tion resulted from the freedom of migration of the free peasantry by comparison with the restraints on movement imposed by lordship on unfree tenants (which could, however, be mediated).[123] Although in essence produced by legal differentiation, the relationship between toponymic bynames and legal status was no doubt also transformed into a cultural differentiation, so that toponymic bynames were appropriated to impart dignity and mark off status culturally as well as legally—to become 'cultural' or 'symbolic capital'.[124]

Throughout this discussion, reference has constantly been made to the minimum means of identification as a criterion for personal naming. The intention is not to imply that the *primum mobile* for naming was demographic change. Without any reservation, transitions in naming processes were essentially cultural and names were themselves cultural signifiers, carrying symbolic if not lexical meaning. To depend on identification by purely *nomen* reflected a cultural legacy which persisted into the 'phase' of the introduction of *cognomina*. The transition between the two 'stages' of naming process remained therefore complex and ambiguous, culturally heterogeneous.

Medieval Grimsby. Growth and Decline (Hull, 1993), pp. 20–22; E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'The first half-century of the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon', repr. in *The Medieval Town. A Reader in English Urban History 1200–1540*, edited by R. Holt and G. Rosser (London, 1990), pp. 49–70.

[123] The essential characteristics are probably still illustrated best by J. A. Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility. Studies in the Social History of the Mediaeval English Village* (Toronto, 1964).

[124] P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, translated by R. Nice (Oxford, 1990), pp. 112–21 for Bourdieu's earlier statement of the character of 'symbolic capital'.

**LANUM* and *LUGUDUNUM*: Full Lune, and Light on an Unkempt Wraith

John Garth Wilkinson
Torphin

With an host of furious fancies,
Whereof I am commander,
With a burning spear, and a horse of aire,
To the wildernesse I wander.
By a knight of ghostes and shadowes
I summon'd am to tourney
Ten leagues beyond the wide world's end.
Methinke it is noe journey.
From *Tom o' Bedlam's Song*, anon. (?16th century)[1]

To seek a link between an existing place-name and one documented long ago is always very tempting: it is the toponymic equivalent of finding a noble in one's genealogy, authenticating and validating the line, creating a pedigree. Ancient names, especially Roman ones, have their own *chic*, and by naming, either in actuality or in notional retrospect, we can recreate this prestigious *Romanitas* and partake of it to our reflected glory. In this way Huntingdon becomes *Venantodunum*,[2] Perth becomes *Bertha*;[3] we see a *coria*, or even a *curia*, in *Currie*

[1] *Poets of the English Language*, edited by W. H. Auden and N. H. Pearson, 5 vols (London, *c.*1970), II, 53–55.

[2] A Latin translation of the English name, coined by John Leland, as Camden tells (*Britannia*, 1586, 280): A. L. F. Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 514.

[3] Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, pp. 512–14. *Bertha* is a spurious fourteenth-century invention of John Fordoun 'to supply a plausible antecedent for the city of Perth' [*ibid.*]. A cherished Scottish onymoid, it persisted on Ordnance Survey maps into the 1970s and (rather disconcertingly) is still used in apparent innocence by some archaeologists and historians, e.g. A. P. Smyth, *Warlords & Holy Men: Scotland AD 80–1000* (London, 1984), p. 40; D. Breeze, *The Romans in Scotland*, Historic Scotland (London, 1996), *passim*; S. M. Foster,

MLO[4] by popular or antiquarian etymology, a *locus* in **Locus Maponi* (Lochmaben DMF) by scholarly false-etymology,[5] each one projecting a Roman prestige, unwarranted in these cases, backwards through time: a few chisel-blows on the epitaph of history rewritten, reinvented in a quasi-Orwellian way. Yet the intention is good, for there are indeed such long-surviving names, and not all of them have as yet been found.

Writing in the fourth volume of this journal, the late Colin Smith rightly warned that 'the temptation to perceive possible continuity wherever there is a remote resemblance between ancient and modern forms must be resisted, of course',[6] but there was for long a sort of obduracy in the other direction among toponymists of the Anglo-Saxon school in balking, whether consciously or unwittingly (but not consis-

Picts, Gaels and Scots, Historic Scotland (London, 1996), p. 46; S. T. Driscoll, 'Political discourse and the growth of Christian ceremonialism in Pictland: the place of the St Andrews Sarcophagus' in *The St Andrews Sarcophagus: A Pictish Masterpiece and its International Connections*, edited by S. M. Foster (Dublin, 1998), pp. 168–78.

[4] A locally known etymology of unclear origin; *Currie* (*sic c.*1230) is in reality an unpretentious and common name type from the dative of Gaelic (G) *currach* 'a wet plain, marsh': W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926, repr. 1993), p. 144; J. B. Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland* 3rd edn (London, 1934), p. 150; for British (B) **coria* 'hosting-place' and Latin *curia* 'court; ward; assembly, etc.', see Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, pp. 316–24. County abbreviations (pre-reorganisation) follow Scottish toponymists' usage and are as outlined in W. F. H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names. Their Study and Significance*, new edn (Edinburgh, 2001), pp. xxi–xxii.

[5] More likely a British *loch* than a Latin *locus* with 'no analogues anywhere': Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, pp. 395–96; cf. Welsh (W) *llwch* 'lake, pool, ...bog, swamp, marsh...' (ninth century *Est ibi stagnum quod vocatur Luchlein* in Nennius [*Historia Brittonum*]): *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru/A Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, edited by R. Thomas *et al.* (Cardiff, 1950–2003) (henceforth *GPC*), s.v.; this unaspiring derivation too has slipped by many classically-oriented scholars unnoticed.

