Coastal Place-Name Enigmas
on Early Charts and in Early Sailing Directions

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Those 14th, 15th, and 16th century mariners who could read almost certainly relied much more upon sailing directions (rutters) than upon charts. Illiterate ones relied mainly upon practical experience, the lead-line and compass, some knowledge of the heavens, and upon sailing directions learned by rote. When one looks at early manuscript sailing directions, and even early printed ones, one cannot but wonder how many maritime disasters were not a direct result of the quite astonishing ignorance and carelessness of copyists and printers.

Glossaries endeavouring to identify difficult names have been provided for some edited published sets of sailing directions, the anonymous Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England,¹ the five sets included in D. W. Waters, The Rutters of the Sea,² those included in Konrad Kretschmer (ed.), Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters,³ the two anonymous ones edited by Karl Koppmann, Das Seebuch,⁴ Jan Seuerszoon’s De Kaert vander Zee (ed. J. Knudsen), ⁵ and Le livre de mer (eds J. Denucé and D. Gernez).⁶ The later glossary compilers, not surprisingly, tended to rely significantly on the work of their predecessors. Edward Delmar Morgan, who prepared the pioneering glossary to the first of the above in 1889, was working before the first edition of The New English Dictionary was completed, before most of the other sets of sailing directions had been made readily accessible in published versions, and long before place-name studies had begun to develop into a discipline with the publication, in 1924, of the first of the many volumes produced by the English Place-Name Society. The availability of other sets of sailing directions makes it much easier to solve some of those enigmatic names which
defeated him, or which he got wrong, by providing variant comparative renderings of place-names from several different linguistic sources, and some variety of contexts. The cases examined below are of two sorts: some are names which have presented glossary compilers with particular difficulties of identification, while others, whose identities are actually known, present a variety of features of linguistic interest.

§1. *the hey wode* etc.

The first example is a place appearing as *the hay wode* and *the hey wode* in the mid-15th century *Sailing directions for the circum-navigations of England.* In Richard Proude's related compilation, *A newe Routter of the sea, for the northe partyes*, the contexts make quite clear that his *the Hyunde* and *the Hiwnd* also refer to the same place. But what is it?

In both works the name appears in a section describing tidal flows and the relative positions of places on both shores of the English Channel. The text is undoubtedly defective, words having been omitted or misplaced. In one context *the hay wode* (or *the Hyunde*) seems to be positioned in relation to *seyne hede* or *Sayne heed* (i.e. Cap d’Antifer at the mouth of the River Seine) and Dartmouth. In the other context it looks as though *the hey wode* (or *the Hiwnd*) is positioned in relation to Guernsey and Dartmouth. Yet despite the fact that the contexts seem to indicate that the place concerned is on the south coast of England, no name even vaguely resembling any of the four versions is to be found on any early surviving chart, either on that coast or on the north coast of France.

Delmar Morgan, presumably because of the superficial similarity of the name, identified the feature as "Hyant wood, one of the marks for sailing into Stokes Bay". D. W. Waters followed Delmar Morgan's identification. However, it seemed strange to me that such a mark for sailing into a relatively insignificant bay on The Solent should figure so prominently in two sets of sailing directions only, and moreover, did not appear on any early chart. The first appearance of *Hyant wood* that I am aware of is in John Seller's *The Coasting Pilot* (1671?), which was probably the source from which Jan van Keulen copied it in his *De Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee-fakkel*, of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Because of the defective nature of both the above-mentioned early texts, I was able to make no more convincing an identification than that of Delmar Morgan, until I examined two parallel sets of mid-15th century manuscript Low German sailing directions, published under the title *Das Seebuch*, in which Plymouth appeared as *Plemden, Plemude, Pleymode* and *Plymuden*. A potential identification presented itself. It seemed possible that one or more copyists might have successively misread a manuscript *Pl* as an *H*, thus producing *Hey* as the first syllable, misread an *m* as a *w*, producing *Heywode* or *heywode*, and then, presuming that *Hey* was the *name* of the *wode* ('wood'), divided the original word and preceded it by the definite article, thus *the hey wode* etc. The forms *Hyunde* and *Hiwnd*, with the common manuscript confusion of minims, especially in the case of *n* and *u*, seemed to be similar developments from a form originally spelled *Plymude*, or perhaps *Plymude* or *Plimude*, which latter form has survived in modern Portuguese, alongside the modern English form. The letter *d* represents the Old English letter *ð* (eth). The softness of the *ð* in *Pl(e)y Jude* led to its frequent disappearance, especially in early foreign renderings of Plymouth, such as *pleumua* and *preumua*, for example, there was the further, common substitution of *r* for *l*.

There was one way to test the hypothetical identification of *the hey wode*, *the Hyunde* etc. as Plymouth. An examination of the names along the south coast of England in both the *Sailing directions* and in Proude's compilation, found one significant omission; there was not a single reference to Plymouth, unless those names were versions of it, so distorted as to be unrecognisable. It seems quite inconceivable that any sailing directions for the south coast of England could have failed to mention Plymouth. Yet the carelessness and editorial emendations of one or more copyists evidently so transformed some version of the name as to make it quite impossible to identify. Other errors so
effectively disguised its location as to eventually render the ‘information’ given utterly useless. The apparent location of Plymouth in these two rutter’s in relation to Dartmouth, Guernsey and Cap d’Antifer (seyn hede or Sayne heed) could indicate a possible confusion by a copyist between the latter and saine, sayne and sayn, an island just off the Pointe du Raz (de Sein), SW of Brest, which figures prominently in sailing directions, being also spelled sein and saint.

§2. the lye of Magyusikes or Magynsikes.

This problem name occurs in Robert Copland’s The Rutter of the See (1528), which is basically a translation of the anonymous Le routier de la mer (1502–1510), almost certainly correctly attributed to Pierre Garcie. In a section dealing with the moon and tidal flows in the Irish Sea one reads: ‘In the route of the lye of Magyusikes in the mountains of Galwaye the moon i the southe southeast ful see’. It is clear that the word lye is merely a misprint for yle (‘island’). Since Magyusikes bears no resemblance to the name of any island in the area concerned, it is hardly surprising that the relevant entry in the glossary in Waters’ The Rutters of the Sea reads: ‘unidentified island in the Irish Sea’. The first logical step in attempting to identify the island was to check on the name as given in the original French. There, the relevant passage reads: ‘En la route de l’isle de ma jusques aux mon[t]s de galuyae’ (lit. ‘on the way from the Isle of Man to the mountains of Galloway’ [not Galway]). The error remained uncorrected in the 1584 and 1601 editions of Le grant routier et Pyllotage. The printer(s) apparently did not bother to have the text revised or proof-read. One wonders what Copland’s readers would have made of Magyusikes.

§3. chakkeshorde and chaikesord

In the form chakkeshorde this name appears in the Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England, and as chaikesord in Proude’s A newe Routier of the sea. Nothing obviously resembling either version of the word appears on any early chart. Kretschmer, under the entry ciuita, and Waters, both following Delmar Morgan, state that it refers to Chichester. Waters, in parentheses, actually quotes from Delmar Morgan, giving early forms of Chichester as Cisseceaster (895 AD) and Cicestre (ca 930 AD), the latter, incidentally, also being the form in which it appears in Domesday Book (1086). Waters, again quoting from Delmar Morgan, goes on to state that ‘the termination horde’ is merely the German “ord”, modern German “ort”, a place, and then refers his readers to his entries under Cite and Veilles. In view of the handicaps which Delmar Morgan laboured under, it is hardly surprising that he sometimes hazarded guesses which later research was to prove wrong.
There are four reasons for questioning his identification here. Firstly, both *chakkeshorde* and *chaikesord* are far too different from any of the early forms of Chichester to come from the same source. The early forms of Chichester clearly derive from the personal name Cissa, and the Normanized form of the Latin loan-word, ceaster, which eventually turned into caster or chester in so many English place-names. Secondly, neither *chakkeshorde* nor *chaikesord* is cited as indicating Chichester in Mawer and Stenton’s two volumes on Sussex place-names. It could, of course, be that the authors were unaware of the two sets of sailing directions in which those renderings appear, or that, knowing them, they did not believe the references were to a place in Sussex. Thirdly, there does not seem to be a single, unequivocal mention of Chichester itself in any early sailing directions, or on any early charts, until about the middle of the 16th century, when Portuguese charts began including chichestre. The French cartographer Guillaume Brouscon recorded it by an altogether different name in 1548 (see §7 below). The early chart and sailing direction references in several Romance languages to an ‘(old) city’, often cited as referring to Chichester, do not in fact do so, as will be shown in a forthcoming article. The omission of any early reference to Chichester in sailing directions is certainly because it was a very insignificant port compared to Southampton, Portsmouth, Arundel and Shoreham, which are almost invariably included. The fourth reason for rejecting Delmar Morgan’s identification is because the second element *horde* or *ord* certainly comes from the OE word *ord* (‘sword, point’ or ‘spit of land’), and not from the German word *Ort* that he suggests.

If *chakkeshorde*/*chaikesord* is not Chichester, the *ord* element, and the contexts in which the name occurs might suggest that it could have been an early name for Selsey Bill, or rather of the headland that preceded it, before it was eroded, in other words somewhere in the vicinity of *The Owers*. However there is no evidence to support that suggestion. The contexts merely deal with tides between *Seint Elenes/* saint Telynys (St Helen’s in the Isle of Wight) and *chakkeshorde*/*chaikesord*.

The OE element *ord* (ME orde) still appears in a not easily recognised form in one name in the area, Calshot, and did form part of the names of two other headlands, Wolueshorde etc., now known as St Catherine’s Head, the most southerly point on the Isle of Wight (see §4 below), and scharpenorde, now known as Sconce Point, near the western end of the island.

