was applied to the whirlpool between Jura and Scarba.\(^1\) 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 apppellative, 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 names... 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.\(^2\) 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.

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\(^1\) **Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland.**

\(^2\) **The Isles of Islay and Jura.**

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**Penda’s Footprint?**

**Place-Names Containing Personal Names**

**Associated with those of Early Mercian Kings**

**Graham Jones**

**University of Leicester**

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 [Icings] dynasty ... strangely neglected in recent years'.\(^1\) This is the West Midland distribution of place-names 'which
apparently preserve the rare personal names of Penda and his father Pypba. The name of Croeda, 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. In 1927 Stenton was rightly wary of assuming an automatic personal association between these place-names and the Mercian rulers.


3 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 Croeda, eleven similarly associated with Pypba, twelve with Penda, and fourteen with Peada. 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 Croeda seemingly passed out of use at an early date. 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—Kerse, Peopleton, Pinvin and Pensham, for example; Croeda’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

(Jones, 31)
‘Cridi’s hoh “spur of land”.’ 14 Elmley was a component of the Domesday Book vill of Crophorne, 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 personal name Cridi which it is difficult to dissociate from the name Crioda found in the early Mercian genealogies’. 15

Elsewhere

< Creoda

Credenhill. Herefs (Credenhull 1067 x 1071, Credenhill 1086 DB). ‘Creoda’s hill’. 16 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, Grimeswrosein, ‘the knot of Grim’, Grim being Woden. 17

Cr adley. Herefs (Credelaie 1086 DB). ‘Creoda’s clearing’. 18 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. 19 Mawer and Stenton suggested that the name Mathon derived from Old English (OE) mapelhygel ‘treasure’, perhaps referring to a coin hoard.

Creden hyll, boundary marker, Alton Priors, Wilts (‘825’: S272; Grundy, p. 164; FW198, ‘spurious’). S272 is a grant by king Egbeorht 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

< Crioda

Criodantrew, ‘Creoda’s tree’, location unknown (‘825’: S273; FW ‘authentic basis’). 20 Mentioned in the dating clause of this alleged ninth century charter as the location of a battle when king Egbeorht of Wessex, described as rex Gewissorum, ‘moved against the Britons’. Same dating clause copied in S272, but that charter is regarded as wholly spurious, probably a post-Conquest product. 21 See Creden 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 Egbeorht’s presence is not attested. Dorothy White lock took the charter comment to refer to another episode in that campaign, but Heather Edwards has written that it is not certain that Whitlock was correct in doing so. It is not impossible that the composer of the annal was confused

21 Gelling, Signposts to the Past, p. 160.
23 PN Bucks, p. 122.
24 DB Oxon, 6.2.
25 See above, p. 32.
27 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 Eggbereht, 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 Credonstreow 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 (Cretendone 1166). ‘Cridela’s dun’.28 ‘Cridela is derived from Crioda’.

Carlingcott, Somerset (Credelincote 1086 DB). ‘The cot of Cridel(a)’s people’ [or rather, ‘Cottage(s) associated with Cridel(a)’ GJ].

< *Cridela/Credelela

Cridling Stubs, township in Darlington parish, near Pontefract, W. Yorks (Cred(e)ling 1155–77). Smith proposed a derivation from Cridela or Creola + ing (‘Cridela’s place’), arguing that Ekwall’s derivation from Creoda + hlinc ‘hill’31 did not fit the local topography, and that hlinc was in any case an element not found with certainty in Yorkshire.32 An OE Cridela was not on record, but would have been a normal -ea(-a) derivative of Cridel, which would have become Creoda by back-mutation.

Names subject to alternative explanations

Crudwell, Wilts (Crodewelle) 854 etc. Also -mor, -ham. ‘Probably Creoda’s spring or stream’.33 Crudwell was a major holding of the nearby church of

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., p. 88.
31 Ibid., p. 130.
33 J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, The Place-Names of Wiltshire,
tun' (‘[Pyppel] a diminutive of [Pyppa or Pyppa]’). Ekwall’s suggestion that the first element might be a stream-name from OE *pyppel, ‘pebble’, is not supported by the history of the name of the brook near which Pepleton stands. Pepleton was a member of the federative royal ecclesiastical manor of Pershore, a Domesday triple hundred.

