

The Old English *hagusteald* as the First Element of the Place-Names “Hexham” and “Hestercombe”

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論文要旨

本論は、地名HexhamとHestercombeの前半の構成要素である *hagusteald* という語（古英語期（700-1100）のみの語、以後廃語）に関する、綴り字上の研究に基づく、語源学・語義発達論的論考である。HexhamはHagustaldensis（Bede『教会史』ラテン語版）、Heagostealdes ea（Bedeの『教会史』古英語版）、Hagustaldes ea、Hagustaldesham（『アングロ・サクソン年代記』）と綴られていた。写本間、テキスト間の文献学的研究により、Hagustald-という形が原綴りであるということが判明する。Heagosteald-（Bedeの古英語版『教会史』）は、第一音節の母音が二重母音化しており、原綴りではないが、それに近い形ということになる。『アングロ・サクソン年代記』のHagustaldes eaという綴りこそ、この地名が出てくる最古の文献であるBedeのラテン語版『教会史』（737年頃の写本）における綴りと語幹部が一致するものであり、原綴りを留めているものと考えられる。また、それはeaという語を伴うことによって、この地名の、そして *hagusteald* という語の原義を伝えるものと判断される。この地名が伝える意味情報は、“囲い地の住人、すなわち、相続財産がないので、世襲財産や村の外で自らの小作地を確保せざるを得ない次男以下の息子の住む川（ea）”，である。実際Hexhamには川が流れている。川を意味するeaが後に-ham“村”に変わったのがHagustaldeshamであり、

これが現代のHexhamの元となった。HestercombeはHegstealdcumbeと綴られていた(『土地譲渡証書1819』)。前半部はhagustealdに由来するのであるが、第一要素の単音節化により、原綴りとかなりかけ離れたものになっている。とはいえ、原義を辿ることはできる。“囲い地の住人、すなわち、相続財産がなく、世襲財産や村の外で自らの小作地を確保せざるを得ない次男以下の息子(hegsteald=hagusteald)の住む谷間(-cumbe)”である。このように、地名に残された原綴りを調査し、その地名の意味を考察することによって、hagustealdという語の原義を辿ることができるのである。

The word *hagusgteald* was in current use only in the Old English period; we cannot find the word in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It is a compound of *haga*, meaning “a place fenced in, haw, enclosure”, and *-steald*, meaning “dweller, owner”,¹⁾ the original meaning of the word, therefore, being “an owner of the place fenced in”, which is a small piece of land insufficient to maintain a household. From the original sense had developed the senses “unmarried man”,²⁾ “youth”, “warrior” and “virgin” in the Old English literature.

The present writer has already discussed the Old English *hagusteald* occurring as a place-name element,³⁾ and has illustrated 16 instances—13 instances in *Hagustaldes ea*, which later became *Hagustaldesham* “Hexham”, and 3 instances of *Hegstealdcumbe* “Hestercombe”. Through the latest researches, however, he has

1) Cf. Old English *stealdan* “to possess”, Gothic *ga-staldan* “to possess, gain”.

2) Cf. Modern German *Hagestolz* “old bachelor”.

3) Tamoto, Kenichi (2000), “Semasiological Development of the OE *hagusteald* (1)”, *Civilization 21*, No. 5 (Toyohashi: Association for International Communication, Aichi University, October 2000). Tamoto, Kenichi (2000), *The Old English Words Rendering Virgo, Virginitas, and Puella in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels: Their Semasiological Background in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Dissertation, Sophia University, 2000).

found that he failed to notice 9 more instances, all of which occur in the Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*,⁴⁾ and he has also found out further semasiological significance of the evidence of the word *hagusteald* employed as an element of those place-names. The chief aim of the present article is therefore to discuss the 9 additional instances in connection with all the other 16 instances of the place-name element *hagusteald*, and to consider the contribution of the researches in the place-names with *hagusteald* to the etymological or semasiological study of the word *hagusteald*. The literary materials for the present research are:

1. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*
2. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
3. Charter 1819, Grants of Land in Somerset

All the instances treated in the present article occur in the above three works.

1. Hexham in Bede

Bede finished his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* in 731, when he was 59 years old. The work was so popular all over western Europe in the Middle Ages that as many as 160 manuscripts have survived to this day. Its popularity naturally led to the composition of its English version as early as the second half of the 9th century. The work of translation is not by King Alfred himself, but is associated with the king.

The editions used for the present research are as follows:

The Latin version

Edition: Colgrave, Bertram and R. A. B. Mynors (1969), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1969, repr. 1992)

The Old English version

Edition: Miller, Thomas, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, EETS. OS 95, 96, 110 and 111 (London, 1890, 1891, 1898 and 1898; repr. 1978, 1978,

4) All the 9 instances are included in the Appendix of the present article.

1988 and 1988)

Short Title: Bede

The short title of the work follows *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (abbreviated to *MCOE* hereafter).⁵⁾

A brief mention should be made of the manuscripts used for the above texts. Concerning the Latin version, the older manuscripts have traditionally been classified into two text-types; the C-type and the M-type. The Latin text edited by Colgrave and Mynors follows the M-type, with variants of the C-type given in the notes.⁶⁾ The main manuscript of the M-type is Kk. 5. 16 in the University Library, Cambridge,⁷⁾ which was written "in Northumbria in or soon after the year 737".⁸⁾ It has been pointed out that this text-type, as will be discussed later in the following section, was also used by the northern writers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.⁹⁾ The Latin manuscript consulted by the author of the Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* has been considered to belong to the C-type, the main manuscript of which is Cotton Tiberius C. II in the British Museum, London, written in Southern England in the second half of the eighth century.¹⁰⁾ The Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* is preserved in 6 manuscripts. Miller's edition

5) Healey, Antonette Di Paolo and Richard L. Venezky (1980), *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English: The Lists of Text and Index of Editions*, Publications of the Dictionary of Old English 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto 1980, repr. 1985).