[6] C. Smith, 'The survival of Romano-British toponymy', *Nomina*, 4 (1980), 27–40 (p. 31).

tently), at recognising Romano-British and therefore Celtic roots in place-names, especially in England. To their eyes, it seems, all desired prestige lay with the imagined invading Germanic hordes, who pushed those embattled Celts that remained unslain to the high lands to north and west.[7]

A spectacular instance of Celtic actualities overlooked could be Ekwall's suggested derivation of *Lydney* GLO (*Lidaneg* 972, *Ledenei* DB, *Lideneie* 1221): '"*Lida*'s island." **Lida* is identical with OE *lida* "sailor". But Lydney may be "the sailor's island"'.[8] Now at Lydney Park on the banks of the Severn is the site of a celebrated Romano-Celtic shrine excavated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler before the first edition of Ekwall's dictionary.[9] Its temple was dedicated to the widely-culted native healing god, equated with Roman Mars (*deo Marti Nodonti*)[10] and *Silvanus,*[11] whose Romano-British (RB) form was *Nodons*, which in Welsh became *Nudd*, with a common by-form *L(l)ud(d)*, found for instance with his epithet as *Lludd Llaw Ereint* 'Lud Silver Hand', the Brythonic equivalent of Irish *Nuadu Argatlám* 'Nuadu of the Silver Hand'.[12] It is surely far more realistic to propose a

[7] See, for instance, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, edited and translated by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), *passim*, where this assumed viewpoint is adopted, where the *Anglii* are disingenuously referred to as 'English' (implying both a precedent and monolithic missionary continuity), and where Bede's anti-British invective is firmly supported, and on occasion amplified.

[8] E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960), p. 308.

[9] In 1936; M. Wheeler, *Report on the Excavation... in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, no. 9 (London, 1932).

[10] E. Birley, 'The deities of Roman Britain', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 18, 1, edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin, 1986), pp. 3–112.

[11] M. J. Green, 'The iconography and archaeology of Romano-British religion', *ibid.*, pp. 113–62.

[12] For Nodons as Lludd 'under the influence of *Llaw*', see *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* 'The Welsh Triads', edited by R. Bromwich (Cardiff, 1961, 2nd edn 1978, repr.

naming from the recorded presence of the deity himself, rather than to summon a shadowy ancient mariner up from the deep.[13]

This philological habit was firmly taken to task by Smith in the same article, and many further examples of imaginative folk-etymology in its true sense and in its pseudo-scholarly manifestation were given, generally involving false Anglo-Saxon pedigrees, and going as far back in history as the time of Bede, whose vaunted medieval Welsh reputation (it now seems) may have been as deceptive as the scholar himself.[14] 'If writers of scholarly intelligence offer such things, we can hardly guess at how widespread the practice must have been among ordinary illiterate folk devoid of linguistic awareness.'[15]

False Anglo-Saxon pedigrees? Though the lesson has still not been universally learned, a renewed look at modern English (in particular at the bizarreries of our verbal system) appears to be confirming what place-name evidence proclaims: that anglicisation was a slow process of acculturation undergone by indigenes rather than a sudden invasive

1991), pp. 424–29 (p. 428): the identity of Lludd and Nuadu was shown by J. Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 447–48; for the fourth-century shrine see A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition* (London, 1967, rev. edn 1992), pp. 230–33, 246–47 (etc.); see both for the much-disputed etymology of *Nodons*, and also J. R. R. Tolkien, 'The name "Nodens [*sic*]"', Appendix 1 to *Reports on the Excavation*, Society of Antiquaries, pp. 132–37.

[13] The older form of *Lludd* would have been **Lud* (pronounced *Lüd* on its way to *Lüð*). After advancing this etymology I found it supported in anticipation by J. T. Koch, 'A Welsh window on the Iron Age: Manawydan, Mandubracios', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 14 (Winter 1987), 17–52 (p. 41). Ekwall is followed by A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1998), p. 229, and by the late Victor Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-names* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 389, where Ekwall's sense of 'island' is extended to 'hill-spur'.

[14] See D. R. Howlett, *Cambro-Latin Compositions: Their Competence and Craftsmanship* (Dublin, 1998), for example. The Welsh adage, in *The Book of Taliesin*, 36, 18, edited by J. G. Evans (Llanbedrog, 1910), holds that *nyt vy dyweit geu llyfreu beda* 'The books of Bede tell no lies' (*Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, edited by Bromwich, p. 279).

[15] Smith, 'The survival of Romano-British toponymy', 29.

event by aliens.[16] Yet, while matters have greatly improved in the near-

[16] For the evidence of great British to Anglian continuity and a 'vigorous hybrid culture' in, e.g. Bernicia-Northumbria, long considered the cradle of 'English' civilisation, see the consequential but little appreciated book by the excavator of Yeavering: B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: An Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977). A British substratum of sorts will be found hiding under English, hardly studied due to a peculiar (and kindred) perceptual phenomenon: we would not dream of calling those Gauls and Iberians who moulded culturally dominant Latin into the Romance tongues 'Romans', yet we persist in branding our erstwhile Celtic-speaking ancestors who early learned and shaped English (and whose insular forebears had in their turn picked up and modified Celtic) 'Anglo-Saxons'. 'Anglo-Britons' would be a useful temporary label. See J. R. R. Tolkien, 'English and Welsh', in *Angles and Britons: O'Donnell Lectures* (Cardiff, 1963), pp. 1–41. G. Price, *The Languages of Britain* (London, 1984), p. 14, offers a summary of the meagre previous study undertaken on our insular linguistic substrata. '...[T]o explain the Modern English continuous tense system at all we have to assume some degree of Celtic influence': B. Braaten, 'Notes on continuous tenses in English', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap,* 21 (Oslo, 1967), 167–80. See now *The Celtic Roots of English*, edited by M. Filppula, J. Klemola and H. Pitkänen, Studies in Language 37 (Joensuu, 2002). Hildegard Tristram suggested at 12–*ICCS* (Aberystwyth, 2003) in her paper 'Why don't the English speak Welsh?' that the continuous tenses used in the lower register (in English as in Welsh) were only picked up in the higher register literary language after the Normans, by which time the English one had a good half-millennium or more behind it. There are of course contrary views. For the heavy inclination towards periphrasis (a feature also of Basque) in the modern Celtic tongues, see H. Wagner, 'Near Eastern and African connections with the Celtic world', in *The Celtic Consciousness*, edited by R. O'Driscoll (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 51–68. See too P. Poussa, 'A contact-universals origin for periphrastic *do*, with special consideration of Old English-Celtic contact', *Papers from the 5th International Conference on English Historical Linguistics* (Cambridge, 1987), edited by V. Law *et al.* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 407–34, and her 'Origins of the non-standard relativizers WHAT and AS in English', in *Language Contact in the British Isles: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*, edited by P. S. Ureland and G. Broderick (Tubingen, 1991), pp. 295–315; and T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Language and society among the insular Celts 400–1000', in *The Celtic World*, edited by M. J. Green (London, 1996), pp. 703–36, cited also in J. Davies, *The Celts* (London, 2000), p. 117. For potential earlier input, see Orin Gensler's paper 'Typology and

generation since Smith wrote these words,[17] we shall learn while examining a pair of potential Romano-British survivors that ghosts of the ancient practice also linger at the scholarly crossroads.