The early versions of Calshot noted by Richard Coates from English sources, (*at*) celsiusoran, celsius(h)ord, Calchesores, Calchesorde and Kelchesorde, make it look suspiciously as though *chakkeshorde* and *chaikesorde* are other renderings of it. If one looks at non-English sources, the suspicion becomes certainty. In Das Seebuch, there are two specific references to *den huek* [or huke] *van Kalkesorde*. In De Kaert van der Zee the variants are Kalkesorde, Kalkesarde and Kalkesort. Italian examples include chalgziore, chalcisoria, calsasores and chalzedona. Portuguese versions include calczadores, calceadores, calquazones and qualzizones, the last missing one syllable. The initial *ch* of *chakkeshorde* and *chaikesord* is presumably a case of metathesis of the ‘k’ and ‘ch’ sounds (cf. three of the versions cited by Coates). The *kk* of *chakkeshorde* could well have resulted at some stage from the misreading or miscopying of *lch*, and the *i* of *chaikesord* from the by no means uncommon miscopying of *l*.

The relevant part of the text of the Sailing directions reads: ‘And from Seint Elenes to Chakkeshorde ... a south moone makith high watir within Wiet’ [the Isle of Wight]. Waghenaer, in his Thesoor der Zeevaerdt (1592), well over a century later, provides what is clearly a parallel passage, even though the direction of the moon is not identical: ‘Tot S. Helene ende Calfertoort maect een zuyt zuyt ooste Maene vool zee’ (lit. ‘Between St Helen’s and Calshot a south–southeast moon makes high tide’). One of Waghenaer’s charts in his Spieghel der Zeevaerdt (1585–85) shows a not untypical case of the misplacement of a place-name, for Calshot, which appears as Calfar oirt, seems to be on the north coast of the Isle of Wight, and not in its real position (Fig. 1). The identity of *chakkeshorde* and *chaikesord* seems clearly established as Calshot, and not Chichester.
Figure 1. Part of Wagenaer's charting of the English Channel in his *Spieghel der Zeevaerdts* (1584–85) (Courtesy of Theatrum Orbis Terrarum).

Note:
1. The very poor representation of the coast between Portsmouth and Arundel.
2. St Catherine's Point, the most southerly headland on the Isle of Wight, identified as Wolbartshorn.
3. The representation of the 14th century lighthouse on St Catherine's Hill both on the chart and, much more distinctly, on the coastal profile at the top.
4. The high cliff on the profile below Wolbarts hoornn, called great cliffe in *The Booke of the Sea Carte*, and *Cabo de Toro* in the Armada sailing directions of 1588, where it is described as 'a high beautiful cape, abrupt to seaward, white on its eastern side'. Is the building at the foot of the cliff the fort mentioned in the latter?
5. To the east of the the Isle of Wight, Weenbrug is the Dutch name for The Owers shoal off unnamed Selsey Bill.
6. The positioning of the Calfar oirt (Calshot) inscription gives the impression that it is on the Isle of Wight.
7. The profile of De naelde (The Needles) portrays the western tip of the island but does not actually show The Needles themselves.
§4. wolueshorde etc.

St Catherine’s Point, the most southerly headland of the Isle of Wight, appears in this form, though it could be read wolneshorde, in the Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England. It was quite correctly identified by Delmar Morgan. He gives three variant versions, and associates the name with a ruined manor house, since rebuilt, called Woolverton, built by John de Wolver in the reign of Edward I. Waters follows him verbatim. Helge Kökeritz, in his The Place-Names of the Isle of Wight, does not include this old name for St Catherine’s Point, but gives other information about Woolverton.

An idea of the incredible variety of renderings of this name can be gathered by the following examples: Wolfoerde, Wolfoore, Wolfoird (incorrectly identified by the editor of the 1914 edition as Dunnose, but see below), Wolfer horn, Wolfer horn, Wolterhorne, Wolbers horn (Fig. 1), Wolfs bore, Wolvesorde, Wolneserde, Wolnesorde, Wolnersorde, Wolvers horn (not surprisingly ‘translated’ by the editors as la Corne du Loup (‘Wolf’s Horn’)), and Wolverton.

It is noteworthy that all the above versions appear in early English, Dutch, Flemish and Low German works. Sailing directions by southern Europeans give no renderings at all of the above name. In The Booke of the Sea Carte, an anonymous 16th century work at least partially translated or adapted from the French, in a context which leaves no room for doubt, St Catherine’s Point is referred to as great cliffe, and it is marked as Great clif on a map included in it. Somewhat surprisingly, there is no mention of this particularly prominent landmark under any name, either in the anonymous Le rouetier de la mer, or in Robert Copland’s translation of it, or in Pierre Garcie’s Le grant r ouetier et Pyllotage.

Portuguese sailing directions mention it under the name o cabo de touro (lit. ‘the cape of [the] bull’), giving its position in points of the compass and leagues in relation to daychape (‘Beachy Head’) and o cabo de purlao (‘Portland Bill’). In another context, possibly from a different source, owing to minim confusion, its name is given incorrectly as cabo do torno, in relation to biochepe (‘Beachy Head’).

(The variant sailing versions of Beachy Head are a wonder to behold.)

Italian sailing directions mention it thus: Chauo de toro e las aguias se varda levante e siroco ponente e maisto lege 2½ (‘Between Cape Toro and the Needles one steers ESE and WNW [for] 2½ leagues’), and Chauo de toro [e] el cauo boral se varda ponente e levante e sono lege 14 (‘Between Cape Toro [and] Cape Portland [Portland Bill] one steers East/West and there are 14 leagues’).

Spanish sailing directions made for the Armada are much more detailed. ‘From Cabo de Polo [St Aldhelm’s or St Alban’s Head] to Cabo de Toro there are 12 leagues. Cabo de Toro is in Isla duych [the Isle of Wight], the course is East/West, and Cabo de Toro is a high beautiful cape, abrupt to seaward, white on its eastern side... and at Cabo de Toro, close to the sea there is a fort and a beach, there is an anchorage by the beach [which] provides shelter from the southwest’. It goes on to explain that to go from Cabo de Toro to Santa Elena one must steer northeast. There can be no doubt as to the identity of Cabo de Toro. The reason for the name seems to be unknown. However, one wonders whether the shape of the landmark building, the 14th century lighthouse on St Catherine’s Hill, shown on some of Wagenaer’s charts, and very prominently on some coastal profiles, can have had anything to do with it (Fig. 1). Can there possibly, at a very early stage, have been confusion between torre (‘tower’) and tоро (‘bull’)?

For well over a century another name was incorrectly applied to St Catherine’s Point. The name Dunnose is probably from OE dûn ‘hill’ or ‘down’ + naess ‘headland’. The dûn concerned could well be St Boniface Down, 787 ft (238.3m) high, immediately behind it. The name appears properly to belong to the headland just northeast of Ventnor. In 1584, an English translation of a Dutch rutter in one context refers to the most southerly point of the Isle of Wight as Wolterhorne, and in several others as Donnoze. In Wagenaer’s Mariniers Mirrour (1588), the extremely popular English translation of his Spieghel der Zeevaerd (1584–5), one chart so placed the name Donnoze as to suggest that it applied to St Catherine’s point. No version of the name Donnoze had appeared on the corresponding chart.
in the original Dutch edition (Fig. 1). What had appeared as Wolbarto(w)rn, both on it, and on the coastal profile above it in that edition, was turned into Woluwart and Wolwart in the translation. In the same year 1588, Robert Adams produced a set of ten manuscript charts which record the pursuit of the Armada up the Channel by the English fleet, and on one, the most southerly tip of the Isle of Wight is named Dunne nose.63

Yet on John Norden’s map of the Isle of Wight (1595), Don nesse seems placed in its correct position.64 Unfortunately St Catherine’s Point is right on the edge of the map and is unnamed. On John Speed’s map of Wight Island (1610), Done Mosse, and Bannose, both evidently erroneous renderings of Dunnose, appear astride a group of rocks by Bonchurch, and at the most southerly tip of the island, another group of rocks is named Challorne.65 This is probably a form of Chale (Down), an early name for St Catherine’s Hill, + (horn(e), the same corruption of ord(e) as occurred in some versions of wolueshordre.

The misplacement of Dunnose continued for some time. It was still there on a chart in The Safeguard of Sailers, or Great Rutter of 1671.66 It was there on one of Greeneville Collins’ charts of 1693 and in his text.67 Surprisingly, on a chart of the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth in Nathaniel Cutler’s A General Coasting Pilot (1728), neither St Catherine’s Point, nor Dunnose is identified by any name at all. From the positioning of the name Dunnose on his chart of the English Channel, it is not certain which headland it is supposed to apply to, but in his text he states specifically that ‘Dunnose… is the Southermost Point of the Isle of Wight.’68 The confusion is well evidenced in the 18th century in van Keulen’s sea atlas, where there appear the words ‘Dunness, dat wy Wolfshorn noemen’ (Dunness… that we call Wolfshorn).69 Even Delmar Morgan seems to have been confused, for though in his glossary, published in 1889, he identified wolueshordre as St Catherine’s Point, in his notes he identified it as Dunnose.70 I have not yet managed to determine precisely when the name Dunnose reverted permanently to its correct position, and St Catherine’s Point replaced both it and the old wolueshordre.