6) Colgrave and Mynors (1969), p. xli.

7) The MS is known as the Moore Bede; it had been preserved in the library of John Moore, bishop of Ely, before it was given to Cambridge in 1715 (Colgrave and Mynors (1969), p. xliii). For the details of the history of the Moore Bede, see Blair, Peter Hunter and Roger A. B. Mynors, *The Moore Bede: Cambridge University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. 9 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger 1959), pp. 24-32.

8) Colgrave and Mynors (1969), p. xli.

9) *Ibid.*, pp. xviii and xli.

10) *Ibid.*, p. xlii; Bately, Jannet, *The Tanner Bede: The Old English Version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica*, Oxford Bodleian Library Tanner 10, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. 24 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger 1992), p. 11.

follows MS T, or Tanner 10 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ker, No. 351) as its base,¹¹⁾ complemented with readings from the other manuscripts where it is defective.¹²⁾ MS T was written by five contemporary scribes about the middle of the first half of the tenth century.¹³⁾

In the Latin version the place-name Hexham occurs 13 times. It is consistently spelled *Hagustaldens*, and occurs in the oblique case, followed or preceded by the noun *ecclesia* “church”, as illustrated in the following passage:

In quo uidelicet loco consuetudinem multo iam tempore fecerant fratres Hagustaldensis ecclesiae, quae non longe abest, aduenientes omni anno pridie quam postea idem rex Osuald occisus est, uigilias pro salute animae eius facere, plurimaque psalmodum laude celebrata, uictimam pro eo mane sacrae oblationis offerre.

[To this place the brethren of the church at Hexham, not far away, have long made it their custom to come every year, on the day before that on which King Oswald was killed, to keep vigil there for the benefit of his soul, to sing many psalms of praise, and, next morning, to offer up the holy sacrifice and oblation on his behalf.]

(Book III, Chapter 2, p. 216, l. 11)¹⁴⁾

The Old English version, however, does not include the passage corresponding to the above Latin passage. Neither does the Old English version have the passages corresponding to those of the

11) The previous note refers to the facsimile edition of the manuscript by Bately.

12) Miller (1890–98), pp. xiii–xx; Bately (1992), p. 12. The other five manuscripts are as follows (quoted from Wenisch (1979), p. 46): Z=Cotton Domitian IX, f. 11 (Ker, No. 151, art.1: “s. X in.”); C=Cotton Otho B. XI+Otho B. X (Ker, No. 180, art 1: “s. X med.”); O=Oxford, CCC279, pt. II (Ker, No. 354: “s. XI in.”); B=CCCC41 (Ker, No. 32, art. 1: “s. XI”); Ca=Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Kk. 3. 18 (Ker, No. 23: “s. XI²”).

13) Miller (1890–98), p. xiii; Ker (1957), p. 428.

14) The Latin instances are cited by book, chapter, page and line numbers, following the edition of Colgrave and Mynors, and English translation is also quoted from the edition. The underline is by the present writer.

Latin text at Book IV, Chapter 28, p. 438, l. 9 (*Hagustaldensis ecclesiae*), and at Book IV, Chapter 28, p. 438, l. 13 (*ecclesiae Hagustaldensis*), as illustrated in the Appendix added at the end of the present article.

It follows, therefore, that 10 out of the 13 instances of *Hagustaldensis* found in the Latin version occur in the Old English form in the Old English version. Book III, Chapter 3 of the Latin text includes the following passage:

Quidam de fratribus eiusdem Hagustaldensis ecclesiae, nomine Bothelm, qui nunc usque superest, ante paucos annos, dum incautius forte noctu in glacie incederet, repente corruens brachium contriuit,

[One of the brothers of the church of Hexham who is still living, named Bothelm, a few years ago was walking incautiously on the ice by night when he suddenly fell and broke his arm.]

(Book III, Chapter 3, p. 216, l. 24)

Here the *Hagustaldens* is in the feminine singular genitive form, *Hagustaldensis*, corresponding to *ecclesiae*. Its equivalent in the Old English version is *Agostaldes éa*, as illustrated below:

Wæs sum Godes þeow of þæm broðrum þære cirican æt Agostaldes éa, þæs noma wæs Bothelm. Ða eode he sume neahte on ise unwærlice, þa gefeoll he semninga on his earm ufan, 7 þone swiðe geðræste 7 gebræc,

[There was a servant of God among the brethren of the church at Hexham, whose name was Bothelm. He was walking one night on the ice incautiously and suddenly fell upon his arm, violently bruising and fracturing it.]

(Bede 3, 1.156.16)¹⁵

The *Agostaldes* is a variant of *Hagostald*, with the initial “h” lost.¹⁶

15) The Old English instances are cited by book, chapter, page and line numbers, following the edition of Miller, and Modern English translation is also quoted from the edition. Underlines are by the present writer.