**LANUM* = Lancaster?

This name, or rather its lack, has long intrigued commentators. All that we have is a milestone found four miles ENE of Lancaster, inscribed with the enigmatic but suggestive *L MP IIII* 'from L– 4 miles'.[18] By a seemingly obvious piece of deduction, we might be able to say what Lancaster used to be called, at least in part.

Our most notorious trait, what could be taken either as sturdy British independence or insular linguistic ineptitude, might have the longest pedigree. Not only did our remote ancestors learn incoming languages (Norman, Anglo-Saxon, Celtic and so back) in an idiosyncratic

pre-Celtic substrata: a new approach to the problem of Insular Celtic and Hamito-Semitic' at the 10–*ICCS* conference (with an unpopular conclusion which genetics is helping to substantiate), with its brief summary in *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Celtic Studies* (Edinburgh, 1995), Vol. 1: *Language, Literature, History, Culture* edited by R. Black, W. Gillies and R. Ó Maolalaigh (East Linton, 1999), pp. 509–10. 12–*ICCS* (Aberystwyth, 2003) showed that many people (mostly academics working outwith the British Isles) are investigating this fascinating matter even as we read; Steve Hewitt's comprehensive 'The Hamito-Semitic connection: fact or fiction?' emphasised the philological interest, but left the jury out. Genetics teaches us that what were seen as invasive waves from the east were in fact local eddies in an antique pond continually broached by a slow trickle of newcomers: we NW Europeans are mostly descendants of Upper Palaeolithic hunters (B. Sykes, *The Seven Daughters of Eve* (London, 2001)).

[17] See, for example, M. Gelling and A. Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000); R. Coates, A. Breeze and D. Horovitz, *Celtic Voices English Places: Studies of the Celtic Impact on Place-Names in England* (Stamford, 2000).

[18] Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, p. 382. Note that a ?*LANUM* or *IANO* (vars. *LANO, LIRIO*) is attested in Ravenna, < B **lano-* 'plain, level ground': '[u]nknown, but apparently in Scotland north of the Antonine Wall.' (Rivet and Smith, *The Place-names of Roman Britain*, pp. 383–84).

way,[19] those Anglo-Saxon-speaking forebears almost invariably took the first syllable of RB place-names—the Celts were not the only head-hunters—and added their own exotic borrowing *-ceaster* while discarding the rest, as Colin Smith has shown in more restrained terms,[20] and which Margaret Gelling has strenuously denied:

> I pointed out that we have good evidence that Romano-British compound names were taken over in their entirety by English speakers, and that the shorter forms found in late Old English sources and in Domesday Book exhibit the normal late Old English process of dropping the middle element of a triple compound. Names like *Dornwaraceaster* and *Liccidfeld* became triple compounds when OE generics were added to the full British names, and they were therefore liable to this process. This point was not noticed by Professor Colin Smith in Smith 1980, where he makes the misleading remark (pp. 32–3) that 'the Anglo-Saxons found the compounded and polysyllabic R-B names 'too much of a mouthful', and by convention took the first syllable, all that was necessary for identification.[21]

Was *Dornwaraceaster* ever a triple compound to anyone but an erudite bi-lingual? If Dr Gelling's point be true, it yet distils down to the same process over time, however we express it: an earlier or later incomprehension of individual elements (even among a genetically stable community of erstwhile-Brythonic[22]-speaking-Anglo-Saxon-or-

[19] See fn 16. What has often been said of Ireland is also true of Great Britain: all our invaders have 'gone native'.

[20] Smith, 'The survival of Romano-British toponymy', 32–34.

[21] M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, 2nd edn (Chichester, 1988), p. 244.

[22] I use *Brythonic* in the sense Jackson used *Brittonic*: 'the language brought to Britain by the bearers of that variety of primitive Celtic speech known as *P-Celtic*, spoken there all through the Roman period, and subsequently divided into the Welsh, Cornish, and Breton of mediaeval and modern times' (K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953, repr. Dublin 1994), p. 3). Within his designation 'Welsh' I include the politically correct term *Cumbric* 'the language of the Britons of Strathclyde and north Britain in general in the Dark Ages': *idem.*, 'The sources for the Life of St. Kentigern', in *Studies in the Early British Church*, edited by N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 273–357 (p. 282, fn. 1). (He adds: 'What little is known of it suggests that it was very similar

Middle-English-speakers), or a perceived meaninglessness in anything other than the name itself, leading to a slangy truncation 'akin to such shortenings as colloquial *Brom* for Birmingham, *Chi* for Chichester, etc...'.[23]

Thus, what we have (latterly at least) is *RB-derived first syllable + an archaising term*, and, as far as 'meaning' is concerned, one worthy of an uninspired quiz-game clue: thus Ribchester LNC (*Ribelcastre* DB, *Ribbelcestre* 1215[24]) became in time 'Roman fortification, something beginning with *Rib-*', and another example of garbling, despite the eponymous Ribble still flowing by the town (and devouring much of the nominal fort).

Lancaster would then be, according to our unconscious laws and if it were indeed a survivor, 'Roman fortification, something beginning with **Lan-*', the first letter's RB status confirmed by epigraphy. Is it not likely that, by analogy with, say, the same Ribchester 'Roman fort on the River Ribble' and others such as Doncaster YOW 'fort on the River Don', that this **Lan-* originally referred to the River *Lune*?

