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## Place-Name Evidence Relating to the Interpretation of Old English Legal Terminology

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The value of place-names as evidence for social and legal conditions during the Anglo-Saxon period has long been recognised.<sup>1</sup> The majority of surviving English place-names were coined before the Norman Conquest, and they contain much information on topics such as land tenure, property rights, and the position of women in the community. Few scholars today would approach these areas of research without taking the place-name evidence into consideration. However, place-names are at least equally important as source material for the early history of the English language, and this aspect has been less fully explored in the context of legal studies. The Old English law-codes are notoriously difficult to interpret, since their phraseology is often cryptic and much of the vocabulary is now obscure, occurring only rarely in the small corpus of extant literature. Fortunately, though, this is not the only corpus available to us. The same vocabulary sometimes survives in place-names, and the place-name corpus can therefore help to throw light on the meaning of problematic terms. A systematic county-by-county analysis of English place-names has been in progress since the foundation of the English Place-Name Society in 1923, and reached its sixty-seventh volume last year with the publication of the survey for the old county of Rutland.<sup>2</sup> As the English Place-Name Survey progresses, it is becoming possible to identify and to analyse the occurrence of legal terminology in place-names with increasing precision, and to use this as an aid to the interpretation of the same terminology in written sources. The three laws I shall discuss in this paper are Æthelberht, ch.81, Æthelberht, ch.10, and Ine, ch.31, and I shall focus on the meaning of the terms *morgengifu*, *mægdenman*, and *gift*.

*Æthelberht, ch.81: OE morgengifu*

The earliest occurrence of OE *morgengifu* is in the law-code issued by King *Æthelberht* of Kent during the late sixth or early seventh century, which survives only in a manuscript dating from the early twelfth.<sup>3</sup> Ch.81 reads as follows:

Gif hio bearn ne gebyrþ, fæderingmagas fioh agan 7 morgengyfe.  
[If she does not bear a child, the paternal relatives are to have the property and the *morgengifu*.<sup>4</sup>]

This is the final clause in a short sequence of laws dealing with the property rights of a married woman and widow. The meaning of the term *morgengifu* is not in doubt: it refers to a gift or settlement made by the bridegroom to the bride and henceforth regarded as her property.<sup>5</sup> However, the written sources in which this meaning is established are far removed in time from *Æthelberht*'s code. The term *morgengifu* is otherwise recorded only in five charters from the tenth century or later,<sup>6</sup> a Latin-Old English glossary, and the eleventh-century prose romance *Apollonius of Tyre*.<sup>7</sup> As these are so late, it is doubtful how far they can be used as evidence for marriage customs during the ninth century and before. Their value is supplemented, and indeed outweighed, by the place-name evidence.

Many place-names refer to land-ownership, and those containing the term *morgengifu* designate a piece of land or an estate given to a bride as part of her marriage settlement. Appendix A lists a selection of such names, with page references to the appropriate volumes of the English Place-Name Survey. These give a much fuller picture than the sparse references to *morgengifu* in documentary sources. Their sheer quantity leaves no doubt that the marriage gift represented an important concept in land-ownership throughout the early Middle Ages. Their geographical range also indicates that the custom was widespread, from Kent and Essex on the east coast and Shropshire in the west, to Dorset, Hampshire, and Sussex in the south.<sup>8</sup> This too is information that could not be gained from less than half-a-dozen charters and a Kentish law-code. At the same time, it is interesting to note that there are certain areas from which the term is completely absent. No place-names in *morgengifu* have been recorded from Derbyshire, Cheshire, Yorkshire or Gloucestershire, despite the fact that these are among the counties for which the most thorough coverage is available. Negative evidence must of course be treated with extreme care. The fact that the term *morgengifu* is not represented in a particular area cannot be taken to indicate that the

custom was not practised there; but it is at least suggestive in comparison with the great frequency of *morgengifu*-names in counties like Sussex and Essex.

These place-names also extend the range of evidence in another direction. Written sources deal mainly with the upper ranks of society. Law-codes were issued by Anglo-Saxon kings, and charter evidence relates almost exclusively to the transfer of property among wealthy landowners. Attenborough comments in a note on *Æthelberht*, ch.81, that 'Among wealthy people, it [*morgengifu*] often took the form of a gift of land.'<sup>9</sup> This is confirmed by surviving charters and records of case-law, which show large estates changing hands by this means. However, the place-name corpus indicates that the custom also prevailed among the less wealthy, and that here too a woman's *morgengifu* could consist of land, albeit on a much smaller scale. One of the things that struck me when I was looking at the use of *morgengifu* in place-names was the high proportion of minor names and field-names represented. The selection in Appendix A is drawn exclusively from this range of material. Many of the names are italicised to indicate that they are no longer in use, and this too is significant, since minor names tend to be less stable than major ones. These must represent not the wealthy landowners but the holdings of small farmers and freemen. An example is *le Moryivegarston* in Surrey, from OE *morgengifu* and OE *gærs-tūn* 'a grass enclosure, a paddock'. This was a paddock received by an unknown bride as her 'morning gift' in just the same way that the wife of *Ælfhelm* in the late tenth century received landed estates at Baddow, Burstead, Stratford and Enhale.<sup>10</sup> The place-name evidence shows that the practice of giving land as a woman's *morgengifu* was no more limited to the upper classes than it was confined to a particular geographical area, and it very substantially adds to the information available from written sources.

