-es,* + **hamm(-2a)**. If that is right, the development with <k> is unexpected (rather <ch>), but no other explanation comes to mind. Sx 436.

Estcot's Fm, 332

Etchingham (TQ 7126, parish). *Ec(c)hingeham* ③, *Ec(c)hyngeham*, some ⑤ from 1159 P onwards, *Echingham*, *Echyngham* from 1202 Cur onwards; these are the usual medieval spellings. One tradition, with medial <-e->, suggests 'hemmed-in land or riverside meadow of people associated with Ecci'; another tradition, without <-e->, suggests 'hemmed-in land etc. associated with Ecci', from a male given name *Ecci* + -*inga*- or -*ing*- (respectively), + **hamm-2a** or -**2b**. Etchingham is situated low, in the angle between the eastern river Rother and its tributary the Dudwell, so **hamm** is more likely than **hām** 'major farming estate'. This view is supported by one spelling, *Echingehamme* ⑤ 1176 Pens. Sx 455-6; CDEPN 219. The name is completely distinct from **Etchingwood**, Sx 390.

Etchingwood (TQ 5022, in Buxted). *Achingeworde* 1086 DB, *Heggyngeworth* 1324 FA, *Hechingeworth* (© 1327 SR, *Itchingwood* 1563 *Deed*. 'Smallholding, curtilage, of the people associated with Ecci (or some similar male given name of equally uncertain origin)', from *Ecci* + -ing- in the genitive plural with -a, + worð. As the ancient manor declined in importance, its name became influenced by other local names such as **Itching(field)** and **Etching(ham)**, and also by *wood*, though [d] for [ð] is not unexpected in eastern Sussex. Sx 390.

Ewhurst (TQ 7924, parish). *Werste* 1086 DB, *Hyerst*, *Yherst* 1195 Pens, *Hiuherst* 1202 Cur, *Yuehurst* 1242 Fees, and *Ywehurst*, *Yuherst*, *Iwherst*, *Uherst*, *Ewhurst* (or *-herst* or *-hirst*) throughout the Middle Ages into Early Modern English. 'Yew wooded hill', **īw** +

hyrst. The village stands on a ridge between the river Eastern Rother and a small tributary. It is generally today called **Ewhurst Green**. Sx 518. The name is duplicated by **Ewhurst Manor** Sx 213 and **Ewhurst Place** Sx 208 in Shermanbury and Ifield respectively.

Exceat (TV 5199, former farm and deserted village in Westdean). Essete 1086 DB, Exeta [Latin form] about 1150 Fr, Exete and Excete, Exsete are the commonest medieval spellings, Essetes 1189 (copied in 1335) Ch, Esshetes 1242 Fees, Eschete and Esshete 1261 Ass, Exetes 1276 Cl, Exsetes 1295 Ch, Hechshete 1327 SR. A name of considerable difficulty. Mawer and Stenton adopt a suggestion by O. K. Schram that it consists of a river-name Exe (of British Celtic origin, as in the case of the well-known Devon river, displaced by the English name **Cuckmere**, though there is no direct evidence for any such replacement) + $s\bar{x}$ (dwellers', so 'dwellers by the Exe', used as a settlement name. Their alternative suggestion, involving a male given name *Ecci* (as in **Etchingham**), does not suit the range of medieval spellings. Ekwall in DEPN prefers an Old English $\bar{x}c$ 'oak', a genitive case form with a vowel modified from \bar{a} , + $sc\bar{e}at$ 'grove', an unusual though not impossible construction; but *scēat* means 'corner, angle', not 'grove'. *Scēat* (here sometimes, for unexplained reasons, in the ME plural form with -es) might appropriately describe the high promontory site in the angle between the Westdean valley and the main Cuckmere valley. On balance, a combination of the hypothetical river-name + scēat seems the best solution, with the awkward consonant cluster "-kssh-" resolved in two different ways in the medieval record, one as "-ks-", written <x> or <xs>, the other as "-sh-", written <-ssh-> or <-ss->. The former won out in the modern name, /'ekset/, which was allegedly once pronounced locally with main stress on the second syllable. The etymology cannot be considered finally settled. Spellings in <-s->, rather than <-sh-> and the like, predominate, and it is curious that there is almost always a final <-e>, both of which points are in Schram's and Mawer and Stenton's favour and against Ekwall; but <-sh-> appears in the most local documents, the Assize Rolls and Subsidy Rolls. Sx 4, 419; DEPN 171. Gives its name to Exceat Bridge, the lowest vehicular crossing of the Cuckmere.

Exfold, 157

Eyelid Farm, **Eyelids** (TQ 7623, in Ewhurst). *Eslede*, *Ellede* 1086 DB, *Eyelid* 1874 ESRO MS. ALF/11/17, 1909 OS. Possibly 'island or river drain', from **ēg** or **ēa** + an unrecorded ***læd** ancestral to Early Modern English *lead* 'drain'. The sparsely-recorded farm is on a spur overlooking the now-drained marshes of the eastern River Rother, and the feature giving its name to the farm may have been in the primeval marsh. Sx 519.

