

was applied to the whirlpool between Jura and Scarba.<sup>21</sup> Was the Irish name transferred to Scotland then, or is there a more straightforward solution?

One possible alternative is that the specific is not a personal name but an appellative, albeit of restricted use, with the sense of 'cross-current, or whirlpool', from the adjective *breac* 'spotted, speckled' etc. + suffix of place *-an*. Although at the moment there seems to be nothing to corroborate it, this solution allows for the appearance of *Coire Bhreacain* in these two different places and is a more fitting description for the natural phenomenon found there than the fanciful *coire*.

No transference then? Well, yes—hence the *Coire Bhreacain* name-forms... But there is another instance: the prince's body was dragged ashore by his faithful dog, and carried to a nearby cave—*Uamh Bhreacain* 'the cave of *Breacan*' NM6800—where he was buried.<sup>22</sup> A case of transference by onomastic tale!

#### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Professor Colm Ó Baoill for reading my typescript and for helpful suggestions.

#### Note on Transcriptions

[L] is a velarised dental; [R] a velarised trill.

## Penda's Footprint? Place-Names Containing Personal Names Associated with those of Early Mercian Kings

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Professor Nicholas Brooks, in his contribution to *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* in 1989, drew attention to 'one potential clue to the early activity of the [*Iclingas*] dynasty ... strangely neglected in recent years'.<sup>1</sup> This is the West Midland distribution of place-names 'which

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This article is based on a paper read at Nottingham in April 1996 to the annual conference of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, whose members' kindly comments and queries encouraged further study. As an historian lacking philological skills, I am particularly indebted to Dr Margaret Gelling, Dr John Insley and Dr Oliver Padel for their patient guidance, to Professor Nicholas Brooks for his encouragement, to Dr David Dumville for commenting on my first draft, to Mr Kevin Streit for sharing ideas about the personal names, and to Professor Charles Phythian-Adams and colleagues in the Department of English Local History at Leicester, where I was able to revise my paper as an honorary visiting fellow.

*ASC* = *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, edited by D. Whitelock (London, 1961) (for MS A [*ASC* 'A'], see now *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, 3, edited by J. M. Bately [Cambridge, 1986], and for MS B [*ASC* 'B'], *ibid*, 4, edited by S. Taylor [Cambridge, 1983]); *DB* = Domesday Book (entry numbers [e.g. 15, 6] refer to the relevant county volumes in the Phillimore edition: *Domesday Book*, History from the Sources, general editor J. Morris [Chichester, 1975–86]); *ECWM* = H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961); F + number = charter listed by Finberg in *ECWM*; FW + number = charter listed in H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester, 1964); G + number = charter listed in M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Leicester, 1979); *GC* = Genealogies in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 183, fol. 59 ff, printed in the *Descriptive Catalogue* of the MSS in that library, III (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 427 ff.; Grundy = G. B. Grundy, 'The Saxon land charters of Wiltshire', *Archaeological Journal*, 76 (1919), 143–301;

<sup>21</sup> Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*.

<sup>22</sup> *The Isles of Islay and Jura*.

apparently preserve the rare personal names of Penda and his father Pypba'. The name of Creoda, Penda's grandfather according to Mercian genealogy, is also preserved in place-names. So too is that of Penda's son Peada, *princeps* of the Middle Angles and subsequently ruler of the South Mercians. Both are likewise most frequently found in the West Midlands.<sup>2</sup> In 1927 Stenton was rightly wary of assuming an automatic personal association between these place-names and the Mercian rulers.<sup>3</sup>

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GT = Genealogies in British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius B V, fol. 20, printed in Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, II, pp. 169 ff. (London, 1843); GV = Genealogies in British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian B VI, fol. 108 ff, printed in LV; HE = *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, edited by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969); HH = Henry of Huntingdon *Henrici archidiaconi Huntendunensis historia Anglorum*, edited by T. Arnold, Rolls Series, 74 (London, 1879); JW = John of Worcester, *Florentii Wigorniensis monachi Chronicon ex chronicis*, edited by B. Thorpe, 2 vols (London, 1848-49); Keary = C. F. Keary, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon Series*, I (London, 1887); LV = H. Sweet, 'Liber vitæ ecclesiæ Dunelmensis', in *The Oldest English Texts*, Early English Texts Society (1885) (for a facsimile reproduction of the *liber*, see *Liber vitæ ecclesiæ Dunelmensis*, edited by A. Hamilton Thompson, Surtees Society, 136 (Durham, 1923); S + number = P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968); SG = Saxon Genealogies in H. Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, Early English Texts Society (1885); WM = *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, edited by W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 90, 2 vols (London, 1887-89).

<sup>1</sup> N. Brooks, 'The formation of the Mercian kingdom', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, edited by S. Bassett (Leicester, 1989), pp. 159-70, especially pp. 163 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Discussion and critiques of Mercian king-lists and royal genealogies are to be found in K. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 39 (1953), 287-346, and D. N. Dumville, 'The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 5 (1976), 23-50. Icel also appears as founder of the Mercian royal dynasty in the eighth century *Life of St Guthlac*. See *Vita Guthlaci: Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, edited by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup> A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, EPNS 4

Brooks, following Stenton, concluded that the names 'became popular among Anglian settlers and lords in the West Midlands because of the success of the dynasty', in particular Penda's defeat of Wessex at Cirencester in 628 after which, he argued, the territory of the Hwicce came under the control of Mercia rather than that of Wessex. While this is an attractive explanation, it poses the question of why concentrations of such names are not encountered in other regions where Penda pursued Mercian hegemony, and among other Anglian lords indebted to the dynasty.

As far as I am aware, these place-names have not been fully collated before, and I am grateful to Dr Margaret Gelling and Dr John Insley for helping me prepare a list of potential instances. Seven characteristics are revealed which may be worthy of closer examination:

- (1) The corpus is more than three times as large as the fifteen instances mentioned by Brooks—thirteen names with elements ultimately derived from forms of *Creoda*, eleven similarly associated with *Pypba*, twelve with *Penda*, and fourteen with *Peada*.<sup>4</sup> With the addition of one derived from *Eowa*, the name borne by Penda's supposed brother, the total is fifty-one.
- (2) The personal names had already been in course of development when applied, and yet *Creoda* seemingly passed out of use at an early date.<sup>5</sup> So some at least of these place-names could date from the seventh century; conservatism in naming fashions alone cannot explain the phenomenon.
- (3) The names occur in clusters—Kersoe, Peopleton, Pinvin and Pensham, for example; *Creoda's oak* and *Penda's oak*; Curdworth and Peddimore, and so on.
- (4) There is a close correlation with ancient royal estates.
- (5) A significant proportion appears to be associated with infrastructure, in particular at militarily strategic places: several are on or close to the

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(Cambridge, 1927), p. xxii.

<sup>4</sup> Brooks gleaned these names from EPNS county volumes and from Ekwall ('The formation of the Mercian kingdom', p. 276, n. 23).

<sup>5</sup> A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire*, EPNS 2 (Cambridge, 1925), p. xiii.

'Criddi's *hoh* "spur of land"'.<sup>14</sup> Elmley was a component of the Domesday Book vill of Cropthorne, an Anglo-Saxon royal, later episcopal, estate. Mawer and Stenton's etymology of the first element was that it 'would seem to be the otherwise unknown pers[onal] name *Criddi* which it is difficult to dissociate from the name *Crioda* found in the early Mercian genealogies'.<sup>15</sup>

#### Elsewhere

##### < *Creoda*

**Credenhill**, Herefs (*Credehull* 1067 x 1071, *Cradenhille* 1086 DB). 'Creoda's hill'.<sup>16</sup> Credenhill has a large Iron Age hillfort and lies just north of the Romano-British town of *Magnis* at Kenchester. The name *Magnis*, explained by Kenneth Jackson as meaning 'The Rocks', may have been transferred from the hillfort, and Grimsworth Hundred, lying between the rivers Lugg and Wye, may preserve an old name of the fort, *Grimeswrosen*, 'the knot of Grim', Grim being Woden.<sup>17</sup>

**Cradley**, Herefs (*Credeleia* 1086 DB). 'Creoda's clearing'.<sup>18</sup> The shape of the parish of Cradley suggests that it may once have been part of its southern neighbour Mathon, a comital manor in 1066.<sup>19</sup> Mawer and Stenton suggested that the name Mathon derived from Old English (OE) *map(pu)m* 'treasure',<sup>20</sup> perhaps referring to a coin hoard.

**Creodan hyll**, boundary marker, Alton Priors, Wilts ('825': S272; Grundy, p. 164; FW198, 'spurious'). S272 is a grant by king Ecgbeorht to the church of SS Peter and Paul, Winchester. 'Creoda's hill' appears to be the high ground now known as Golden Ball Hill, ending in Knap Hill neolithic camp and guarding the place at which the Ridgeway descends to the valley of the Kennet. The charter bounds move from the dyke (?Wansdyke) to Creoda's hill, to the Highway and then along the Highway to 'Tawsmead' (Tawsmead Farm, east of the modern village). Land at Patney (q.v.) as well as at Alton

Priors was dealt with by S1403, a grant by Archbishop Stigand and the Old Minster at Winchester of land at Alton Priors and Patney. This point on Wansdyke happens also to be the location of the three place-names in Wessex containing the name of the god Woden.<sup>21</sup> Opposite Golden Ball Hill is Adam's Grave neolithic camp, formerly *Wodnesbeorg*. The name *Woddesgeat* might refer to the gap made in 'Woden's dyke' by the Ridgeway; just to the north lay *Wodnesdene*.

**Curbridge**, Oxon (*Crydan brigce* 956 [c.1200], S1292). 'Creoda's bridge'.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps crossed the Evenlode at Witney. Possible first element *burh* in the name of Burwell Farm, Curbridge.