### ***Æthelberht, ch.10: OE mægdenman***

The meaning of OE *mægdenman*, a unique word which is only recorded in *Æthelberht*, ch.10, is somewhat more problematic. It occurs in the first of several laws in *Æthelberht*'s code dealing with financial penalties for sexual relations with slaves:

Gif man wið cyninges mægdenman geligeþ, L scillinga gebete.  
Gif hio grindende þeowa sio, XXV scillinga gebete. Sio þridde:  
XII scillingas.

[If anyone lies with a *mægdenman* belonging to the king, he is to pay 50 shillings compensation. If she is a grinding slave, 25 shillings compensation. The third [class]: 12 shillings.]

By analogy with the attested forms *mægden* and *mædenman*, the term *mægdenman* is usually taken to refer to a virgin.<sup>11</sup> This fits into the context of sexual relations, but is difficult to reconcile with the lower penalties required if the woman is a grinding slave or a third class slave. Presumably they too could have been virgins. Comparison with these penalties suggests rather that the *mægdenman* was a particular type of slave, and one well up in the hierarchy. Thorpe suggested, by analogy with other laws within Æthelberht's code, that she may have been a royal cup-bearer;<sup>12</sup> but there is no agreement on this point, and modern scholars tend to translate blandly as 'maiden'.<sup>13</sup>

It seems possible that OE *mægdenman* may have had a specialised meaning understood by the Anglo-Saxons though not by us. It is at least a striking coincidence that the use of the word *mægden* in toponyms is also problematic, and that a number of place-names containing the word have never satisfactorily been explained. I have assembled a corpus of place-names deriving from OE *mægden* in an attempt to analyse the contexts in which it occurs and to suggest a more precise semantic range. The corpus is based closely on the findings of the English Place-Name Survey, and comprises Appendix B.<sup>14</sup>

The place-names represented in this corpus fall into several distinct groups. Street-names such as Maiden Street and Maiden Lane usually refer to prostitution, although sometimes the allusion is to a nunnery or to a nearby inn. Field-names like Maiden Croft in Hertfordshire and Maiden Field in Berkshire almost certainly refer to land dedicated to the Virgin Mary. These are paralleled by compounds with OE *hlæfdige* 'lady', as in Lady Croft and Lady Meadow in Warwickshire,<sup>15</sup> and Lady Croft in Yorkshire.<sup>16</sup> Names where OE *mægden* is compounded with OE *croc* or ME *crouche* are also of this type, describing a cross dedicated to the Virgin Mary (cf. Lady Cross in Derbyshire and Yorkshire).<sup>17</sup>

Another group of names comprise the genitive plural of OE *mægden* compounded with a fortification-word such as OE *castel* or OE *burh*, often but not always referring to a prehistoric earthwork. This is a well-known type of place-name formation, but its application remains obscure. Some scholars suggest that the allusion is to a fortress which had never been captured. This seems a trifle fanciful. Other theories are that the fortress was so impregnable that it could be defended by girls, or so strong that girls could take refuge there. These too are unconvincing,

particularly since the place-names were coined long after the fortifications were in military use. Another suggestion is that such names designate secluded spots frequented by maidens; but it is difficult to see why young women should regularly choose the sites of old fortifications as meeting-places. A further possibility, that the first element of these names is not OE *mægden* but a lost Celtic word, is not generally accepted by place-name scholars.<sup>18</sup>

A parallel to the English *mægden-burh* names appears to be provided by the German town of Magdeburg,<sup>19</sup> given to Eadgyth, the wife of Emperor Otto I, as her *morgengifu* in 929. This too is usually taken to mean 'maidens' fort', an etymology established by late medieval sources. However, Korhammer's recent study of the place-name concludes that its original meaning may have been 'Slav(e)s' castle'.<sup>20</sup> This is of particular interest in view of the context of Æthelberht, ch. 10. If Korhammer's interpretation of Magdeburg can be extended to corresponding English names of the Maiden Castle type, then it would appear that OE *mægden* too may have had connotations of servitude which do not survive elsewhere in the literature. The fact that Æthelberht, ch.10, is directly concerned with classes of slaves supports this hypothesis, and suggests that OE *mægdenman* should be associated not with ModE 'maiden, virgin', but with ModE 'maid, servant'.