Additional references for E:

Coates, Richard (1984) On pre-British in England (studies on *Venta*, *Chilt-* and *"cunāco-"). *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 16, 1-24.

Gardiner, Mark, and Richard Coates (1987) Ellingsdean, a Viking battlefield identified. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 125, 251-252.

Leppard, M. J. (2001) A history of East Grinstead. Chichester: Phillimore.

Tittensor, A. M., and Ruth M. Tittensor (1985) The rabbit warren at West Dean near Chichester. *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 123, 151-185.

A foretaste of F:

Firle or West Firle (TQ 4707, parish). Firola(landes) 'land of the Firles' in the reign of Offa (copied in the 14th century) B 262/S 1183, Ferla and Ferle 1086 DB, Ferles generally from the 12th to the 14th centuries, Westferles 1255 FF, Firle 1271 FF, Westfarles 1309 Abbrev, Virle 1412 FA, Westferlegh 1438 Cicestr. Mawer and Stenton present a complex argument involving an adjective *fierol derived from a Germanic word for 'oak' which is barely evidenced in English (*fiere, related to an attested fyrgen), used as a noun and pluralized, but acknowledge that the oak is not a tree of the chalk. The plural form in the Anglo-Saxon record suggests that the name applied not just to the present village of (West) Firle, but also to Frog Firle in Alfriston, a lost East Firle (perhaps Charleston, also in West Firle parish) and an equally lost Pig Firle. Coates 2000: 44-53 suggests a survival of a Latin *ferālia,* a neuter plural word meaning 'wild places', i.e. land beyond the campus of several adjacent villas such as the well-known one at Beddingham, or perhaps alluding to the farmland of these villas abandoned by the later 5th century, and perhaps originally naming the whole downland block between the Ouse and the Cuckmere. Sx 359-60; DEPN 180; CDEPN 231.

Additional references for F:

Coates, Richard (2000) A surviving Latin place-name in Sussex: Firle. In Richard Coates and Andrew Breeze, *Celtic voices, English places*. Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 44-53.

Combes, Pam (1998) Now you see it, now you don't: Firle in Domesday Book and beyond. *Locus focus* 1.3, 12-14.

Sussex place-names in

I

Ibrook Wood, 104, 497

Icklesham (TQ 8716, parish). *Ikelesham, Icoleshamme* 772 (copied about 1300) B 208/S 108, *Ickelesham* 1195 FF, *Yclesham, Iclesham, Iklesham, Ikelesham* all frequent in medieval records, *Ykeleshamme* or *Ikeleshamme* 1379 *Ct.* 'Hemmed-in land or rivermeadow of Icel', if the spellings with <-mm-> are reliable, from *Icel*, an "ancient" male given name according to Mats Redin (1919: 142), of uncertain origin, appearing as *Icles* in the genitive case with *-es*, + **hamm-2a**. The village overlooks a smallish wide promontory jutting into the marshes of the Brede Level. Sx 510.

Idehurst Fm, 105, 118, 126

Iden (TQ 9123, parish). *Idene* 1086 DB and throughout the Middle Ages with occasional variants in *-den* and *-denne*, *Hiden* 1204 Abbr. Mawer and Stenton speculate that it involves a variant $\bar{i}g$ of $\bar{i}w$ 'yew-tree', not however a tree favouring marsh edges, but this view is supported by *Iden Green* in Benenden and *Iden Manor* in Staplehurst, both in Kent (PN K 348, 328), which both seem to be formed with 'yew'. On the other hand, Iden is four miles due north of **Rye**, and might be suspected of containing the element $\bar{i}eg$ 'island' which forms Rye's name + **denn**, so 'swinepasture near or belonging to the island (i.e. to Rye)'. Iden (1086) is recorded before Rye (1130), but the site of Rye must surely have been known as 'the island' before the port was founded. The site of Iden also overlooks another island across the Rother Levels, Oxney, over the county boundary in Kent. Either way, the name could be 'island **denn**'. Against the solution with the Rye island + **denn**, perhaps, is the fact that another parish and Domesday manor with a **denn**-name, **Playden**, intervenes between Rye and Iden. Sx 530; DEPN 261; CDEPN 329.

Ide's Barn (East Dean), 48 Ide's Common (Upwaltham), 78 Idolsfold Fm, 105, 139

Ifield (TQ 2537, parish, now a neighbourhood of Crawley). *Ifelt* 1086 DB, *Yfeld* 1210-12 RBE, *Ifeld*, *Yfeld*, *Ifeud* the usual medieval spellings, *Iffelde* 1432 IpmR. Probably 'open land with yew', from $\bar{\mathbf{I}}\mathbf{w}$ or a south-eastern variant $\bar{\imath}g$ + **feld**. It is formally possible also that the first element is $\bar{\imath}fe$, the medicinal plant plantain or some other difficult to specify (OEPN: *ife*). Sx 207. Gives its name also to the sub-neighbourhood of **Ifield Green**.