**Long Crendon**, Bucks (*Credendona* 1086 DB). 'Creoda's *dun*',<sup>23</sup> Opposite Long Crendon across the River Thames is the town of that name, a major vill of sixty hides held in 1086 by the Bishop of Lincoln.<sup>24</sup> Long Crendon also shares a border with Ickford, 'the ford of Icca', a name related to *Icel*, but the crossing leads south to the Icknield Way.<sup>25</sup>

##### < *Crioda*

**Criodantreow**, 'Crioda's tree', location unknown ('825': S273; FW 'authentic basis').<sup>26</sup> Mentioned in the dating clause of this alleged ninth century charter as the location of a battle when king Ecgbeorht of Wessex, described as *rex Geuissorum*, 'moved against the Britons'. Same dating clause copied in S272, but that charter is regarded as wholly spurious, probably a post-Conquest product.<sup>27</sup> See *Creodan hyll*, above. Was there confusion regarding events in 825 at Wroughton, Wilts? ASC 'C' records that in that year the Britons were engaged in battle against the men of Devon at a place called Galford, but Ecgbeorht's presence is not attested. Dorothy Whitelock took the charter comment to refer to another episode in that campaign, but Heather Edwards has written that it is not certain that Whitelock was correct in doing so. It is not impossible that the composer of the annal was confused

<sup>14</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 122.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> B. Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, BAR, British Series, 214 (Oxford, 1989), p. 63.

<sup>17</sup> M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past. Place-Names and the History of England* (London, 1978), pp. 102, 211.

<sup>18</sup> Coplestone-Crow, *Herefordshire Place-Names*, p. 61.

<sup>19</sup> *DB Herefs*, 10,39 and 23,6.

<sup>20</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 65.

<sup>21</sup> Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, p. 160.

<sup>22</sup> M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire*, 2 vols, EPNS 23-24 (Cambridge, 1953-54), p. 315.

<sup>23</sup> *PN Bucks*, p. 122.

<sup>24</sup> *DB Oxon*, 6,2.

<sup>25</sup> See above, p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> H. Edwards, *The Charters of the West Saxon Kingdom*, BAR, British Series, 198 (Oxford, 1988), p. 152.

<sup>27</sup> *ASC*, p. 40, n. 2.

as between the Galford campaign and one which in fact involved the Mercians. The only battle recorded by *ASC* for that year at which Ecgbeorht, accompanied by the army of Wessex, is specifically stated to have been present, is that at *Ellandun*, otherwise Wroughton, Wilts, in which he defeated the Mercians under their king Beornwulf. The section of the Ridgeway on or near which this battle was fought crosses Wansdyke at 'Creoda's hill' (for which see Alton Priors, above), though this is about ten miles distant. Dr Edwards has written of the name *Criodantreow* that it would 'probably not have been accessible to a forger' and that 'invention of all this detail [concerning the campaign] is most improbable'.

< *Cridela*

**Criddon**, Shrops (*Critendone* 1166). 'Cridela's *dun*'.<sup>28</sup> \**Cridela* is derived from *Crioda*.<sup>29</sup>

**Carlingcott**, Somerset (*Credelincote* 1086 DB). 'The *cot* of *Cridel(a)*'s people' [or rather, 'Cottage(s) associated with *Cridel(a)*' GJ].<sup>30</sup>

< \**Cridela*/*Creodela*

**Cridling Stubbs**, township in Darrington parish, near Pontefract, W. Yorks (*Cred(e)ling* 1155-77). Smith proposed a derivation from *Cridela* or *Creodela* + *-ing* ('Cridela's place'), arguing that Ekwall's derivation from *Creoda* + *hlinc* 'hill'<sup>31</sup> did not fit the local topography, and that *hlinc* was in any case an element not found with certainty in Yorkshire.<sup>32</sup> An OE *Cridela* was not on record, but would have been a normal *-el(a)* derivative of *Crida*, which would have become *Creoda* by back-mutation.

Names subject to alternative explanations

**Crudwell**, Wilts (*Croddewell(e)* 854 etc. Also *-mor*, *-ham*.). 'Probably Creoda's spring or stream'.<sup>33</sup> Crudwell was a major holding of the nearby church of

<sup>28</sup> E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960), p. 130.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>32</sup> A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 8 vols, EPNS 30-37 (Cambridge, 1961-63), II, 61-62.

<sup>33</sup> J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Wiltshire*,

Malmesbury by 1066, and may have been part of the royal lands from which Malmesbury's home estates were carved.<sup>34</sup> However, Dr Gelling takes the view that the regular *-dd-* in the spellings rules out involvement of the personal name *Creoda*. In a comment to me (December 1995), she suggested an OE antecedent of Middle English (ME) *crudde*, Modern English *curd*.

**Creddacott**, farm in Week St Mary parish, near Bude, north Cornwall (*Crodecote* 1298, *Croudecote* 1302, modern *Cred(d)acott*). Svensson has derived this from ME *crowde* < Welsh *crwth* 'fiddle'; 'alternatively OE personal name *Creoda*'.<sup>35</sup> However, Dr John Insley pointed out to me (October 1996) that 'the forms do not allow derivation from *Creoda*, unless the <o>-spelling stands for south-western [ø:] from OE /eo/. On the other hand, the <ou>-spelling might rather suggest ME [u:]'.

**B: Place-names derived from a form of *Pypba* or one of its variants or derivatives**

**Province of the Hwicce**

< *Pypba*

**Pepwell**, local name in Hartlebury, Worcs (*Pepewell* 1200, *Peopewell* 1274). 'Pyppa's spring'<sup>36</sup> ('Pyppa from *Pypba*'). Hartlebury was a pre-Conquest episcopal manor and seat of the bishops of Worcester; perhaps an early royal or comital monastery estate.

**Pepper Wood**, Belbroughton, Worcs (*Pup(p)erode* 1230, *Pepperod(e)* 1251, *Pyperode Wood* c.1830). 'Pypba's *rod* (clearing)'.<sup>37</sup> ('Same pers. name *Pypba* or *Pyppa* [as] in Pepwell, Peopleton and Pedmore'). Part of a large wooded area on the boundary between two Domesday hundreds.

< *Pyppel*

**Peopleton**, Worcs (*Piplincgtun* 972 [c.1050] S786, *Pupplynton* 1240). 'Pyppel's

EPNS 16 (Cambridge, 1939), p. 56.

<sup>34</sup> *DB Wilts*, 8, 11; B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1995), pp. 60-64, on Malmesbury's royal patronage.

<sup>35</sup> Ö. Svensson, *Saxon Place-Names in East Cornwall*, Lund Studies in English, 77 (Lund, 1987), p. 62.

<sup>36</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 245.

<sup>37</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 277.

*tun*' ('[*Pyppel*] a diminutive of [*Pybba* or *Pyppa*]').<sup>38</sup> Ekwall's suggestion that the first element might be a stream-name from OE \**pyppel*, 'pebble',<sup>39</sup> is not supported by the history of the name of the brook near which Peopleton stands.<sup>40</sup> Peopleton was a member of the federative royal/ecclesiastical manor of Pershore, a Domesday triple hundred.

< *Pybba* [Mawer and Stenton] / *Peobba* [Smith]

**Pedmore**, Worcs (*Pevemore* 1086 DB, *Pubemora* 1176, *Pebb(e)more* 1291). 'Pybba's *mor*';<sup>41</sup> 'Peobba's *mor*'.<sup>42</sup> Mawer and Stenton suggested that 'in addition to the assimilation to *Pyppa* there may have been another to *Pybba* which would account for the forms found [for Pedmore]'. Smith commented that 'the very regular spellings for [Pedmore and Pebworth, q.v. below] cannot be directly from [*Pybba*]; there may have been, however, a form *Peobba* from a different grade (Pr[oto-]Germ[anic] \**peub-* [to puff']) as in OE *Peuf(a)*'. Wallenberg saw this Germanic stem as perhaps underlying the name Pivington, Kent,<sup>43</sup> and compared it with the personal name \**Pefi*, \**Pefen* suggested by Mawer and Stenton for Pusey, Berks, Pewsey, Wilts, and Pevensey and Pensford, Sussex.<sup>44</sup> (For interchange between *b* and *d*, Mawer and Stenton compared Bedgrove,<sup>45</sup> earlier *Behgrove*.)

< *Peobba*

**Pebworth**, Glos (*Pebewrthe* 848 [14th c.]; *æt Pebbewurðy* 1012–23). 'Peobba's enclosure'.<sup>46</sup> See Smith's comment on Pedmore above, made in the course of his remarks on Pebworth. 'Pedmore is parallel to Pebworth.' Smith noted that Pedmore's change of *Peb-* to *Ped-* was similar to that in a form for Pebworth, *Pedworthe* (1583).

<sup>38</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 216.

<sup>39</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 363.

<sup>40</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 10, s.n. *Bow Brook*.

<sup>41</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 306.

<sup>42</sup> A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, 4 vols, EPNS 38–41 (Cambridge, 1964–65), I, 252, s.n. *Pebworth*.

<sup>43</sup> J. K. Wallenberg, *Kentish Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1931), p. 191.

<sup>44</sup> A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, 2 vols, EPNS 6–7 (Cambridge, 1929–39), II, 444.

<sup>45</sup> *PN Bucks*, p. 166.

<sup>46</sup> *PN Glos*, I, 252.

Uncertain relationship of personal name to *Pybba*

< *Pippa*

**pippan slæd**, boundary marker, Bishops Cleeve, Glos (768 x 779 [11th c.]: S141; F30 'authentic').<sup>47</sup> 'Pippa's slade [short valley]'.<sup>48</sup> See discussion under Pepperwell below.

Spelling too late for confident etymology

**Pepperwell**, Welford, Warwicks (–*Farm*, modern; –*Furlong* 1760).<sup>49</sup> Without early spellings a comparison with Pepper Wood and Pepwell, above, is not possible, and derivation from OE *pipere* 'piper', is equally likely, as with Peppercombe, Hants;<sup>50</sup> or from a ME surname, as with Peppershill, Devon,<sup>51</sup> and Pepper's Farm, Peppersgate, Pepperscoomb, and Pepperhall Farm, all in Sussex. As well as commenting on these latter names,<sup>52</sup> Gover, Mawer and Stenton also dealt with Pephurst (see below), which they derived from *Pybba*, and with Peppering and Peppering Eye (see below), both of which they derived from *Piper(a)*, an *r*-derivative of *Pippa*. The same name was to be found, they proposed, in **Peper Harow**, Surrey (*Pipereherge* 1086 DB, *Pyperhargh* 1291).<sup>53</sup> In his comments to me, Dr Insley did not accept that proposition; Ekwall followed Zachrisson's suggestion that the first element of this and some similar names might derive from *pīpere* 'piper', genitive plural *pīpera* 'of the pipers'.<sup>54</sup> Gover, Mawer and Stenton, while accepting that such an explanation might suit Peppercombe, Hants, dismissed it in the case of Peper Harow as 'intrinsically improbable' and 'impossible [for] a place of such antiquity and importance'.<sup>55</sup> Wallenberg suggested that \**Piper(a)* was a nickname denoting a person of small roundish stature 'like

<sup>47</sup> G. B. Grundy, *Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire* (Bristol, 1935), pp. 71–90.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>49</sup> *PN Warwicks*, p. 303, without etymology.