Now Lonsdale LNC WML 'the valley of the Lune' is in DB

indeed to contemporary Welsh.') At some future date it may be permissible to add the still alienised P-Celtic *Pictish* to this insular linguistic continuum.

[23] Smith, 'The survival of Romano-British toponymy', 33. Sixteen years later he wrote: 'The gist of that 1980 piece as a whole was that many Celtic (and possibly Latin) names do underlie place-names of seeming Saxon form. Since nearly all specialists in the pns of what is now England have been Germanists, they tend to reject this possibility, and will readily invent otherwise unrecorded Saxon personal names rather than accept the possibility of Celtic survival. Also, I stand firmly by the notion of "garbling", reinterpretation of elements that happen to resemble elements in the speech of the incomers, and even my "too much of a mouthful" principle on which Gelling pours scorn...' (he further cites numerous examples of this process) (personal communication, 17 June 1996). Would it be wise here to posit the hardly-envisaged probability that much of this nature occurred in previous linguistic strata impervious to our probing, but traversed by ostensibly 'Celtic' or 'Old European' rivers? Obviously, the further apart the two languages are, the more serious will this garbling be; as we are seeing, it happens too to generations-later speakers of the same tongue.

[24] Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 386.

Lanesdale, in 1130 *Lanesdala*, and in 1169 *Lonesdale*,[25] these earliest references suggesting that we might be on the right track. Lonton YON 'tun on [another] R Lune' was *Lontune* in DB.[26]

As for the river itself, there is no mention earlier than *c.*1160, when *Lanesdale* had gone to *Lonesdale*; the river-name of that time echoes this form: *Lon*, but also *Loin*, with later forms *Loon* 1186 x 1190 and *Lone* 1202. The more northerly river was also *Loon* in 1201, *Lon* in 1235.[27]

Reflecting the river, the county town was transcribed as *Loncastre* in DB, *Loncastra* in 1127, but was *Lanecastrum* in 1094, while its shire was *(honor de) Lancastre* in 1140 and *(Comitatus de) Lancastra* in 1169, forms that appear to lead straight to our *Lancaster* 'Roman fort on R Lune'.[28]

Ekwall derives the river-name from an unrecorded British word corresponding to Old Irish *slàn* 'health-giving' and found as Welsh *llawn*.[29] Yet *llawn* is not 'health-giving' but 'full' in all its senses (including 'teeming with, abounding in...'), although it has the healthfully related meaning 'fat, sleek, plump, filled or rounded out in form; pregnant'. It also bears the significant sense of '"in clover", well-to-do.'[30] *Llawn* may well be relevant though, deriving as it does from Celtic (Clt) **lano-*, cognate with Latin *plenus*.[31]

Neither is there any reason to look to Irish *slàn* when G *lan* (cognate with *llawn*) is 'full; flood-tide; swell (of water)'.[32] Can we, purely as an hypothesis for the moment, restore the British form of

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[29] *Ibid.*; E. Ekwall, *English River Names* (Oxford, 1928, repr. 1968), p. 271, and cited in Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, p. 382.

[30] *GPC*, s.v..

[31] *Ibid.* See now Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 387, where the 'full' derivation < B **lan-* is also offered.

[32] E. Dwelly, *Illustrated Gaelic to English Dictionary* (1911, repr. Edinburgh, 1993), s.v..

Lune in accordance with other feminine, probably divine, river-names such as *Belisama, Verbeia*, *Clota* and many others, as **Lana*? It would then seem to mean 'The Full One' or perhaps more likely 'The Prosperous or Abundant One', an aptly or wistfully fertile name for a river, though apparently unattested elsewhere.

Is there any further evidence that this might have been so?

Not directly, but there may be relevant circumstantial evidence, if we go across the Pennines, south-east to Doncaster. It is here that we find what may be a direct analogue, though it may not be necessary to suppose the shortening of a name which became, on the loss of British case endings, a monosyllable. *DANUM* was the name of the Roman fort here, deriving, according to Jackson, from the river-name, which he restores as **Danu(n)* < **danu-* 'bold' originally 'rapidly flowing'.[33] 'The British name survived as *Cair Daun* in Nennius [*Historia Brittonum*], and via Anglo-Saxon as *Don*caster.'[34] Jackson traces the development from *Dānum* > Pr[imitive] W **Dǭn* > AS **Dōn*;[35] this became the *Done* (1194 x 1199, and of *Doneceastre* 1002 and *Donecastre* DB[36]), eventually the modern *Don* of river and town. In parallel fashion in Brythonic the sequence would be: Old Welsh (OW) **Don* > Middle (M)W *Daun* > ModW **Dawn* (pronounced as ModE *down*), where W *dawn* < Clt **dan-* means '...intellectual gift, natural endowment, genius...; benefit, blessing; favour; reward', also 'gift (...literal)' and 'thing endowed with special virtue...', adding numen to Jackson's prosaic semantics, and offering further meaning.[37]

If we return to Lancaster and assume that, as at Doncaster, the fort was named from the river, we can postulate a **LĀNUM* which would then develop (as indeed would the river **Lāna*) > OW *Lǭn* > AS **Lōn* > ME *Lone-*, and in Brythonic as OW *Lǭn* > MW **laun* > ModW *llawn*; we could even hypothesise a **Cair Laun* 'Lancaster'. Jackson

[33] K. H. Jackson, *Britannia,* I (1970), p. 72.

[34] Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, p. 329.

[35] Jackson, *Language and History*, pp. 292–94.

[36] Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 147; Ekwall restores the river-name as *Dana*, from which the town *Dano-* came.

[37] *GPC*, s.v..

notes of the 'Pr. W' change *-ǭ-* > *-au-*, that 'English place-names never show *-au-* ...but AS *-o-* in monosyllables',[38] which explains *Don* and would explain *Lon*.

