

Marylebone: Tyburn: Holborn

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MARYLEBONE—TYBURN—HOLBORN.

THE name of the church and parish of St Marylebone (at the present time a rich residential quarter in London) has been the subject of much speculation. It has been suggested that St Marylebone was a 'corruption' of St Mary-la-Bonne, i.e. 'the church of Our Good Lady,' and that this name was subsequently transferred to the manor and the parish. In order to ascertain whether this hypothesis is correct or not, it is necessary to consult the evidence of the early forms. For this reason I have gone through a great number of mediæval records from which I collected material for an article on *The French Definite Article in English Place-Names* (*Anglia*, xxxiv, pp. 308—353), where I had occasion to deal—though more incidentally—with the origin of Marylebone. As this name is not mentioned in the records until the 15th century, I have had to supplement my material from sources of a more recent date. The principal of these are the following:

Calendarium inquisitionum post mortem sive escaetorum, Henry III—Richard III (1806—) (= *Inq. Post Mortem*).

A Calendar of the feet of fines for London and Middlesex, Richard I—12 Elizabeth, ed. W. J. Hardy and William Page, 1892—93 (= *Feet of Fines*).

Calendars of State Papers.

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII (19 vols.) (1862—) (= *Papers Foreign and Domestic*).

Domestic Series 1547—1673, 1689—92 (66 vols.) (1856—) (= *State Papers, Domestic Series*). In the vols. 1547—1673 only the modern forms of the place-names are noted. I have therefore only given references to a few entries (most of them referring to 'Marybone Park') in which the early spelling has been kept. The modern form Marylebone does not seem to occur in any *original* documents of the 17th century.

Domestic Series, Committee for Advance of Money, 1642—1656 (1888) (= *Dom. Ser. Advance of Money*).

Domestic Series, Committee for Compounding, etc., 1643—1660 (1889—) (= *Dom. Ser. Compounding*).

Treasury Papers, 1557—1728 (1868—), and *Treasury Books and Papers*, 1729—1745 (1898—) (= *Treasury Papers*).

Early Spellings.

15TH CENT. *Tyborne maner' alias Marybone*, 1461, *Inq. Post Mortem*, iv, p. 314.—*Tyborne alias Maryborne*, 1490, *Feet of Fines*.

16TH CENT. *Marybourne alias Tybourne* (grant to Wolsey's Colleges of), 1525, *Papers Foreign and Domestic*, iv, 1, No. 1833; *Mariborne alias Tyborne* (mortmain

licence to Cardinal Wolsey to appropriate the **rectory** of), 1526, *ibid.*, iv, 1, No. 2167; *Maryborne alias Tyborne* (draft of a bull of Clement VII appropriating to Cardinal's College, Ipswich, the **parish church** of), 1528, *ibid.*, iv, 2, No. 4229, 1; *Maryborn* (**rectory** of), 1530, *ibid.*, iv, 3, No. 6516, 15 (inquisition on land held by Wolsey); *Maryborn & Tyborn* (grant of, to St George's Chapel, Windsor), 1532, *ibid.*, v; *Maribourne* (letter dated at), 1533, *ibid.*, vi; *Maryborne* (**parsonage** of), 1533, *ibid.*, vi; *Maryborne, Marrybone*, 1539, *ibid.*, xiv, 1; *Marybourne*, 1540, *ibid.*, xv; *Marybound*¹, 1541, *ibid.*, xvi; *Marybon* (**parish** of), 1542, *ibid.*, xvii; *Marybon* (chief **mansion** of), 1542, *ibid.*, xvii.—*Marebone*, 1562, *Maribone*, 1566, *Marybon, Marybourne*, 1577, *Feet of Fines*.—*Mariborne*, 1534, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, I, p. 430.—*Marybone* (**parish** of), 1594, *State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1591—1594, p. 516 (erroneously given as 515 in Index).

17TH CENT. *Marybone* (**park** of), 1615, 1623, 1638, 1660, 1662, 1664, 1666, 1668, *State Papers, Domestic Series*; *Marrowbone*² (**park** of), 1638, *ibid.*; *Marybon* (**park** of), 1689, *ibid.*; *Marybone*, 1666, *ibid.*; *Marybone* (**park** of), 1651, *Domestic Series, Advance of Money*, III; *Marybone*, 1647, *Domestic Series, Compounding*, III, p. 1716.—*Marybo-e*, *Speculum Britanniae*; *Maribone*, 1623, *Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum*; *Maribone*, Map in Camden's *Britannia* (ed. 1722).