< Pyppa [Mawer and Stenton] / Peobba [Smith]

Pedmore, Worcs (Pevemore 1086 DB, Pabemora 1176, Pebb(e)more 1291), ‘Pyppa’s mor’; 45 ‘Peobba’s mor’. 46 Mawer and Stenton suggested that ‘in addition to the assimilation to Pyppa there may have been another to Pyppba 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 [Pyppa]; there may have been, however, a form Peobba from a different grade (Pr[oto-]Germ[an]ic) “peub- [to puff]” as in OE Peufa(t)’. Wallenberg saw this Germanic stem as perhaps underlying the name Pivington, Kent, and compared it with the personal name *Pefi, *Pefin suggested by Mawer and Stenton for Pusey, Berks, Pewsey, Wiltz, and Pevensey and Pensford, Sussex. 44 (For interchange between b and d, Mawer and Stenton compared Bedgrove,) 45 earlier Bebgrove.)

< Peobba

Pebworth, Glo. (Pebworth 848 [14th c.]; at Pebbewardy 1012–23), ‘Peobba’s enclosure’. 46 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 Pebb- to Ped- was similar to that in a form for Pebworth, Pedworth (1583).

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43 PN Worcs, p. 216.
44 Ekwall, Dictionary, p. 363.
45 PN Worcs, p. 10, s.n. Bow Brook.
46 PN Worcs, p. 306.
48 J. K. Wallenberg, Kentish Place-Names (Uppsala, 1931), p. 191.
50 PN Backs, p. 166.
51 PN Glo. I, 252.

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JONES

Uncertain relationship of personal name to Pyppa

< Pippa

pippan slad, boundary marker, Bishops Cleeve, Glo. (768 x 779 [11th c.]: S141; F30 ‘authentic’). 47 ‘Pippa’s slade [short valley]’. 48 See discussion under Pepperwell below.

Spelling too late for confident etymology

Pepperwell, Wolford, Warwicks (–Farm, modern; –Furlong 1760). 49 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; or from a ME surname, as with Peppershill, Devon, 50 and Pepper’s Farm. Peppersgate, Pepperscombe, and Pepperhall Farm, all in Sussex. As well as commenting on these latter names, 51 Gover, Mawer and Stenton also dealt with Pephurst (see below), which they derived from Pyppa, and with Peoothing and Peörpering (see below), both of which they derived from Pip(a), an r-derivative of Pippa. The same name was to be found, they proposed, in Peper Harow, Surrey (Piperhege 1086 DB, Pyperhargh 1291). 52 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 pipere ‘piper’, genitive plural pipera ‘of the pipers’. 49 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’. 53 Wallenberg suggested that *Piper(a) was a nickname denoting a person of small roundish stature ‘like

48 Ibid., p. 84.
49 PN Warwicks, p. 303, without etymology.
52 PN Sasse, I, 184, 212, 238, II, 307.
54 Ekwall, Dictionary, p. 363.
55 PN Surrey, p. 208.
line of east and west Wansdyke.  

(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 Padell 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 Icingsa dynasty earlier than Creoda—Icel, Cnebbba, and Cynewald. An eastern distribution of such names as Ickleton (Cambs), Ickeford (Herts), Icklingham (Suffolk) and Knebworth (Herts) has long been recognised and contrasts with the western distribution of the names considered here. 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. 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 Guthlacingsas, a people who claimed descent from Icel. 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, Cnebbba, 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

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

Province of the Hwicce

< Creoda
Creodan de, boundary marker, Cotton Hackett/Alvechurch, Worcs (849; S1272, F254 ‘authentic’). ‘Creoda’s oak’.

Curdworth, Warwicks (Credeworde 1086 DB). ‘Creoda’s enclosure’. Opposite Curdworth across the Tame lay a royal estate, Coleshill.

< Criddi
Kersoe, hamlet in Elmley Castle, Warcs (Criddes-, Crydesho 780 [11th c.]).

6 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).
7 ASC ‘C’ s.a. 626. For the personal names Cnebbba and Icel, see M. Redin, Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English (Uppsala, 1919), pp. 89 and 142 respectively.

11 Where not stated otherwise, the listed names are those of parishes.
13 DB Warwicks, 1.5.
a peppercorn (OE *piper*), or ultimately from a Germanic base *pip-*; "to swell." See also Dr Gelling’s comment on Pipewell, Northants, below.

Elsewhere

<Pybba > *Pubb
Publow, Somerset (Pupelawe 1219, Puppelawe 1262). "OE Pupban hlaw, Pybba’s (burial) mound." Pubba’s hlaw, *Pubba related to Pybba*. Publow formed with Pensford a chasity of Stanton, which in turn is probably to be associated with a likely royal estate centre, Chew Magna.