The confusion of vowels in the Lancashire forms and the late survival of *Lan-* might possibly be explicable by reference to later pockets of Brythonic speakers in North Lancashire;[39] on the other hand in the town- and shire-name there could be a virtually direct written linkage in records now lost to us, while the past and present pronunciation of the river with an evidently longer vowel may indicate oral persistence of a MW **laun*.[40]

Have we at last resolved this tenuous ghost of a name, or at least brought it into full focus through a dim lens blurred by time? Could the Roman fort-name have been **LANUM* by the **Lana*? There remains of course the possibility that we have merely deduced the first syllable of the Romano-British name. However we view it, the continuance and survival of such an ancient place-name in decapitated if not directly transmitted form is very likely here.

LUGUDUNUM = Londesborough?

Though the matter is little known in its native heath and generally under-appreciated by Scottish toponymists, it has long been mooted by

[38] Jackson, *Language and History*, p. 294.

[39] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 217: King Ecgfrith (670–85) granted land at Cartmel LNC to St Cuthbert, 'giving him *omnes Britannos cum eo*.' Yet there could have been later survival of Brythonic in north Lancashire, as in the Lake District. Discussing the type of counting known as the 'Cumbric score', the Opies (scholars of children's lore) state 'remembering that Froissart in his journey south from Scotland, about 1364, noted that the common people in Westmorland still spoke the ancient British tongue...' (I. and P. Opie, *Children's Games in Street and Playground* (Oxford, 1969, 1984), p. 48; I have been unable as yet to confirm this at source; in Geoffrey Brereton's translation (J. Froissart, *Chronicles* (Harmondsworth, 1985), p. 10), the passage in question is omitted from Book I.

[40] Note a not irrelevant tendency in Lancashire dialect for both the shire-name and its county-town to be pronounced as '*Lon-* (-kisherr, caster)'. The county's Welsh name, *Sir Gaerhirfryn*, literally 'Long-Hill-Caster-Shire', seems to be another case of scholarly false-etymology.

Welsh scholars that the three Scottish shires now named and subsumed in Lothian (*Loonia c.*970, *Loðene* 1091, *Laudonia* 1126, *Leudonia c.*1164, *Louthion c.*1200;[41] MW *Lleuddin*) owe their name to an unrecorded B **Lugudunon* 'fortress of the god Lugus', a Welsh by-form *Lleuddiniawn* hailing from B **Lugu-duniana* 'the Country of Lugudunon' or the like.[42] Also known as *The (Three) Lothians*, they were in recent Scots poetic vernacular *The Loudons Three*: their inhabitants were still known as **Loudoners* in the west Fife Scots of half a century ago.[43]

Though Kenneth Jackson asserted that 'the etymology and history of the name *Lothian* is full of difficulties...',[44] there is now a reasonable consensus.[45] Perhaps surprisingly, this derivation was obliquely

[41] Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, pp. 101–05; N. Dixon, 'The Place-Names of Midlothian' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1947), p. 97; Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 243.

[42] J. T. Koch, *The Gododdin of Aneirin: Text and Context from Dark Age North Britain* (Cardiff, 1997), p. 131. I have pursued this further in J. G. Wilkinson, *Cairnpapple: The Middle Sanctuary?* (forthcoming).

[43] J. Lumsden, *Doun i' Th' Loudons* [*Down in the Lothians*] *and Other Poems* (Edinburgh, 1908); G. F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946; repr. Edinburgh, 1993), p. 439, notes R. L. Stevenson's 'Lowden [Lothian] Sabbath Morn'. For **Loudoners* (or **Lowdeners*), thanks to Dr Simon Taylor's family archives: a term made to bear a good deal of pejorative force, like the converse *Fifers*, it may still be current. The shires were formerly known as *Haddingtonshire* (East Lothian), *Edinburghshire* (Midlothian) and *Linlithgowshire* (West Lothian), recorded as *Linlidcuskir* 1153 x 1165, *West, Wost Lothian* from *c.*1540: A. Macdonald, *The Place-Names of West Lothian* (Edinburgh, 1941), p. 1.

[44] '...and need not be discussed here,' he adds (Jackson, 'The sources for the Life of St. Kentigern', p. 282). He seems in fact never to have addressed the name again, not even in his edition of *The Gododdin*, where it is only mentioned incidentally.

[45] W. J. Gruffydd, *Math fab Mathonwy* (Cardiff, 1928), p. 62; I. Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Cardiff, 1935), p. xxvi; *idem*, *Canu Aneirin* (Cardiff, 1938, 1978), p. xxxviii; J. G. Wilkinson, *West Lothian Place Names* (Torphin, 1992), p. 16; Koch, *The Gododdin of Aneirin*, p. 131. It is most bewildering and unfortunate that Jackson should have chosen completely to ignore Williams's ideas on Lothian (in his own edition of *The Gododdin*), thus overlooking important evidence, and planting a Welsh hedge round Lug's lost citadel, one of impenetrable thorn and briars as far as most Scottish toponymists (and interested scholars) are concerned. For a host of contrary opinions (often fanciful and mostly unaware of the derivation), cf. e.g. Sir R. Sibbald, (*The first Book containing the*) *History* Ancient *and* Modern, *of the Sheriffdome of Linlithgow; In which...* (*etc., etc.*) (Edinburgh, 1710), p. 5; G. Waldie, *A History of the Town and Palace of Linlithgow* (Linlithgow, 1879; repr. as *George Waldie's Linlithgow*, Bathgate, 1982), p. 24; J. Milne, *Place Names of Edinburgh and The Lothians* (Edinburgh, 1912, repr. Newtongrange, *c.*1980), unpaginated: *Lothian Bridge; Lothian Edge,* s.vv.; Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, pp. 101–05; Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 243; *Lothian*, edited by D. Colledge (Edinburgh, undated, *c.*1976), p. 7; S. Harris, *The Place Names of Edinburgh: Their Origins and History* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 408–09.