Ifieldwood, 209 Ifold Ho, 104, 106

Iford (TQ 4007, parish). *Niworde* 1086 DB, *Yford* in the reign of William II Lewes, *Iford(e)* the usual medieval spellings, *Yfford* 1263 FF, *Iver* 1624 MarL. 'Ford to the island', from $\overline{\textbf{leg}}$ + $\overline{\textbf{ford}}$, indicating a crossing to dry land occupied by Rise Barn in the now-drained Ouse marshes, but still west of the river's present main channel. This appears more likely here than a name involving $\overline{\textit{iw}}$ 'yew'; yew is conspicuously absent from the lower Ouse valley today (SPA). Sx 317; DEPN 262; CDEPN 329; R. Coates in *Lf* 1.2 (1997), 6.

Iham, an ancient name, surviving in *Higham Street*, for the high peninsula on which the planned town of **(New) Winchelsea** was built in about 1280. *Iham* 1200 FF, *Ihamme*, *Ihomme* 1205 ClR. 'Hemmed-in land on the island', with reference to the town's site, which was practically an island in the Brede estuary before the Levels were drained; from **ieg** + **hamm-2a**. Sx 538 and footnote.

Ilsham (about TQ 0001, former parish, disparished for unknown reasons, site now in Climping; an east-west strip across the centre of the present parish). *Hyslesham* 1256 FF, *Islesham* 1327 SR, *Iseleshamme* 1338 Hosp, *Ilisham* 1414 Cicestr, *Ilesham* 1439 IpmR. 'Farming estate of * \bar{l} sel', from an unrecorded male given name in the genitive case with -es + $h\bar{a}m$, or, if the 1338 spelling is not misleading, hamm. The topography which could allow us to decide is no longer recoverable. The first <-s-> seems to be lost by dissimilation about 1400. Sx 139.

Imberhorne Manor (TQ 3738, in East Grinstead). *Hymberhorn(e)*, *Himberhorn(e)* generally until about 1300, *Imberhorn(e)* 1248 *Ass* and often thereafter. 'Raspberry corner', from **hindberie** + **horn**. Sx 332.

Inchreed, 19, 26, 32, 70, 378 Ingrams, 23 Ingram's Fm (Bexhill), 492 Ingram's Fm (Ninfield), 488

Inholms. This name is recorded in various guises in a number of Wealden parishes. In this form it is a fancy spelling for Middle English *innam* or *innōm* 'enclosure in common or waste land', i.e. land taken into cultivation for the first time, in the Middle Ages. Seen for example in **Inholms Copse**, Sx 29, **Inholms Farm**, Sx 304, **Inholms Gill**, Sx 203, **Inholms Wood**, Sx 267, and in early records of Lockstrood, Sx 306, though apparently no earlier than 1327 in any case.

Inlands, 56 Inlegh, 506 Innerwyke Manor, 141

Iping (SU 8523, parish). *Epinges* 1086 DB, *Ipinges* 12th century *Lewes, Ipping* 1291 Tax, *Ipynge* 1296 SR, the most general medieval spelling. Apparently 'people of Ipa', used as a place-name, from **Ipa*, a male given name of unknown origin, unrecorded except in a place-name (K 1281/S 852), and probably with a short first vowel, + **-ingas**. The same name appears in *Ipthorne*, a depopulated place in Chichester, Sx 13. OE *yppe* 'raised place, platform' cannot be considered because Iping is situated low on the western River Rother. The place is now called /'aipiŋ/ "eye-ping" rather than /'ipiŋ/ "ipping". Sx 22. Gives its name also to **Iping Bridge**. Sx 24.

Ipthorne, 13, 22 Irelands Lane, 319 *n.*

Iridge Place (TQ 7326, in Salehurst). *Yrugge* 1248 *Ass, Irugg'* 1262 *Ass, Iregge* ⑤ 1282 FF, *Iwrugge* 1316 FA. 'Yew ridge', from **īw** or a south-eastern variant *īg* + **hrycg**. This is unusual for a Sussex 'yew' name beginning with <I-> in preserving an unambiguous clue to the OE word, as in the <-w-> of the 1316 spelling; contrast for example **Iden**, **Ifield** and perhaps *Ibrook Wood*. Sx 459.

Iron River (mouth at TQ 4415, in Barcombe). A modern name for the old course of the **Ouse**, now a backwater, from the red of its mud and silt due to iron ore deposits in the country through which it flows. Sx 314.

Iscombe, 328 Isenhurst, 382 **Isfield** (TQ 4417, parish). *Isefeld, Isefeud, Ysefeld*, the general medieval spellings, *Ysfeld* 1320 Ipm, *Isfild* 1600 MarL. According to Mawer and Stenton, 'open land of Īsa', a possible but uncertain male given name, which may recur in the lost name *Iscombe* in Forest Row, + **feld**. But there is no evidence for a long vowel in the first syllable. OE *isen*, with a short vowel, is a recoded form of *isern* 'iron', and in view of the fact that Isfield is in ironworking country (remains of furnaces have been found), close to the **Iron River**, this word is a plausible alternative; it also occurs in its full form in *Isenhurst* in Mayfield. Sx 396.