§5. Stepilhordre

This name, like the heywode, is particularly difficult because of an unhelpful text. Delmar Morgan was not surprisingly unsure of the identity of Stepilhordre, for, apart from cille (i.e. Scilly) and Huschaunt (Ushant or Ouessant) off the NW tip of Brittany, it is the last of the names in the Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England which suddenly comes to an abrupt, incomplete end.71 His glossary entry, in which he is followed verbatim by Waters, reads: ‘Probably Steephill near Ventnor [Isle of Wight], ‘horde’ being merely a termination having the sense of “place”, like the German "ort"’.72 As with chakkesorde, he is undoubtedly wrong about the meaning of the final element. It is definitely OE ord, ME orde (‘headland’), with a quite unnecessary h attached. I could see no reason why such a navigationally insignificant place should figure in any sailing directions. I could find no trace of such a name connected with the Isle of Wight in any other rutter, or on any early map or chart. The only names in that part of the Isle of Wight were variant forms of what are now known as St Catherine’s Head, Dunnose, Culver Cliff, White Cliff, St Helen’s, and Foreland, or Bembridge Point. The suggested meaning of the first element, ‘steep hill’ is a not unreasonable one, for it could well be derived from OE sēacp, ‘steep’ + hyll, ‘hill’. Equally feasible would be ‘steeple’, from OE stēpel or stēpel. Early forms of the latter include Stiple (Steeple) and Stipel (Steepleton Iwerne), both in Dorset.73

But Delmar Morgan seems to have ignored the context, such as it is, for it certainly does not suggest the English Channel as its location. It is describing the depths and nature of the sea bottom as one approaches Britain from Spain. From capfenister (Cape Finisterre) you should go your cours north north est. And ye gesse you ij, parties ovir the see and be bound into sebarne [Severn, i.e. the Bristol Channel; my italics] ye must north and by est till ye come into Southweng…; then when you find you have a sounding of 100 fathoms or so, go north until you have a sounding of 72 fathoms and a bottom of ‘feir grey sonde’ (‘sand’). You have then reached ‘the Rigge’ [ridge] that lieth between clere [Cape Clear, at the southern tip of Ireland] and Cille [Scilly] than
Bristol by calling it *de holme van Brustowe* and *de holme Brustowe*. Steep Holm(e) appears as *Insula Stepholm* in William Worcester, and elsewhere as *Stepholme, Stupeholm, and Stepelholme* (1331). Waghenaer gives *Stotel holm* on one chart. At least two 17th century maps managed to confuse the first element with 'sheep', thus *Shepholmes Island* and *Shepholm*. The first element of the 1331 form, *Stepel*, has much to recommend it as the first element of *stepilhore*, but the *holme* element, from *ON holm* ('island'), contradicts the early English element *ord(e)* ('headland'). It is possible that a抄ist may have carelessly substituted *horde* for *holme*, but there is no way one can be certain. The letters *l* and *r* often took one another's place, and the inclusion of the unnecessary *h* in *Stepilhore* might be explained by the replacement of *holme* by *horde*; an unnecessary *h* got into *chakkeshorde*, as we have seen, and one also got into *Frostonhore* etc. (see §6 below). There appears to be no way of being sure whether *Stepilhore* indicates Stackpole or Steepholm(e). On balance, however, the course indicated being to the *sebarne* (the Bristol Channel), and probably to Bristol, the important seaport at its head, together with the information quoted above that *Stepilhore* 'risith all rounde as it were a Coppid ['pollard'd] hille', weighs in favour of Steep Holme. Those familiar with it will recall its prominent flat top and steep sides.

Interestingly, many early Portuguese charts indicate Flatholme and Steepholme together as *olmos*, clearly adapting the *holme(s)* element to Portuguese. The *h* was omitted from the spelling, either because it was first heard pronounced without it, or because *h* was not, and is not pronounced in Portuguese. The fact that *olmos* means 'elm trees' makes an interesting parallel to the French rendering of The Owers shoal off Selsey Bill as *Les Ours* ('the bears'). Such inter-language coincidences are more numerous than one might expect. Whether any Portuguese mariners really expected to see 'elm trees' on Flatholme and Steepholme is anyone's guess. The same applies in the case of French mariners and 'bears' near Selsey Bill, though some might conceivably have expected to see *ours* (marins) 'sea bears' (i.e. fur seals), for it so happens that Selsey itself is derived from Old English *seolh* 'seal' and *eg* 'island'.
§6. *Frestonhorde* etc.

The approximate location of *Frestonhorde*, also recorded as *Ferstonhorde* and *freston herde*, in the *Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England*, is made reasonably clear by the contexts. For some reason Delmar Morgan omitted it from his glossary. Waters correctly states that it is 'somewhere in the Scilly Isles', for bearings to it are given from three different known places, and all lead to the Scillies.

The final element is, once again, undoubtedly OE *ord*, ME *orde* ('headland'). There is no immediately obvious identification for the *Freston/ferston* element, but an examination of old forms of place-names in the Scillies reveals the island of Tresco spelled *trescau* and *Trescau*. The identity of the first element is immediately apparent, bearing in mind the common manuscript confusions between *f* and *t*, and the two-stroke version of *c*, and *n* and *u*. Tresco is composed of two Cornish words, *tre* ('farm') and *scaw* ('elder-bushes' or 'trees'). Which headland on Tresco is meant, it is impossible to say, or is this another possible case of *holme* and (h)orde being confused?

§7. *S. Richart*

This name is not to be found in any sailing directions, and only figures, along with *citeull*, between *porsmu* (Portsmouth) and *arondell* (Arundel) on charts of 1548 by Guillaume Brouscon (Fig. 2). The name *citeull*, a version of *cité vieille*, is the 'old city', wrongly identified by Kretschmer, in the form *ciuata* etc., and Waters, in the form *Cite de vieille* etc., as Chichester. A forthcoming article will show that this name was applied to The Owers shoal off Selsey Bill. However, there can be no doubt concerning the identity of *S. Richart*. It is Chichester, the site of the tomb of St Richard (de Wych), who was bishop of the diocese from 1245 until his death in 1253. He was actually buried in the cathedral. So saintly was his reputation that he was canonized in 1276, and his body removed to the present altar of St Richard, though his head was preserved separately in a reliquary in an aumbry in the chapel of St Mary Magdalene. The shrine of St Richard...
attracted large numbers of pilgrims, and proved a valuable source of revenue for the cathedral. Precisely why St Richard's name, rather than that of Chichester itself, should figure on Brouscon's charts, I have no idea, but his fame spread at least as far as Italy, for, somewhat strangely, he was chosen by the Coachmen's Guild of Milan as its patron saint.\textsuperscript{100}

§8/9. Ketils wode and Longbors etc.

Ketilswode or Ketilswordede\textsuperscript{101} is not included in Delmar Morgan's glossary, but for Longbors or Langborde\textsuperscript{102} he gives 'Probably a shoal in the Bristol Channel'. Waters follows Delmar Morgan verbatim regarding the second name, and applies the same wording to Ketils wode/Ketilswordede.\textsuperscript{104} So far as Longbors/Langborde is concerned, the relevant British Admiralty chart (1176) and pilot book clearly confirm Delmar Morgan's identification, the name now being Langford Grounds; 'they form the inshore part of English Grounds',\textsuperscript{105} just off St Thomas's Head. I have been unable to determine what the original form of the name was.

Ketils(w)o(r)de is another matter. Is one looking for a wode ('wood'), a mode or mode ('mouth'), as in the case of the heywode in §1, or an ord(e) ('headland')? In one context it does look as though it could be a shoal, but in the other, referring to the tidal flow 'betwene the holmys and Ketilsworde and Portishede', its nature is less certain. But Nathaniel Cutler, on his chart of the upper reaches of the Bristol Channel provides the solution. Not only does he give Langued Grounds off Wood Spring, but also Kittles Wood, between Black Nor and Walton Park (Fig. 3).\textsuperscript{106} Clearly Ketils wode (Kittle's Wood) was a prominent navigational landmark. It used to be a serious offence to cut down such trees.\textsuperscript{107} One wonders, therefore, when, and by whom they were felled, for contact with local historical societies has failed to elicit any information concerning either the name itself, or the wood's location, beyond the position indicated on Cutler's chart.
name of the feature. In Hope's Nose, the second element (cf. Robert Adams' Dunne nose cited in §4) is undoubtedly one of the numerous variants of OE næss ('nose', 'headland').

The third reason for rejecting Delmar Morgan's identification is that the Hope element in Hope's Nose is quite a late misrendering of what must surely have been its original name, so it cannot have existed in the 15th century. The earliest recording of Hope's Nose is apparently only 1765, 112 Charts by Nathaniel Cutler (1728), 113 and by Greeneville Collins (1693), 114 give the name as Bobs Nose. Close nearby, and now part of Torquay, is Babbacombe ('Babba's valley'). 115 It would seem self-evident that Bob's Nose is a popular corruption of what was originally the ness associated with Babba; or Babba's ness. The respective chart renderings of Babbacombe are Barbican and Babacon. How Bob's became Hope's is as yet uncertain.

Let us get back to the pople hope, etc. There are three words which have produced the hope element in United Kingdom place-names: OE hop ('a piece of enclosed land in a fen or marsh', 'dry land in a fen', or 'an enclosed valley'); ON höp ('bay' or 'inlet'); 116 and an English dialect hope, identical in meaning to the ON word, and probably deriving from it. 117 In a maritime context the 'bay' or 'inlet' meaning is obviously the more likely one.

Waters quite reasonably rejected Delmar Morgan's suggestion, presumably on account of the bearings given, and suggested that it was an unspecified feature 'in the area of Mount's Bay'. 118 Not one of the place-names in the area of The Lizard, Mount's Bay, Land's End and the offshore rocks and islands which are commonly cited in rutters and on charts provides any clue. The names given in both sources along the south coast of England from Lisard/lisard/Lisarde/Lisart westwards are: Raynoldis stone (the Runnel Stone), the Londis ende/the Landes ende/the landende, the gulf (Wolf Rock), and the long shippis/the langshippis (Longships Rocks). 119 Several other rutters and many charts include Mousehole. Delmar Morgan, in dealing with the name the grey, tentatively suggested that it was a name for St Michael's Mount, 120 but there are good reasons for discounting this identification (see §11 below).
One must presume that the *pople hope* etc. is some feature of significance to mariners other than those listed above, unless it is an unrecognised Cornish duplicate of one of them, but Dr O. J. Padel cannot suggest one. The only bay on the map today, roughly in the area indicated, with a name even remotely resembling *pople* or *popyl*, is Polpury Cove, from Cornish *pwl pri* (*clay–pit*). Dr Padel has suggested to me that Polpury, stressed on the second syllable, is very unlikely to have been folk-etymologised into *pople* or *popyl*, both of which English-speakers would stress on the first syllable.