<Pybba

<Pybby
Pelsbury, 1 mile south-east of Langport, Somerset (Pibbesbyrig 1065). "Pebbi [sideform of Pybba] + barh". Uncertain relationship of personal name to Pybba

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

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64 PN Sussex, I, 167.
65 PN Sussex, II, 498.
66 PN Surrey, p. 206.
68 Gelling, Signposts to the Past, pp. 156-57.
70 PN Wilts, p. 397.
71 PN Wilts, p. 391.
C: Place-names derived from a form of *Penda* or one of its variants or derivatives

**Province of the Hwiccce**

< **Penda**

**Pendeford**, lost place in King’s Norton, Worcs (1240). ‘Penda’s ford’.

**Pinvin.** Worcs (Pendefen, 1275). ‘Penda’s fen or marsh’.

Pinvin was a member of the home estate of the major federative royal/ecclesiastical manor of Pershore.

**Pendan Wyre** (709 x 716 [12th c.], Goscelin’s *Life of St Mildburch*, in British Library, Add. MS 34 633). ?Wyre Piddle, Worcs (Pidele 1086 DB, Wyre Pidele 1208).4 ‘Peadan is apparently the genitive singular of the personal name Penda ... Nothing can be made of Wyre as it stands; we should probably read Wyre. If so, the place may be identified with Wyre Piddle, for this parish adjoins Pendan-fen ... now Pinvin’ (q.v. above).

**Pendan acv.** boundary marker, Cofoton 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’.

**Pendeburh** (1291 etc.). ‘Pimbury Park, Avening, Glos. Many spellings of a place-name Pendeburh 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”’.

**Elsewhere**

< **Penda**

**Pendeford,** near Wolverhampton, Staffs (Pendeford 1086 DB). ‘Penda’s ford’.

**Pendley Manor,** near Aldbury, Tring, Herts (Pentlai 1086 DB). ‘Penda’s leah’.

**Penley,** Froyde, Hants. Gover compared Penley with Pendley, Herts.80 Thus ‘Penda’s leah’?

**Penley/Llanmerch Banna,** Flints. ‘Penda’s leah’.

< **Pendel**

**Pensworth Farms,** in Redlynch, Wilts (Pendesworth 1227 etc.). ‘Pendel’s farm’. ‘Pendel would be an l-derivative of ... Penda’.

< **Pendhere**

**Pendefrith dclf,** boundary marker (921[14th c.]: S379, FW237; 968 [c.1225], S756, FW303) south-west of Southgrove Farm, Burbage, Wilts, Pencely c.1840.81 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 Chisby hillfort, Little Bedwyn, was named.82 The story does not belong to the older stratum of Abingdon tradition.83 See also (ad) Peadan stigele below.

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80 *PN Herts*, p. 53.


82 *PN Wilts*, p. 396.

83 *PN Wilts*, p. 338.


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

**Province of the Hwicce**

< *P(e)ada*

*Paden*, in Studley, Warwickshire (*Peadehangre* 1232). ‘P(e)ada’s *hangra* “wooded slope”’. 86

< *Pad(d)a*

*Paddington*, field-name in Minety, Wiltshire, now Wilts (*Padingden* 1540). ‘*Pada’s denu* “valley”’. 87

(the) *Overpadden*, field-name in Meysey Hampton, Gloucestershire (1639). ‘*Pada’s denu*’, comparing this name with that of Paddington in Minety 88

< *Peden*

*Pensham*, in St Andrew’s parish, Pershore, Worcestershire (*Pedneshamme* 972 [c. 1050]: S786; F120, ‘authentic’). ‘*Peden’s hamn*’. 89 *Peden* would be an *n*-derivative of *Peda*.

**Adjoining districts**

< *Peada*


< *Peda or Pede*

*Peddemore* Hall, in Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire (*Pedemor* 1298). ‘*Pede’s mor*’. 90

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

*Patcomb* Hill, Bratton, Wiltshire (*Patekynhuil* 1330; *padecan stan* 968: S765,

86 *PN Warwicks*, p. 226.
87 *PN Glos*, I, 78.
88 *PN Glos*, I, 75.
89 *PN Worcs*, p. 221.
90 *PN Warwicks*, p. 50.

FW304 ‘authentic’). ‘*Padeca’s cumb* and stone’. 91 S765 is a grant of land by King Edgar to Romsey Abbey.