Isle of Thorns (TQ 4130, in Danehill). *Ile of Thornesgill* 1564 *DuLa, Ile of Thornes* 1658 *ParlSurv*. A name which suggests copying from elsewhere; this country estate is not an island in any sense, and appears not even to have been enclosed in 1564. *Thorney*, a name of Anglo-Saxon origin with the same meaning, is the original name of the site of Westminster Abbey and of an important abbey in the Isle of Ely, and is found in **West Thorney** in Sussex, but any link between those and this place is unknown. (*Gill*, in the first record, is found elsewhere in the Weald for 'wooded ravine'.) Sx 336; Whittick in *Lf* 3.2 (1999): 20.

Isling Bridge, 105

East **Itchenor** (about SU 8100, area of dispersed settlement and parish extinguished in 1440, now in Birdham) and West **Itchenor** (SU 7901, parish). East: *Ichnore* 1263 FF, *Estychenore* 1268 FF; West: *Iccanore* 683 (copied in the 14^{th} century) B 64/S 232, *Icenore* 1086 DB, *Westichenor(e)* 1243 FF; also *Hickenore* 1274 Ipm. 'Bank or shore of *Icca*', with the unrecorded male given name **Icca* in the genitive case with $-n + \bar{ora}$. \bar{Ora} , generally meaning 'bank; flat-topped ridge with a convex shoulder', may be a borrowing of the similar Latin word, and may have been applied to the Downs viewed as rising behind the Sussex and Hampshire coast, viewed from the sea, with places below the Downs later given individual names containing the word (Cole 1990: 27-31); or it may have named the coastal strip itself. The record shows ambiguity between two possible pronunciations of the written given name, /'ittʃa/ "itcha" and /'ikka/ "icka", though the former has prevailed. Sx 81 and 82; DEPN 267; CDEPN 335.

Itchingfield (TQ 1328, parish). *Echingefeld* or *Ecchingefeld* 1222 FF, *Hechingefeld(e)* 1255 Ipm, *Hechingfeld* 1278 FF, *Ecchyngefeud* 1291 Tax, *Hedge and Fylde* 1541 Horsham ParReg, *Itchingfeeld* 1581 MarC. It is hard to decide from the record whether the name originally began with <H-> or not. 'Open land of people associated with Ecci or Hecci', from a recorded but unexplained male given name, either *Ecci* (perhaps a pet-form of a name in *Ecg-*) or *Hecci*, + **-ing-** in the genitive plural form *-inga-* + **feld**. Sx 176; CDEPN

Itford Farm (TQ 4305, in Beddingham). *Litelford* [presumably in error] 1086 DB, *Itesford* 1215 FF, *Iteford* 1242 Fees and from then the usual medieval spelling. Possibly from OE *gyte* 'flood' + **ford**. Itford Farm is at an ancient ford across the **Ouse**, the only point below Lewes at which the full width of the Ouse valley could be forded (contrast the ford at **Iford**). The relevant course of the river here is now a backwater since canalization in 1790. The Ouse was, and is, notorious for overflowing its banks. If this suggestion is correct, *gyte* shows late West Saxon unrounding of /y/ to /i/, with irregular consequent palatalization and loss of the initial consonant, i.e. the same unusual development of OE $\langle g \rangle$ before $\langle y \rangle$ as is seen in the Norfolk place-name *Irstead* from OE *gyr* 'fen', or in the given name $\bar{E}adg\bar{y}th$ becoming *Edith*. That is uncertain. Mawer and Stenton preferred to see the first element as an unrecorded male given name **It(t)a*, for which there are Continental Germanic parallels. Sx 358; Coates in *Lf* 1.2 (1997): 6.

Ivorys, 188

Iwood (TQ 6316, in Warbleton). *Ewode* 1317 FF, *Iwode* 1332 Ipm. 'Yew wood', from **īw** + **wudu**. Sx 471.

Additional references for I:

Coates, Richard (1997) N1.2.2 [Iford] and N1.2.3 [Itford]. Lf 1.2, 6.

Cole, Anne (1990) The origin, distribution and use of the place-name element *ōra* and its relationship to the element *ofer*. *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 22, 26-41.

OEPN = Bierbaumer, Peter, Hans Sauer and others (in progress) *Old English plant-names. Ife* is discussed at http://oldenglish-plantnames.org/lemma/full lemma/644-ife.

PN K = Wallenberg, J. K. (1934) *The place-names of Kent.* Uppsala: Appelbergs boktryckeri.

SPA = Hall, P. C. (1980) *Sussex plant atlas*. Brighton: Booth Museum of Natural History.

Whittick, Christopher (1999) The Windbeache on Ashdown Forest. *Lf* 3.2, 20-23.