If pronunciation were the only factor to be considered, his objection would be a perfectly legitimate one. However, it fails to take into account the effect of copying errors such as those, for example, which could, by stages, convert *Pleymode* (*Plymouth*) into *the key wode, Hynde* and *Hiwnd* (see §1). We have no way of knowing how Polpury’s two constituent Cornish elements would have been spelled by the original writer of this section of the common ancestor of the *Sailing directions* and Richard Proude’s version. It could well have been *polpri*. A dotted *i* was not infrequently mistranscribed as an *l*, and I have recently come across two cases in 15th century Italian sailing directions where a final *i* or *y* was transcribed as an *r*, *calcher* for *calde* or *caldey* (*Caldey*), and *saluer* for *s(c)almel* or *s(c)almey* (*Skomer*, originally Old Norse *skalm + ey*). Such a transcription would have given *pol(l)pyl*, the first *l* perhaps being dropped to avoid a repetition of that sound. For English speakers, an unrecognised word spelled *popyl* could equally well have been spelled *pop(p)le*. Spelling affects pronunciation and vice versa. Since the only spellings of the name are those given above, there is no means of knowing whether this Polpury Cove hypothesis is correct or not. It does, however, identify a bay roughly in the area indicated by the compass directions. Whitesand Bay, next to Polpury Cove, between Land’s End and Cape Cornwall, was evidently used by some ships, for Greenville Collins (1693) states that ‘to the northward of them [Long–ships] is a small Bay, called White–sand–Bay, where small Vessels and Coasters anchor’. Nathaniel Cutler makes a very similar observation, and adds that ‘beyond the Bay is the Breesin Island . . . ’Tis a little, high, round Island, and bears W. from Cape Cornwall about a mile from the Shore’.

There are other possibilities, however. Dr Padel, in a private communication, has kindly provided another suggestion, based on Delmar Morgan’s perfectly reasonable assumption that the *pople/popyl* element could be derived from *popple* (*pebble*; OE *popel*). A bay now called Porth Nanven, just opposite The Brisons, is remarkable for its large rounded granite boulders. The ‘pebble’ derivation of *pople/popyl* + *hope* (*bay*) could make it a logical identification, despite the size differential, though the noting of such a navigationally insignificant place does seem unlikely.

Dr Padel provided me with yet one more piece of information. In a late 16th century collection of tracts on the rights to coastal wrecks, one witness stated that he had known of hogheads of wine being cast ashore in Mount’s Bay, ‘between Poppler and Marckayowe’ [i.e. Market Jew or Marazion]. Regrettably, neither the editor of the published version of those tracts, nor anyone else, has been able to identify Poppler. Is it a hop(e) (*bay*)? Is it at all connected with *pople/popyl* etc.? The superficial similarity of the names is certainly suggestive, but we know neither its actual location, nor even what kind of feature it identified. Moreover, the compass bearings cited in the two runters, if correct, are not overly conducive to the acceptance of a feature in Mount’s Bay.

One other name possibly related to *pople/popyl* is worth mentioning. Research for two recent articles, on Wolf Rock, off the Cornish coast, and the Smalls, Hats and Barrels, off the coast of Pembrokeshire, found one source of interesting information to be Jean Alfonse’s *Les voyages auantureux*, published in 1559, though written a decade or more earlier. The author, almost certainly a renegade Portuguese pilot working for the French, produced the most incredibly corrupt versions of many place–names. In this case also he provides an interesting name: ’Au cap de Cornouaille, qu’on appelle Longueuenau vne lieue en la mer, est vne roche qu’on nomme Pupue, qui est
and the grey be est’. The ‘sentence’ is clearly incomplete. Richard Proude’s version, also incomplete, reads: ‘The Forne and the Gred by east’. In neither version is any distance given.

Delmar Morgan, who was not acquainted with the latter text, suggested that the grev was probably St Michael’s Mount. He stated that ‘The Cornish name for this isolated rock in Mount’s Bay was Caraclowse or Careg Cowse, the Gray or Hoary Rock; and Camden says the inhabitants called it so’. Waters accepts this identification. However, three factors militate against it. Dr Padel informs me that he believes that William Camden’s statement may well be a bit of antiquarian invention. Moreover, there appears to be no evidence that any spelling of the grey was ever used by mariners to identify St Michael’s Mount. In fact I was surprised to find no mention of that prominent landmark in any early sailing directions, and only three appearances of it on surviving early charts, and only one of them is of non-English origin. Then there is the evidence of the clearly incomplete compass bearing given for the grey from the forne. The word ‘be east’ and ‘by east’ would imply that the complete bearing should be ‘north by east’, or possibly ‘north-east by east’. In either case this would seem to eliminate St Michael’s Mount. If one follows roughly those two bearings on modern charts, the only name which could conceivably account for the grey or The Gred is Greep Point, which in fact has nothing to do with it.

It is perhaps surprising that neither Delmar Morgan nor Waters correctly identified it, for on a mid-16th century map of Falmouth Harbour, there is shown a little island or rock, called The Gray, east of the harbour. It figures on Saxton’s map of Cornwall (1576) as The Gray rock, and as The Grey it appears on Joel Gascoyne’s map of Cornwall (1699), just off Nare Head, where it is portrayed as two minute islands separated by two rocks. It appears as Gray on a chart of the English Channel in Nathaniel Cutler’s A General Coasting Pilot (1728), and in the text it is stated that ‘Between them [Deadman (i.e. Dodman Head) and Falmouth], 3 or 4 Miles S.W. from the Deadman, is the Gull Rock’, distance from the Land 1 1/2 Mile: and at the same
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distance W. by S. lies another call’d the Grey Rock; they lie about a Mile from the Shore, and 7 or 8 Mile from the Mouth of Falmouth Haven N.E. They are both above Water. The Gray is still there, many years later, on a Mount and Page chart of the English Channel. The Gray lasted as late as the first edition of the 1st Ordnance Survey map (c. 1810), but was dropped in favour of Gull Rock in later states of the 1st edition. If Cutler is correct, the Grey must be The Whelpes, but I suspect the name may have covered both Gull Rock, The Whelpes and the smaller rocks between them.

Besides appearing on maps and charts, it also figured in William Worcester (1479), as Insula de Greiff, though its position is somewhat misleadingly described. In view of the Sailing directions’ location of the Grey, it is interesting to note that Worcester describes it as being ‘opposite the country of Brittany called “le Foorne”’. It was also mentioned, giving a hint of its future name, by John Leland (1546): ‘Gref Islet lyth scant half a mile est of Penare [Nare Point] wherein breadth gulles and other se foules’. He, too, positions it in relation to the Forne, giving the distance between them as five kennings (100+ miles). Elsewhere he describes it as ‘an islet or rok beryng gresse cawled Greve, a ii. acres abowt . . .’. 143

§12. Isola verde

The noting of such apparently insignificant features as the grey and the poplehope in early sailing directions obviously indicates that they were of significance to mariners, if not to landlubbers. Two other such features mentioned in Italian rutters, though apparently not in any others, are Isola verde and le cidete (see §13). Details of the location of Isola verde (‘Green Island’) are given as levante e sirocho ponente maistro leghe 8 (‘8 leagues WNW/ESE [of] el cauo de butre (Bolt Head),’ and as vna isola chessi chiama isola verde (‘an island that is called Green Island’) da silocho (‘SE’) of premura (Plymouth). Note the variant spellings of isola/Yxola and simocho/silocho (with the frequent l and r confusion), the amalgamation of che and (s)si, and the common prefixing of a definite article to the following noun, here in the case of isola. The location, if correct, would undoubtedly seem to identify what is now known as Great Mew Stone, a prominent landmark when approaching Plymouth, especially from the SE.

§13. le cidete

As significant for mariners are le cidete (a misrendering of le cidere?). Londei (Lundy) is stated to be 60 miles tra grego e levante e tocha pil verso grego (‘a little bit NE of ENE’) from le cidete. That location, if reasonably correct, must identify them, for the name is in the plural, as The Cleaders, the outermost of some rocky ledges projecting from Godrevy Point at the northeastern extremity of St Ives Bay. It is possible that an Italian mariner’s enquiry regarding the name of Godrevy Island, which now has a lighthouse on it, elicited The Cleaders in response. Could The Cleaders be an anglicized plural version of a Cornish equivalent of Welsh cludair or cluder (‘a pile’ [of stones?]), as in Glyder Fawr and Glyder Fach in Snowdonia, which are referred to as The Glyders?

Godrevy Island and the rocks off it are very prominently marked on many charts, though by no means always with any name attached. Willem Blaeu’s The Sea Beacon (1643), and The Safeguard of Sailers (1671) both warn mariners to give the rocks to seaward of (unnamed) Godrevy Island a wide berth. A chart in van Keulen’s sea atlas has the word Monses against them. This seems likely to be a misprint for Mouses, since Mouse does occur attached to islets and rocks, notably just off the north coast of Anglesey.

Oliver Padel kindly informs me that he had not encountered any reference to The Cleaders before the relevant late 19th century Ordnance Survey map. Another suggested derivation of the name is provided by R. Morton Nance, and C. Thomas. It is suggested that it is probably derived from an anglicized plural version of cleeta (Cornish cleghyt ‘belfry’), a fishermen’s taboo word for ‘church’, mention of which word at sea is believed to be likely to bring bad fishing. Some of the rocks concerned are said to stick up like church spires at low tide, which might seem to favour the second suggested
derivation. On the other hand, both are one syllable short of the Italian *clidete*, which appears to be the earliest surviving occurrence of the word. The *t* of *clidete* could be a copyist's error for *r*, in which case the first suggestion might be preferable, but as the example is unique there is no way of telling.

§14. *the shelde*, etc.

One feature on the Norfolk coast that has presented problems figured in both the early English runter as *the shelde*. Its position is given as south–east of *the spone* or *sporne* (Spurn Head), but the nature of the feature is unstated. Delmar Morgan believed that it must be Cromer, and suggested that the word was derived from ‘shell’ which, ‘in the Suffolk dialect meant pied . . . [it] may have been applied to Cromer on account of the variegated colour of its sands’. Waters' glossary followed Delmar Morgan verbatim, but added ‘17th century English charts give the headland of Cromer as Dagger and Shield [Point]’. I do not know to what charts he is referring, but I have not seen one that does.