<sup>50</sup> A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, EPNS 25–26 (Cambridge, 1956), II, 65.

<sup>51</sup> J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Devon*, 2 vols, EPNS 8–9 (Cambridge, 1931–32), I, 172.

<sup>52</sup> *PN Sussex*, I, 184, 212, 238; II, 307.

<sup>53</sup> J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Surrey*, EPNS 11 (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 207–08.

<sup>54</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 363.

<sup>55</sup> *PN Surrey*, p. 208.

line of east and west Wansdyke.<sup>6</sup>

(6) A few examples are found well beyond Mercia—one in Cornwall, another in Yorkshire—but they are only a handful.

(7) The distribution of names, though wider than the two counties of Worcestershire and Warwickshire noted by Brooks, is concentrated in western England, particularly in and around the territory of the Hwicce. This hints at a degree of regional identity, if only in patterns of naming, absent from the remainder of Mercia.

The corpus is presented in Appendix I, with a geographically arranged list with maps as Appendix II. Surviving forms of the relevant personal names are listed as Appendix III, together with brief reviews of scholarship. I am grateful to Dr Oliver Padel for his comments on possible Celtic derivations and comparisons. Perhaps because of their difficult nature, there has been no attempt before now to gather systematically those place-names which derive from personal names associated with early Mercian kings. The corpus presented here is deficient in not including names associated with the three rulers said to have been members of the *Iclingas* dynasty earlier than *Creoda*—*Icel*, *Cnebba*, and *Cynewald*.<sup>7</sup> An eastern distribution of such names as Ickleton (Cambs), Ickleford (Herts), Icklingham (Suffolk) and Knebworth (Herts) has long been recognised and contrasts with the western distribution of the names considered here.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult, however, to distinguish the personal name *Icel* from the elements found in the road-name Icknield Way and the tribal name *Iceni*.<sup>9</sup> A fuller examination would also have to take into account place-names, some of them eastern, with the element *Guth-* found also in the tribal name *Guthlacingas*, a

<sup>6</sup> For discussion of Wansdyke in relation to these names, see G. R. Jones, 'Kings' names: onomastic evidence for the early history of Midland England?' (forthcoming).

<sup>7</sup> *ASC 'C'* s.a. 626. For the personal names *Cnebba* and *Icel*, see M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919), pp. 89 and 142 respectively.

<sup>8</sup> For example, J. N. L. Myres, *The English Settlements* (Oxford, 1986), p. 185.

<sup>9</sup> Brooks, 'The formation of the Mercian kingdom', p. 164.

people who claimed descent from *Icel*.<sup>10</sup> The difficulties deserve to be confronted, however, since the geographical contrast between the names considered here and those excluded is mirrored by a philological distinction between the Germanic origins of the personal names *Icel*, *Cnebba*, *Cynewald* and *Guthlac*, and the possible Celtic influences, discussed in Appendix III, evident in the names *Creoda*, *Pypba*, *Penda* and *Peada*. Sadly, space does not permit exploration of these important issues, nor an attempt at historical interpretation, which I hope to pursue elsewhere. Parallel distributions need to be examined and questions of a cultural nature asked. How far, for example, are pseudo-historical and ideological meanings involved here, irrespective of the degree to which such names can or ought to be taken as providing clues to events and processes of the period of Mercia's formation and early ascendancy? Hence the question mark in the title of this article.

#### Appendix I: The place-names<sup>11</sup>

##### A: Place-names derived from a form of *Creoda* or one of its variants or derivatives

##### Province of the Hwicce

###### < *Creoda*

*Creodan ác*, boundary marker, Cofton Hackett/Alvechurch, Worcs (849: S1272, F254 'authentic'). 'Creoda's oak'.

*Curdworth*, Warwicks (*Credeworde* 1086 DB). 'Creoda's enclosure'.<sup>12</sup> Opposite Curdworth across the Tame lay a royal estate, Coleshill.<sup>13</sup>

###### < *Criddi*

*Kersoe*, hamlet in Elmley Castle, Worcs (*Criddes-*, *Cryddesho* 780 [11th c.]).

<sup>10</sup> A point made by P. Bowman in his unpublished doctoral thesis, 'Settlement, Territory and Land Use in the East Midlands: The Langton Hundred,' University of Leicester, 1996. For the *Guthlacingas*, see note 3, above.

<sup>11</sup> Where not stated otherwise, the listed names are those of parishes.

<sup>12</sup> J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Warwickshire*, EPNS 13 (Cambridge, 1936), p. 44.

<sup>13</sup> *DB Warwicks*, 1,5.

a peppercorn (OE *piper*), or ultimately from a Germanic base *\*pip-*, 'to swell'.<sup>56</sup> See also Dr Gelling's comment on Pipewell, Northants, below.

#### Elsewhere

< *Pybba* / *\*Pubba*

**Publow**, Somerset (*Pubelawe* 1219, *Puppelawe* 1262). 'OE *Pybban hlaw*, *Pybba*'s (burial) mound';<sup>57</sup> 'Pubba's *hlaw*, *\*Pubba* related to *Pybba*'.<sup>58</sup> Publow formed with Pensford a chapelry of Stanton, which in turn is probably to be associated with a likely royal estate centre, Chew Magna.

< *Pybba*

**Pibworth Farm**, in Aldworth, Berks (*Pubbewurth*, 1242). 'Pybba's *word*'.<sup>59</sup> **Pebmarsh**, Essex (*Pebeners* 1086 DB). 'Pybba's *ersc*, [pasture land/] stubble field'.<sup>60</sup>

**Pebhale**, lost place in or near Stebbing, Essex (13th c.). 'Pybba's *halh*'.<sup>61</sup>

**Pephurst**, in Wisborough Green, W. Sussex (*Pibehurst* 1303, *Pub(b)ehurst a.* 1370, *Pephurst al. Pubhurst* 1640). 'Pybba's *hyrst*',<sup>62</sup> ('Cf. Pepper Wood and Pepwell,' see above). Like Peppering, W. Sussex, below, Wisborough Green lies on the Arun.

< *Pybbi*

**Pebsbury**, 1 mile south-east of Langport, Somerset (*Pibbesbyrig* 1065). '*\*Pybbi* [sideform of *Pybba*] + *burh*'.<sup>63</sup>

#### Uncertain relationship of personal name to *Pybba*

< *Piper(a)*

**Peppering**, in Burpham, W. Sussex (*Piperinges* c.725 [14th c.] S44, *Pepering*

1263). 'The people of Piper(a)', an *r*-derivative of *Pippa*.<sup>64</sup> Peppering lies on the Arun, as does Pephurst, see above.

**Peppering Eye**, in Battle, E. Sussex (*Piperinge* 12th c., *Peperengee* 1189–99). 'A repetition of the name Peppering [in Burpham]'.<sup>65</sup>

**Pepperhams**, former name of Haslemere parish, Surrey (*Piperham* c.1180, *Pyperham* 1302, *Peperham* 1367). 'Pip(e)ra's *ham(m)*'.<sup>66</sup>

#### Open to question

**Peplow**, Shrops (*Papelau* 1086 DB). OE *\*pyppel*, *hlaw*, 'pebble tumulus'.<sup>67</sup> ('On [June 20, 1987], a ploughed field near Peplow Grange had extremely pebbly soil.'). In an earlier consideration, Dr Gelling interpreted Peplow as 'probably *Pyppa*'s tumulus', one of a number of tumuli with archaic names attached which suggested 'a generation of pagan Angles of aristocratic status who were among the first English settlers in the Marches'.<sup>68</sup>

**Pipewell**, in Wilbarston, Northants (*Pipewelle* 1086 DB). 'Pippa's spring'.<sup>69</sup> In Dr Gelling's opinion (personal communication, December 1995), it is more likely that the first element represents 'pipe' [OE *pipe*] than a personal name.

#### Unlikely

**Popple Hill Copse**, Redlynch, south-east of Salisbury, Wilts (*Poppel Hill*, c.1840).<sup>70</sup> In neighbouring Whiteparish, Wilts, Popplehill is *Poplar Hill*, c.1840.<sup>71</sup> *Poplar* corrupted to *Popple/Poppel*? Or *Poplar* a folk-etymology for an OE personal name lying behind *Popple/Poppel*? In Dr Gelling's opinion (personal communication, December 1995), more likely to be from OE *pyppel* 'pebble'.

<sup>56</sup> J. K. Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934), p. 593.

<sup>57</sup> M. Costen, *The Origins of Somerset* (Manchester, 1992), p. 82.

<sup>58</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 374.

<sup>59</sup> M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, 3 vols, EPNS 49–51 (Cambridge, 1973–76), II, 495.

<sup>60</sup> P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex*, EPNS 12 (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 449–50.

<sup>61</sup> *PN Essex*, p. 450.

<sup>62</sup> *PN Sussex*, I, 134.

<sup>63</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 360.

<sup>64</sup> *PN Sussex*, I, 167.

<sup>65</sup> *PN Sussex*, II, 498.

<sup>66</sup> *PN Surrey*, p. 206.

<sup>67</sup> M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Shropshire: Part I*, EPNS 62/63 (Nottingham, 1990), pp. 233–34.

<sup>68</sup> Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, pp. 156–57.

<sup>69</sup> J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, EPNS 10 (Cambridge, 1933), p. 176.

<sup>70</sup> *PN Wilts*, p. 397.