16) The present writer confirmed occurrence of this unusual form with Batley’s facsimile edition. The variant *Hagostald* is not recorded in the *MCOE*, but as shown in the Appendix, one of the variants of the instance at Bede 4, 24.334.28 is *hagostaldes ea*.

It is in the genitive case, as in all the other 9 instances, and it modifies the noun *ea*, which signifies "stream". Therefore, the place-name was originally *Hagustaldes ea*, meaning "the *hagustald*'s stream", and it referred to the stream at Hexham. Eckwall states that it was "later refashioned to *Hagustaldes hām*", which will be illustrated later in the next section.

The following passage quoted from the Old English version includes another instance of the place-name with its initial consonant "h" lost:¹⁷⁾

Dy ylcan gere wæs towestnis 7 unsib geworden betweoh Ecgfrīð cyning 7 þone árwyrdan biscop Wilferð. 7 se ilca biscop wæs ascofen 7 adriften of his biscopseðle, ond twegen biscopas on his stówe gesette, þa ðe Norðanhymbra þeode fore wæron, þæt wæs Boosa, se styrde Dera mægðe, 7 Eata Beornicea. Hæfde Bosa in Eoforwiicceastre seðle, ond Eata in Eagostaldes ea 7 in Lindisfaraona ea: wæron heo begen of munuchade in biscophad gecorene.

[In the same year there arose dissension and discord between king Ecgfrith and the venerable bishop Wilfrid. And the bishop was thrust out and expelled from his see, and two bishops put in his place to be over Northumbria, namely Bosa, who directed the province of Deira, as Eata did Bernicia. Bosa had his seat at York, Eata at Hexham and Lindisfarne: both were taken from a monk's life to become bishops.]

(Bede 4, 16.300.8)

Here the Old English place-name is spelled *Eagostaldes ea*, the first vowel of which is diphthongized.

The predominant form is *Heagost(e)aldes ea*. It occurs 7 times; 6 times as *Heagostealdes ea* (at 4.16.300.20, 4.24.334.28, 5.2.386.28, 5.2.388.4, 5.18.466.4, 5.22.478.26) and once as *Heagostaldes ea* (at 5.3.390.24). An instance will suffice for illustration of the predominant form:

Ond he ða eac swylce æfter þrim gearum Wilferðes onweggewitenesse þissa rime twegen biscopas toætecte,

17) The corresponding Latin passage is shown in the Appendix.

Trumberht to cirican Heagostealdes ea—7 Eata hwearf to Lindesfarona ea—7 Trumwine to Peohta mægðe, seo in þa tid wæs Ongolcynrice underþeoded.

[And he also three years after Wilfrid's departure added two bishops to their number, Trumberht for the church at Hexham—while Eata withdrew to Lindisfarne—and Trumwine for the province of the Picts, which at that time was subject to English rule.]

(Bede 4, 16.300.20)

The following passage, which has already been discussed by the present writer, includes an instance of the place-name occurring in a form slightly different from those discussed above:

7 ærest eode in Mailros ðæt mynster, þæt is geseted on ofre Tuidon streames. Ðæt mynster þa heold 7 rihte Eata biscop, se wæs milde wer 7 monðwære, 7 se æfter wæs gewarden biscop in Hægstealdes æ 7 in Lindesfarona æ, swa swa we beforan gemyngodon.

[And first he went into the monastery of Melrose, which lies on the banks of the river Tweed. This monastery was then swayed and directed by bishop Eata, a man of mild and gentle character, who subsequently became bishop at Hexham and Lindisfarne, as already mentioned.]

(Bede 4, 28.360.31)

Here the first element of the place-name is *Hæg-*; it is monosyllabic, with a flat vowel *æ*. In all the other instances, however, it consists of two syllables—*Ago-*, *Eago-* or *Heago-*.

To sum up, the Old English version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* contains 10 instances of the place-name *Hagustald*. 9 of them were overlooked by the present writer in his previous articles, and they have been discussed in this section as additional instances. *Hagustaldens* is the only form of this place-name in the Latin text, the main manuscript of which was written in Northumbria in or soon after the year 737. Northumbria includes the place where Bede worked, and he completed his *Historia Ecclesiastica* in the year 731—only about six years later the manuscript was copied. *Heagost(e)aldes* is the predominant form of the place-name in the

Old English version; it is used by scribes 1, 2 and 4 of MS T, which is the main manuscript, and also by the scribe of MS Ca (twice). Scribe 1 of MS T also used the forms *Agostaldes* and *Eagostaldes*, occurring once respectively. An unusual form with a monosyllabic first element, *Hægstealdes*, is the form employed by scribe 3 of MS T. It is unusual in MS T, but found also in MS B, where the predominant form is *Hægestealdes*. MS B is later than MS T. Scribes of the other manuscripts, i.e. MSS C, O, and Ca, use *Heagost(e)aldes*, which is the predominant form in MS T.

2. Hexham in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

The place-name Hexham occurs also in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Its instances are found in two of the six texts adopted by the *MCOE*.¹⁸⁾ Bibliographical information about the two manuscripts and their editions is as follows:

Text D (The Worcester Chronicle):

Manuscript: British Museum, Cotton Tiberius B iv (Ker No. 192), copied "about 1050 from a lost original, and continued at some place in the West Midlands, probably Worcester, up to 1079".¹⁹⁾

Edition: Classen, E. and F. E. Harmer (1926), *An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from British Museum, Cotton MS., Tiberius B. IV* (Manchester: the University Press 1926)

Short Title: ChronD (Classen- Harm)

Text E (The Laud (Peterborough) Chronicle):

Manuscript: Bodleian, Laud Misc. 636 (Ker No. 346), written "at Peterborough at various dates in the twelfth century from 1121 to 1154".²⁰⁾

Edition: Plummer, Charles (1892–99), *Two of the Saxon*

18) There are nine extant manuscripts of the work.