[46] His concise argument is worth quoting in full: 'The forms *Loðene, Laudian, Lodoneis* should be taken with the XII–XIII century forms for Mount Lothian, *Muntlaudewen, Mountlothyen, Montlounes* in the *Reg, de Neubotle*, the last linking up with *Loenois*, the kingdom of Loth in *Le Roman de Brut*, both being Anglo-French forms developed by the normal extrusion of "th" between vowels and the application of the Romance suffix derived from the Latin *ensis* (cf. *Lodonensem* and *Lodonesium* in Mat[thew]. Par[is]. II. pp. 214, 289). Thus we arrive at the Arthurian *Lyonesse*. [Here he footnotes 'Cf. "County of Loweneys" (1335) in *Cal. Docts.* iii, p. 216.'] In certain old Welsh texts *Dinas Eidyn i.e.* Edinburgh is mentioned as the abode of *Lleuddun Llwyddog*, who is *Leudonus* grandfather of Kentigern in the *Vita*, and from whom, it is claimed, the district got the name *Lleudduniawn* (the suffix *anus* becoming Welsh *awn*), which was Gaelicised and shortened into *Lothian*. (*Y Cymmrodor,* vol. XI p. 51; cf. Skene's *Celtic Scotland* II. p. 186; cf. Haddington and '*Hathingtoun,*' Hedderwick and '*Hatherwyk*'.) But both Lyons in France and Leyden in Holland were originally *Lugudunum* or *Lleudin i.e. Din Lleu*, where *Lug* or *Lleu* is the Celtic deity. Moreover Loudoun Hill in Ayrshire was known in the seventeenth century also as Lothian Hill (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* XLV, p. 236), and the common origin can scarcely have been the name of a local king at Edinburgh.' (Historical Monuments

suggested and substantiated more than three-quarters of a century ago in the Historical Monuments (Scotland) Commission's 1924 *Inventory* of East Lothian, which contains a brief *Note on 'Lothian'* by an uncredited scholarly contributor of evident philological flair and expertise who had a commanding knowledge of old texts.[46]

To sway the as yet unconvinced, a comparative glance across the Channel at a few early forms of Laon (Aisne) makes the correspondence between **Lugudunon* and their counterparts of Lothian plain: *ecclesiae Lugdunensis* 549, *urbis Lugdune...* 6th cent., *Leudunum* 632, *Laodunum* 680, *...montis Lauduni* pre-966, *Loon*, *Montloon* 12th cent.; cf. Loudon (Sarthe), *de Lucduno* 692, *Lodun* 13th cent.[47]

Lugus is the pan-Celtic ancestral deity equated circumstantially with Roman Mercurius and later known as *Lleu* (incorrectly *Llew*), ultimately, it is thought, < Clt **louc-* < **leuc-*[48] 'light', 'bright, shining', as in W *lleu,* MW *goleu* Mod W *golau* 'light',[49] and relatively common, usually in compound form, in continental Celtic place-names as in those of Roman Britain.[50]

As befits the god of many masks, several other derivations of *Lugus* (pl. *Lugoues*) > *Lleu* have been proposed. Discussing the *Lugi*, a

(Scotland) Commission's 1924 *Inventory* of East Lothian: *Note on 'Lothian'*, p. xviii) This reasoning seems strangely to have been unknown to W. J. Watson two years later (*The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, pp. 101–03). Macdonald, *The Place-Names of West Lothian*, p. 1, refers us to both sources, without offering any opinion beyond admitting that 'the meaning of the name Lothian is disputed'; Dixon, 'The Place-Names of Midlothian', p. 97 likewise. With *Loweneys* compare *(le) Lyonnais*, the region around Lyons (another **Lugudunon*), French *-ais* < *-ois* being the equivalent of W *-wys* < *-uis*, both < L *-ens-*, a good example of similar substrata (Gaulish and British) acting on a superstratum tongue (Latin).

[47] A. Vincent, *Toponomie de la France* (*c.*1937, re-issued Paris, 2000), pp. 90–91. My gratitude to Bill Patterson for these forms (personal communication, March 2003). Whichever language we study, vocalisation of the *-g-* of *LUGUDUNUM* is implicit: in North Britain, as in Wales, **Lugus* went to *Lou*, the older form of *L(l)eu*, '*ou* being the regular OW form of Medieval *eu*': I. Williams, *The Poems of Taliesin*, trans. J. C. Williams (Dublin, 1975), p. 106.

[48] See Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, pp. 33–34; also Jackson, *Language and History*, §18, p. 307; but note §75, p. 441.

[49] *GPC* traces *golau* (s.v.) < B **uo-lugu* < **leug-*, parallel to **leuk-*.

[50] For British names in *Lug-*, see Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, pp. 401–02; on 'well attested' Gaulish *lugu-* (and a heavily subsidised dependence on MW *lleu* 'light'), see D. E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names: a Study of some Continental Celtic Formations* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 219–21.

kindred of modern Sutherland (often taken as a different naming), Rivet and Smith note that Ahlqvist leaves a choice between the divine name and 'a word meaning "black" (Clt **lŭgos* > Ir *loch* "black") and hence perhaps "raven" in Gaulish (Gaulish *lougos* recorded as λουγος by Clitophon of Rhodes)': they comment that 'a sense "raven-people" may well be preferable'.[51] Antonio Tovar likewise runs through the options, plumping too for 'raven'.[52]

Corvids were indeed an attribute of the god in both his Celtic and Germanic manifestations. But the Lugi have the option on another beast: 'in Old Irish poetry *lug* "lynx" is frequently used for warriors... Old Welsh *lleu* could be cognate with Irish *lug*, in which case some examples of *llew* could conceal the meaning "lynx".'[53]

Heinrich Wagner saw Lug, like his Germanic Mercurial counterpart Woden (especially in his predilection for assembly heights[54]), as a representative of the 'All-knowing god', the ravens' and lynx's acuity of vision an attribute of the sun god's eye.[55] Offering another strain of

[51] Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, p. 401; A. Ahlqvist, 'Two ethnic names in Ptolemy', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 26 (1974–76), 143–46. Thanks to Dr Carole Hough for pointing out the pivotal nature of Ahlqvist's 'admirable discussion'.

[52] A. Tovar, 'The God Lugus in Spain', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 29 (1981), 591–99 (p. 593).

[53] D. Edel, 'Geoffrey's so-called animal symbolism and insular Celtic tradition', *Studia Celtica*, 18–19 (1983–84), 96–109 (p. 103). Could this help to explain the Cats of Caithness (Old Norse *Katanes*) and Sutherland (G *Cataibh*)? See Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 30.