<sup>71</sup> *PN Wilts*, p. 391.

**C: Place-names derived from a form of *Penda* or one of its variants or derivatives**

**Province of the Hwicce**

< *Penda*

*Pendiford*, lost place in King's Norton, Worcs (1240). 'Penda's ford'.<sup>72</sup>

*Pinvin*, Worcs (*Pendefen*, 1275). 'Penda's fen or marsh'.<sup>73</sup> Pinvin was a member of the home estate of the major federative royal/ecclesiastical manor of Pershore.

*Peandan Wrye* (709 x 716 [12th c.], Goscelin's *Life of St Mildburh*, in British Library, Add. MS 34,633). ?Wyre Piddle, Worcs (*Pidele* 1086 DB, *Wrye Pidele* 1208).<sup>74</sup> '*Peandan* is apparently the genitive singular of the personal name *Penda* ... Nothing can be made of *Wrye* as it stands; we should probably read *Wrye*. If so, the place may be identified with Wyre Piddle, for this parish adjoins *Pendan-fen* ... now Pinvin'<sup>75</sup> (q.v. above).

*Pendan æc*, boundary marker, Cofton Hackett/Alvechurch, Worcs (849: S1272, F254 'authentic'). 'Penda's oak.' See also *Creodan ac*, above, from the same charter bounds.

*Pinbury Park*, Duntisbourne Rouse, Glos (*Penneberia* 1086 DB). 'Penda's burh'.<sup>76</sup>

*Pendebur* (1291 etc). ?Pimbury Park, Avening, Glos. Many spellings of a place-name *Pendebur* etc., difficult to identify with Pinbury Park or Pimbury Park, but seem to belong to the Avening area. If not a manorial name from a family name, then Pimbury 'has a similar origin, "Penda's fortified place"'.<sup>77</sup>

**Elsewhere**

< *Penda*

*Pendeford*, near Wolverhampton, Staffs (*Pendeford* 1086 DB). 'Penda's

<sup>72</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 223.

<sup>73</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 223.

<sup>74</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 155, without etymology.

<sup>75</sup> *ECWM*, p. 89.

<sup>76</sup> *PN Glos*, I, 73.

<sup>77</sup> *PN Glos*, I, 87.

ford'.<sup>78</sup>

**Penley Manor**, near Aldbury, Tring, Herts (*Pentlai* 1086 DB). 'Penda's leah'.<sup>79</sup>

**Penley**, Froyle, Hants. Gover compared Penley with Pendley, Herts.<sup>80</sup> Thus 'Penda's leah'?

**Penley/Llannerch Banna**, Flints. 'Penda's leah'.<sup>81</sup>

< *Pendel*

**Pensworth Farms**, in Redlynch, Wilts (*Pendeleswirth* 1227 etc.). 'Pendel's farm'. ('*Pendel* would be an *l*-derivative of ... *Penda*').<sup>82</sup>

< *Pendhere*

**Pendefrejs clif**, boundary marker (921[14th c.]: S379, FW237; 968 [c.1225], S756, FW303) south-west of Southgrove Farm, Burbage, Wilts, **Penceley** c.1840.<sup>83</sup> In bounds of Collingbourne Kingston (S379, grant by King Edward to *minister* Wulfgar) and of Bedwyn (S756, grant by King Edgar to Abingdon Abbey), both therefore royal estates in the ninth century. According to the Abingdon monks, Bedwyn was the capital of Cissa, *sub-regulus* in Berkshire and north Wiltshire at least as far as Malmesbury, from whom Chisbury hillfort, Little Bedwyn, was named.<sup>84</sup> The story does not belong to the older stratum of Abingdon tradition.<sup>85</sup> See also (*ad*) *Peadan stigele* below.

<sup>78</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 361.

<sup>79</sup> J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire*, EPNS 15 (Cambridge, 1938), p. 53.

<sup>80</sup> *PN Herts*, p. 53.

<sup>81</sup> M. Gelling, 'The early history of western Mercia', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, edited by Bassett, pp. 184-201 (p. 189).

<sup>82</sup> *PN Wilts*, p. 396.

<sup>83</sup> *PN Wilts*, p. 338.

<sup>84</sup> *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, edited by J. Stevenson, Rolls Series, 2 (London, 1858), II, p. 268.

<sup>85</sup> F. M. Stenton, *The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon* (Reading, 1913), pp. 1, 2, 13.



**D: Place-names derived from a form of *Peada* or one of its variants or derivatives**

**Province of the Hwicce**

< *P(e)ada*

**Padonger**, in Studley, Warwicks (*Padehangre* 1232). 'P(e)ada's *hangra* "wooded slope"'.<sup>86</sup>

< *Pad(d)a*

**Paddington**, field-name in Minety, Glos, now Wilts (*Padingden* 1540). 'Pada's *denu* "valley"'.<sup>87</sup>

(the) **Overpadden**, field-name in Meysey Hampton, Glos (1639). '?Pada's *denu*', comparing this name with that of Paddington in Minety.<sup>88</sup>

< *Peden*

**Pensham**, in St Andrew's parish, Pershore, Worcs (*Pedneshamme* 972 [c.1050]: S786; F120, 'authentic'). 'Peden's *hamm*'.<sup>89</sup> *Peden* would be an *n*-derivative of *Peda*.

**Adjoining districts**

< *Peada*

(*ad*) **Peadan stigele**, boundary marker, Little Bedwyn, Wilts (778: S264; FW194 'authentic'; Grundy, p. 151). S264 is a grant by Cynewulf, king of [West] Saxons, to Bica, *comes* and *minister*. See also *Pende(re)s* *clif* above.

< *Peda* or *Pede*

**Peddimore** Hall, in Sutton Coldfield, Warwicks (*Pedimor* 1298). 'Pede's *mor*'.<sup>90</sup>

< *Padeca* (diminutive of *Pad(d)a*)

**Patcombe** Hill, Bratton, Wilts (*Patekynhull* 1330; *padecan stan* 968: S765,

<sup>86</sup> *PN Warwicks*, p. 226.

<sup>87</sup> *PN Glos*, I, 78.

<sup>88</sup> *PN Glos*, I, 75.

<sup>89</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 221.

<sup>90</sup> *PN Warwicks*, p. 50.

FW304 'authentic'). 'Padeca's *cumb* and stone'.<sup>91</sup> S765 is a grant of land by King Edgar to Romsey Abbey.

< *Pēoda*

**Pedwell**, hamlet of Walton, Somerset (*Pedewelle* 1086 DB). 'Peoda's spring'.<sup>92</sup>

**Pedwardine**, Brampton Bryan, Herefs (*Pedewrde* 1086 DB). 'Peoda's (Piuda's) enclosure (*worþign*)'.<sup>93</sup>

**Elsewhere**

< *Peada*

**Padworth**, Berks (*æt Peadanwurðe* 956: S620, G80, grant of land by King Eadwig to his man Eadric). 'Peada's *word* "enclosure"'.<sup>94</sup> Through Padworth parish runs the earthwork known as Grim's Bank, dug north to south in parallel with the river Kennet, thus blocking the approach to Silchester from Dorchester-on-Thames.<sup>95</sup>

**Peadan beorge** (868: S214). S214 is a grant of five hides at an unspecified *Upthrop* by Burgred, king of Mercia, in a postscript to which are mentioned twenty hides at *Peadan beorge*. Birch suggested that the location of the grant might be Padbury, Bucks,<sup>96</sup> but a marginal note in a copy of *Cartularium Saxonicum* in Leicester University Library suggests Upthorpe in Cam, Glos, or Aston Upthorpe, Berks. The Domesday estate at Padbury was of twenty hides,<sup>97</sup> but see below for the derivation of its name from *burh*.

< *Padda*

**Padbury**, Bucks (*Paddeberi* 1167). 'Padda's *burh*'.<sup>98</sup> A large defended enclosure, Norbury, stands by the river at Padbury. At Buckingham, a

<sup>91</sup> *PN Wilts*, p. 146.

<sup>92</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 360.

<sup>93</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 360.

<sup>94</sup> *PN Berks*, I, 214.

<sup>95</sup> Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 27, citing B. H. St J. O'Neil, 'Grim's Bank, Padworth, Berkshire', *Antiquity*, 17 (1943), 188-98.

<sup>96</sup> W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols (London, 1885-93), IIA, p. 141, no. 524.

<sup>97</sup> *DB Bucks*, 43,8.

<sup>98</sup> *PN Bucks*, pp. 55-56.

neighbouring parish, was the pre-Conquest shrine of St Rumwold, supposed son of Peada's sister Cyneburh.<sup>99</sup>

**Paddington**, Middx (in *Padintune* 959 [13th c.]: S1293, *Paddingtone* 998 [13th c.]). 'Pad(d)a's *tun*'.<sup>100</sup> S1293 is a forged confirmation of a royal grant of lands to St Peter's, Westminster.

**Paddington Farm**, in Abinger, Surrey (*Padenden(e)* 1086 DB). 'Pada's *denu*'.<sup>101</sup>

**Padfield**, in Glossop, Derbys (*Padefeld* 1086 DB). 'Perhaps Pad(d)a's *feld*'.<sup>102</sup>

**Nether Padley**, Derbys (*Paddeley(e)* c.1230). 'Perhaps Padda's *leah*. Alternatively *padde*, "toad" might be considered'.<sup>103</sup>

**Padiham**, Lancs. (*Padiham* 1251, *Paddingham* 1292). 'The *ham* of Padda or his people'.<sup>104</sup> Or rather, 'Padda's *hamm*'?<sup>105</sup>

#### < *Peda*

**Pedan hrycg**, a woodland pasture in the Surrey Weald belonging to Merstham, Surrey (947: S528).<sup>106</sup> S528 is a grant of land by King Eadred to Oswig, minister.

#### Etymology open to question

< *Pæd(d)el* / *Pættel* (from *Pead(d)a* or *Peatta*, but the latter is unrelated to *Peada*).