19) Ker (1957), pp. 253–54; Garmonsway, George N. (trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: J.M.Dent & Sons Ltd 1972, rep. 1990; first published in Everyman's Library in 1953), p. xxxv.

20) Ker (1957), p. 424–25; Garmonsway (1972), p. xxxvii.

Chronicles, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1892–99)

Short Title: ChronE (Plummer)

In the above two texts the place-name Hexham occurs 12 times. The following account of the year 685 proves the occurrence of one of its instances:

685. Her hæst Ecgferð cining gehalgian Cuðberht to biscope. & Theodorus archiepisopus hine gehalgode on Eoforwic þam forman Eastor dæge to biscope to Hagustaldesham. For þam Trumbriht wæs adon of ðam biscopdome.

[685. In this year king Ecgrith had Cuthbert consecrated bishop, and archbishop Theodore consecrated him bishop of Hexham at York on the first day of Easter, for Trumberht had been removed from the episcopal see.]

(ChronE (Plummer) 685.1)²¹⁾

Here the place-name is spelled as *Hagustaldesham*, with *-hām* “village” as its last element. According to Ekwall, it is a later form refashioned from the original *Hagustaldes ēa*.²²⁾ This is the only instance of the form *Hagustaldesham* that the present writer has found in the Old English literature.

In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the place-name Hexham is referred to as *Hagustaldesham*, which is closer to the modern form, but it occurs only once; 9 instances of the name occur with the original *ea* as its last element, and the other two without the *ea*. The following table shows the distribution of the instances:²³⁾

ChronD (Classen-Harm)	ChronE (Plummer)
	681.1 <i>Hagustaldes ea</i>
	685.1 <i>Hagustaldesham</i> ²⁴⁾
766.1.1 <i>Hagustaldesee</i>	766.1 <i>Hagustaldes ee</i>

21) Instances are cited by year following the edition (the *MCOE*'s editorial policy followed); long entries are also cited by line number assigned by DOE, following lineation of the edition. An underline is by the present writer.

22) Ekwall (1960), p. 237.

23) The year and the line number are followed by the form of the name.

24) Plummer (1892–99, vol. 1, p. 38, note 8) points out a variant in MS F, *Hagustaldes ea*.

<i>Hagustaldesee</i>	<i>Hagustaldes ee</i>
780.1.1 <i>Hagustaldesee</i>	780.1 <i>Hagstd ee</i> ²⁵⁾
789.1.1 <i>Hagustaldesee</i>	789.1 <i>Hagust'd ee</i>
806.1.1 <i>Hagestaldes</i>	806.1 <i>Hagusteald</i>

Text D does not contain the accounts for the years 681 and 685. *Hagestaldes* (ChronD) or *Hagusteald* (ChronE) of the year 806 is not followed by *ea*, but by the word *biscop*. It may be a corruption of *Hagustaldes ea*, employed as its equivalent to modify *biscop*: and Eanberht *Hagestaldes* *biscop* forðferde "and Eanberht, bishop of Hexham, passed away" (ChronD 806.1.1). Finally, our attention may specially be called to the form of the first element of the place-name, *Hagustaldes(-)*; the scribes of both manuscripts were consistent in its spelling. As discussed in the previous section, *Hagustald-* is the stem form which consistently occurs in the Latin version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The Latin edition used for the present research follows the M-type text, and it has been pointed out that the compilers of the northern texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which includes Texts D and E, used the M-type text.²⁶⁾ Therefore, it is highly probable that the form *Hagustaldes(-)* employed by the scribes of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reflects the influence of the spelling of the place-name in the M-type text of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

3. Hestercombe, occurring in Charter 1819

The first element of the place-name Hestercombe in Taunton,

25) Plummer (1892–99, vol. 1, p. 52, note 11) states, "Sic MS. Without mark of contraction. Cf. F".

26) Colgrave (1969), p. xli. Garmonsway (1972) states that "the northern scribes, in contrast to those of manuscripts A, B, and C, were not content merely to copy out and continue the Wessex exemplar, but chose to check its veracity and to add to its range by reference to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, . . ." (pp. xxxv–xxxvi), and that "Although E had used the same northern adaptation of the Alfredian chronicle to 891 as D, it differed from it in making no use of the 'first Wessex continuation' (to 924) or the *Mercian Register* . . ." (p. xxxvii).

Somersetshire, is also derived from the Old English *hagusteald*. The latter element *-combe* or *cumb*, which survives in modern English as *comb(e)* or *coomb(e)*, is a borrowing from Celtic *cumbo-* “valley”, and it meant “a narrow valley”.²⁷⁾ The place-name, therefore, originally denoted “a narrow valley of the *hagusteald*”; the valley must have been inhabited by “a younger son who had no share in the village, but had to take up a holding for himself outside”.²⁸⁾

Three instances of the place-name are found; all occur in one Old English document relating to grants at Ruishton and Hestercombe. The edition used for the present research is:

Edition: Turner, A. G. C. (1953), “Some Old English Passages Relating to the Episcopal Manor of Taunton”, *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, Vol. 98, pp. 118–26 (Taunton: Goodman & Son, Ltd. 1955)
Short Title: Ch 1819 (Turner)

One of the instances occur in the following context:

7 þæt land æt Hegstealdcumbe Esne bisceop lende his mæge Wynsie on þa gerad þe ealle þa gerihta eodon into ðere stowe þe þæt land togebyrað, þæt is Tantun.