The present corpus also reveals another distinctive and hitherto unrecognised group of place-names containing OE *mægden*. In a high proportion of instances, it is compounded with words to do with water: springs, wells, fords, bridges and so on. This cannot be a coincidence. Examples include Maidenford in Devon, Maidford and Maidwell in Northamptonshire, and Maiden Spring in Hertfordshire. Again the case is often genitive plural, ruling out any question of an allusion to the Virgin Mary. Individually these names might represent ad-hoc formations referring to female owners or users. Collectively they appear to demonstrate an association between OE *mægden* and topographical terms relating to water.

It is surprising that although there has been much discussion of the use of OE *mægden* in place-names of the Maiden Castle type, little attempt has been made hitherto to investigate its range of meaning. Since the term is used in literary texts to refer to a virgin, and appears to correspond directly to ModE *maiden*, other possibilities have not been explored.<sup>21</sup> It is only necessary to look at the semantic range of OE *wif* to see that not all words which survive into Modern English retain their original meaning. Like ModE *wife*, OE *wif* could be used of a married woman; but in Old English it had a much wider range, referring also to women in general. The word *mægden* may have undergone a similar transformation. Indeed, a point which militates against the interpretation of the *mægden*- names in terms of sites

frequented by young women is the fact that they are not paralleled by a similar corpus of names based on other terms referring to women or young people. There are isolated instances of such formations, as in Knave Castle in Gloucestershire<sup>22</sup> and Chilwell in Nottinghamshire,<sup>23</sup> but these are relatively few. The recurrence of OE *mægden* in such contexts suggests that it had connotations which have now been lost.

In short, it appears from the place-name evidence that OE *mægden* may have had a specialised meaning connected with fortifications or with water: possibly with both, since generics such as OE *brycg* 'bridge' and OE *hȳð* 'landing place' could fit into either category. Since OE *mægden* regularly occurs in place-names where a reference to virginity would seem inappropriate, it cannot be assumed that this is invariably its meaning in literary sources. The traditional interpretation of OE *mægdenman* in Æthelberht, ch. 10 as 'virgin' may be seriously misleading.

### *Ine, ch.31: OE gift*

Finally, I should like to turn to a clause from the late seventh-century laws of King Ine of Wessex. Ch.31 is concerned with the penalty for breaking a marriage contract, but the precise circumstances are unclear, and interpretation depends on the meaning of the word *gift*:

Be þon þe mon wif byccge, 7 þonne sio gift tostande.  
Gif mon wíf gebyccge, 7 sio gyft forð ne cume, agife þæt feoh 7  
forgielde 7 gebete þam byrgean, swa his borgbryce sie.

[On paying for a wife, and then the *gift* not taking place.  
If someone pays for a wife and the *gift* does not proceed, the  
money is to be repaid and as much again, and the surety is to be  
recompensed according to the value of the breach of his surety.]

The word *gift* is usually taken to mean 'wedding', a sense which is attested elsewhere, and hence Liebermann, Attenborough and Whitelock take the clause to mean that if the wedding does not take place after the prospective husband has paid the bride-price, double the money is to be recompensed to him.<sup>24</sup> There is, however, an alternative possibility. Thorpe takes the defaulter to be the bridegroom, commenting:

the meaning of the enactment seems to be, that if a man, after  
having bargained for a wife, neglect, without good cause, to

complete the marriage, he should pay to the woman's relatives, not only the 'mundium', but a compensation besides, as well as a bot to his surety.<sup>25</sup>

This is also substantially the reading presented by Schmid and by Young, both of whom take the clause to deal with non-payment of the purchase price.<sup>26</sup> The distinction is an important one, since the first interpretation suggests that the law is protecting the interests of the bridegroom, the second, those of the bride. It is therefore worth looking closely at the evidence for the semantic range of OE *gift*.

The use of the word *gift* to mean 'wedding' has been analysed in detail by Fischer, who demonstrates that it includes 'both the more abstract "entrance into wedlock" . . . and the more concrete "marriage ceremony with attendant festivities"'.<sup>27</sup> An unusual feature of Ine, ch.31 is the use of a singular form of the word. This is common to all three extant manuscripts, and is difficult to explain. Elsewhere the word *gift* almost always occurs in the plural, as do most of its synonyms. Fischer suggests, 'it must probably be explained as a loan-formation modelled on the Latin pl[ural] *nuptiae*'.<sup>28</sup> The rubric and text of Ine, ch.31 constitute two out of only six singular forms identified by Fischer. Two of the others can be accounted for in terms of the Latin forms which they translate; so that Ine, ch.31 is in fact highly exceptional.