18TH CENT. *Marybone* (**parish** of), 1715, *Treasury Papers*; *Marylebone*³? (**manor** of), 1730, *ibid.*, vol. 1729—1730, p. 430; *Marybone* (**manor** and **park** of), 1730, 1735, 1742, *ibid.*; *Marybone Street*, 1734, 1735, *ibid.*.—*Marybone Street*, Stow, *Survey of London* (ed. 1720). *St Mary le Bone, Street Mary la Bonne*, Stow, *Survey of London* (ed. 1754).—‘*Mary-le-bone* (to be pronounced *Marribone*),’ 1787, Elphinstone, *Propriety Ascertained*, I, 36, II, 249.

By an interrupted sequence of forms from the time of the Tudors to Queen Anne it is consequently established that the genuine form of the name was *Maryburn*, *Marybo(u)rn(e)*, which by a regular phonetic change became *Marybone*⁴.

In the article previously referred to I have shown that the alteration of *Marybone* to *Marylebone*, which apparently took place towards the middle of the 18th cent., was quite arbitrary and in all probability due to a mistaken notion of the etymology of the name on the part of the local authorities. Modern place-names such as Clayton-le-Moors, Lancs., Thorpe-le-Street, Yorks., etc., go back to earlier (from the 14th cent.) prototypes where *le* was preceded by a preposition, viz., *Claiton en*

¹ The loss or addition of a final *d* after a consonant is usual during the whole N. E. period. Cf. ‘hind,’ e. N. E. *hynd*, 6, *Oxford Dict.* < O. E. *hina*, g. pl. of *hiwa*, *higa*, and ‘horehound,’ e. N. E. *hoarhounde*, 5, *horehounde*, 5—6, *Oxford Dict.* See also the references given by Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, 7-61, and Wright, *English Dial. Dictionary*, §§ 306, 307.

² *Marrowbone* is merely another spelling for *Marybone*, *marry* (< O. E. *merz* with palatalized *z*) being a common M. E. and early N. E. variant of *marrow*. For references, see the *Oxford Dictionary*. In the writings of Thomas More (1478—1535) we find *maribone* for ‘marrowbone.’ See Grünzinger, *Schriftsprache in den Werken des Sir Thomas More*, 89. According to Elphinstone, *Propriety Ascertained*, 1787, I, p. 36, ‘dhe name ov dhe suburb *Marribone* must, but in dhe nicest discriminacion ov dhe febel vowel, coincide widh *marrowbone*.’

³ This may be the modern form which has crept in by mistake, although the original spellings seem to be faithfully recorded in this series.

⁴ The loss of *r* in the second element may be due either to dissimilation or to want of stress. Cf. *wundelice*, *sundcon* for *wunderlice*, *sundcorn* in *Herbarium Apuleii* (12th cent.), and other references given in my essay *Two Instances of French Influence on English Place-Names*, p. 20, n. (*Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap*, v, Stockholm, 1914).

le Mores, *Thorp in le Streit*, etc.¹ These are mere French (or Latin) translations of the corresponding English forms, *Claiton upon the Mores*, *Thorp in ye Street*, etc. which often appear in the same records. By the elliptical omission of the preposition, *Claiton en le Mores* became *Claiton le Mores*, *Howton in the More* passed into *Howton ye Moor*, etc. In the 17th and early 18th cents. French forms, such as *Thorp in [en] le Street*, were of rare occurrence², but were revived in the course of the 18th cent., possibly as the result of a general tendency to restore the earlier spellings³. At this date the origin of *le* may have been forgotten. It seems to have been looked upon as a local preposition with the meaning of 'in,' 'on,' 'at,' etc., and was consequently inserted in names where it had no historical justification. As a rule, it replaces a preposition, as when *Stratford at Bowe*, London, *Carlton in Moreland*, Lincs., *St Michael at Querne*, London, *Preston upon Skerne*, Durham, and *Witton upon Weare* were transformed into *Stratford-le-Bow*, *Carlton-le-Moorland*, *St Michael-le-Querne*, *Preston-le-Skerne*, and *Witton-le-Wear*, Durh.; less frequently we find it as a connecting link between a place-name and a descriptive noun, as in *Newton-le-Wold* for earlier *Woldnewton*.