[And Bishop Esne leased the estate at Hestercombe to his kinsman Wynsige, on condition that all the dues went to the place to which the land belongs, that is Taunton.]

(Ch 1819 (Turner) 17)²⁹⁾

Here the place-name Hestercombe is spelled as *Hegstealdcumb*e. The other instances are spelled as *Hægestalcumb*, occurring at Ch 1819 (Turner) 72 and at Ch 1819 (Turner) 77. It seems that the former form, *Hegstealdcumb*e, must have been either the original form of the place-name or the form closer to the unattested original one, and, therefore, that the latter form, with an extra syllable “-el-” occurring between the first element and the second, is a corruption

27) Smith, A. H., *English Place-Name Elements*, English Place-Name Society, Vol. 25 (Cambridge: University Press 1956), s.v. ‘cumb’.

28) Ekwall (1960), p. 237.

29) Cited by the line number of Turner’s edition. Modern English translation is also quoted from the edition. The underline is by the present writer.

of the former form. The text is found in British Museum, Additional MS. 15350 (folio 27v), which is called the *Codex Wintoniensis*, a cartulary written in the first half of the twelfth century.³⁰⁾ The document itself is dated to about 900.³¹⁾ The form *Hegstealdcumbe*, with its first vowel elevated to the position of “e” and with its monosyllabic first element, *Heg-*, therefore, is the form occurring in the document of later date written in the south.

4. Conclusion

The present paper has dealt with 25 instances of the Old English forms of the place-names Hexham and Hestercombe, which have *hagusteald* as their first element. It occurs as *Hagustald-*, the stem of the place-name Hexham, in the Latin version of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The occurrence of the form *Hagustald-* in the Latin version is significant and indispensable for the orthographical and etymological discussion of the place-name in the Old English texts. It is the form which occurs in the manuscript of the first half of the eighth century, or more precisely probably about the year 737, and it should be regarded as the oldest record of the place-name.

The place-name Hexham occurs 10 times in the Old English Version of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*,³²⁾ and 12 times in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.³³⁾ The predominant form of the place-name in the Old English version of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* is *Heagostealdes ea*; the forms with the first element *Ago-*, *Eago-*, and *Hæg-* also occur, but only once respectively. The form (*H*)*eago-*, with the first vowel diphthongized, is peculiar to the scribes of the manuscripts other than MS B, or probably attributed to the author of the Old English Version of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*. This is not the form

30) Whitelock, Dorothy, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge: University Press 1930), p. 116; Turner (1955), p. 118; Sawyer, P. H., *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society 1968), p. 476.

31) Sawyer (1968), p. 476.

32) Variants in manuscripts are not counted.

33) Variants in MS F are not counted.

of the word used in the M-type text of the Latin version; the Latin exemplar used by the author of the Old English version belongs to the C-type, the main manuscript of which was written in Southern England in the second half of the eighth century. The compilers of the D text and the E text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* spell the place-name as *Hagustald-*. This is the same form as that in the M-type text of the Latin version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Consistent coincidence in the spelling of the word between the M-type text of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the two texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reminds us of Colgrave's following remark, which he owes to Whitelock:³⁴

In the northern recension of the *ASC*, represented by MSS. D and E (F), a northern writer added a considerable amount of Bede's *History* (taken from an *m*-type version) probably about the second half of the tenth century. I owe this information to Professor Dorothy Whitelock.

It may be inferred from what we have discussed that the Latin exemplar used by the compilers of the D text and the E text belonged to the M-type text and they were influenced in their spelling of the place-name by the Latin text.

The place-name Hestercombe occurs 3 times; it occurs only in Charter 1819 (Turner). It is spelled as *Hegstealdcumb* and *Hægelstalcumb*. They are the southern forms of later date.

An old place-name sometimes gives significant and authentic information about the original spelling, or the spelling close to it, and the original meaning of the word preserved as or in the place-name. The Old English *hagusteald* is a typical example of such a word. Its original meaning, "the occupant of an enclosure" or "a younger son without inherited property who secured his own holding outside the patrimony or village",³⁵ cannot be observed in the Old English Literature when the word is used as a common noun. However, as we have discussed, the Old English forms of the place-names Hexham and Hestercombe definitely convey the original

34) Colgrave (1969), p. xviii, n. 1.

35) Smith (1956), Part I, p. 215.

meaning of the word.³⁶⁾

Appendix

Hagustaldes ea in the OE version of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*

The following 9 instances of the Old English place-name *Hagustaldes ea*, which are all found in the Old English version of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*, are added to those cited and discussed in the previous articles of the present writer. The Old English passage follows the corresponding Latin passage. The Latin instances are cited by book, chapter, page and line numbers, following the edition of Colgrave and Mynors, and English translation is also quoted from the edition. The parenthesized information following the underlined place-name concerns occurrence of the word in MS M (Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5. 16). The Old English instances are cited by book, chapter, page and line numbers of the edition of Miller, followed after a semicolon by folio and line numbers in MS T; Modern English translation is also quoted from the edition. Underlines are by the present writer. In the parentheses immediately following the instance of *Hagustaldes ea* are given scribal information and variant readings—scribe I, 2, 3, 4, or 5 (when the instance occurs in MS T), or MS Ca (when MS T is defective and the text follows MS Ca), followed after a semicolon by variants occurring in the other manuscripts.