However, this is not the only meaning of OE *gift*. The word also occurs with a more specialised sense, 'marriage gift, dowry'. This is how Toller understood it in Ine, ch.31;<sup>29</sup> and although Fischer dismisses such an interpretation of the clause out of hand,<sup>30</sup> it would account for the singular form of the word, and would make sense in the context. Only two examples of this usage have been identified in the literature,<sup>31</sup> but it may not be as rare as these statistics imply. Place-name evidence points to other examples of *gift* meaning 'a marriage portion, a dowry'. This indeed is how the word is defined in Smith's *English Place-Name Elements*.<sup>32</sup> OE *gift* is recorded from c. 1070 as the second element of the township name Whitgift in the West Riding of Yorkshire, here evidently referring to dowryland.<sup>33</sup> Place-names tend to reflect colloquial rather than literary uses of language, so it is possible that this sense of *gift* may have been more common than is evidenced in the extant literature. Thus Ine, ch.31 may refer, as Thorpe and Toller believed, to the non-payment of the agreed sum, stipulating not that the bridegroom's money is to be returned if the wedding does not take place, but that the bride is to be recompensed if the bridegroom defaults on payment of the marriage gift.



To conclude, I hope to have demonstrated that place-name evidence has an important role to play in the interpretation of early legal vocabulary and in our understanding of the Old English law-codes. Occurrences of OE *morgengifu* in place-names reinforce the documentary evidence by showing that the custom of giving land to a bride as part of her marriage settlement was practised over a wide range of geographical areas and social groups. Occurrences of OE *mægden(man)* in place-names and in early law are alike problematic, but an analysis of the toponymic contexts suggests that the term may have had a specialised meaning unrecorded in literary sources. Occurrences of OE *gift* in place-names suggest that the meaning 'a marriage portion, a dowry' should be considered as a possible interpretation in Ine, ch.31. The English Place-Name Survey is still in progress, and each volume makes available a new collection of comparative material. This is a range of evidence which has not yet been fully explored, and which offers exciting possibilities.

ABBREVIATIONS

EPNS	Volumes of the English Place-Name Survey.
ME	Middle English.
ModE	Modern English.
OE	Old English.
Sawyer	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London, 1968).

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See for instance the series of articles by Sir Frank Stenton entitled 'The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies', first published in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., 21-25 (1939-43) and reprinted in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970).

<sup>2</sup> B. Cox, *The Place-Names of Rutland*, EPNS 67/69 (Nottingham, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> P.H. Sawyer, *Textus Roffensis: Rochester Cathedral Library Manuscript A.3.5. Part I*, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 7 (Copenhagen, 1957).

<sup>4</sup> All quotations from the Old English law-codes are from the seminal edition by F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1913-16). The numbering of clauses has no manuscript authority, but for convenience I follow the system adopted by Liebermann.

<sup>5</sup> One of the earliest discussions of the term appears in G. Hickes, *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1703-5), I, pp. ix-x.

<sup>6</sup> Sawyer Nos. 939, 1445, 1458, 1487, 1539.

<sup>7</sup> A. DiP. Healey and R.L. Venezky, *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (Toronto, 1980), has been used to trace occurrences of words within the literary corpus of Old English.

<sup>8</sup> All references are to the pre-1974 English counties.

<sup>9</sup> F.L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 178.

<sup>10</sup> Sawyer No. 1487.

<sup>11</sup> Hickes, *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, II, 89; C. E. Fell et al., *Women in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1984), p. 47.

<sup>12</sup> B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (London, 1840), pp. 2-3.

<sup>13</sup> Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 5; D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents c.500-1042*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), p. 391.

<sup>14</sup> Apart from a few names discussed in A.D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1991) or J.K. Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934), I include only those counties so far covered by the English Place-Name Survey. Within these limits, the corpus is intended to be complete. I include names containing OE *mægð* 'maiden', *mæge* 'kinswoman', or ME *maiden*, as these are often difficult to distinguish and may be relevant, but I do not include names containing ME *maidenhede* 'virginity', which are mostly inn names deriving from a medieval heraldic blazon. A question mark indicates that the etymology is doubtful, or cannot be confirmed due to the non-survival of early forms; and wherever possible I also give the second element of the place-name.

<sup>15</sup> EPNS 13:341-342.

<sup>16</sup> EPNS 30:84, EPNS 30:120.

<sup>17</sup> EPNS 28:498, EPNS 30:98, EPNS 30:331-32.

<sup>18</sup> Discussions of the Maiden Castle type of place-name appear in EPNS 3:71-72, EPNS 20:255-56, EPNS 41:59, and EPNS 43:71-72. A brief analysis of the use of OE *mægden* in place-names appears in A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols., EPNS 25-26 (Cambridge, 1956), II, 31-2, s.v. *mægden*.

<sup>19</sup> According to EPNS 3:71, Magdeburg is 'the exact equivalent' of OE *mægða-byrig* or *mægdenabyrig*.

<sup>20</sup> M. Korhammer, 'Old English *bolca* and *Mægpa land* – two problems, one solved', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* ed. M. Korhammer (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 305-24 (p. 323).