A foretaste of J:

Jugg's Road (trackway between Brighton and Lewes). The name is often said to contain Jugg, a nickname for a Brighton fisherman. It is also said that the track was used by Juggs' wives to take fresh fish for sale in Lewes. This Brightonian nickname explanation has often been repeated since its first mention (as Jugs) by W. H. Blaauw in Sussex Archaeological Collections 2 (1849), 292, footnote 7 (where an alternative name for the track, or part of it, Jugs Bostall, is mentioned), but no definitely independent confirmation of the word's existence has been found. Jug was a pet-form of Joan in early-modern times, and came to be used for a serving-maid or a sweetheart; her name was applied in various bird nicknames such as juggy wren in Surrey. There is a surname Jugg(e), but it is mainly confined to eastern England and no Sussex records have been traced so far.

Sussex place-names in

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Oak: it is not possible in this book to analyse the many Sussex names in *Oak-*, *Oke-*, but it is striking how many of them (especially those in **-hurst**) are in the western half of the county.

Oakendean, 210
Oakhurst (Kirdford), 106
Oakhurst (Wisborough Green), 135
Oakhurst Fm (Sidlesham), 86
Oaklands Cottages, 299
Oakland's Fm, 214
Oakleigh, 150
Oakreeds Wood, 26
Oaktree Fm, 314

Ockenden Manor (TQ 3024, in Cuckfield), Sx 268, and **Ockenden's Shaw** (TQ 2914, in Clayton, now Hassocks), 260. The Cuckfield place may be a former swinepasture with oaks, an "oaken **denn**", or may derive from a surname originating in the place-name *Oakenden*, Luddesdown (Kent), which has that origin; probably from the surname, as *Okendenes* 1547 SAC vol. 53, the earliest record of the Cuckfield place, would suggest. The Clayton place is also not in a place geologically typical of a **denn**.

Ockford, Great, 523 Ockham House, 520

Ockley Manor (TQ 3116, in Keymer). Found in the name of Isabel de *Ocle* 1296 SR, *Okle* 1381 SRS 11 [= Bishop Rede's register]. Perhaps one of many Sussex Wealden names in Oak-, Oke- or Ock- formed with $OE \bar{a}c$ 'oak' or its ME descendant (here + $l\bar{e}ah$), or, in the

1296 surname, possibly from Ockley parish or Ocley Common in Peper Harow (both Surrey), both of which however usually have an <-e-> between the two syllables in medieval spellings. Sx 277.

Ocklynge (TQ 5900, in Eastbourne). Okelyng 1176 (copied in 1342) Misc, © 1296 SR, Okelynge, Okelinge throughout the Middle Ages, Okelyngge © 1327 Banco, Ocklinge 1627 Ct. Perhaps 'Occa's shelf of land', from the male given name Occa evidenced in other southern place-names + **hlinc**; but the place is now built up, and no trace of lynchets can be found. It is the name of a ridge of the Chalk downs, which more or less discourages OE āc 'oak' as a possibility on ecological grounds. The modern pronunciation /'ɔklındʒ/ supports the suggested etymology up to a point, but the lack of spellings in <-ch> is puzzling. That suggests the alternative possibility, if the name is truly ancient, of the **-ing** place-name forming suffix in the dative case, but what the first element would then be is a problem. It might be worth considering a form derived from Latin oculus 'eye'. This was used in early medieval times (9th century) to translate a place-name involving the Old Welsh ancestor of *llygad* 'eye', used to mean 'pool, source of a stream', and may have been in use earlier. Ocklynge is just above Motcombe, where there is a pool which is the source of the abundant stream or bourne which gives Eastbourne its name. Ocklynge would then be '(at the) place which the natives (in one of their two languages) call *Ocul(us)*'. Considerable doubt remains. Eastbourne and the adjacent parishes of Willingdon and Jevington contain several names which might be suspected of dating from before the Saxons' arrival or referring to things which predate their arrival: E: Lamport, Meads, Worme; J: Wannock; W: Tas Combe (a camp name). Sx 432.

Oddynes, 337 Oeborne Copse, 21

Offham (TQ 4012, in Hamsey). Wocham about 1092 SAC vol. 65, 1200 FF, Woggham \$\bigsim 1279 Ass, Wogham \$\bigsim 1296 SR\$, the usual medieval spelling, Ofham 1303 Cl. 'Bent or crooked hemmed-in land or river-meadow', from \$\widetilde{\mathbf{n}} + \mathbf{hamm}\$. The reference is clearly to one of the large bends in the Ouse, but there is a problem of interpretation. Offham overlooks the outside edge of a large bend enclosing Old Malling farm in South Malling parish, but it is itself in the parish of Hamsey, whose own name derives from a different, upstream, large bend within which St Peter's former parish church stands, away from Offham. Various cuts have been dug on the Offham side of the river, disturbing the original hydrology. The name may have originally referred to a watermeadow on the outside of the "Malling" bend (so a hamm-3), or may have been an alternative or fuller name originally for the whole of Hamsey ('hamm(-1) of the Say family', Sx 315) parish and therefore may have been named from the site of the now disused parish church.