The early spellings of these place-names never exhibit the definite article either in a French or in an English garb.

We have consequently to assume that *Marybone* was altered to Marylebone after the manner of *Newton-le-Wold* for *Woldnewton* or *Newton Wold*⁴. Nevertheless the procedure has not been the same in both cases. In the latter, *le* is used to connect two elements which were comparatively independent; in the former, it has been thrust in, as it were, to separate two elements which had been so completely amalgamated that the meaning of the second element seems almost to have been forgotten. It is hardly likely that *Marybone* was construed as 'Mary Bourne,' and *le* inserted in order to emphasize that the meaning of the name was 'Mary at the Bourne.' Had this been the case, the earlier form *Maryborne* would undoubtedly have been preferred to the one

¹ Cf. such modern names as *Alsop en le Dale*, Derby, *Chapel en le Frith*, Derby, *Clayton in le Dale*, Lincs., where, however, the appearance of the preposition may be due to reconstruction on the evidence of M. E. or early N. E. forms.

² For a detailed discussion of the mutual frequency of the four types: *Thorpe in the Street*, *Thorpe the Street*, *Thorpe in (en) le Street*, *Thorpe le Street*, see *French Article in English Place-Names*, pp. 341–344, 347.

³ About the same time the old Anglo-French spellings with *au* seem to have been revived in names of the type *Stanton*, *Saundby*, *Saunderton*, etc. See *Zachrisson, Anglo-Norman Influence*, p. 156.

⁴ The latter form is still used as a designation of the place by the side of the form with *le*.

worn down by phonetic changes. We are therefore bound to look elsewhere for the cause of the alteration. There is the possibility that *-bone* by popular etymology was connected with the French adjective 'bonne' and *Marybone* consequently 'improved' to *Mary la Bonne*, a form which is actually found in the 1754 edition of Stow's *Survey*¹. If this conjecture is correct, *la* may have been exchanged for *le* simply because it did not occur in names of a similar type². On the other hand, *Marylebone* may be the original form and *Mary la Bonne* a secondary one due to folk-etymological association with the name of the Holy Virgin.

If this is the case, we shall have to trace the origin of *-le-* to a more profane source. In early times *Marylebone* was a place of little significance. In the majority of the records I have consulted in order to ascertain the early forms of the name, it is not even mentioned. As late as 1742 *Marylebone* was still detached from London, and the winding path which led to the village from the high road was the present *Marylebone Lane*³. From about this date we often hear of the *Marylebone Gardens* which were first thrown open to the public at the time of the Restoration when pleasure and amusements of every kind were the order of the day. Towards the middle of the century (1738—1776) the Gardens had become one of the favourite pleasure resorts of London, and were patronized by every class of society including the beaux and belles of the Court of King George II⁴. The changing of *Marybone* to *Marylebone* seems to have taken place at this very time. This might lead us to assume that the insertion of the French article reflects a conscious attempt to give a more refined air to the name to bring it in keeping, as it were, with the pomp and festivity which at this time had become associated with the place.

At first *le* was probably a mere ornament of which little notice was taken in the pronunciation⁵. At present the etymologically correct pronunciation [*ˈmæriˌbən*] is being ousted by spelling-pronunciations,

¹ Elphinstone, *Propriety Ascertained* (1787), I, 36, likewise derives *Marylebone* from 'Marie la bonne or Mary dhe boon.'

² A seeming exception is Kirby-La-Thorpe, Lincs., which however has originated by a juxtaposition of two names Kirby and Lathorp < Laythorp < Laylthorp < *Leipulfthorp, see *French Article in English Place-Names*, p. 330.

³ See Timbs, *Curiosities of London*, p. 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142; W. Besant, *London in the 18th Century*, p. 415; *Encyclopædia Britannica: Marylebone*.