<sup>21</sup> The assumption that OE *mægden* in place-names means 'virgin' or 'young woman' can be traced back to the twelfth century. The term 'Maiden Castle' was also applied to the Castle at Edinburgh, and R. E. M. Wheeler (*Maiden Castle, Dorset* (Oxford, 1943), p. 9) points out that Geoffrey of Monmouth refers to Edinburgh as *Castellum Puellarum*, showing that 'whatever its origin, the name was already interpreted in a literal sense, the Maidens being regarded as *puellae* and not merely as Celtic or Sanskrit abstractions'. Similarly, a reference in a charter of 1366 to a Lincolnshire bridge as 'pontem puellarum' (EPNS 66:117) indicates that names like Maiden Bridge were understood in the same sense. This may be an argument in favour of accepting the traditional interpretation. However, recent work on Latin translations of vernacular bynames in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries shows that many Latinized forms were based on false etymologies. See R. McKinley, 'Medieval Latin translations of English personal bynames: their value for surname history', *Nomina*, 14

(1990-91), 1-6. It would seem unlikely that the treatment of place-names was substantially more reliable.

<sup>22</sup> EPNS 38:208.

<sup>23</sup> EPNS 17:142.

<sup>24</sup> Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, p. 103; Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 47; Whitelock, *English Historical Documents c.500-1042*, p. 402.

<sup>25</sup> Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 53.

<sup>26</sup> R. Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1858), p. 35; E. Young, 'The Anglo-Saxon Family Law', in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law* ed. H. Adams (Boston, 1876), pp. 121-182 (p. 169).

<sup>27</sup> A. Fischer, *Engagement, Wedding, and Marriage in Old English* (Heidelberg, 1986), p. 42.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> T.N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth* (Oxford, 1898), p. 475.

<sup>30</sup> Fischer comments, 'BT (Sense 1) wrongly quotes Law Ine 31 as evidence' (*Engagement, Wedding, and Marriage*, p. 41).

<sup>31</sup> Fischer, *Engagement, Wedding, and Marriage*, p. 41.

<sup>32</sup> Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, I, 200, s.v. *gift*.

<sup>33</sup> EPNS 31:11-12.

APPENDIX A

**OE *morgengifu*: a selection of minor names and field-names**

(Place-names italicised are no longer in use.)

- Morgay Farm, Sussex (EPNS 7:519)  
*Morgeve*, Sussex (EPNS 7:519)  
*Morniffehaghe*, Sussex (EPNS 7:519)  
*Morghyumear*, Sussex (EPNS 7:519)  
*le Moryueufeld*, Surrey (EPNS 7:520 n.1)  
*atte Morghiue*, Hampshire (EPNS 7:520 n.1)  
*le Moryivegarston*, Surrey (EPNS 11:360)  
Moor Farm, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Moriyenesfeld*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Morghynelond*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Morithynelond*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Morghyuafeld*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Morgenescroft*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*le Morewegenefanne*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Morkynlese*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Moregeuegroue*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Mor(y)uecroft*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Marygewe*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Moryewyscroft*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*le moreweve Dane*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Moreves-*, *Morywesclose*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Moreyngcrofte*, Essex (EPNS 12:276)  
*Moryff(s)*, Essex (EPNS 23:xlviiii)  
*Morleland*, Essex (EPNS 23:xlviiii)  
Marraway, Warwickshire (EPNS 13:224)  
Morrif, Warwickshire (EPNS 13:354)  
*Moryeugrene*, Hertfordshire (EPNS 15:255)  
*Morwywecroft*, Wiltshire (EPNS 16:428)  
*le Moregewe*, Cambridgeshire (EPNS 19:339)  
*Moryevecroft*, Cambridgeshire (EPNS 19:339)

- Morughyenewode*, Oxfordshire (EPNS 23:47)  
*Litel Morweyefehay*, Dorset (EPNS 59/60:273)  
*Muchel Morweyefehay*, Dorset (EPNS 59/60:273)  
*? Litelmorowlese*, Dorset (EPNS 59/60:273)  
The Murray, Shropshire (not yet covered by EPNS)  
Black Morray, Shropshire (not yet covered by EPNS)



Maidencombe (EPNS 9:460-1) mægden (genitive plural) + cumb	Minor
Matford House (EPNS 9:496) mægðe or mægð (genitive plural: if <i>mægð</i> ) + ford	Habitation
Maiden Down (EPNS 9:614) mægden + ? dun	Minor
Maidenhayne (EPNS 9:647) ? mægden + ? hægen	Minor
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	
Maidford (EPNS 10:41) mægden (genitive plural) + ford	Parish
Maidwell (EPNS 10:117) mægden (genitive plural) + wella	Parish
SURREY	
Mayford (EPNS 11:158) ? personal name <i>or</i> ? mægð <i>or</i> ? mægðe + ford	Minor
Maybury (EPNS 11:161) ? mægð + ? byrig	Minor
Maiden Lands (EPNS 11:386) ? mægden + land	Field
<i>Maydenhawe</i> (EPNS 11:386) ? mægden + ? haga	Field
ESSEX	
Maidenburgh St. (EPNS 12:371; 23:xlix)	Street



mægden (genitive plural) + burh

Maid's Wood (EPNS 12:433)