Neither Delmar Morgan's comments, nor Waters' observations seemed satisfactory to me, even though the former found a set of sailing directions translated from the Dutch which has a statement beginning ‘From the poyn of Cromer or Schield to the Tessel (i.e. Texel) the course is East’, which appears to substantiate his claim, but is probably a mistranslation; I have been unable to check the Dutch original.

The name *the shelde*, in one spelling or another, sometimes appears in association with *Dag(er)*. It figures on two English 16th century charts, and in two late 17th century coastal profiles which neither Delmar Morgan nor Waters appears to have located. In a chart of the southern part of the North Sea inserted in the anonymous, undated sailing directions entitled *The Booke of the Sea Carte*, the word *Shylde* seems to be attached to a promontory to the west of Cromer. The text mentions *the Shilde* several times by that name, and once, carelessly, as *thilde*, but never with sufficient detail to enable one to identify it.
Between Kromer and Shirringame, and east of a misplaced Walbornhoppe, on a chart of the east coast from the Thames estuary to the Humber by Richard Poulter (1584), there appears the inscription dager & / shilde (Fig. 4). It is impossible to establish the exact location of these two features from these two sources, or even from the coastal profiles in Greenville Collins’ Great Britain’s Coasting Pilot (1693), and in Jan van Keulen’s De Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee–Fakkel (ca 1700) (Fig. 5). On them, Dager and Shild, and Dager and Schild respectively are written above the profile outline, between Cromer and Cley or Blakeney; their positioning would suggest that they are the names of the two otherwise anonymous towns immediately below them, presumably either East or West Runton, and Sheringham, though as we shall see this is not so. No version of either Dager or Shield is mentioned in the text of these two sea atlases. I suspect that both Collins and van Keulen copied the names without really knowing what they referred to. As early as 1585, Wagener produced a coastal profile of the area. It does not record Dager, but has Schilt above a church with a spire, approximately in the position of Sheringham. Neither name appears in the text.

I have found only one work which does provide quite specific details about these two names, the set of 15th century Low German sailing directions, published as Das Seebuch. It states that ‘de Schilt . . . is a long high cliff, and the eastern end is the highest . . . above den Childe, to the south there lie three round hills by the sea . . . and all three are called Stackert’, presumably a Low German translation of English dagger, cognate with the modern German verb stechen (‘to stab’). It is further stated that ‘de Schilt is one kennyng long to sail [along]’. A ‘kennning’ was a rough maritime distance measure, based on how far one could see, usually about 20 miles. This is a significant overstatement of the extent of the line of cliffs between Weybourne and Foulness, just east of Cromer, which is only about 6 miles. The text goes on to state that: ‘on de[n] Schylde near the sea lies a large town with a large crenellated (stuven) tower, and it is called de Cramers, and it is surrounded by high ground’.

The relevant Admiralty pilot book’s description of the coast from
Weybourne to the vicinity of Cromer is revealing. It reads, in part, as follows:

thence [from Weybourne] it [the coast] begins to rise and consists mainly of cliffs of moderate height ... Sheringham ... lies in a hollow between easily distinguished hills. ... Cromer ... is a seaside town standing on the edge of a cliff, 9m to 12m high, 3½ miles ESE of Sheringham. Cliffs rise steeply either side of Cromer and the country behind is bold and well-wooded. The cliffs of the headland at Cromer are high and bold, steep to N and sloping gradually S. They are steadily being washed away and extensive landslips frequently occur. Cromer Church, with an embattled [i.e. crenellated] tower, 50m (160 ft) high, is conspicuous. 168

If one compares the information in the 15th and 20th century descriptions, which are remarkably similar, with the Collins and van Keulen coastal profiles, it would seem that the hills concerned, from west to east, are probably those now known as Skelding Hill (over 45m), just west of Sheringham, Beeston Regis Hill (63m), which is specifically mentioned as a good landmark in the Admiralty pilot, 169 and, slightly further inland, Beacon Hill (96m), the highest point in Norfolk, and Incleborough Hill (79m).

It is difficult to tell what Scilt and Dagger refer to on charts in Wagenaer’s Mariners Mirror, basically a translation of his Spieghel der Zeevaerd. One chart has a shoal between Blakeney and Wells named The pole and peper, apparently the one now called Pollard, and another, unnamed shoal north of Sheringham, roughly in the position of where Sheringham Shoal is, but further out to sea. 170 On another chart, the first shoal is named Dagger and, and the second one Sheeld. 171 In Das Seebuch, mention is made of a shoal (sande) named Staggert, presumably a variant rendering of Stackert (‘Dagger’), between den Schildt and a shoal named Oranye; 172 if the latter is the shoal called Urry or Haisborough Sand, on some charts, then it does not correspond to the position of the Dagger and [sic] shoal in the second of these two charts.
itself, or more likely the northern, eroded cliff face of it facing seawards, was perceived as being in the shape of a shield. Such a derivation has been offered as one explanation for the initial part of the name Skellingthorpe, where the Sk spelling would indicate Scandinavian influence.\textsuperscript{175} In either case, the Shield would seem to be an extended application of the name to cover the line of cliffs to the east of that particular hill as far as Cromer.

Whether this suggested derivation of sheld is correct or not, there appears to be no surviving hill, or other name in the area which resembles dag(g)er, and I have been unable to discover any surviving collective name for the hills between Cromer and Weybourne, so perhaps one may make a very tentative, perhaps simplistic, suggestion. Could the close association between The Shield and the three hills used to locate its position from well out to sea have suggested an associated word, Sword or Dagger?

§15. ciborta

In a set of early Portuguese sailing directions it is stated that 'between ilizarte [the Lizard] and faalimua [Falmouth] there is a port which they call ciborta and if you want to enter it, it must be at [high] tide' (my translation).\textsuperscript{176} There is only one harbour on the coastline concerned, namely up the Helford River, and there is no feature there whose name obviously resembles ciborta, however one pronounces it. I have been unable to examine the original manuscript, but presuming that the editor's transcription is correct, there would appear to be two possible explanations for this word, both fairly complicated.

The name ciborta could be a much mis copied rendering of what was originally a Portuguese transformation of an oral/aural rendering of Helford into (h)elvort(a). The h would have been omitted because it is not pronounced in Portuguese,\textsuperscript{177} the unvoiced f replaced by its voiced equivalent v, the voiced d replaced by its unvoiced equivalent t, and the final a added, as e was in the cases of oiete (Holyhead),\textsuperscript{178} and daychape (Beachy Head; originally French be(a)u chef ['beautiful headland'])\textsuperscript{179} for example, because Portuguese words do not end in t or d. The subsequent transformation of the hypothetical elvorta into ciborta could be explained by the not uncommon misreading of e as c and l as dotted i, and finally, the misreading of v as b whose handwritten forms were very similar, and the pronunciation of which were often indistinguishable.

On the other hand, it could just possibly be an example of how misunderstandings sometimes arose when a foreign mariner sought information from a local, and neither interlocutor was really familiar with the other's language. There is the probably apocryphal story that the Yucatán peninsula of Mexico was so called because a Mayan Indian, asked what its name was, replied 'I don't understand', which his Spanish interrogator took to be its actual name. In the case of ciborta, a question asked by a Portuguese mariner regarding the name of a specific harbour could have been misunderstood by his informant, who replied 'seaport', which could easily have been understood to be the harbour's actual name; ciborta and 'seaport' sound very similar. A Portuguese adaptation of the English word could have been achieved by representing the initial phoneme as an s or a c, and representing the ea sound accurately as i; the unvoiced p could well have been altered to its voiced equivalent b, and a final vowel, a, added, as explained above. One wonders what Portuguese mariners would have made of ciborta.

§16. Leyrnes/Leirnes etc.

This feature, which figures in those two spellings in the Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England,\textsuperscript{180} is identified by Waters, following Delmar Morgan, as Wainfleet, on the Lincolnshire coast, and both state that in 17th century sailing directions it is referred to as Legeren and Lagerness.\textsuperscript{181} It appears as Lyernesse in Proude's compilation,\textsuperscript{182} and elsewhere as Lauernesse,\textsuperscript{183} Laurmes and Laurnes,\textsuperscript{184} Lagenez, just north of Wijnfleit, on a chart in the Vingboons sea-atlas,\textsuperscript{185} as 'the Point of Lagerness' in the text of The Safeguard of Sailers, or Great Rutter,\textsuperscript{186} as Langernes attached to a headland NE of Wimflit in the same work,\textsuperscript{187} and as Leger Ness in Nathaniel Cutler's A
General Coasting Pilot (1728). In fact, the name does not refer to Wainfleet itself, but, as the final syllable and the separate word indicate, to a headland or ness, presumably the one between Wainfleet and Skegness now known as Gibraltar Point. The Laurnas and Laurn versions, of course, disguise the ‘ness’ element.

The word ‘ness’, from OE nes or ON nes, is cognate with the word ‘nose’. It appears in several different forms, for example: ness itself in Shoebury Ness and Orford Ness, or as a suffix in many cases, such as Sheerness, Dungeness, Foulness etc., as The Naze (near Harwich), as Nose in Higher Sharpnose Point (on the north Cornish coast), and Hope’s Nose (at Torquay). White Ness (by the North Foreland), sometimes appeared as Whiteness, interestingly situated opposite what sometimes appeared as Blackness (i.e. Cap Gris Nez between Calais and Boulogne), which was occasionally anglicized as Cape Grines. In several cases where the ‘ness’ element became a suffix, its meaning became unrecognised, and consequently a tautological Cape was placed before the name.

Mizen Head, on the south coast of Ireland, is an interesting case. Early forms include mews nesse, or Musenes, clearly ‘seagulls’ headland’. It looks as though the n of ‘ness’ either acquired a twin, which was added to some form of mews, thus producing some such form as musen nes, or the n migrated, leaving a form such as musen es. In any case, at some stage, what had been the word ‘ness’ ceased to be recognised and was replaced by the synonym ‘head’, while a vowel change, possibly under the influence of ‘miz(e)en’, produced the modern form Mizen Head. Such letter duplication was quite a common feature; for example saint(e) Telynes for Saint Helen’s, S. Tabs head for St Abbs Head, and S. Towses for St. Osyths.