⁵ There is reason for believing that the local pronunciation often ignores *le* even in names where it is found in the early spellings; *le* was felt to be a strange element and therefore avoided in colloquial speech. See *French Article in English Place-Names*, p. 344.

such as 'mæriləboun, 'mæ(ə)ləbən, 'mæraɪboun, 'mæriɪ'boun etc.¹—many Londoners have told me that they say ['mæribən], 'although the other pronunciation is more correct.' Practical considerations will probably forbid the reintroduction of the original spelling *Marybone* but it will be well to remember that those who pronounce the name without *-le-* are on the right side, whereas the others follow the evil, though—where names and place-names are concerned—usual, practice of preferring the pronunciation based on the spelling to the one sanctioned by tradition and etymology. Few of the present generation are aware that the correct pronunciation of Cromwell², Bodley³, and Bromley⁴ is ['krɑmwəl], ['bɑdli] and ['brɑmli], not ['krɒmwəl], ['bɒdli] and ['brɒmli]. In spite of Elphinstone's (1787) emphatic assertion that *l* is mute in *Bristol*, 'nor can Affectacion (the dubble of Ignorance) ever render *l* effective,' the genuine form *Bristow* survives only as a personal name⁵. In a few generations the pedantic spelling-pronunciation ['eylənd] will probably have ousted the correct form ['iŋɡlənd] the authenticity of which is proved by numerous M.E. spellings such as *Inglonde*, *Ingland*, and perhaps there will be a time when the pronunciation ['wɜːsɛstər] for ['wustər] will be heard from others than phonetically untrained foreigners, and when the address of 'The Empire' will be ['leisɛstə-] Square.

After having seen how *Marybone* < *Maryborne* was altered to *Marylebone* we will now proceed to a discussion of the etymology of the name. In the article already referred to I suggested that the meaning of *Marylebone* was 'St Mary on Burn' or Tyburn. This explanation involves two difficulties, viz., that the place is not called *St Marylebone* until more recent times, and that the name of the river on which it was situated appears in the shortened form 'Burn.' We may also well ask why the place was named after the Virgin Mary. In my attempt to ascertain the etymology I had not turned into account the important evidence afforded by the first early references, which not only give the clue to the origin of the name, but by means of which it is possible to establish an intimate connexion between the changes undergone by the name and the history of the place itself.

¹ See Michaelis-Jones, *Phonetic Dictionary* and A. Schröer, *Neuenglisches Aussprache-wörterbuch*.

² Cf. the Cavalier's toast: 'Wash this crumb well down' (Bardsley, *Dict. of Engl. Surnames*, p. 218). illustrated in this *Review*, Vol. xi, p. 278.

³ The historically correct spelling is kept in the place-name Budleigh, Devon.

⁴ The first element is due to O. E. *brōm*.

⁵ Bristol goes back to *Bristolia*, *Bristollum*, a Latinized form of *Bristou* which in mediæval times seems to have been confined to records and official *Latin* documents. Walker (1791) seems to be the first authority for the pronunciation with *l*. See Zachrisson, *Latin Influence on English Place-Nomenclature*, pp. 18—21.

In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* it is stated that Marylebone was in the manor of Tyburn which is recorded as early as in *Domesday Book* (1086). *Tyburn* as a village and parish name, however, seems to be falling out of use at the time when we first hear of *Maryburn* (cf. below p. 152), while the latter name is of no great antiquity. The first entry relating to it bears the date of 1461. It would therefore be tempting to assume that the name of the parish and village of *Tyburn* was altered to *Maryburn* in the 15th cent., and this assumption is substantiated by the evidence of *all* the earliest entries (1461, 1490, 1525, 1526, 1528, see lists of early spellings pp. 146, 147) in which the place is invariably referred to as *Maryborne alias Tyborne* or *Tyborne alias Maryborne*.

When a name is exchanged intentionally for another, the new name is of course thought to be better than the old. For example the name Fúrness is said to have been altered to Furnéss soon after the head of the family had been knighted, obviously because the French accentuation was thought to give additional lustre to the new dignity. More often the alterations are caused by a desire to avoid painful or vulgar associations. For this reason Ugley, the name of a village in Essex, has in quite recent times been replaced by Oakley¹ and in M. E. times *Mulcaster*, Cumb., was turned into *Muncaster*² possibly because the first member was thought to be identical with a dialectal word 'mul' = 'dust,' 'rubbish.' A family named Uglow insisted on having their name pronounced ('ju: glou) and not ('Δglou) as a safeguard against confusion with 'ugly,' and Mrs Sidebottome in Mr Baring-Gould's *The Penny-comequicks* (p. 6) pronounces her name as 'Siddybotóme' regardless of etymology and phonetic usage.