In quo uidelicet loco consuetudinem multo iam tempore fecerant fratres Hagustaldensis (MS M *hagustaldensis*, folio 45r, l. 26) ecclesiae, quae non longe abest, aduenientes omni anno pridie quam postea idem rex Osuald occisus est, uigilias pro salute animae eius facere, plurimaque psalmorum laude celebrata, uictimam pro eo mane sacrae oblationis offerre.

36) Hildung Bäck states at pages 171–72 of his *The synonyms for “Child”, “Boy”, “Girl” in Old English: An Etymological-Semasiological Investigation* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups Forlag 1934) that “there is no quot in OE literature where the original sense come out clearly but in place-names it can still be seen”. The present writer, however, cannot approve of Bäck’s inferring “retainer” as the original sense. A *hagusteald* must have been in a servile condition, and had to live as a retainer, but it was a state resulted from being a *hagusteald*, “a younger son without inherited property who secured his own holding outside the patrimony or village”.

[To this place the brethren of the church at Hexham, not far away, have long made it their custom to come every year, on the day before that on which King Oswald was killed, to keep vigil there for the benefit of his soul, to sing many psalms of praise, and, next morning, to offer up the holy sacrifice and oblation on his behalf.]

(Book III, Chapter 2, p. 216, l. 11)

The Old English version does not include the sentence corresponding to that in the Latin version.

Quidam de fratribus eiusdem Hagustaldensis (MS M *hagustaldensis*, folio 45v, l. 4) ecclesiae, nomine Bothelm, qui nunc usque superest, ante paucos annos, dum incautius forte noctu in glacie incederet, repente corruens brachium contriuit,

[One of the brothers of the church of Hexham who is still living, named Bothelm, a few years ago was walking incautiously on the ice by night when he suddenly fell and broke his arm.]

(Book III, Chapter 3, p. 216, l. 24)

Wæs sum Godes þeow of þæm broðrum þære cirican æt Agostaldes éa (scribe 1; B *hægstealdes ea*, Ca *heagostealdes*), þæs noma wæs Bothelm. Ða eode he sume neahte on ise unwærlice, þa gefeoll he semninga on his earm ufan, 7 þone swiðe geðræste 7 gebræc,

[There was a servant of God among the brethren of the church at Hexham, whose name was Bothelm. He was walking one night on the ice incautiously and suddenly fell upon his arm, violently bruising and fracturing it,]

(Bede 3, 1.156.16; MS T folio 26r, l. 5)

Quo etiam anno orta inter ipsum regem Ecgfridum et reuerentissimum antistitem Uilfridum dissensione, pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatus, et duo in locum eius substituti episcopi, qui Nordanhymbrorum genti praeessent: Bosa uidelicet, qui Derorum, et Eata, qui Bernicorum prouinciam gubernaret, hic in ciuitate Eboraci, ille in Hagustaldensi (MS M *hagustaldensi*, folio 80v, l. 7) siue in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia cathedram habens episcopalem, ambo de monachorum collegio in episcopatus gradum adsiti.

[In the same year there arose a dissension between King Ecgfrith and the most reverend bishop Wilfrid with the result that the bishop was driven from his see while two bishops were put in his place to rule over the Northumbrian race; one was Bosa, who administered the kingdom of Deira, and the other Eata, who presided over Bernicia. The former had his episcopal see in York and the latter at Hexham or else in Lindisfarne; both of them were promoted to the rank of bishop from a monastic community.]

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(Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 370, l. 10)

Ðy ylcan gere wæs towestnis 7 unsib geworden betweoh Ecgfrīð cyning 7 þone árwyrdan biscop Wilferð. 7 se ilca biscop wæs ascofen 7 adriften of his biscopseðle, ond twegen biscopas on his stówe gesette, þa ðe Norðanhymbra þeode fore wæron, þæt wæs Boosa, se styrde Dera mægðe, 7 Eata Beornicea. Hæfde Bosa in Eoforwicceastre seðle, ond Eata in Eagostaldes ea (scribe 1; B *hægestealdes éa*, C *heago* . . . , O *heagostealdes*, Ca *heagostealdes éa*) 7 in Lindisfarona ea: wæron heo begen of munuchade in biscophad gecorene.

[In the same year there arose dissension and discord between king Ecgfrith and the venerable bishop Wilfrid. And the bishop was thrust out and expelled from his see, and two bishops put in his place to be over Northumbria, namely Bosa, who directed the province of Deira, as Eata did Bernicia. Bosa had his seat at York, Eata at Hexham and Lindisfarne: both were take from a monk's life to become bishops.]

(Bede 4, 16.300.8; MS T folio 85v, l. 10)

qui etiam post tres abscissionis Uilfridi annos horum numero duos addidit antistites: Tunberctum ad ecclesiam Hagustaldensem (MS M *hagustaldensem*, folio 80v, l. 19), remanente Eata ad Lindisfarnensem, et Trumuini ad prouinciam Pictorum, quae tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subiecta.