§17. the sterte etc.

There is no difficulty regarding the identity of this feature as Start Point. The name comes from OE steort (‘tail’, ‘promontory’); thus one finds the Stert and the Start, Sterte and the Starte, with no specific identification. At some stage the meaning of steort was no longer recognized, so the tautological point was eventually added. All early English sources seem to give versions of steort as a simplex name, usually preceded by the definite article, the earliest recorded being La Sterte (1310). It is presumably because of its peculiar prominence as a landmark that this particular steort became, or remained, a simplex name, because the word was undoubtedly used for other headlands. One, at the mouth of the River Parrett near Bridgewater, now has a Stert Island and Stert Flats just off it, and a village called Steart near the shore. Another, just to the east of Exmouth, is named Start Point on a chart in Wagenaer’s Spiegel der Zeevaerdt, as Start Pout, a minim error for Point in the Vingboons sea-atlas, and Stert point on other charts.

Early non-English sources, however, identify Start Point as, for example: codester, c. de ster, godester, godotier, godestieri, godostieri, godistri and gottster, Bodester or the Strate, Bodestern, Bodesters called the Stert, godester, Godestel, die hoek van gospart, de Gholsstert, de Goltsterte and Goltstert, and Gonste point. The Vingboons sea-atlas gives both Start Point and Gustart, as well as the Exmouth Start point. The latter appeared on several maps and charts as Store point, and is now Straight Point (cf. the Strate above).

Does the first element in all these versions indicate the earlier existence of a specific, differentiating name for this particular sterte which has not survived in English records? If so, what was it? In the case of The Naze, the original specific name, Eadulfes nes(s)e, is known, but has not been used for centuries. Conceivably the above forms might be the result of a misunderstanding of an abbreviated Italian rendering of cauo de stert(e) (‘cape of stert’), such as co de ster(re), in which the three words had been run together in manuscript, as may well be the case in the 14th century codester cited above. The early 15th century c. de ster certainly suggests this. The forms with an initial g could have developed from a C being misread as a G. On the other hand, the Seebuch examples, de Gholstert, de Goltsterte and Goltstert, suggest the possibility (probability?) of there having been.
some confusion between the sterte (Start Point) and Bolt Head at some stage. The latter, probably from OE bolt ('arrow'),\textsuperscript{215} is only some six miles west of Start Point. The two names could have become amalgamated. Confusion between manuscript \( G \) and \( b \) was not uncommon, and there are three cases cited above where the initial letter is either \( b \) or \( B \).

Pierre Garcia’s \textit{Le grant routtier} (1521) is the first work I have seen in which Start Point (\textit{gaudester}) and Bolt Head (\textit{Boult}) are both mentioned, differentiated and described; even primitive coastal profiles are provided, though they are hardly recognizable by modern eyes (Fig. 6).\textsuperscript{216} They are also mentioned separately in 15th century Italian sailing directions as \textit{el chau de butre} and \textit{Godester},\textsuperscript{217} and in Portuguese sailing directions, also probably of the 15th century, as \textit{cabo de butre} and \textit{gaudester}.\textsuperscript{218} In neither case, however, is their relationship to one another stated. By the time of the Armada (1588) they are clearly distinguished, as \textit{el Cabo de Butre} and \textit{cabo de Goadester}, and stated to be two leagues apart.\textsuperscript{219} In the absence of any further evidence, I am inclined to think that the foreign renderings of Start Point are derived from an abbreviated Italian form \textit{co de stert}, as suggested above, which, in the case of the Low German examples at any rate, was corrupted by some form of \textit{Bo(u)lt}.

§18. \textit{y cornelande} and \textit{Cornelande}

\textit{Corneland} is identified in Delmar Morgan’s glossary as: ‘Cornwall, the horn-shaped land; the ancient name for this country being \textit{Kernou} or \textit{Kerniv}, the Horn, from its projecting promontories’.\textsuperscript{220} Waters follows this verbatim.\textsuperscript{221} However, there are at least two good reasons for believing this identification to be wrong. Firstly, the names in all sailing directions almost invariably identify much more precise locations, and specific features. The only mentions of Cornwall I have seen in sailing directions have been to Cape Cornwall, or to a specific place ‘in Cornwall’. Secondly, I have nowhere else seen the second element of Cornwall as anything other than some recognisable form of ‘wal(l)’. This name only appears in two sources, both of them English,
the manuscripts reading: ‘the nedles and Cornelande est and west’, and ‘the nedles and ye cornelande west and east’. I believe the inclusion of the definite article in the second version, and particularly in the abridged form ye, is significant. This is almost certainly a case where a copyst, or possibly a series of them, made three errors. He/they mistook the letter P or p in some spelling of Portland, probably with oo, as the Dutch almost invariably spelled it, for ye. This initial letter was believed to mean ‘the’, and so the ye, which had originally been a P, was detached from the beginning of the name. The first o was presumed to be an error for an initial c, and the t was miscopied as n. The result of such an ‘editing’ transformation would turn Poortlande into ye corlnande. In the first text, the scribe omitted the ye altogether.

In both the English texts, undoubtedly derived from a common source, shortly after the passages quoted, there follow respectively: ‘fro the nedles to Portlonde the cours is west south west and est north est’, and ‘from the nedelles to portland west south west, and east north east’. One might reasonably consider that these parallel passages contradict the suggestion that ye cornelande is ‘Portlonde’, because Portland cannot be both east/west with The Needles and also WSW/ENE of them. However, the first statement above appears to be giving the bearings of The Needles and Portland from one another, while the context of the second seems to be noting tidal flows between them. In any case, one must always bear in mind that manuscript sailing directions were compilations from several sources, and contain many inaccuracies.

Numerous passages in other sailing directions regarding the relative positions of Portland and parts of the Isle of Wight were examined. Just a few may suffice to make a point:

1. ‘Porlan e las agujas se varda quarta deleuante al griego e quarta de ponente al garbi e sono lege 12’ (lit. ‘[between] Portland and the Needles one steers E by N/W by S and there are 12 leagues’).
2. ‘Chauo de toro [e] el chauo borlan se varda ponente e levante e sono lege 14’ (lit. ‘[Between] St Catherine’s Point [see §4] and Cape

Portland [i.e. Portland Bill] one steers W/E and there are 14 leagues’.

(3) ‘E de burlam a uicante e ponente mia 30’ (lit. ‘And from Portland to [the Isle of] Wight [one steers] E/W 30 miles’).

(4) ‘Poortlant leyt van Wicht westwaert’ (lit. ‘Portland lies west of the Isle of Wight’).

(5) ‘Portland lies from Wight, westsouthwest twelve leagues’.

(6) ‘Portland, and the yle of Wyghte lye easte and west’.

(7) ‘Porlans et le cap Saincte alayne est & oest’ (lit. ‘Portland and Cape St Helen’s [lie] east and west [of one another]’).

It will be observed that the position of Portland is given specifically in relation to The Needles, St Catherine’s Point, Cape St Helen’s (i.e. Bembridge Point or Foreland, the most easterly point of the Isle of Wight), or somewhat less precisely to the Isle of Wight itself. It will also be noted that there are some directional contradictions. In none of the numerous texts examined is any direction given between the Isle of Wight, or any feature on it, and Cornwall.

§19. terre vermeille, etc.

There are two problems concerning this feature, ‘red land’ or ‘red earth’, firstly to identify it, and secondly, to try and discover the reason for the name. It seems to figure only in sailing directions written in Romance languages, and not in English, Dutch, Flemish or Low German ones. It appears in Portuguese as terra vermelha, in Italian as a tera vermeys, in French as terre vermeille, and in Spanish as Tierra Bermeja, though another Spanish version gives sierra bermeja.

Kretschmer does not include a tera vermeys in his glossary. Waters, with no supporting evidence, identifies terre vermeille as grene bank, which he states is probably the I. of Grain. Though he is almost undoubtedly correct in believing grene bank to be the Isle of Grain, I cannot agree with his note on terre vermeille (‘red land’), which equates it with grene bank. The latter name has nothing to do with ‘green’, but is derived from OE *grēon (‘gravel’ or ‘sand’), and even
if some mariner had assumed *grene* to mean 'green', it seems unlikely
that he would have 'translated' it by a word meaning 'red'.

Another reason for rejecting Waters' identification is revealed in the
context in which it appears in Pierre Garcié's text, which reads: 'Tenet
et terre vermeille nort et su' ('[The Isle of] Thanet and *terre vermeille*
[are] north/south [of one another]'). If this statement is reasonably
correct, *terre vermeille* must be somewhere on the coast of Essex,
Suffolk, or possibly Norfolk. It cannot possibly be the Isle of Grain,
which is almost due west of the Isle of Thanet.

In any case, the name actually figures on at least two manuscript
maps, as *terra uermeglia* on an anonymous 16th century one looking
remarkably like the work of Battista Agnese, and incorrectly, as
*Serra Bermeja*, on a map of England by the Spanish cartographer,
Alonso de Santa Cruz (ca 1540), of which more anon (Fig. 7). In
neither case is it possible to identify what it indicates, but in both cases
its position is clearly somewhere north of the Thames. The features
along the Essex and Suffolk coast which figure on early charts and in
eyear sailing directions include Foulness, St Osyth, the Naze, Harwich,
Orwell (Haven), and Orford Ness. Could *terre vermeille* have been an
alternative name for one of these? The use of the 'red land' name only
by Romance language speakers suggests that it is one of those several
features which southern European mariners knew by quite different
names from those used by their northern European counterparts, *cavo
del Toro* for what is now called St Catherine's Point, *benedita* etc., for
Edistone, and *cidade velha* etc. ('old city') for The Owers, off Selsey
Bill.