Minor

? mægden (genitive singular) + ? wudu

Maidens (EPNS 12:484)

Minor

? mægden (genitive singular) + ? croft

Maydeneponte (EPNS 12:575)

Field/Minor

? mægden (? genitive plural) + pont

Madenlond (EPNS 12:597)

Field

mægden + lond

Ridden Mead (EPNS 12:609)

Field

mægden (genitive plural) + ryden

Maid Martens (EPNS 12:617)

Field

? mægð

## WARWICKSHIRE

Maidens Bower (EPNS 13:74)

Minor

? mægden + ? burh

*Madens Croft* (EPNS 13:74)

Minor

? mægden (genitive singular) + croft

May's Hill (EPNS 13:246)

Minor

? mægð + ? hyll

Maydeslane (EPNS 13:330)

Field/Minor

mægden (genitive singular) + lane

Maidens Meadow (EPNS 13:348)

Field/Minor

? mægden (? genitive singular) + ? mæd

May Meadow (EPNS 13:370) ? mægð + ? mæd	Field
Maidenborough (EPNS 13:380) ? mægden + ? burh, bearu or beorg	Field
EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE	
Maiden's Grave (EPNS 14:112) ? mægden (? genitive singular) + ? graf or græfe	Minor
HERTFORDSHIRE	
Maiden Spring (EPNS 15:18) ? mægden + ? spring	Minor
Maidenscrouch Farm (EPNS 15:93) ? mægden (genitive singular) + crouche	Minor
Maydenstret (EPNS 15:146) mægden + ? stræt or ME stret(e)	Street
Maidens Balk (EPNS 15:267) (mægden) + ? balca	Field/Minor
Maiden Croft (EPNS 15:272) ? mægden + croft	Field
May Croft (EPNS 15:276) ? mægð + croft	Field
<i>Mayefeld</i> (EPNS 15:276) ? mægð + feld	Field
May Croft (EPNS 15:304) ? mægð + croft	Field

Mays Hill (EPNS 15:304) ? mægden (genitive singular) + hyll	Field
WILTSHIRE	
Maidford (EPNS 16:72) ? mægþe or ? mægþ + ford	Minor
Madbrook Farm (EPNS 16:150) ? mægð	Minor
Maiden Bradley (EPNS 16:172) Affix: ME maiden (Bradley, renamed after nuns of Amesbury)	Parish
Maddington (EPNS 16:233; 17:xl) ME maiden (genitive plural) + tun	Parish
<i>Meidenestrete</i> (EPNS 16:299) mægden (genitive plural) + stræt	Street
Maydenewelle (EPNS 16:450) ? mægden (genitive plural) + ? wella	Field/Minor
Madcroft (EPNS 16:496) ? mægð + croft	Field
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	
Maiden Lane (EPNS 17:18) ? mægden + lane	Street
Maidenweie (EPNS 17:293) mægden + weg	Minor
Maiden Croft (EPNS 17:311) ? mægden + croft	Field

MIDDLESEX

Mad Bridge (EPNS 18:22) Minor  
mæd or ? mægden + brycg

Maidens Bridge (EPNS 18:75) Minor  
? mægden + brycg

York Rd (EPNS 18:127) Street  
? mægden + ? lane

Maiden Lane (EPNS 18:180) Street  
? mægden + ? lane

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

*Maidenburyhill* (EPNS 19:29; 19:lix) Unknown  
? mægden + burh

*Maidenburge* (EPNS 19:39) Unknown  
mægden (genitive plural) + burh

Maids' Causeway (EPNS 19:46-47) Street  
? maid (genitive plural)