In the present case there was a very good reason for a change, when the name Tyburn, from having designated a small river and village thereon, became attached to the place of execution for Middlesex and to the instrument of the law, also called Tyburn Tree and Deadly Never Green. The gallows stood on the bank of the river not far from the present Marble Arch³. The first execution on record there was that of William Fitz Osbert which took place as early as the 12th cent.⁴ In Langland's *Piers Ploughman* (1377) occurs a reference to 'the hangeman of Tyborne'⁴, and the later literature abounds with allusions to this fatal spot. In earlier times an execution was looked upon as a great public treat and around the gibbet were erected open galleries like a

¹ For early references, see Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence*, p. 133 and nn.

² For early references, see Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence*, p. 133 and nn.

³ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

⁴ See *Oxford Dict. sub verbo* 'Tyburn.'

race-course stand where seats were let to spectators¹. The London burgher Machyn², a contemporary of Shakespeare's, carefully records the many executions in those days of summary and severe justice, and was himself undoubtedly an eye-witness of many of them. In a transferred sense Tyburn is found in numerous phrases and expressions, some of them referring to the grim trade and its implements, others entering into compounds used as opprobrious terms. The first reference to a metaphorical use of the name is from Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods* (1420), where we hear of 'Tyburne collopes, and pursekytters,' l. 697 (*Oxford Dict.*). According to Grose, *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1769), a 'Tyburn-Blossom' is a young thief 'who in time will ripen into fruit borne by the deadly never-green,' the halter went under the name of 'Tyburn tippet' (1549, Latimer, *Sermons*), and the act of hanging is grimly referred to as a 'Tibourne stretch' (1557, Tusser, *Husbandrie*) or a 'Tyburn-jig' (1689, Farquhar, *Love and a Bottle*). Congreve, *Love for Love*, II, vii (1695), characterizes a criminal in the following way: 'Has he not a rogue's face, a damned Tyburn face without the benefit o' clergy³?'

Seeing that the name of Tyburn had for centuries been coupled with crime, horror, and ignominy, it is no wonder that the good villagers of Tyburn were anxious to seize the first opportunity of exchanging this name of evil omen for another of a more neutral character. An opportunity may have offered itself when the ancient church of Tyburn 'which stood in a lonely place near the highway, subject to the depredations of robbers who frequently stole the images, bells and ornaments' (Lyson's *Environs*, vol. III, 1795), was removed, and the present Church of St Mary (rebuilt in 1791) was erected on the site of the ancient edifice⁴. As the removal of the old church took place in 1400 and the first reference to the new name bears the date of 1461, it seems more than probable that the village of Tyburn **was renamed Maryburn after the new church**. In later times the place was called Saint Marylebone obviously with reference to the church from which it obtained its name. It is worth noticing that the parish, church, and rectory are always designated by the new name. Cf. *Mariborne, Maryborn* (rectory of), 1526, 1530, *Maryborne* (parish church of), 1526, *Marybon, Marybone* (parish of), 1542, 1594. In *Inq. Post Mortem*, 1461, and *Papers Foreign*

¹ See Timbs, *Curiosities*, p. 744.

² See *Diary of H. Machyn* (Camden Society, 42), Index.

³ For additional references, see *Oxford Dict.*, and Farmer and Henley, *Dictionary of Slang*.

⁴ See Timbs, *Curiosities*, loc. cit.

and *Domestic*, 1542, the **manor** is also referred to as *Marybourne*, *Marybon*, but its earlier name has been kept in two entries of a later date. One of these (*Papers Foreign and Domestic*, xvii, p. 703, A.D. 1542) concerns the appointment 'of a certain Ant. Denny as keeper of *Tybourne* manor in *Marybone* parish except the mansion and gardens and the lands enclosed in Marybone Park,' the other 'the grant of the manor of Tyburn to Edward Forsett' (*State Papers Domestic Series*, 1611—15, p. 40). Otherwise, in these as well as in the other 16th and 17th cent. records I have gone through, **Tyburn** is mentioned only as a place of execution.