(There is a Victorian church at Offham, also St Peter's, which has taken over the functions of old Hamsey church, Hamsey village proper now being much reduced.) A further possibility is that the name is from the small raised area on the edge of the former marsh north of Offham church, i.e. a **hamm-2a**, or better **-2b**). The modern pronunciation is /'oufəm/ "oaf'em". Sx 316; DEPN 348; CDEPN 449.

Offham (TQ 0208, in South Stoke). *Offham* the general medieval spelling, *Ofham* 1212 FF, 1303 Ipm. Sx 142. Probably 'Offa's land in a river-bend', from the male given name seen as that of the Mercian king *Offa* + **hamm-1**, though the general lack of a medial syllable indicating the genitive case of *Offa* is surprising. Offham is at the base of a very large loop of the still-tidal Arun, but now separated from it by a cut made in about 1840.

Offington, (TQ 1305, in Durrington, later Broadwater, now part of the borough of Worthing). *Ofintune* 1086 DB, *Offinton* or *Offynton* the usual medieval spellings, *Offington* 1282 FF. 'Farm associated with Offa' (compare **Offham** in South Stoke), from the male given name *Offa* + **ing** + **tūn**. Sx 196.

Okehurst, 150 Oldbury Fm, 68 Oldcourt, 484 Older's Cottage, 166 Oldfield Copse, 166 Old Gray's Wood, 249 Oldhole, 472 Old House, 273 Oldhouse Fm, 482

Oldlands (TQ 4927, in Buxted, now Maresfield). *Eldelond*, 1219 *Bay*, *Old lands* 1658 *ParlSurv*, from **eald** (later **old**) + **land**, probably in the sense 'former ploughed land'. Such names are very frequent, and suggest the abandonment of arable in favour of pasture, or simple reversion to the wild state, with ridge-and-furrow left as the evidence. Sx 392. Other Sussex examples are **Oldland** TQ 0833 in Rudgwick, Sx 158, **Oldland** TQ 3216 in Ditchling, not in Sx, **Oldlands Farm** SU 9401, in Bersted, Sx 92, and **Old Land (Wood)** TQ 5215 in East Hoathly, Sx 402.

Old Lodge, 369 Old Mill Fm, 396 Oldmill Wood, 394 Oldpark Fm, 230 Oldpark Wood, 314

Oldplace Fm, 78

Oldwick Farm (SU 8407, in Lavant). *Aldewyke* 1535 Ct. 'The old dwelling', from ME $\bar{o}ld(e) + w\bar{\imath}k(e)$, representing a later stratum of naming than **Aldwick**, probably with a semantic shift from 'specialized farm' to the bleached '(rural) dwelling'; instead it might be 'the old place called Wick', but there is no evidence for that. Sx 51.

Olivers Copse, 166 Olivers Hill, 479 Olives, 487 Olives, The, 387 Orchard Fm, 394

Ore (TQ 8311, parish, now a suburb of Hastings). *Ore*, *Ora* [Latin form] 1121-5 BM and generally throughout the Middle Ages, *Oores* 1265 Misc, *Oore* 1507 *AD*. 'Hill with a convex shoulder, bank', from **ōra**. The reference is to the ridge between the Bourne Stream and the damp wooded valley to the north which contains Speckled Wood and the Ore Stream; it slopes south-west towards East Hill and Hastings Old Town. The old village of Ore is on top of the ridge. Sx 504.

Oreham, 218 Orfold Fm, 134 *Orleswick*, 110, 325 Orznash, 379 Ote Hall, 306

Otteham Court (TQ 5805, in Hailsham, now in Polegate). *Otteham* about 1207 Pens, *Oteham* 1219 *Bay*, the two most usual medieval spellings, *Hotteham* 1245 FF. Perhaps 'Otta's farming estate', from the given name *Otta*, an unrecorded but not unlikely petform of Old English names beginning with $\bar{O}ht$ - 'terror, persecution', + $h\bar{a}m$, but it is at the base of a marked low peninsula projecting into the Glynleigh Level, which makes **hamm** also possible in the sense of 'land projecting into marsh' (hamm-a). A former Premonstratensian abbey, merged with Bayham in 1208, and retained as a grange before leasing out, followed by dissolution in 1526 and conversion to a private estate. The present name is to the 15th-century house that remains from the later period of farming. There is an identical name (*Otham*) in Kent. Sx 437.

Otter's Fm, 184 Otye Wood, 338 River **Ouse** (mouth presently at TQ 4500, formerly further east). Does not appear in its present form until the 17th century; another invention (like **Adur**) of the poet and topographer Michael Drayton, who writes:

But now, the Ous, a Nymph of very scornefull grace,

So touchy waxt therewith, and was so squeamish growne,

That her old name she scornd should publiquely be knowne.

Whose hauen out of mind when as it almost grew,

The lately passed times denominate, the New.