[Three years after Wilfrid's departure he added two more to their number, Tunberht to the church at Hexham—Eata remaining at Lindisfarne—and Trumwine to the kingdom of the Picts, which at that time was subject to the English.]

(Book IV, Chapter 12, p. 370, l. 24)

Ond he ða eac swylce æfter þrim gearum Wilferðes onweggewitenesse þissa rime twegen biscopas toætecte, Trumberht to cirican Heagostealdes ea (scribe 1; B *hægestealdes*, C *heagostealdes éa*, O *heagostea, des*)—7 Eata hwearf to Lindesfarona ea—7 Trumwine to Pehta mægðe, seo in þa tid wæs Ongolcynrice underteoded.

[And he also three years after Wilfrid's departure added two bishops to their number, Trumberht for the church at Hexham—while Eata withdrew to Lindisfarne—and Trumwine for the province of the Picts, which at that time was subject to English rule.]

(Bede 4, 16.300.20; MS T folio 85v, l. 24)

de ultimis infra dicendum est, quod eorum primus Hagustaldensis (MS M *hagustaldensis*, folio 89v, l. 1), secundus Eboracensis ecclesiae sit ordinatus episcopus.

[of the last two it will later be told that John became bishop of Hexham and Wilfrid, bishop of York.]

(Book IV, Chapter 23, p. 408, l. 27)

Bi þæm neahstan twæm her is æfter to cweðanne, þæt heora se æresta wæs at Heagostealdes ea (scribe 1; B *hægestealdes*, O *heagostaldes*, Ca *hagostaldes éa*), ond se æftera wæs in Eoforwicceastre to biscope gehalgad.

[As to the last two, we shall have to relate subsequently, how the former was consecrated bishop of Hexham, and the latter bishop of York.]

(Bede 4, 24.334.28; MS T folio 96v, l. 25)

Electus est autem primo in episcopatum Hagustaldensis (MS M *hagustaldensis*, folio 96r, l. 26) ecclesiae pro Tunbercto, qui ab episcopatu fuerat depositus; sed quoniam ipse plus Lindisfarnensi ecclesiae, in qua conuersatus fuerat, dilexit praefici, placuit ut Eata reuerso ad sedem ecclesiae Hagustaldensis (MS M *hagustaldensis*, folio 96r, l. 29), cui regendae primo fuerat ordinatus, Cudberct ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis gubernacula susciperet.

[Cuthbert was first of all elected to the bishopric of the church at Hexham in the place of Tunberht, who had been deposed from the episcopate; but because Cuthbert preferred to rule over the church of Lindisfarne in which he had lived, it was arranged that Eata should return to the church at Hexham to which he had originally been consecrated and Cuthbert was to undertake the government of the church at Lindisfarne.]

(Book IV, Chapter 28, p. 438, ll. 9 and 13)

The Old English version does not include the sentence corresponding to that of the Latin version.

Cuius regni principio defuncto Eata episcopo, Iohannes uir sanctus Hagustaldensis (MS M *ha*,³⁷ folio 100r, l. 22) ecclesiae praesulatum suscepit.

[At he beginning of Aldfrith's reign, Bishop Eata died and was succeeded as bishop of the church at Hexham by a holy man named John.]

(Book V, Chapter 2, p. 456, l. 13)

In ðæs cyninges rice forewordum forðferde Eata biscop, ond ða Iohannes se halga wer onfoeng biscophad ðaere ciricean æt Heagostealdes eae (scribe 2; B *hægesteald ea*).

[In the beginning of this king's reign bishop Eata died, and the holy John succeeded to the bishopric of the church at Hexham.]

(Bede 5, 2.386.28; MS T folio 116v, l. 16)

37) MS M has only *ha* for *Hagustaldensis*; neither does it have *ecclesiae*. MS L (Leningrad, Public Library Lat. Q. v. I. 18) of the same text-type reads *hagustaldensis ecclesiae* at folio 120bii, l. 7.

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Est mansio quaedam secretior, nemore raro et uallo circumdata, non longe ab Hagustaldensi (MS M *hagustaldensi*, folio 100r, l. 28) ecclesia, idest unius ferme miliarii et dimidii spatio interfluente Tino amne separata,

[There is a remote dwelling, enclosed by a rampart and amid scattered trees, not far from the church at Hexham, about a mile and a half away, and separated from it by the river Tyne.]

(Book V, Chapter 2, p. 456, l. 20)

Sindon sumu deagol wiic mid walle 7 mid barwe ymbsealde, noht feorr from ðære ciricean Heagostealdes éae (scribe 2; B *hægstealdes éa*), ðæt is, huhuego in oðerre halfre mile faece; floweð Tiine seo éa betwihn.

[There are some retired habitations surrounded with a rampart and forest, not far from the church of Hexham, that is, about a mile and a-half; the rive Tyne flows between.]

(Bede 5, 2.388.4; MS T, folio 116v, l. 25)

quia cum reuerentissimus uir Ulfrid post longum exilium in episcopatum esset Hagustaldensis (MS M *hagustāl*, folio 101r, l. 9) ecclesiae receptus, et idem Iohannes, defuncto Bosa uiro multae sanctitatis et humilitatis, episcopus pro eo Eboraci substitutus, uenerit ipse tempore quodam ad monasterium uirginum in loco qui uocatur Uetadun, cui tunc Hereburg abbatisa praefuit.