**Paddlesworth**, near Dover, Kent (*Peadleswurthe* 11th c.). \**Pæddel* or \**Pættel* related to *Pead(d)a* or *Peatta*.<sup>107</sup> 'Pæddel's or Pættel's enclosure'. 'Most

<sup>99</sup> D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), 61–93 (p. 90), and G. N. Clarke, 'The legend of St Rumbold', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 3, no. 4 (1963), 131–36.

<sup>100</sup> J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Middlesex*, EPNS 18 (Cambridge, 1942), p. 132.

<sup>101</sup> *PN Surrey*, p. 260.

<sup>102</sup> K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, 3 vols, EPNS 27–29 (Cambridge, 1959), I, 104.

<sup>103</sup> *PN Derbys*, I, 158.

<sup>104</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 356.

<sup>105</sup> See E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), pp. 79–80.

<sup>106</sup> A. Rumble, 'The Merstham (Surrey) charter bounds, A.D. 947', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 3 (1970–71), 6–31 (pp. 7–8).

<sup>107</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 356.

likely OE nickname \**Pædel* or the like, derived from the same stem as Modern English *paddle*'.<sup>108</sup>

**Paddlesworth**, in Snodland, near Maidstone, Kent (*Petelesuurthe* c.975 Birch 1321; *Peadleswyrpe* c.975 Birch 1322; neither charter is listed in S). 'Pædel's enclosure'?<sup>109</sup>

#### **E: Place-names associated with the names *Eowa*, *Cyneburh* and *Wulfhere***

Although considerations of space prevent a full citation, and although the following instances are excluded from the maps, it may be worth noting, in the province of the Hwicce, the name Evenlode, Worcs (in Glos since 1931), associated with the personal name *Eowa* borne by Penda's supposed brother, and that of Kemerton, Glos, associated with the name borne by Penda's daughter *Cyneburh*. Both places have early associations with the Hwiccian nobility.<sup>110</sup> Dr Gelling advised caution in respect of place-names containing the name borne by Penda's son *Wulfhere*, since the name is too common to be central to the present inquiry. There is a slight regional bias in the instances which have appeared in the EPNS volumes and in Ekwall:<sup>111</sup> they appear in general to have a Mercian distribution. Conceivably this bias may be redressed when publication of the EPNS Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk surveys is complete.

#### **Province of the Hwicce**

**Wulfhereslaw** Hundred. 'Ancient episcopal hundred' of the cathedral church of Worcester (S731, dated 964, but authenticity disputed.)

**Wolverton**, Worcs (*Wulfringtun* 977: S1332).

**Wollescote**, Worcs (*Wlfrescote* 1275).

**Wolverdale**, Glos (1374 field name, location unspecified.)<sup>112</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent*, p. 151.

<sup>109</sup> Wallenberg's etymology, *The Place-Names of Kent*, p. 151, given under previous entry. In *Kentish Place-Names*, p. 307, he had suggested an alternative topographical sense 'something of a rounded shape', related to *pad(d)e*, 'toad', 'frog'.

<sup>110</sup> G. R. Jones, 'Church dedications and landed units of lordship and administration in the pre-Reformation diocese of Worcester', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1996, pp. 52, 61.

<sup>111</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, pp. 529–33, listed below.

<sup>112</sup> *PN Glos*, IV, 209.

**Adjacent districts**

**Wolferlow**, Herefs, near Tenbury, Worcs; compare *Wulfhereslaw* Hundred, above.

**Wolvershill**, Bulkington, near Nuneaton, Warwicks.

*Wulfhere's clif* and *cumb*, boundary markers near Charlbury Hill and the ridgeway in Little Hinton parish, near Swindon, Wilts (S312; Grundy, p. 174).

**Wolverton**, Wilts, near Wincanton, Somerset.

**South-eastern counties**

?**Wolverton**, Hants, near Newbury, Berks. 'First element such as *Wulfhere*, *Wulfred* or *Wulfrun*.'<sup>113</sup>

**Woldringfold**, near Horsham, W. Sussex.

?**Wolverstone**, Cocking, near Midhurst, W. Sussex.

?**Wolverton**, Bucks (*Wluerintone* 1086 DB). 'Wulfrun's or Wulfhere's *tun*.'<sup>114</sup>

**Woolverstone**, Suffolk.

**Elsewhere**

**Ulrome**, Barmston, Holderness, E. Yorks.

*Ullrefurthebec*, Westmorland, and

*Ulverpole*, Westmorland, field-names, location unspecified.<sup>115</sup>

**Appendix II: The place-names arranged geographically**

(The numbers serve as a key to the maps)

**Province of the Hwicce**

< *Creoda*

1 **Creodan ác**, Worcs

2 **Curdworth**, Warwicks

<sup>113</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*.

<sup>114</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*.

<sup>115</sup> A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, 2 vols, EPNS 42-43 (Cambridge, 1967), II, 313.

< *Criddi*

3 **Kersoe**, Worcs

< *Pypba*

4 **Pepwell**, Worcs

5 **Pepper Wood**, Worcs

< *Pyppel*

6 **Peopleton**, Worcs

< *Pypba* / *Peobba*

7 **Pedmore**, Worcs

< *Peobba*

8 **Pebworth**, Gos

< *Pippa*

Uncertain relationship of personal name to *Pypba*

9 *pippan slæd*, Gos

< *Penda*

10 **Pendiford**, Worcs

11 **Pinvin**, Worcs

12 **Peandan Wrye**, Worcs

13 **Pendanæc**, Worcs

14 **Pinbury Park**, Gos

15 **Pendebur**, Gos

< *P(e)ada*

16 **Padonger**, Warwicks

< *Pad(d)a*

17 **Paddington**, Gos

18 (the) **Overpadden**, Gos

< *Peden*

19 **Pensham**, Worcs

**Adjoining districts**

< *Creoda*

20 **Credenhill**, Herefs

21 **Cradley**, Herefs

22 **Creodan hyll**, Wilts

23 **Curbridge**, Oxon

< *Cridela*

24 **Criddon**, Shrops

25 **Carlingcott**, Somerset

< *Pybba* / \**Pubba*

- 26 **Publow**, Somerset  
 < *Pybbi*  
 27 **Pebsbury**, Somerset  
 < *Penda*  
 28 **Pendeford**, Staffs  
 < *Pendel*  
 29 **Pensworth**, Wilts  
 < *Pendhere*  
 30 **Pendef[re]s clif (Penceley)**, Wilts  
 < *Peada*  
 31 (*ad*) **Peadan stigele**, Wilts  
 < *Peda*  
 32 **Peddimore**, Warwicks  
 < *Padeca* (dim. Pad(d)a)  
 33 **Patcombe**, Wilts  
 < *Pēoda*  
 34 **Pedwell**, Somerset  
 35 **Pedwardine**, Herefs

#### Elsewhere

- < *Creoda*  
 36 **Long Crendon**, Bucks  
 < \**Cridela/Creodela*  
 37 **Cridling**, Yorks WR  
 < *Pybba*  
 38 **Pibworth**, Berks  
 39 **Pebmarsh**, Essex  
 40 **Pebehale**, Essex  
 41 **Pephurst**, W. Sussex  
 < *Piper(a)*  
 Uncertain relationship of personal name to *Pybba*  
 42 **Peppering**, W. Sussex  
 43 **Peppering Eye**, E. Sussex  
 44 **Pepperhams**, Surrey  
 < *Penda*  
 46 **Pend(e)ley**, Herts  
 47 **Penley**, Hants  
 48 **Penley/Llannerch Banna**, Flints  
 < *Peada*

- 49 **Padworth**, Berks  
 < *Padda*  
 50 **Padbury**, Bucks  
 51 **Paddington**, Middx  
 52 **Paddington**, Surrey  
 53 **Padfield**, Derbys  
 54 **Padley**, Derbys  
 < *Peda*  
 55 **Padiham**, Lancs  
 56 **Pedan hrycg**, Surrey

#### Location unknown

- < *Crioda*  
 57 **Criodantreow**, site of battle between Wessex and Britons, 825.  
 Possibly confusion with place in Wilts  
 < *Peada*  
 58 **Peadan beorge**. Padbury, Bucks, unlikely. Upthorpe in Cam, Glos,  
 and Aston Upthorpe, Berks, possible.

#### Etymology open to question

- < *Pæd(d)el / Pættel*  
 59 **Paddlesworth**, Kent  
 60 **Paddlesworth**, Kent

#### Names subject to alternative explanations

- 61 **Crudwell**, Wilts  
 62 **Creddacott**, Cornwall  
 63 **Peplow**, Shrops  
 64 **Pipewell**, Northants

#### Spelling too late for confident etymology

- 65 **Pepperwell**, Warwicks

#### Unlikely

- 66 **Poppel/Popple Hill**, Wilts

## Appendix III: The personal names

*Creoda* < *Crioda* < *Crida*

Penda's grandfather and/or penultimate predecessor appears in OE and later sources as *Cryda Cynewolding* (ASC 'A' s.a. 626, erased; cf. *Crida* (JW s.a. 627), *Crioda* (GV 91), *Creoda Cynewalding* (ASC 'A' s.a. 755, 'BC' s.a. 626, *Creoda* also GC 437, 438, and JW, p. 251), and *Creada* (HH, IV, 21, s.a. 755). In ASC 'D' s.a. 855 a *Creoda Cerdicing* was inserted in the royal line of Wessex between Cerdic and Cynric (*Criodo Ceardicing* SG 6; *Creoda Cynricing* GT 173 in error), but this may have arisen from Mercian political retouching of the king-list, and the two *Creodas* may have been one and the same person (ASC s.a. 855 and FW s.a. 849). They may also be identical with the *Crida* mentioned in ASC 'AB' s.a. 593 as having perished in that year, possibly together with the king of Wessex, Ceawlin, and an unidentified Cwichelm ('Her Ceawlin 7 Cwichelm 7 Crida forwurdan'). Henry of Huntingdon took this to be so.<sup>116</sup>

Redin observed that 'since the oldest forms have *io*, [the name] can hardly be connected with the Germanic base \**kreud-* in OE *crudan* "to press". *Crida* is perhaps Celtic and not the same as *Crioda*. Or is *Crida* the original form and *Crioda* (> *Creoda*) due to *a*-mutation?'<sup>117</sup> No other literary instances of the name survive. OE sources do, however, provide a single instance of a name *Creda(n)*.<sup>118</sup> That its bearer was an eighth-century abbot of Evesham, Worcs, where he was later enshrined, may be significant for the present inquiry. As *Credanus sanctus* he appears in a probable tenth-century list of abbots incorporated into the later Evesham Chronicle. As *Credan abba[s]* he witnessed charter S113 in 777, and probably S57 in 778–79 (*Tredan abbatis* in error?), and as *Creda abbas*, S62 in 778. S113 is generally accepted as authentic, apart from its postscript, as were S57 and S62 by Finberg (F224, F225). Opinion has been divided over S54, in which *Credano abbate* occurs in the witness list of a suspicious confirmation; Finberg (F201) argued for the charter's basic authenticity. Redin's opinion was that this name was 'Celtic, or related to *Creoda*, *Cri(o)da*?'.<sup>119</sup> The name of the Hwiccian St *Creda(n)* is reminiscent

<sup>116</sup> HH, II, 26 and 27.