(17th song, *Poly-Olbion* book I, 1612). This suggests that *Ous* is a new name, replacing another, though the passage is not crystal clear. Not an ancient, pre-Roman, name like other English *Ouse* rivers. It has also been suggested that it was back-formed from **Lewes** through a misunderstanding of the name as containing Norman French *ewes* 'waters', or that it is ancient, deriving from Old English *wāse* 'mud, ooze', but the Drayton explanation is the best supported. ERN 317; Sx 6, 363; CDEPN 456. An earlier still name of the river was *Midewinde*, apparently 'central winder', perhaps from dividing the county into roughly equal parts, though it is not the traditional boundary between East and West Sussex.

Overhill Lodge, 362 Over's Fm, 314 Overy's Fm, 454

Oving (SU 9004, parish). *Vuinges* 956 (copied in the 14th century) B 930/S 616, Ouing(g)es 1230 P, 1248 Ass, 1296 FF, Ouvinge 1282 Ch, Ooving 1579 MarC. 'The people associated with *Ūfi' (as suggested by the nearby ufes ford in an Anglo-Saxon document relating to nearby Pagham, B 50/S 230),' used as a place-name. Both the male given names are of debatable origin. The traditional local pronunciation is indicated by the 1579 spelling, which is compatible with either of the suggested origins, but the place is now usually /'ouvɪŋ/ "oh-ving". Sx 75.

Ovingdean (TQ 3503, parish). *Hovingedene*, *Hoingesdene* 1086 DB, *Ouingeden*, *Ouingedena* [Latin form], *Ouingedene*, *Ouyngedene* reign of William II Lewes, *Vuingeden* 1198 FF, *Ovingdene* 1255 FF, *Ovyngden* 1377 Pat. 'Valley of Ōfa's people', from a male given name $\bar{O}fa$ + -inga- indicating some association with the person named, in the genitive plural form with -a, + **denu**. The valley is the one west of Long Hill and Beacon Hill. The traditional pronunciation was "Uvvingdean", and also "Ovvingdean", though these days only "Ohvingdean" is heard, based on the spelling. Several forms cited show that the final syllable was once pronounced "-den". In modern usage it is "-dean", and it may bear the main stress. Sx 311; DEPN 354. Hence also **Ovingdean Gap**, giving access to the sea.

The **Owers** (about SZ 8590). A series of banks and shoals in the sea off Selsey: the **Inner Owers**, by Selsey East Beach, and further out the **Malt Owers** (to the west), the **Middle Owers** and the **Outer Owers** or **Sea Owers** (to the south, some 6-7 miles off Selsey Bill). The name clearly continues OE **ōra**, discussed at **Itchenor** (and see Cole 1990), in a medieval or postmedieval plural form. Earlier scholars made efforts to associate this name with *Cymenesora*, traditionally the place where the first South Saxons landed in 477, and judged from later Anglo-Saxon records to be south of Pagham close to Selsey. Geographically and linguistically this association is possible, but there is no definite documentary evidence to suggest that the steady erosion of the coastline here left the name stranded offshore; the present name may simply be a new application of the Middle English descendant word *ōre*, in the plural because of the plurality of these sailing hazards. Sx 83.

Owlscastle or **Owls Castle** (TQ 2033, in Horsham, now in Rusper). Taken as referring to *owlers* or 18th-century smugglers by Mawer and Stenton, Sx 228, this farm, far inland, has a name duplicated elsewhere. The name (also found locally as **Owlcastle**) also attaches to an earthwork and moat in Rusper (TQ 1934), but the farm is right on the present parish boundary of Horsham. Its name is also found on a 15th-century house in Meopham, Kent, on an oasthouse in Lamberhurst, Kent, and on an older house at Stockland, Honiton, Devon. It seems to be one of a range of repeated mocking names indicating an ancient or an abandoned dwelling-site, perhaps alluding to the urban *Rats' Castle* featuring in chapter 137 of G. W. M. Reynolds' *The mysteries of London* (1844), a notorious Bloomsbury rookery demolished in 1845: "the night-house where all kind of low people meet to sup and lodge."

Oxenbridge (TQ 9124, in Iden). *Oxenebrigge* 1301 Ipm, *Oxnebregge* 1331 HMC. Mawer and Stenton think this is self-explanatory, from *oxena*, genitive plural of **oxa**, + **brycg**, but cannot identify a bridge. However, it must mean 'bridge [leading to the Isle of] Oxney', recorded as *Oxnaeia* 724 B 141/S 1180 (copied in the 13thC) 'oxen island', just across the Rother Levels and the boundary of Kent. The existence of Newbridge Farm in Wittersham (Oxney), alongside the modern B2082 road across the Levels, guarantees the existence of an older bridge, or perhaps causeway, to which this name refers. Sx 531. **Oxenbridge** (TQ 8625, in nearby Beckley), Sx 528, may have a similar origin, but it appears first of all in surnames (*Oxenebrigg* (\$\tilde{\Omega}\$ 1279 *Ass*), and most likely derives indirectly from the place in Iden.

Oxendean, 424
Ox Street, 11
Oxteddle Bottom, 355

Additional reference for 0:

Cole, Anne (1990) The origin, distribution and use of the place-name element $\bar{o}ra$ and its relationship to the element ofer. Journal of the English Place-Name Society 22, 26-41.