In the beginning of the 18th cent. Newgate succeeded Tyburn as the place of execution for the county of Middlesex. The dread associations of the name were now being forgotten, and towards the middle of the next century it appears in a slightly modified form—Tyburnia¹—as a designation of the fashionable district (north-west of Hyde Park) which had grown up where the river had formerly been. This name, however, seems to have enjoyed but a brief existence. It is still noted in Bartholomew's *Gazetteer* (1904) but is marked as obsolete by Farmer and Henley, *op. cit.*

Timbs says with reference to the river Tyburn: 'Strange have been the mutations in which the rural Tybourn "welled forth away" through pleasant fields to the Town, there became linked with the crimes of centuries, and lost in a murky sewer.' Equally strange are the mutations undergone by the name itself. First it was given to a little village on its banks, afterwards to the spot where justice was administered to the worst criminals of the neighbourhood. The village was then renamed after the newly built Church of St Mary to ward off, as it were, the evil spirits of those who had not been allowed to rest in consecrated ground. In its new garb the name became associated with one of the favourite pleasure resorts of the time and was then inoculated with a French element either owing to an erroneous conception of its meaning, or for the mere sake of ornament. When by altered circumstances the name of Tyburn had lost some of its former horror, it was revived and given to the city of palatial mansions which had in the meantime grown up in the neighbourhood of the former place of execution.

We will now try and account for the meaning of the river-name

¹ In M.E. times many **English** (*Cantuarua*, *Dunelmia*, *Exonua*, *Glovernua*, *Shaftonia*, *Vintonia*, *Wigornia*, etc.) and more especially **foreign** geographical names (*Russia*, *Servia*, *Silesia*, etc.) appear with the Latin ending *-ia*. See Zachrisson, *Latin Influence on English Place-Nomenclature*, 7—13. That this suffix is productive also in modern times is seen in Tyburnia, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Nova Scotia, etc.

Tyburn which, as we have seen, is contained in the second element of Marylebone. Many English river names are of Celtic origin, but *burn* being an O. E. word for a small stream we have reason for believing that the whole name is English.

The Tyburn which now has its course entirely within London and underground—it is still shown on Seller's map of 1733—rose at Hampstead, ran south crossing Regent's Park, and joined the Thames through branches on either side of Thorney Island, now the site of Westminster Abbey¹.

I have noted the following early references to the name :

Tiburne (manerium de), 1086, *Domesday Book*.

Tyburnam (ad furcas prope), 1200, Ralph de Diceto, *Chron.* II, 143 (*Oxf. Dict.*).

Tyburn, circa 1250, *Rotuli Hundredorum*.

Tyburn, Tiburn (church and manor of), 1254, 1325, *Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum*.

*Thyfbourne*², 1540, *Papers Foreign and Domestic*, XII, 2, No. 228.

The first element admits of a twofold derivation. *Ty-* may be identical with O. E. *twȳ* which is likewise contained in the place-name Twyford, Bucks. < O. E. *twyford* (Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 1282), i.e. 'the double ford.' If this conjecture is correct 'Tyburn' means the double stream, and it was probably named so because it fell into the Thames by two branches. There is one serious drawback to this explanation of the name, viz. that the change of *twī*, *twȳ* into *tī*, *tȳ* is not evidenced in O. E. words of this type³. That *w* could be dropped before *ȳ* is seen, however, in the name of Tythrop, Oxon, which in the 13th cent. appears as *Tuphrop*, *Twythrop*, *Tvytroph*⁴. To account for this we have to assume either dialectal⁵ loss of *w* before *y* or analogical influence from related forms, such as *tū* and *tuwa*.

A second possibility would be to derive *Ty-* from an O. E. word *tīg*⁶ (perhaps from **tauȳjō*, a by-form of O. E. *tēah* < **tauȳjō*, cf. also *brōmtēag*, Bosworth-Toller) which, according to Middendorff⁷, is found in O. E. *tīgwellan* and *tūntih*⁸ (Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 326, 1023), and

¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *Oxford Dict.*, and Timbs, *op. cit.*

² It would be interesting to know if this folk-etymological interpretation of the name is due to a whim of the scribe's or if it was in general use.

³ For references, see Bosworth-Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*.

⁴ See Alexander, *Place-Names of Oxfordshire*, 210.