Portuguese and Italian texts provide no hints as to the precise
location of the 'Red Land', but merely state that high tide there, and at
the Isle of Thanet, is when the moon is SSW. Alvarez's Spanish text
gives the same information as the Portuguese and Italian texts regarding
*Tenete* (Thanet) and *Tierra Bermeja*, but adds one other fact, stating
that *Tierra Bermeja* 'es mas hacia Londres' ('is nearer London'),
which is dubious by any calculation, as will be seen from what follows.
The 'Red Land' is not mentioned in any version of that name in the Italian sailing directions published by Rizo in 1490, but there is one sentence which seemed to provide a possible clue. It reads: 'De tenet al cauo de rois chie laitra [sic] cauo de tramontana del colfo de la tamisa per tramontana e sono mia 60' (lit. 'From Thanet [the southern cape] to the Cape of [a]rois which is the other, northern cape of the Thames gulf [i.e. estuary] on the northern side and there are 60 miles [between them]'). 244 The 'Cape of Harwich' (cauo de arois, with the common omission of initial h, on many Italian charts) is undoubtedly The Naze. It is very roughly north of the Isle of Thanet, as Pierre Garcia says terre vermeille is.

There seem to be no names along the Essex and Suffolk coasts on modern maps which could have given rise to the name 'red land' or 'red earth'. However, there seem to be two features in that area which could have.

Firstly, on an 18th century chart by George Burn, the coast between Little Holland and Naze Tower is marked as consisting of 'Reddish Cliffs'. 245 At least one chart, records Red Cliff about two miles south of Harwich. 246 The whole Essex and Suffolk coastline has been much subject to erosion over the centuries, so there is no way of knowing what these cliffs looked like and whether they were 'reddish' in the 15th century. If they were, that could well account for the name.

There is another feature that could conceivably have given rise to the name. Stretched out along the coast, especially the coastal estuaries and marshes, from Foulness Island in the south to The Naze in the north, there is a large number of what are known locally as 'the Red Hills'. 247 Some 300 have so far been located. 248 They are not really hills at all. They are low mounds, 2–5 ft. high [1963; possibly somewhat higher in the 15th century or earlier], and are so variable in shape and extent that the area covered may be from ½ acre to 30 acres. The body of the mound is almost entirely burnt earth, of bright red colour, usually full of variously shaped pieces of very soft and coarse burnt clay, containing marks of grass or straw. These fragments, termed briquetage, are from large vessels like saggars or tanks, with sides about ¾ in. thick, and from objects like firebars'. 249 These sites are now known to be where sea-water, in large clay vessels, was evaporated by heating from slow-burning peat fires to extract salt. Some of the associated pottery dates from the Iron Age. 250 The lengthy stretch of the Essex coast over which these 'Red Hills' were spread could conceivably be the origin of the variant versions of terre vermeille. However, two factors militate against the idea. Firstly, their height suggests that they can hardly have been particularly prominent landmarks, though erosion would doubtless have caused at least some of the 'Red Hills' colour to have been visible from the sea. Secondly, the course recommended by both early English sailing directions for proceeding from The Naze towards London is to steer SW or WSW until level with St Osyth's Abbey, then cross The Spits (see Fig. 8) and proceed south until a depth of 10 fathoms is reached, thence SSW to the horse sho (probably a shoal NE of Shoeburyness). 251 Such a course would initially run parallel to the line of 'reddish cliffs'. However, it should be pointed out that the most northerly of the 'Red Hills' were at The Naze itself and in the area of salt marshes around Hamford Water, just behind and to the north of it. 252 Since the northerly ends of both the 'Reddish Cliffs' and the 'Red Hills' were or are in the vicinity of The Naze, it seemed certain to me that terre vermeille etc. was adopted by southern European mariners as a name for The Naze. None of those sailing directions which used the 'Red Land' name gave any version of either Naze or Harwich. The Italians gradually replaced this name by cauo (a)rois (Cape Harwich), the Portuguese spelling of Harwich being aroiche. Later all nations gradually adopted some spelling of The Naze.

I had already decided that The Naze must be the feature indicated by terre vermeille etc., when I examined the text of Alonso de Santa Cruz's Islario general de todas las islas del mundo. He is by no means always to be relied upon, to judge from the astonishing inaccuracy of his positioning and ordering of features along the south coast of England, as can be seen in Fig. 7. 253 It is ironical that on the same map, he spells the 'Red Land' Sierra Bermeja ('Red Mountain Range'). In view of the geography of the area, this is obviously a misrendering of
Tierra Bermuja ('Red Land'). He makes the same error in his text quoted below. This must be the result of careless copying, either by him, or in his source, because all the other sources I have traced give names meaning 'Red Land'.

However, Santa Cruz's confused text dealing with the east coast of England, based partially on classical 'authorities', does provide one piece of information which seems to provide specific confirmation of the identity of terre vermeille etc., for it refers to sierra bermeja as un cabo ('a cape'), and states that 'de la punta que llamamos sierra bermeja entra una baya grande et es la entrada para la ciudad de Londres' (lit. 'from the point which we call red mountain range there enters a great bay which is the entrance for the city of London').

Nathaniel Cutler seems to provide yet further confirmation of the identity of terre vermeille etc., even though he makes no mention of 'Red Hills', 'Red Land', or reddish cliffs, for he states what is fairly obvious from the map: 'The Naze and the North-foreland [on the Isle of Thanet] make the Mouth of the Thames, the distance not less than Sixty Miles [exactly the same figure as Rizzo gives for the distance between Tenet (Thanet) and the cauo de rois as quoted above]. From the Naze, which is on the Essex-Shore, the first Town is Harwich, distant about five Miles'. The outer limits of the Thames Estuary, as given by the relevant pilot book, are The Naze, and the North Foreland.

There is therefore no room for doubt regarding the identity of the 'Red Land' feature recorded on charts and in sailing directions of southern European origin. It is The Naze. It seems impossible to determine, with any certainty, which of the two alternative suggestions for the origin of the name is correct, but on balance it is the colour of the cliffs.

Doubtless an examination of a number of other coastal names in early charts and sailing directions would reveal interesting linguistic features, but those not dealt with above, or in the edited sources mentioned above are relatively few in number. Four such interrelated names, The Owers, Les Ours, Wembrough, and several variant Romance language versions of an inscription meaning (the) (old) city will be examined in a forthcoming article.
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Brisons. If Wey’s Browsam Rokke is also The Brisons, it looks as though he heard both names and did not realise that they indicated the same island(s), Popyl hop[y]l presumably being the older, Cornish + ON or OE name.

I should point out that the features in the area commonly cited in 15th and 16th century sailing directions were: Land’s End (known to the Spaniards and Italians by some version of Longships, e.g. longaneos, cauo longaneo), Longships Rocks themselves, Wolf Rock, the Runnel Stone, the Lizard and The Brisons. The two surviving 15th century sets of English sailing directions mention all except Longships and The Brisons, unless the variant versions of Popyl hop[y]l indicate the latter. It is not all that uncommon to find coastal features which have been known by more than one name, as I have demonstrated above with St Catherine’s Point (§4), The Naze (§19), and elsewhere in the cases of Wolf Rock, and The Smalls, off the Pembrokeshire coast. Written examples of Popyl hop[y]l etc. later than the 15th century, if they exist, may confirm or refute the suggestion that the name was applied to The Brisons.

Notes

For The Booke of the Sea Carte and Antonio Alvarez’s Derrotero, both unpublished, I have, of course, used the original manuscripts. For Le livre de la mer I have used both the facsimile reproduction of the manuscript and the transcription. In the case of all other manuscripts I have had to rely on the editors’ transcriptions, with one exception, the Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England, where I have been able to check the transcriptions with the original manuscript. In the case of the Rizo portolan in Kretschmer’s work, his transcription has been checked with the original incunabulum. For the transcriptions, only the editors’ pagination is cited below, even if they actually give the folio numberings.
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1. Brit. Lib., Lansdowne MS. 285, fols 136–140 (mid-15th century). It was published, with an introduction by James Gairdner, and notes and glossary by E. Delmar Morgan, in Robert Hues, Tractatus de globis . . ., London, 1889 (Hakluyt Society, 1st series, 79), where it is separately paginated 1–37; for the transcribed text itself, see pp. 11–22. See also note 2 below.

2. The above Sailing directions were also published in D. W. Waters (ed.), The Rutters of the Sea, New Haven and London, 1967, pp. 187–195; the lines of the text have been numbered. Waters’ work also reproduces three runters in facsimile: (a) The anonymous Le routier de la mer (1502–1510); (b) Robert Copland’s translation of it, The Rutter of the See (1557), which also includes a reprint of Richard Proude’s Rutter of the North (1541), a variant duplicate of part of the Sailing directions. The original edition of Copland’s translation is dated 1528; (c) Pierre Garcie, Le grant routier et Pylonage (1521); 1st edn 1520. In my references I have given Waters’ overall pagination and that of the individual facsimile works. For the Sailing directions I have given both Gairdner’s pagination and that of Waters, together with his line numbers.


5. Jan Weerszoorn, De Kaart van der Zee (1532); (ed.) J. Knudsen, Copenhagen, 1914.

6. Anon., Le livre de mer (J. Demecé and D. Gernez, eds), Antwerp, 1936. This is a facsimile edn of a manuscript Flemish sea atlas, the text of which has been translated into French and annotated by the editors.


8. Waters, pp. 132 / 84 and 134 / 86.

9. Gairdner, p. 30. Delmar Morgan’s speculation regarding Havant possibly being connected with Hyatt Wood is quite baseless.


15. Waters, p. 323 / 119.


18. See note 1.

19. Waters, p. 80 / 32.


22. Ibid, p. 308 / 104.


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27. Kretschmer, p. 566.


29. Gairdner, p. 28.

30. Waters, pp. 452 and 466. His identification of Cite and Veillet(s) is wrong.


32. A. Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota (eds), Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica, Lisbon, 1960 (6 vols); reprint in reduced format 1987; see vol. II, pls 101, 147 and 151.


37. Steerszoorn, pp. 45 and 46.


40. Gairdner, p. 13; Waters, p. 189 / 46.

41. L. J. Wagenaer, Thresoer der Zeevaert, Leyden, 1592; facsim. reprint, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 75.