A foretaste of P:

Piltdown or **Pilt Down** (TQ 4421, in Fletching). *Pylkedowne* 1455 *Ct*, *Pyltedowne* 1564 *DLMiscBk*. Mawer and Stenton suggest 'Pīl(e)ca's hill', from a hypothetical personal name, a diminutive form derived from *pīl* 'point, arrow', which is perhaps recoverable from other place-names such as *Pilkington* (Lancashire), + **dūn**. Sx 346.

Sussex place-names in

U

Uckfield (TQ 4721, parish). *Ukkefeld*, *Uckefeld* 1220 P and throughout the Middle Ages, *Ukefeld* 1243 FF, *Huckefeud* 1248 *Ass*, *Uggefeld*, *Ockefeud* 1288 *Ass*. 'Open land of Ucca', where *Ucca* is a known name of the Anglo-Saxon period borne in Kent by a man named *Wulfstan* (*cognomine* [Latin for 'also called']) *Ucca* late 10th century (copied in the 12th) B 1132/S 1511, B 1133/S 1511. This is unexplained in English, but has a Continental Germanic counterpart. Sx 396. The given name may also be found in the lost place-name *Uckham* in Battle, Sx 499.

Udiam (TQ 7724, in Ewhurst). *Hudeham* about 1180 Pens, *Hodihame* about 1245 Pens, *Udgeham* 1823 G. Uncertain. The second element is **hamm-2a**; the farm is at the foot of a noticeable projection into the valley of the eastern River Rother. The <-i-> may be a dialect development of either <-ing-> or <-an->, as in **Udimore**, but it is not clear what the first element is; Mawer and Stenton suggest the recorded but unexplained male given name $H\bar{u}da$. The 1823 spelling represents the authentic modern local pronunciation. Sx 520.

Udimore (TQ 8618, parish). *Dodimere* [error] 1086 DB, *Odumer* 12th century AD, *Huddemere* 1271 Ass, *Odimer*, *Odimere*, *Odymere* typical medieval spellings, *Udemere* 1291 Tax, *Udimore*, *Udimere* also common through the Middle Ages. Uncertain. The second element is **mere**. There is an embanked pool or moat in the centre of the village, and a larger pool near Billingham Farm in the north of the parish. The <-i-> may be a dialect development of either <-ing-> or <-an->, as in **Udiam**, but it is not clear what the first element is; Mawer and Stenton suggest the recorded but unexplained male given name $\bar{U}da$, for which there is a Continental Germanic parallel, but $\bar{O}da$, a feminine form of which would be represented by German *Ute*, seems at least as likely. Sx 516; CDEPN 635. DEPN 485 suggests instead that the second element may be **gemære** 'boundary',

unconvincingly with the ancestor of *wood* as the first element, but the medial <-i-> in names in this part of eastern Sussex (not only ending in *-mere/-more*) is fully discussed at Sx 474.

Underley Copse, 155 Underwood, 414 Uplands, 449

Up Park or **Uppark** (SU 7817, in (South) Harting). The hunting-park is referred to as *Uppark* 1427 *Ct*, which is now the usual spelling for the mansion named after it; it was earlier *le Overpark* 1350 Cl. Named in distinction from **Down Park** (*le Netherpark* 1350 Cl, *Dunpark* 1427 *Ct*), which is set low by a tributary of the western River Rother in the north of the parish. Sx 38.

Upperfold House, 99 Upperlodge Fm, 254

Upperton. There are three settlements in Sussex with this name: (TQ 6000, in Eastbourne), Sx 433; (SU 7821, in Harting), Sx 37; and (SU 9522, in Tillington), Sx 124. In each case, in the Middle Ages they were called *Uppeton* (Eastbourne 1176 P; Harting: 1180 P; Tillington: 1279 *Ass*), and each had already in the Middle Ages acquired the alternative spelling with <-r->, though at Tillington we also find *Upperton* earlier, in 1191 P. In each case the place is self-explanatorily named from its position in relation to the main settlement in the parish (West Harting in the case of the three Hartings).

Ups and Downs, 231 Upwick, 434 Usbornes Fm, 524

A foretaste of V:

Varndean (TQ3007, in Patcham, now a district of Brighton). Ralph de Ferndenn © 1296 SR held land in Patcham. His surname might represent the actual name of this place, in which case it is probably 'bracken valley', **fearn** + **denu**, with <v> representing a local pronunciation for <f>. If Ralph came from elsewhere, and gave his name to the place, the

second element might be **denn** '(Wealden) swinepasture', but no such place as the implied "Fernden" or "Farnden" is known. There used also to be a *Varncombe Barn* on the boundary of Patcham and Pyecombe parishes (*Farencombe* 1373 Pat). Bracken, though widespread, especially likes certain heath and moor conditions; above the Chalk there is a large patch of Clay-with-Flints which includes sandy deposits at Varncombe, and presumably also at or near Varndean before it was built over. Sx 294.