[54] See M. MacNeill's classic *The Festival of Lughnasa: A Study of the Survival of the Celtic Festival of the Beginning of Harvest* (Oxford, 1962); for the eighteenth century 'Lammas Towers' of Lothian, see pp. 369–73, after J. Anderson, 'On Lammas Towers', *Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1792); see too J. M. Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs* (Glasgow, 1893, repr. Lampeter, 1993), p. 307. South Queensferry's Burry Man (who parades the former West Lothian burgh on the second Friday of every August with his two acolytes) is the only obvious Lammas relict left in twenty-first century Lothian.

[55] H. Wagner, 'Studies in the origins of early Celtic civilisation', *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 31 (1970), 1–58 (pp. 21–25).

crop to an already crammed wordfield, he felt though—

> that *Lugu-* may be cognate with Ir[ish] *luge*, the verbal noun of *tongid* 'swears', but also meaning 'oath' (from **lugio-*). It is of interest that 'match-making', 'marriage' and 'courtship' are outstanding features among the traditions connected with the *Lug*-festival, [...] for Ir *luge* 'oath, swear' is not only connected with German *lügen*, Eng *lie*, Gothic *liugan* 'lie' (strong verb), but also with Gothic *liuga* 'marriage' *liugan* 'to marry' (week [*sic*] verb).[56]

The repeated Gaulish *luge* of the Chamalières inscription,[57] characterised as 'the script of a magico-religious ritual for obtaining the help of Arvernian Maponos in a military revolt', has in fact been translated as 'oath': 'By an oath I make them ready', 'where the echo of the god's name in the expression *luge* could hardly have failed to impress itself on a Celtic-speaker's ear, and would have underlined his relation to the... institution of oath-taking'.[58]

While the thought is anathema to the modern name-scholar—though not the folklorist ('It may well be that the philological uncertainty which haunts the interpretation of so many names in Celtic and other early literatures is partly due to their being puns the clues to which have long been forgotten',[59] and *cf.* 'the habit of Anglo-Saxons and all medieval writers was... to exploit the multiple interpretations of names rather than to elect one and exclude others'[60]), nor yet the

[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Luge. dessu -mmi iis / Luge. dessumi. is. / Luge dessu-mi-is. Luxe* or the like: the letters are sure, the layout not; perhaps 'By Lugus I prepare them, / By Lugus I prepare them, / By Lugus I prepare them, for Lugus.' See J. F. Eska, 'Syntactic ways to etymology: the case of Gaulish *etic* and *eθθic*', *Studia Celtica*, 26–27 (1991–92), 21–33 (p. 26), where the whole text is presented.

[58] A. Kondratiev, 'Lugus: The Many-Gifted Lord', *An Tríbhís Mhór: The IMBAS Journal of Celtic Reconstruction*, 1 (Lúnasa, 1997), 1–12 (p. 4).

[59] A. Rees and B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (London, 1961), p. 348.

[60] F. C. Robinson 'The significance of names in Old English literature', *Anglia*, 86 (1968), 14–58 (p. 27).

perverse Sufi ('*Sufi* has no etymology'[61])—could it have been that all these derivations were 'correct': resonant, that is, to bardic sensibilities?

Whatever its perceived meaning, a *LUGUNDUNO* (var. *LUGUNDINO*), restored as *LUGUDUNUM* 'fortress of the god *Lugus*', appears in a typically unpredictable section of the grandly-named *Ravenna Cosmography*. After known forts on Hadrian's Wall the Cosmographer's attention veers southward down Dere Street to further forts secured by the modern toponymist: from *VINDOLANDE* (**Vindolanda* Chesterholm) to *LINEOIUGLA* (**Longovicio* Lanchester), *VINOVIA* (**Vinovia* Binchester), *LAVARIS* (**Lavatris* Bowes), *CACTABACTONION* (**Cataractonium* Catterick), *EBURACUM* (**Eburacum* York), and *DECUARIA* (**Petuaria* Brough-on-Humber). Now he appears to waver: *DEVOVICIA* (**Delgovicia* ?Wetwang) and *DIXIO* (**Dicto* ?Wearmouth) are followed by *LUGUNDUNO* (**Luguduno* —), *COGANGES* (**Concangis* Chester-le-Street) and *CORIE LOPOCARIUM* (**Coriosopitum?* Corbridge) which end the section; our name is left by Rivet and Smith as '[u]nknown, but apparently in northern England.'[62]

[61] I. Shah, *The Way of the Sufi* (London, 1968), pp. 14–15. The Sufic perspective is curiously developed by name-scholar Diarmuid Ó Murchadha in this journal ('The formation of Gaelic surnames in Ireland: choosing the eponyms', *Nomina* 22 (1999), 25–44 (p. 36)): 'A name has no meaning'. Thus he nullifies his own calling, quoting (and 'entirely agree'ing with) Michael O'Brien's 'dogma' in 'Old Irish personal names: M. A. O'Brien's Rhŷs lecture notes, 1957', edited by R. Baumgartner, *Celtica,* 10 (1972), 217.

[62] 107,12–18*:* Rivet and Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, pp. 206–09 and 401–02. See *ibid.*, pp. 185–215 for the Chaos Theory that is the Cosmography's canon, long accepted as trustworthy by earlier scholars. Note that **CORIOSOPITUM*?, restored to replace the usual, impossible *CORSTOPITUM* of the *Antonine Itinerary* (*ibid.*, pp. 322–24), is probably equally as wrong. It represents a **coria* name (above) applied to Corbridge (with *Corchester* its fort) NTB, likely confirmed in the Vindolanda tablets (*CORIS* 'at Coria': E. Birley, R. Birley and A. Birley, 'The Early Wooden Forts: Reports on the Auxiliaries, the Writing Tablets, Inscriptions, Brands and Graffiti', *Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series*, Vol. II (Hexham, 1993), pp. 19 and 42–43). *CORSTOPITUM* will be a garbling of something like **CORIO(?SO)RITUM* 'hosting-ford' (B **ritu-* W

Nikolai Tolstoy, maybe the only Arthurian scholar so far to have used the divine derivation to any effect, identifies Ravenna's entry with Lothian.[63] In view of the Roman connection, though, this is more likely to be Loudoun Hill AYR (*sic c.*1140)[64], if it is to be sought in Scotland. Yet this seems too far north and west, even allowing for the Cosmographer's magpie approach: the neighbouring names are all east of the Pennines.