<sup>117</sup> Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names*, pp. 89–90.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89; W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 144; *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham ad annum 1418*, edited by W. D. Macray, Rolls Series (London, 1863), p. 76.

<sup>119</sup> Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names*, p. 89 and, for *Treda*, p. 79.

of those of the Cornish saints *Creda* at Creed (*Sancte Cride* 1275, '[The church of] St *Creda* or *Crida*,')<sup>120</sup> and *Credus/Credanus* at Sancreed (*ecclesia Sancti Sancredi* 1291<sup>121</sup>). Farmer noted traces of a cult of a male St *Credan* in Counties Moyne and Wicklow, while the account of St *Creda/Crida* gives her an Irish origin in the second half of the sixth century or early in the seventh.<sup>122</sup> She appears as *Crite* in a tenth-century list of parochial saints, and may be identical with a Breton St *Cry*.<sup>123</sup> Ekwall remarked that the name looked like a Cornish form of that of St Faith, Cornish *cred*, Welsh *cred*, 'faith',<sup>124</sup> with which compare Old Irish *cretim* 'I believe', Latin *credo*.<sup>125</sup> The Devon river name *Creedy* (on *Cridian* 739 [11th c.]) was derived by Ekwall from a British base meaning 'winding'.<sup>126</sup> Among his 'Old Celtic' names, Holder recorded *Crit(t)io*, with a diminutive *Critonilla* and a variant *Critonius*.<sup>127</sup> Dr Padel's comment to me (December 1995) was that, in its form with final *-n*, Abbot *Creda(n)*'s name might represent a Brittonic name with Irish parallels.

*Pypba*

The name of Penda's father and/or immediate predecessor appears as *Pypba Crioding* (GV VI 91); *Pybba Cryding* (ASC 'A' s.a. 626 erased) and *Creoding* (ASC 'BC' s.a. 626, 'A' s.a. 755, SG p. 170; *Pybba* also GC 437, Nennius, chapter 65, JW 251); *Pippa* (Nennius ch. 65); *Pubba* (Nennius, ch. 60); and *Pibba* (WM, s.a. 626). Spellings with initial *W-* in JW and HH are attributed to scribal misreading.

Redin rejected the derivation of this name, together with OE *Peuf*,<sup>128</sup> from a Germanic stem \**peub*, \**pub*, 'puff, blow'; their meaning would then be "puffer", the "man who puffs and blows". 'I prefer, like Müller, to characterise

<sup>120</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 129.

<sup>121</sup> *ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>122</sup> D. F. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1992), pp. 113–14.

<sup>123</sup> B. L. Olson and O. J. Padel, 'A tenth-century list of Cornish parochial saints', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 12 (Winter 1986), 33–72, p. 60 and n. 173.

<sup>124</sup> Ekwall, *Dictionary*, p. 403.

<sup>125</sup> W. W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford, 1888), p. 141.

<sup>126</sup> E. Ekwall, *English River-Names* (Oxford, 1928), p. 104.

<sup>127</sup> A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1891–1925), I, 1169–70.

<sup>128</sup> R. Müller, *Untersuchungen über die Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitæ*, Palæstra, 9 (Berlin, 1901), p. 199, cf. *Peufa*, p. 216.

the name as “undurchsichtig” [“opaque”].<sup>129</sup> Kevin Streit, a student at the University of Washington, has suggested a root in common with Welsh *pybyr*, ‘staunch, strong’. Dr Padel has pointed out that the first *y* is a schwa, spelt earlier with *e* (*pebyr* in *Canu Aneirin*, lines 368 and 1001), and asks if this sound would be borrowed into OE as *y*. He draws attention to place-name examples cited by Jackson,<sup>130</sup> located in Dorset and Devon, not in Mercia.<sup>131</sup>

### *Penda*

All the literary occurrences of this name refer to the king of Mercia, in *HE*, *ASC* and other material; as *Pantha* in Nennius, ch. 60, 64, and, with variant *Pendæ*, in *Annales Cambriæ*, s.a. 657;<sup>132</sup> and *Pendan* (nom.) in Alcuin, *Versus*, pp. 518, 550.<sup>133</sup> Eight or nine dithematic names are known which incorporate *Pend-* as the first element, at least three of which are Mercian. Following Mawer and Stenton<sup>134</sup> and, by implication, Redin, Smith pointed out that *Penda* could be a shortened form of such names and that they seem to have had ‘an Anglian but more especially a Mercian provenance’.<sup>135</sup>

**Penw(e)alh**, Mercian noble of tribe of *Guthlacingas*, father of SS Guthlac and Pega, probably born by 650, i.e. within reign of Penda.<sup>136</sup> In the OE translation called *Penwald*.<sup>137</sup> To be identified with the Penwalh listed in the Anglian collection of royal genealogies and king-lists as a great nephew of Penda?<sup>138</sup> Dr Julia Barrow has suggested that **Pega**’s name might be ‘a

<sup>129</sup> Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names*, p. 34. (Müller, *Untersuchungen*, p. 43.)

<sup>130</sup> K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 673.

<sup>131</sup> I am grateful to Mr Streit for allowing me to see his unpublished paper, ‘The personal names of the early Mercian dynasty and the formation of cultural identities in seventh century Britain’, and to Dr Padel for his comments, made in September 1995.

<sup>132</sup> *Annales Cambriæ*, edited by J. Williams ab Ithel, Rolls Series, 20 (London, 1860).

<sup>133</sup> *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiæ*, edited by E. Dummle, Monumenta Germaniæ historica, Poetæ Latinæ, 1 (Berlin, 1881), pp. 169 ff.; Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names*, p. 69.

<sup>134</sup> *PN Worcs*, p. 223.

<sup>135</sup> *PN Glos*, I, 73.

<sup>136</sup> *Felix’s Life of Saint Guthlac*, edited by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956).

<sup>137</sup> *The Life of St Guthlac*, edited by C. W. Goodwin (1848).

<sup>138</sup> D. N. Dumville, ‘The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 5 (1976), 23–50.

shortened form of a Mercian family name fitting into the *Penda/Peada* pattern’.<sup>139</sup>

**Pendhere**, witness, c.757, of the Hwiccian under-king’s grant of Tredington to Worcester church (S55, F214 ‘authentic’).

**Pendraed**, moneyer under Offa 757 x 796 (Keary).

**Pendwine**, moneyer under Coenwulf 796? x 821 (Keary)

**Pendgyth**, queen and/or abbess, donor to church of Durham by c.825 (British Library, Cotton MS Dom. A 7, the so-called *Liber Vitæ Dunelmensis*). Pendgyth appears eighth in a long list of queens and abbesses (fol. 13; *LV*, p. 153, line 19), after Reginmeald (sic), Eanflaed (?of Whitby, d. 704), ?Eormenburh (?of Minster, d. c.700), Ælflaed (?of Whitby, d. 714), Æthelburh (?of Barking, d. 675), Cuthburh (?of Wimborne, d. c.725), and Nunna (sic).

**Pen(d)weald**, clerk, ditto (*LV*, p. 158, line 174).

**Pendwulf**, priest, ditto (*LV*, p. 157, line 111).

**Pendheard**, patron of reeve Eanwulf, c.912 (S1445, letter to king Edward explaining the history of land at Fonhill, near Warminster, Wilts).

?**Pandwynn**, patron saint of Eltisley, Cambs., 1344 (‘d. c.904’).<sup>140</sup>

Förster suggested that the element *Pend-* in dithematic names might have been borrowed into OE from Brittonic *pen-*, ‘head’, ‘chief’, though his explanation of *Penda* as a hypocoristic abbreviation of *Pendragon* need not detain us.<sup>141</sup> Dr Insley’s view is similar, that here and in compounds like *Pendwine* and *Pendwulf*, we may be ‘ultimately concerned with British \**Penno-*, “head”, taken over as an early personal name element in Old English.’<sup>142</sup> Commenting on Mr Streit’s proposal that *Penda* may represent a shortened borrowing into OE of what in Middle Welsh became *pendevic*, ‘nobleman, peer, prince’, Dr Padel suggested that an even better candidate might be \**penndav*, ‘chiefmost’, the word proposed by Hamp as that from which *pendevic* and its

<sup>139</sup> Internet discussion list Medieval-Religion, 17 November 1998.

<sup>140</sup> Farmer, *Saints*, p. 377.

<sup>141</sup> M. Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen: eine sprachliche Untersuchung* (Haile, 1921), pp. 62–63. I am grateful to Mr Streit for drawing my attention to Förster’s opinion.

<sup>142</sup> I am grateful for Dr Insley’s comment, made in October 1996, and for his reference, for the Celtic element \**Penno-*, to K. H. Schmidt, ‘Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 26 (1957), pp. 33–301 (p. 255).