*Maydenbury* (EPNS 19:314) Minor  
mægden + burh

*Maydenelode* (EPNS 19:335) Field/Minor  
? mægden + (ge)lad

*Maidlode* (EPNS 19:335) Field/Minor  
? mægden + (ge)lad

ISLE OF ELY

Maiden Stile Farm (EPNS 19:258) Minor

? mægden

CUMBERLAND

*Maydane Cross* (EPNS 20:69) Field

? mægden + cros, sic

*Maiden Lane* (EPNS 20:231) Street

? mægden + lane

Maidenhill (EPNS 20:232) Minor

? mægden + ? hyll

Maidencastle (EPNS 20:255-6; 22:lxxix) Minor

mægden + castel

Mawbray (EPNS 21:296) Habitation

mæge (genitive plural) + burh

Maiden Castle (EPNS 21:392) Minor

? mægden + castel

Maiden Castle (EPNS 21:414) Field

mægden + castel

OXFORDSHIRE

Maidens (EPNS 23:208) Field

? mægden

Maiden's Hill Ground (EPNS 23:223) Field

? mægden + hyll

Maiden Bower (EPNS 24:249) Minor

mægden + ? burh

Maydenberrow (EPNS 24:356) Field

mægden (genitive plural) + b(e)org

DERBYSHIRE

May Ford (EPNS 27:51) Field  
? mægden + ford

Maiden Stones (EPNS 27:117) Field  
? mægden + ? stan

Maiden Green (EPNS 27:122) Field  
? mægden

Meadenfield Side (EPNS 27:182) Field  
? mægden or medume + ? feld

Maidens Hillock (EPNS 28:242) Field  
? mægden + ? hylloc

*Maydenes greue* (EPNS 28:259) Field  
mægden (genitive singular) + græfe

Maidinless Pingle (EPNS 28:383) Field  
mægden (genitive singular) + læs, pingel

Maiden's Croft (EPNS 28:392) Field  
? mægden (genitive singular) + croft

Maidenesgroue (EPNS 28:421) Field  
mægden (genitive singular) + graf

Maidensley Farm (EPNS 29:561) Minor  
? mægden (? genitive singular) + ? leah

Maiden Dale (EPNS 29:600) Field  
? mægden + ? dæl

Maiden Meadow (EPNS 29:618) ? mægden + ? mæd	Field
WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE	
Meadow Hall (EPNS 30:187) ? personal name <i>or</i> mægden <i>or</i> mæg + haugr	Minor
Mayfield House, May House (EPNS 30:200) May <i>or</i> mæge + hus	Minor
Maiden Stones (EPNS 32:64) mægden + stan	Minor
Maden Pasture (EPNS 32:184) ? mægden	Minor
May Royd (EPNS 32:189) ? Personal name May <i>or</i> mæge <i>or</i> maye + rod	Minor
<i>Maydencroft</i> (EPNS 32:254) mægden + croft	Field
<i>Maiden Castle</i> (EPNS 33:70-71; 33:xi) mægden + castel	Minor
Maiden Moor Hill (EPNS 33:178) mægden + mor	Minor
Maidenkirk (EPNS 34:74) mægden + kirkja	Minor
Maiden Flatt (EPNS 34:171) ? mægden	Field
Maiden Craggs (EPNS 34:210) ? mægden	Minor

Maiden Gill (EPNS 34:219) Minor  
? mægden

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

*Meidecliuum* (EPNS 38:29) Field  
? mægð (genitive plural) + clif

Maiden Croft (EPNS 38:40) Field  
? mægden + croft

Maiden Hill (EPNS 38:94) Field  
mægden + hyll

*Mawdelen mede* (EPNS 38:113) Field  
? mægðe or mægð (probably mægðe) + wella

Maydes Castle (EPNS 38:233) Field  
mægden (genitive) + castel

Maidenhill Farm (EPNS 38:247) Minor  
mægden (genitive plural) + hyll

Maiden Ashes (EPNS 39:19) Field  
? mægden

Madgroue (EPNS 39:81) Field  
? mægð + ? græfe or ? graf

Maidenhorn (EPNS 39:107) Field  
? mægden + horn

Maydenewelle (EPNS 39:119) Field  
mægden + wella

Maid hill (EPNS 39:155) Field  
mægden + hyll



Maiden Hill (EPNS 39:190) mægden + hyll	Minor
Matford Bridge (EPNS 39:207-8) ? mægð + ford	Minor
Madwall (EPNS 40:18) ? mægden + ? wella	Field
Matford (EPNS 40:27) ? mægð + ford	Field
the Maid's Retreat (EPNS 40:66) ? mægð	Field
Madbridge (EPNS 40:110) ? mægð + brycg	Field
Winterbourne (EPNS 40:123) Affix: mægden	Parish
<i>Maydenham</i> (EPNS 40:136) mægden + hamm	Field
<i>le Mayden pole</i> (EPNS 40:172) mægden + pol	Field
Maidenham (EPNS 40:222) ? mægden + ? ham or ? hamm	Minor
<i>Mayden Bench hill</i> (EPNS 40:224) mægden + benc	Field
Maiden Hall (EPNS 40:253) ? mægden	Minor

WESTMORLAND

Maiden Way (EPNS 42:19; 43:126) mægden + gata, weg	Road
Maiden Acre (EPNS 42:35) ? mægden + ? æcer	Field
Rigmaden Farm (EPNS 42:51) mægden (genitive singular) + hryggr	Minor
Maiden Holme (EPNS 42:193) ? mægden + holmr	Island
Maiden Castle (EPNS 43:71-72) mægden + castel	Roman fort
Maiden-hold (EPNS 43:102) mægden + hald	Field
<i>Maiden Castle</i> (EPNS 43:119) mægden + castel	Minor
Maborough Castle (EPNS 43:119) mæge + burh	Field
Maiden reign (EPNS 43:143) ? mægden + rein	Field
Maidinrig (EPNS 43:187) mægden + hrycg	Field
Mayburgh (EPNS 43:205) mæge + burh	Minor