[The reverend Wilfrid was restored to the bishopric of the church at Hexham after a long exile, and the same John, upon the death of Bosa, a man of great holiness and humility, was made bishop of York in his place. He went on a certain occasion to a monastery of nuns in a place called *Wetadun* (Watton), over which Abbess Hereburh was at that time presiding.]

(Book V, Chapter 3, p. 458, l. 35)

Ða se arwyrða wer Wilferð biscop æfter longum wræce wæs eft onfongen on his biscuphad ðære cirican Heagostaldes æ (scribe 4; B *hægstealdes éa*, C *heagosteal . . .*, O *heagostealdes ea*, Ca *heagostealdes éa*), ond þæs ilca Iohannes, ða Bosa bisscop forðfoered wæs, se wæs micelre halignisse 7 eadmodnisse mon, for hiene geseted Eoforwicceastre, þa cwom he sumre tide to sumum nunmynstre, þæt is genemned Weatadun, þæm ða Hereburh abbuddisse in aldordome fore wæs.

[When the venerable bishop Wilfrid after long exile was again admitted to his bishopric in the church at Hexham, and the same John, after the death of bishop Bosa, a man of great sanctity and humility, was put in his place at York, he came once to a convent called Watton, over which the abbess Hereburh then held authority.]

(Bede 5, 3.390.24; MS T folio 118r, l. 16)

Suscepit uero pro Uilfrido episcopatum Hagustaldensis (MS M *hagustaldensis*, folio 118r, l. 4) ecclesiae Acca presbyter eius, uir et ipse strenuissimus et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus;

[Acca, Wilfrid's priest, became bishop of Hexham in Wilfrid's place. He was a man of great energy and noble in the sight of God and man.]

(Book V, Chapter 20, p. 530, l. 15)

Ða onfeng for Wilfriðe biscophád ðære cyricean æt Heagostealdes ea (MS Ca; B *hægestealdes*) Acca his mæssepreost. Wæs he se wer se fromesta 7 for Gode 7 for mannum micellic.

[Then in place of Wilfrid his priest Acca succeeded to the episcopate of the church of Hexham. He was a most energetic man and great in the sight of God and man.]

(Bede 5, 18.466.4)

At uero prouinciae Nordanhymbrorum, cui rex Ceolulf praeest, quattuor nunc episcopi praesulatum tenent: Uilfrid in Eburacensi ecclesia, Ediluald in Lindisfaronensi, Acca in Hagustaldensi (MS M *hagustaldensi*, folio 125v, l. 28), Pecthelm in ea quae Candida Casa uocatur, quae nuper multiplicatis fidelium plebibus in sedem pontificatus addita ipsum primum habet antistitem.

[At the present time there are four bishops in the kingdom of Northumbria, over which Ceolwulf rules: Wilfrid in the church of York, Æthelwald at Lindisfarne, Acca at Hexham, Pethelm in the place called Whithorn, where the number of believers has so increased that it has lately become an episcopal see with Pethelm as its first bishop.]

(Book V, Chapter 23, p. 558, l. 32)

Onð þonne Norþanhymbra mægþe þæm Ceolwulf se cyning in cynedome ofer is, feower bisceopas nu bisceopscire habbað, Wilfrið bisceop in þære ciricean Eoforwicceastre, Æþelwald in Lindesfearona eá, Acca in Heagostealdes éa (MS Ca; B *hægestealdes éa*), Pethelm in þære stowe, þe is geceged Æt Hwitan Ærne. Seo stow neowan gemonigfealdedum geleafsum folcum in setle bisceopstoles wæs toæted, onð wæs þære stowe se æresta bisceop.

[And in the province of Northumbria, over which king Ceolwulf reigns, four bishops now have sees, bishop Wilfrid in the church of York, Æthelwald at Lindisfarne, Acca at Hexham, Pethelm at the place which is called Whiterne. This place lately owing to the multiplication of believers was added on as the seat of a bishop's see, and he was the first bishop of the place.]

(Bede 5, 22.478.26)

The following instance has already been discussed by the present writer in his previous articles. It is recorded here again for the sake of

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convenience.

Intrauit autem primo monasterium Mailros, quod in ripa Tuidi fluminis positum tunc abbas Eata, uir omnium mansuetissimus ac simplicissimus, regebat, qui postea episcopus *Hagustaldensis* (MS M *hagustaldensis*, folio 94v, l. 17) siue Lindisfarnensis ecclesiae factus est.

[He (=Cuthbert) first of all entered the monastery of Melrose which is on the banks of the Tweed and was then ruled over by the Abbot Eata, the gentlest and simplest of men who, as has already been mentioned, was afterwards made bishop of Hexham or rather of Lindisfarne.]

(Book IV, Chapter 27, p. 430, l. 30)

7 ærest eode in Mailros ðæt mynster, þæt is geseted on ofre Tuidon streames. ðæt mynster þa heold 7 rihte Eata biscop, se wæs milde wer 7 monðwære, 7 se æfter wæs gewarden biscop in *Hægstealdes æ* (scribe 3; B *hægsteald éa*, C *heagostealdes éa*, O *heagostaldes ea*, Ca *heagostealdes éa*) 7 in Lindesfaronæ, swa swa we beforan gemyngodon.

[And first he went into the monastery of Melrose, which lies on the banks of the river Tweed. This monastery was then swayed and directed by bishop Eata, a man of mild and gentle character, who subsequently became bishop at Hexham and Lindisfarne, as already mentioned.]

(Bede 4, 28.360.31; MS T folio 105v, l. 18)