Brittonic cognates would have been adjectival formations.<sup>143</sup>

### Peada

This name first appears in runic script, in the form *Pada*, on seventh-century sceattas. Ian Stewart has proposed that these coins were struck north of the Thames because of the absence in Kent of runes; nevertheless, an origin in Kent has also been proposed. Because these are in any case now dated to the period c.670 x 680, Pada is thought to be the moneyer, rather than Penda's son, who died in 656.<sup>144</sup> This Peada appears in *ASC* s.a. 652/3, 655; *HE*, Book III, chapters 21 and 24; *JW*; and in S68 (F426 'spurious but with possible authentic basis') as *Peada* (*Peda*, *Peoda* in versions of *HE*), and in *HH* II 34 as *Peda* (*WM*, chapters 74 and 75: *Weda* through misreading). In addition to the name of Penda's son, Redin listed:

**Padda** *presbyter*, a member of Wilfrid's mission in Sussex c.681.<sup>145</sup>  
Searle provided additionally:

**Pēde**, a witness of king Aethelbald's grant in 736 of land for a minster at Ismere in Kidderminster, Worcs (S89, F211 'authentic').

Olof von Feilitzen took the single Domesday instance of the name *Padda*, that of a landholder at Brampton, near Blythburgh, E. Suffolk, to be a nickname from late OE *pad(d)e* or Old Norse (ON) *padda* 'toad, frog'.<sup>146</sup>

Redin commented:

Whether [the various] forms represent one or several names, their Germanic origin is very questionable. Kemble, 'Names', p. 85, marks *Padda* in Bede as Celtic, and probably the same holds good of *Padda* in DB, though in this case late OE *pad(d)e* 'toad, frog' might also be thought of (ODan. *Paddi* is doubtful). Penda's son is generally called *Peada*, but it would seem that *Pāda* on the coins is the genuine form,

<sup>143</sup> Hamp, 'The element -tamo-', *Études celtiques*, 14 (1974-75), 189-90. I am grateful to Dr Padel for this reference and for his comments.

<sup>144</sup> Keary, p. 23; I. Stewart, 'The early English denarial coinage, c.680-c.750', in *Sceattas in England and on the Continent. The Seventh Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, edited by D. Hill and D. M. Metcalf, BAR, British Series, 128 (Oxford, 1984), p. 5.

<sup>145</sup> *HE*, Book IV, ch. 13 (*Peadda* in one version of the OE translation); Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names*, p. 105.

<sup>146</sup> O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, *Nomina Germanica*, 3 (Uppsala, 1937), p. 343.

which then underwent Mercian *a*-mutation c.700, i.e. before the time Bede wrote his history. The two charters from the seventh century in which *Peada* occurs are starred as spurious in *KCD* (484, 990). The circumstance that this purely Mercian form was afterwards adopted even in *WSax*. is by no means extraordinary; cf. *Beadu-*, *Aelf-*. With the etymology of *Pāda* may be compared Celtic *Pādus* (Holder II 920). Kemble, 'Names', p. 100, translates *Pada* 'with a tunic' (: OE *pād*, 'covering, coat, cloak'), but the later form with *-ea-* points to a short *-ā-*. A Germanic theme *\*paud-* is not found, as far as I know.<sup>147</sup>

As Dr Insley pointed out to me, three Continental names listed by Searle<sup>148</sup> are not relevant to the English corpus and would need to be checked against the source. These are *Peda* and the dithematic *Padmær*, attributed to Piper,<sup>149</sup> and *Padwine* (otherwise *Paduinus*), abbot of Le Mans, died c.580. The *Vita S. Paduini* appears under November 15 in *AA.SS.* I, p. 271-74.<sup>150</sup>

### The names as a group

In his comments to me on this corpus (October 1996), Dr Insley remarked that he suspected that '*Pybba*, *Pebba*, etc. are "lall"-names, pet-formations of obscure origin, though compatible with an Anglo-Saxon context'. Dr Padel suggested, in his comments on Mr Streit's proposals, that *Pybba*, *Penda*, and *Creoda*, if no English derivation could be found, might have begun as Brittonic epithets, not personal names, which were borrowed, shortened hypocoristically by the English and turned into personal names, their derivation from Brittonic 'soon lost to sight for both Brittonic and English speakers'. He drew attention to Kenneth Jackson's insistence on the distinction between epithets and personal names,<sup>151</sup> particularly regarding the attempt to see Vortigern as a title instead of a name. For the use of *pybyr*, earlier *pebyr*, as an epithet, Dr Padel offered as a comparison Gronw *Pebyr* (*Peuyr* in one MS) in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi.

<sup>147</sup> Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names*, pp. 105-06.

<sup>148</sup> Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 385.

<sup>149</sup> F. Piper, *Die Calendarien und Martyrologien der Angelsachsen* (Berlin, 1862).

<sup>150</sup> A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii ævi*, 2 vols (1896, reprinted Graz, 1954), II, 1504.

<sup>151</sup> O. J. Padel, 'Gildas and the names of the British Princes', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 3 (Summer 1982), 36-40.

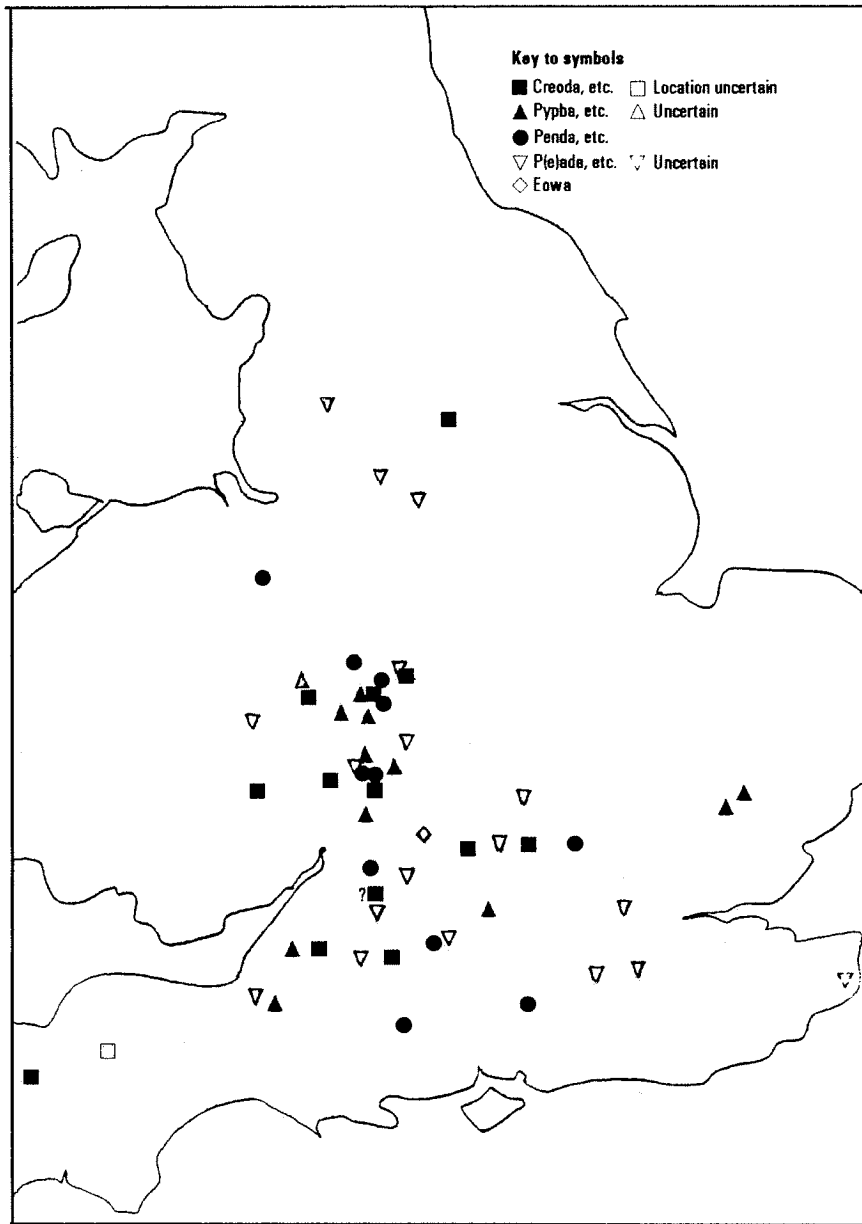


Fig. 1: PN's containing pers. names associated with early Mercian kings

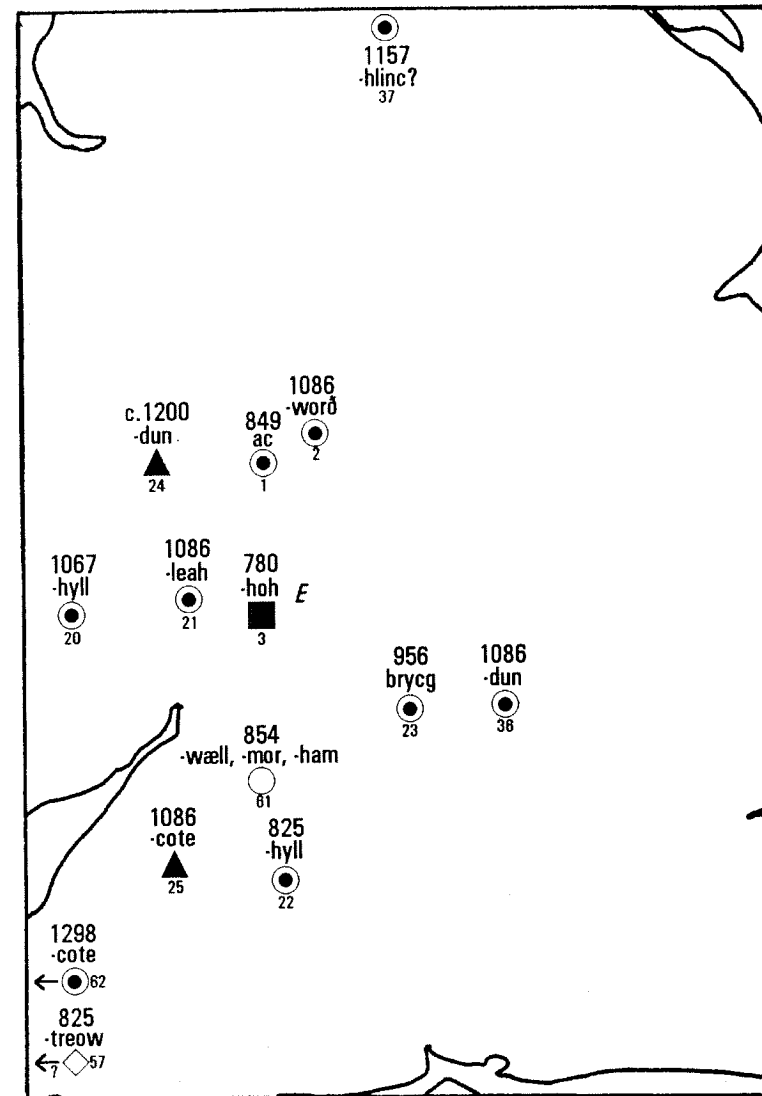


Fig. 2: PN's associated with the personal name *Creoda*, etc.