A far more suitable candidate is Londesborough YOE, whose earliest form (*Lodenesburg* DB) virtually matches a contemporary one of Lothian (with the addition of perhaps tautological OE *burg* 'fort'[65]) and whose geographical position better suits: it sits beside the continuation of Ermine Street north of Brough-on-Humber and is only a

rhyd 'ford'), where the bridge (of *Corbridge*) has replaced the ancient ford across the Tyne. See A. H. Mawer, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 52–54, for this possibility, not picked up by Rivet and Smith, who prefer to see the second element as an 'ethnic name'.

[63] N. Tolstoy, *Quest for Merlin* (London, 1985), pp. 299–300, fn. 15 to pp. 197–98.

[64] Site of a fort [NS(26)6037]: Ordnance Survey *Map of Roman Britain*, 3rd edn (Chessington, 1956), p. 40; Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 199 (*Loudun* [*sic*]); note that Watson's 'Lothiangill south-west of Carlisle' (*ibid.*, p. 101) is actually Lowthian Gill CMB by Barrock Fell SE of Carlisle [NY 465485]. Louden Knowe PEB [NT 137363], an outlier of Trahenna Hill, sits at the head of a long ridge above the magnificently situated hillfort known nowadays as Dreva Craig (where Dreva is a farm and Drev- will reflect W *tref* 'steading' in a hilly and isolated area which shelters many extant Cumbric place-names) and long famous for its *chevaux de frise* (R. Feachem, *Guide to Prehistoric Scotland* (London, 1963, 2nd edn 1977), p. 143); across from Drumelzier on the middle reaches of the Tweed (where a legend of Merlin/Myrddin as Lailoken is localised), it may preserve another **Lugudunon*. Thanks to Bill Patterson for finding the name (not on the OS 1:50,000 Landranger).

[65] Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, pp. 74–75. For the care needed in distinguishing between OE *beorg* Anglian *berg* 'rounded hill, tumulus' and *burh*, *byrig* 'fort', see now Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, pp. 145–52. Bill Patterson suggests (personal communication, April 2004) that the name might have been familiar to German auxiliaries stationed at York and their descendants, who could have added the suffix.

few hours' march from Wetwang.[66] It is also found as *Landenesburgh c.*1110 and *Lonesburgh* 1136 x 1139. Ekwall, though, proclaims it a Norse name: '"*Lothen*'s BURG"; *Lothen* (*Loðen* 1046 ASC) is O[ld] N[orse] *Loðinn* O[ld] Dan[ish] *Lothaen*, a nickname meaning "hairy"'.[67]

A hirsute Northman, however powerful, can hardly be eponym of the district-name of *Lothian*, and (even without Occam's razor) it is to be wondered if we have the same two Celtic elements in the Yorkshire name, miscalculated by Ekwall, who is in turn more recently followed by Mills and Watts.[68]

Could Londesborough really be Ravenna's *LUGUNDUNO*, an ex-fortress of the god Lugus and yet another Celtic casualty of the latter-day Germanic Eponymic Conquest, spoil of an invading army of imagined wraiths (unkempt in this instance), much like mad Tom o' Bedlam's 'host of furious fancies'?

[66] The present village replaces the pre-nineteenth century one moved to provide a better view from the 'big house', Londesborough Park. The place is one of the claimants to the title of *Delgovitia* (read *Delgovicia*), but it must be left to the archaeologist of the future to substantiate the claim made here. If it fell to us to suggest the site of a lost **Lugudunon*, note that to its north Londesborough Field sits below a steep escarpment rising to 165m. On Londesborough Wold takes place England's oldest horse race, the March 'Kiplingcote Derby', recorded since 1519, perhaps suggestive in the light of the god's additional association with this beast. Thanks again to Bill Patterson for providing me with these details from the Internet (*Londesborough*).

[67] Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 303. Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 243, compares Lothian with Londesborough's DB form.

[68] Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 225; Watts, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 379.

Belated thanks to the late Professor Colin Smith, supportive of my reasoning on **LANUM* almost a decade ago, for his unfailingly generous encouragement and willingness to listen to an unfledged amateur. I should also like to thank Bill Patterson again here for reading a final draft of this article, and for his mainly positive comments. Remaining irregularities are of course my own.

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What Happened to the UK 1881 Census Surnames by 1997

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1. Abstract
The paper establishes the primary reason for the apparent loss by 1997 of over two thirds of the surname types listed in the UK 1881 Census for England & Wales.

2. The Data
In my paper comparing the Forenames and Surnames of the 1881 UK Census (hereafter Census) with those of the 1998 Electoral Roll for Great Britain[1] (hereafter ER), I drew attention to the fact that of the 401,197 surnames listed in the Census only 128,970 (hereafter the *Survivors*) appeared in the ER: a shortage of 272,327 (hereafter the *Missing*).[2] I stated that the short fall would be the subject of another paper. This is that paper. I shall refer to the previous paper as *the previous paper.*

The GB ER comes in two forms: one for electoral purposes and another available to marketing organizations. Up to, and including, the 1998 ER these forms had the same content. Subsequent to the 1998 ER, members of the electorate, the enfranchised, have been able to opt out of the ER with no penalty. I remind readers that the field work for the ER was conducted in 1997.

The Census data, for England and Wales only, covered 26,124,585 people. I thank the UK Data Archive, and its director, Professor Kevin Schürer, for generously making the data available to me. The ER covered 47,054,569 registered voters in the GB. I thank Experian PLC for generously making the data available to me. I thank Professor Richard Webber of University College London for his facilitation with

[1] Great Britain (GB) comprises England, Scotland, and Wales. The United Kingdom (UK) comprises Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

[2] K. Tucker, 'The forenames and surnames from the UK 1998 Electoral Roll compared with those from the UK 1881 Census', *Nomina*, 27 (2004), 5–40.