42. Idem, Spiegelen der Zeevaert, Leyden, 1584–85; facsim. reprint, Amsterdam, 1964, part I, chart 22.

43. Gairdner, p. 13; Waters, p. 189 / 39 and 43–45.

44. Gairdner, p. 37.

45. Waters, p. 467.


47. Steerszoorn, pp. 43, 45 and 47.


49. The Safeguard of Sailors, or Great Rutter, London, 1584; facsim. reprint, Amsterdam and Norwood, N. J., 1976, fols 40v–41r.


52. Waters, pp. 130 / 82 and 131 / 83. The printed text here is clearly a case of n / u confusion in the manuscript.

53. Demecé and Gernez, p. xix of the manuscript. The editors’ modern transcription gives it as Wolves horn (p. 20). Like Knudsen, they wrongly identify it as Dunnoon.

54. L. J. Wagenaer, The Mariners Mirrour, London, 1588; facsim. reprint, Amsterdam, 1966, part I, chart 22; the inscription is placed on the island, while the placement of Donnose gives the impression that it is the most southerly point on the Isle of Wight.

55. The Booke of the Sea Carte, Brit. Lib., MS. Add. 37,024, fols 22r and 43v.

56. Rebello, p. 95.


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59. A. Alvarez, Derrotero de las coses de Bretaña, Normandía ... y dela de Inglaterra ... (1588), Brit. Lib., MS. Add.17.638, fol. 9v.
61. Waghenenaer, Spieghe, part I, chart 22.
62. The Safeguard of Sailers (1584), fols 40v–41r.
63. Ibid, fols 47v–48r.
64. Waghenenaer, Mariners Mirrour, part I, chart 22.
68. The Safeguard of Sailers, or Great Rutter, London, 1671, between pp. 104 and 105.
72. Gairdner, pp. 24 and 37.
73. Ibid, p. 21; Waters, p. 195 / 220.
74. Ibid, p. 36; Waters, p. 465.
76. Gairdner, p. 21; Waters, p. 195 / 220.
77. Ibid, pp. 21–22; Waters, p. 195 / 220–221.
82. Charles, vol. II, pp. 733, 736–7 and 739 respectively.
87. Ekwall, p. 441.
88. Waghenenaer, Thresoor, chart opp. p. 65.
89. Map of Somerset in Richard Blome, Britannia; or a Geographical Description of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, 1673; Brit. Lib., 577.k.2.
91. Cortesão and Teixeira de Mota, vol. I, pls 8, 26, 77 and 92b. On some other charts they appear as olinos, olmos, allinsons and alinos.

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94. Gairdner, p. 17; Waters, p. 192 / 147 and 151.
95. Waters, p. 455.
97. G. Brouscon, Manuel de pilotage à l'usage des marins bretons (1548), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS français 25374 (fol. 4); reproduced in full in black and white in Waters, opp. p. 45, and in colour in M. Mollat du Jourdin and M. de la Roncière, Sea Charts of the Early Explorers, New York, 1984, pl. 43.
98. Kretschmer, p. 566.
99. Waters, p. 452.
103. Ibid, p. 32.
106. Cutler, chart 11 (A Draught of the Bristol Channel).
108. Waters, pp. 14–15; Waters, pp. 189 / 72 and 190 / 76.
110. Gairdner, p. 33.
111. Ekwall, pp. 371 and 341 respectively.
113. Cutler, chart 6 (A; new and Correct / CHART OF THE / CHANNEL).
114. Collins, chart 14 [untitled – from Hope Key to Exmouth] and chart 4 [untitled – English Channel].
115. Ekwall, p. 21; Gower et al., part II, p. 519.
117. English Dialect Dictionary (ed. J. Wright), Oxford, 1961, vol. III, p. 230. It is implied that the dialect word hope ("bay") is restricted to Scotland and Kent. If correct, this hope (p) is presumably Old Norse, as would also seem to be the case in Middle Hope Cove near St Thomas's Head, the Cove there being tautological.
118. Waters, p. 460.
120. Gairdner, p. 120.
121. Padel, Cornish Place-Name Elements, p. 195.
125. P. A. S. Pool, 'The Penlegh Manuscript', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, n.s. 3 (1957–60), pp. 163–228; see p. 188.
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128. Jean Alfonse, Les voyages avantageux, Poitiers, 1559, fol. 21r.
129. Padel, A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names, p. 60.
131. Gairdner, p. 15; Waters, p. 190 / 78.
134. The Booke of the Sea Carte, fol. 45v; Brit. Lib., Cotton MS. Augustus I.i.34 and ibid, I.i.35; the latter two are reproduced in Harvey, pl. 31 and endpapers.
135. Padel, Popular Dictionary, p. 90 and Cornish Place-Name Elements, p. 70 give Greep Point as from Cornish crib/crib ('crest, comb, ridge').
137. See note 130.
143. Ibid, p. 323.
144. Kretschmer, p. 259 / 36.
147. West Coast of England and Wales Pilot, p. 28, §2.8.
150. The Safeguard of Sailors (1671), p. 113.
151. van Keulen, part II, chart 14.
154. Gairdner, pp. 11-12; Waters, pp. 187 / 8, 10 and 12, and 126 / 78.
156. Waters, p. 464.
157. Gairdner, p. 25. The work is presumably W. J. Blaeu's The Light of Navigation, Amsterdam, 1612; facsim. reprint, Amsterdam, 1966, p. 113, though the wording is slightly different.
158. The Booke of the Sea Carte, cols 43v and 44r.
159. Ibid, cols 16v-18r.

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160. Walborndhoppeis actually the bay (ON hóp) at Weybourne, to the west of Sheringham. Wayborne hoope on John Norden's map of Norfolk in Camden's Britannia, London, 1607, between pp. 144 and 145; Camden's text gives Wauburnehope, p. 349.
162. Collins, part II, chart V. The Dagger and Shield profile was still there in the 1723, 1756 and 1785 edns.
164. Wagenaer, Spieghel, part II, chart I.
169. Ibid, p. 146.
170. Wagenaer, Mariners Mirror, part II, chart II.
171. Ibid, part II, chart III.
174. E. Björkman, Zur englischen Namenkunde, Halle, 1912; see under Skelling, on p. 75.
175. Mills, p. 298.
176. Rebello, p. 111.
177. The letter h is now only used in the digraphs ch, ih and nh, to represent sounds which could not be represented by single letters, namely those of English sh, and Spanish ll and ñ respectively, and, unpronounced, at the beginning of some words that begin with a vowel sound.
180. Gairdner, p. 11; Waters, p. 187 / 7 and 8.
181. Ibid, p. 31; Waters, p. 457.
182. Waters, p. 126 / 78.
183. The Booke of the Sea Carte, fol. 18r.
184. The Safeguard of Sailers (1584), fols 2r and 2v.
188. Cutler, p. 5.
189. Gairdner, p. 18; Waters, p. 192 / 165.
190. Waters, p. 84 / 35.
191. Ibid, 131 / 83.
193. The Safeguard of Sailers (1584), fol. 1r.
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198. Vinboons, chart 2.
200. Ibid., p. 43, on chart by J. de Giroldis (1426).
203. Kretschmer, pp. 270 / 6, 270 / 7, 354 / 227 and 424 / 7 respectively.
204. The Book of the Sea Carte, fol. 40r.
205. Waters, p. 144 / 15.
206. Ibid., p. 66 / 18.
207. Ibid., pp. 310 / 106, 322 / 118 and 323 / 119.
208. J. Alfonse, fol. 19r; Alfonse states, incorrectly, of course, that Godestel is le port d'Artheny ('is the port of Dartmouth').
209. Le Livre de Mer, pp. xx–xii.
211. Wagenaer, Thresoor, chart opposite p. 65.
212. Vinboons, chart 2.
213. Start Point appears as Saltstart on one of Laurence Nowell's maps of the 1560s, but it seems almost certainly to be a careless error, due to the proximity of Saltcomb (Salcombe). He wrote Bulk (Bolt Head) in the position of Start Point, then erased it and wrote Bulk on the other side of Saltcomb. Brit. Lib., Cotton Domitian A.xviiii. fol. 11lv.
214. Ekwall, p. 337.
215. Ibid., p. 52.
216. Waters, p. 322 / 118.
219. Alvarez, fol. 8r.
220. Gairdner, p. 29.
221. Waters, p. 452.
223. Waters, p. 131 / 83.
225. Waters, p. 131 / 83.
227. Ibid., p. 259 / 36. It is perhaps worth noting that the mid–15th century Sailing directions record 'the Bill at Portbonde' (Gairdner, p. 14; Waters, p. 189 / 54), and Richard Proude records 'the byll at Portlande' (Waters, p. 131 / 83), both much earlier mentions of Portland Bill than 1649, the earliest one given by A. D. Mills (Mills, p. 262).
228. Kretschmer, p. 429 / 16.
229. J. Jacobszoon, Dit is die Caerue van der zee (1541); facsim. reprint Leiden, 1885, fol. D.vii.r.
230. The Safeguard of Sailers (1584), fol. 47v.

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232. Ibid., p. 310 / 106.
233. Rebell, p. 106.
236. Alvarez, fol. 18v.
237. Alonso de Santa Cruz, Islario general de todas las islas del mundo, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. Res. 38,1545, fol. 60v; also published under the same title (ed. A. Blázquez), Madrid, 1918, p. 101.
238. Waters, pp. 455 and 465.
240. Waters, p. 310 / 106.
242. Santa Cruz, fol. 62r; Blázquez, pl. 20.
243. Alvarez, fol. 18v.
244. Kretschmer, p. 429 / 17.
246. Ibid., III, 50. A New and Correct Chart of the Sea Coast from Orford Lights to Prittlewell.
250. Fawn, passim, but especially pp. 6–7.
252. Fawn, pp. 50 and 54.
253. Santa Cruz, fol. 62r and reproduced in Blázquez, pl. 20.
254. Ibid., fol. 60v and Blázquez, p. 101.