**Key to symbols**

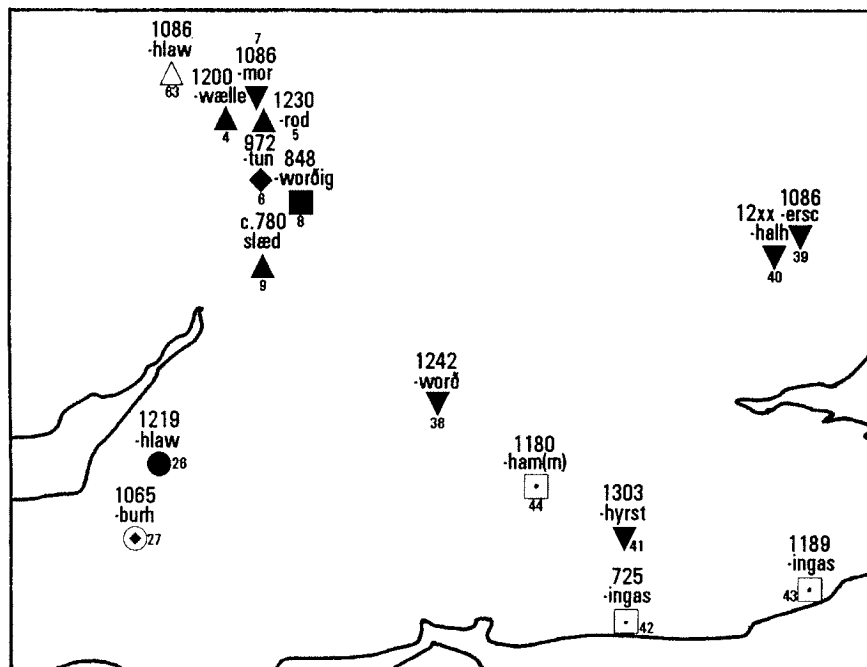
- < *Creoda*    ○ Uncertain etymology
- ◇ < *Crioda* (Uncertain location)    ▲ < *Cridela*
- < *Criddi*    Numerals refer to list of place-names, Appendix II
- E Evesham: See reference to Abbot (St) *Creoda*(n), Appendix III



Fig. 3: PN's associated with the personal name *Pybba*, etc.

Key to symbols      Numerals refer to list of place-names, Appendix II

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| ▲ < <i>Pybba</i>                 | △ Uncertain etymology                                      |
| ◆ < <i>Pyppel</i>                | ● < <i>Pybba</i> / * <i>Pubba</i>                          |
| ▼ < <i>Pybba</i> / <i>Peobba</i> | ⊙ < <i>Pybbi</i>   |
| ■ < <i>Peobba</i>                | □ < <i>Piper(a)</i> Uncertain relationship to <i>Pybba</i> |

Fig. 4: PN's associated with the personal name *Penda*, etc.

Key to symbols

- < *Penda*    ▲ < *Pendel*    ◆ < *Pendhere*

Numerals refer to list of place-names, Appendix II

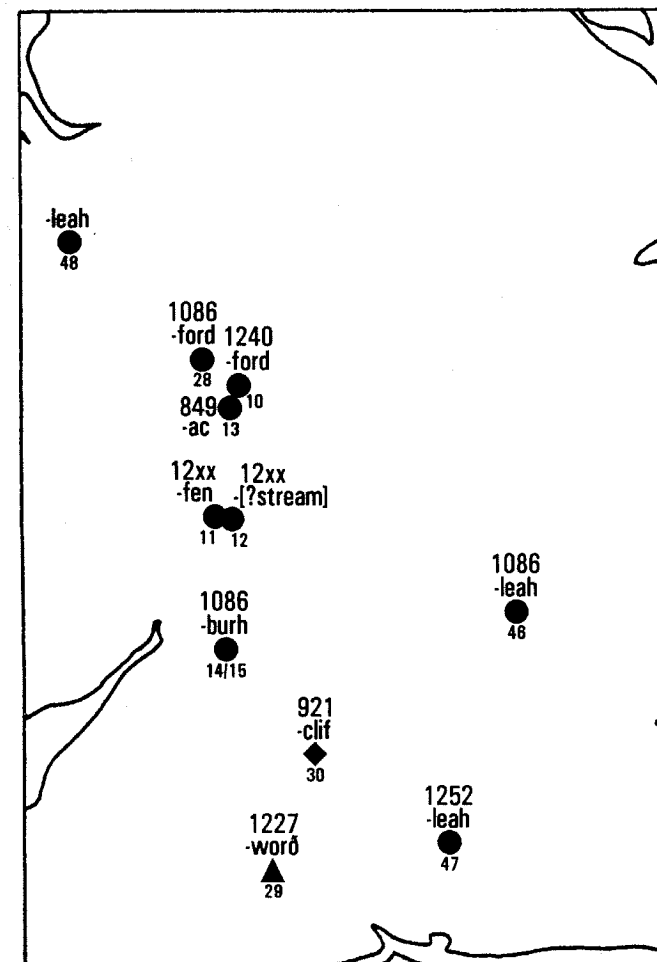
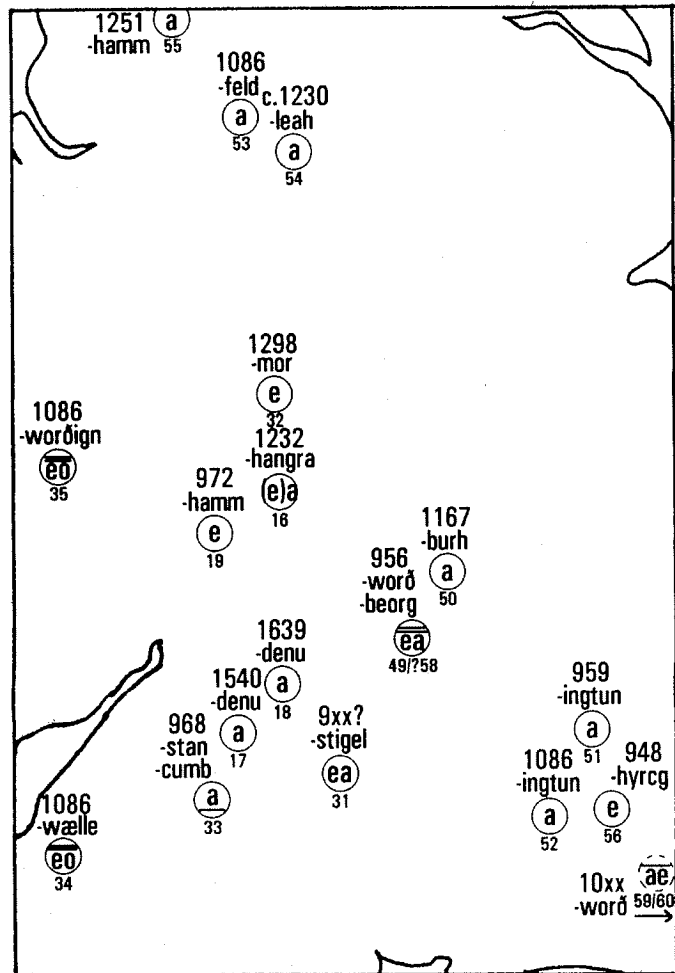


Fig. 5: PN's associated with the personal name *P(e)ada*, etc.

First vowel as shown, except that  $\textcircled{=}$  =  $\bar{e}$   
 Second syllable, where not *-a*:  
 $\textcircled{=}$  = *-eca*     $\textcircled{=}$  = *-el*     $\textcircled{=}$  = *-i* or *-el*  
 Numerals refer to list of place-names, Appendix II



## The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Boundary Clause

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Charter boundary clauses are of primary significance to place-name scholars, supplying as they do early forms of many toponyms and otherwise unrecorded topographical information. As such, they are of interest to those concerned with patterns of settlement, estate history and historical geography.<sup>1</sup> They also constitute some of our earliest and most extensive evidence of non-literary texts in Old English.<sup>2</sup> Well over eight hundred sets of boundary clauses survive in charters dating or purporting to date from the Anglo-Saxon period. Most of these are attached to Latin diplomas. A significant number also appear in leases.

Comparatively few boundary clauses, however, survive in contemporary, or near contemporary form. The rest exist only as texts contained in medieval cartularies, copied, for the most part, between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The reliability of these texts rests entirely on the competence of the scribes responsible for their transmission. Comparison of the single sheets with later copies does not generally inspire confidence in their abilities.<sup>3</sup> A further problem, and

<sup>1</sup> The chief exponent of this form of evidence is D. Hooke, whose work traces the boundaries of many estates. See, for example, *Worcestershire Anglo-Saxon Charter-Bounds*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 2 (Woodbridge, 1990); *Pre-Conquest Charter-Bounds of Devon and Cornwall* (Woodbridge, 1994). The reader should, however, note the reservations of C. Hough in her review of Hooke's later work in *Nomina*, 18 (1995), 145-49.

<sup>2</sup> Important work in this field has been undertaken by P. R. Kitson, 'Quantifying qualifiers in Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 14 (1993), 29-82; 'The nature of Old English dialect distributions, mainly as exhibited in charter boundaries', in *Medieval Dialectology*, edited by J. Fisiak (Berlin and New York, 1995), Trends in Linguistic Studies and Monographs, 79, pp. 43-135. His forthcoming work, *Guide to the Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries*, promises to be of the highest significance to the further study of these texts.

<sup>3</sup> I have looked at cartulary copies of vernacular wills in "As fre as thowt?"