**CHESHIRE**

Madcroft Wood (EPNS 44:56) ? mægð or mæd + croft	Minor
Mad Cross (EPNS 44:87) ? mægð + cros	Field
Madbrook (EPNS 45:41) ? mægð	Field
Maidenis Lone (EPNS 45:85) mægden (genitive singular) + lane	Field
Maiden's Hatch (EPNS 45:302) mægden + hæc(c)	Field
Maiden's Wood (EPNS 45:302) mægden + wudu	Field
Maidin's Wood (EPNS 45:319) mægden + ? wudu	Field
Maiden's Cross (EPNS 46:216) mægden + cros	Stone cross
Maiden's Cross (EPNS 46:220) mægden + cros	Stone cross
Maydenfield (EPNS 46:284) mægden + feld	Field
Madynsfild (EPNS 46:294) mægden + feld	Field
Maiden Castle (EPNS 47:4; 47:xi)	Iron-age hill- fort

mægden + castel

Maidens Meadow (EPNS 47:56) Field  
mægden + ? mæd

## BERKSHIRE

Madgrove (EPNS 49:35) Field  
? mægð + ? graf *or* græfe

Maiden's Green (EPNS 49:40) Minor  
? mægden

Maydewell (EPNS 49:52) Field  
mægden + wella

Maidenhead (EPNS 49:53) Parish  
mægden (genitive plural) + hyð

Maiden Field (EPNS 49:102) Field  
? mægden + ? feld

Maiden Hatch (EPNS 49:167) Minor  
? personal name *or* ? mægden + hæc(c)

Maidencourt Farm (EPNS 50:330-1) Minor  
mægden (genitive plural) + cot(e)

Maiden Hill (EPNS 50:332) Field  
? mægden + ? hyll

Maiden Well (EPNS 50:382) Minor  
? mægden + ? wella

Maydeneford' (EPNS 50:411) Field  
mægden (genitive plural) + ford

Maydecroft (EPNS 50:425) Field  
mægden (genitive singular) + croft

Maideford (EPNS 50:453) Field  
mægðe or mægð + ford

Maiden Down (EPNS 50:484) Field  
? mægden + ? dun

Maiden Down (EPNS 50:500) Field  
? mægden + ? dun

Maiden Downs (EPNS 50:512) Field  
? mægden + ? dun

mægþeforda (EPNS 51:732; 51:733 n.26) Minor  
mægðe or mægð + ford

## DORSET

Maidenwelleforlong (EPNS 52:70) Field  
mægden + wella, furlang

Maiden's Grave Gate (EPNS 52:105) Minor  
? mægden + uncertain

Maiden Plant (EPNS 52:126) Minor  
mægden + uncertain

Matford Md (EPNS 52:137) Field  
mæð or mægð + ford

Maiden Hill (EPNS 52:236) Field  
? mægden + ? hyll

Maiden St. (EPNS 52:253) Street  
mægden + stret

Maidenford Weir, -Water (EPNS 52:279) Minor  
 mægden + ford

Maiden Castle (EPNS 52:377) Minor  
 mægden + castel

Lush's Farm (EPNS 59/60:174) Minor  
 mægden (genitive singular) + hol

*Maydencroft* (EPNS 59/60:174) ? Field  
 mægden (genitive plural) + croft

Maidenwell (EPNS 59/60:329) Field  
 mægden + wella

Maiden Newton (not covered by EPNS) Parish  
 Affix: mægden (genitive plural)

#### STAFFORDSHIRE

Maiden's Oak (EPNS 55:31) Minor  
 ? mægden + ? ac

*Maydon medow* (EPNS 55:48) Field  
 mægden + mæd

Maideleye (EPNS 55:65) Field  
 mægden + leah

#### LINCOLNSHIRE

*maydenland* (EPNS 58:184) Field  
 mægden + land

*mayden Acres* (EPNS 66:30) Field  
 mægden + æcer

? West Rasen Bridge (EPNS 66:117) mægden, translated into Latin (genitive plural) + brycg, translated into Latin	Bridge
Maidenwell (not covered by EPNS) Affix: mægden	Habitation
RUTLAND	
<i>Matcroft</i> (EPNS 67:88) mægðe or mægden + croft	Field
KENT	
Maidstone (not covered by EPNS) ? mægð or ? mægden (? genitive plural) + ? stan	Hundred
Maydensole Farm (not covered by EPNS) mægden + ? sol or ? hol	Minor
<i>Medshall</i> (not covered by EPNS) mægden (genitive singular) + hyll	Minor