⁵ There are no known parallels to the development of *twī* or *twȳ* > *tȳ*. Some examples given by Alexander instance the well-known loss of *w* before *u*, as in O. E. *tū* < *twū* < W. G. **twō* and W. S. *wucu*, *tuwa*. If however Tythrop is identical with *Duchitorp* (for *Tuthitorp*?) *Domesday Book*, it must be explained differently. Cf. Tythby, Notts., < *Titheby*, 1190 (Mutschmann, *Place-Names of Nottinghamshire*, 144).

⁶ *tīg* for *tēah* might also be due to the analogy of the O. E. verb *tīgan* = Mod. Engl. 'tie.'

⁷ See *Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch*, 134.

⁸ Middendorff is of course wrong in connecting this word with *tiig*, *Mars*, *Martis* in the *Epinal Glossary*, which obviously is another spelling for *Tiw*, the name of the god.

probably also in *forþtīges, vestibuli, atrii*, Bosworth-Toller. If so *tīg* probably had the same meaning as *tēah*, i.e. 'enclosure,' 'paddock,' and their modern correspondent is 'tie,' 'tye' = 'an extensive common pasture,' 'a large common,' 'an enclosure'¹ now only in dialectal use. This interpretation of the name offers no phonetic difficulty, but the meaning 'enclosed stream' or 'stream by an enclosure or common' seems less satisfactory.

In the preceding account the old derivation of Tyburn from 'Eye-bourn,' 'Aye-bourne' quoted in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and by Farmer-Henley and Timbs, *op. cit.*, has been disregarded. If this is an *old* name for the river, it can hardly be etymologically connected with Tyburn, but seems to be due to O.E. *ēg* and *burn* and mean 'water stream' which is both tautological and nonsensical. The name, to judge by the spelling, is of no great antiquity. It is quoted by Timbs on the authority of Robins's *Paddington*, 1853. We therefore have reason for assuming that it is a comparatively recent invention. In one of his books the late Prof. Skeat very appropriately remarks that in the olden times everybody thought he could drive and derive. The old antiquarians delighted in fanciful etymologies and did not hesitate to support their conjectures by the evidence of early forms made to suit the need of the moment. A few instances will suffice to illustrate this. The local pronunciation ['brʌmidʒəm] for Birmingham is traced back by many writers to an O.E. form **Bromwicham* which appears to be merely conjectural². In *Speculum Britannicæ* (1600) it is stated that Chelsey < O.E. *Cælic hȳp*³ is 'also called *Cheselsey* for the sake of the pebbles.' Uttoxeter is derived by Camden from an O.E. bogus form **Uttocceaster*³.

The same author seems to be responsible for the erroneous explanation of Holborn as *Oldburn* which figures in many subsequent works⁴. The place is continually referred to as *Oldborne* by Stow in his *Survey of London* (1598). Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the current explanation of Holborn as 'the hollow stream,' the name given to the Fleet (formerly a tributary of the Thames) in one particular part where the banks were very high and steep (*Encyclopædia Britannica*), is the correct one. The name is spelt *Holeburne* in *Domesday Book*, it appears as *Holbourne* in numerous records from the time of King

¹ See Wright, *E. D. D.*

² See *The Suffix *-ingia in Germanic Names*, *Archiv der neueren Sprachen*, 133, p. 292.

³ See Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence*, pp. 78, 86.

⁴ 'Holborn or rather Oldburn,' Camden's *Britannia* (ed. 1722), I, 391. The date of the original edition is 1586.

Henry VIII, and as *Holbourn* (and *Holborn Conduit*) on the map in *Speculum Britannicæ* (1600).

The by-form *Oldborne* may be due to the omission of the aspirate in the original form, whereupon *Olburn* was turned into *Oldburn* by popular etymology. In Machyn's *Diary* we find, by the side of many irregularities which have now fallen out of use¹, others characteristic of the present vulgar speech of London. Misplacements of the letter *h* are very frequent². Machyn is consequently one of the first *h*-droppers known to us, and through him the modern Cockney can trace his pedigree right back to Shakespeare's time.

R. E. ZACHRISSON.

STOCKHOLM.

¹ Like Samuel Weller, Machyn confuses initial *v* and *w*: *veyver* (= weaver), 83, *Vetyngtun* (= *Whittington*), 96, *vomen*, 59, *welvett*, 57, etc.

² Cf. *not a lff fulle*, 21, *alff a nore* (= an hour), 29, *ketten* (= eaten), 16, *Amton courte*, 9, etc.