< *Peda*

*Pedwell*, hamlet of Walton, Somerset (*Pedewelle* 1086 DB). ‘*Peoda’s spring*’. 92

*Pedwardine*, Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire (*Pedewrite* 1086 DB). ‘*Peoda’s (Piuda’s) enclosure (worpign)*’. 93

**Elsewhere**

< *Peada*

*Padworth*, Berks (at *Peadanwurde* 956: S620, G80, grant of land by King Eadwig to his man Eadric). ‘*Peada’s word* “enclosure”’. 94 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. 95

*Peadan beorge* (868: S214). S214 is a grant of five hides at an unspecified *Uphrop* by Burged, 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, 96 but a marginal note in a copy of *Cartularium Saxonicum* in Leicester University Library suggests Uphrop in Cam, Glos, or Aston Uphrop, Berks. The Domesday estate at Padbury was of twenty hides, 97 but see below for the derivation of its name from *burh*.

< *Padda*

*Padbury*, Bucks (*Paddeberi* 1167). ‘*Padda’s burh*’. 98 A large defended enclosure, Norbury, stands by the river at Padbury. At Buckingham, a

91 *PN Wilts*, p. 146.
94 *PN Berks*, I, 214.
97 *DB Bucks*, 43,8.
98 *PN Bucks*, pp. 55–56.
neighbouring parish, was the pre-Conquest shrine of St Rumwold, supposed son of Peada’s sister Cyneburh.99

Paddington, Middx (in Padviniue 959 [13th c.]; S1293, Paddingleone 998 [13th c.]). ‘Padd(a)d’s tan’.100 S1293 is a forged confirmation of a royal grant of lands to St Peter’s, Westminster.

Paddington Farm, in Abinger, Surrey (Palendene(e) 1086 DB). ‘Pada’s demu’.101

Padfield, in Glossop, Derbys (Padefeld 1086 DB). ‘Perhaps Pada(d)’a’s feld’.102

Nether Padley, Derbys (Paddeley(e) c.1230). ‘Perhaps Padda’s leath. Alternatively padde, “toad” might be considered’.103

Padiham, Lancs. (Padiham 1251, Padingham 1292). “The ham of Padda or his people”.104 Or rather, “Padda’s hamn”105

< Peda

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

Etymology open to question

< Pad(d)e | Pattel (from Pead(d)a or Peata. but the latter is unrelated to Peada).

Paddlesworth, near Dover, Kent (Peadleswarthe 11th c.). *Paddel or *Pattel related to Pead(d)a or Peata.107 ‘Paddel’s or Pattel’s enclosure. ‘Most

101 PN Surrey, p. 260.
103 PN Derbys, I, 158.
104 Ekwall, Dictionary, p. 356.

likely OE nickname *Pedel or the like, derived from the same stem as Modern English paddle’.108

Paddlesworth, in Snodland, near Maidstone, Kent (Peteleswarthe c.975 Birch 1321; Peadleswythe c.975 Birch 1322; neither charter is listed in S). ‘Pedel’s enclosure’109

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 Hwiccean nobility.110 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:111 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 (Wulfringetun 977: S1332).

Wolvescote, Worcs (Wifrescote 1275).

Wolverdale, Glos (1374 field name, location unspecified.)112

108 Wallenberg, The Place-Names of Kent, p. 151.
109 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’.
111 Ekwall, Dictionary, pp. 529–33, listed below.
112 PN Glos, IV, 209.
Adjacent districts

Wolverlow, Herefs, near Tenbury, Worcs; compare Wulfhereslaw Hundred, above.

Wolverhill, 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, Wulfrid or Wulfrun.’

Woldringfold, near Horsham, W. Sussex.

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

?Wolverton, Bucks (Wluerintone 1086 DB). ‘Wulfrun’s or Wulfhere’s tun.’

Woolverstone, Suffolk.

Elsewhere

Ulrome, Barlston, Holderness, E. Yorks.

Ulrefurthebec, Westmorland, and

Ulverpole, Westmorland, field-names, location unspecified.

Appendix II: The place-names arranged geographically
(The numbers serve as a key to the maps)

Province of the Hwicce

< Creoda
1 Creodan dac, Worcs
2 Curdworth, Warwicks

JONES

< Criddi
3 Kerse, Worcs
< Pypba
4 Pepwell, Worcs
5 Pepper Wood, Worcs
< Pyppel
6 Peolentun, Worcs
< Pypba / Peobba
7 Peodmore, Worcs
< Peobba
8 Pebworth, Glos
< Pippa
9 Uncertain relationship of personal name to Pypba
10 pippan slade, Glos
< Penda
11 Pendford, Worcs
12 Peandun Wyre, Worcs
13 Pendanac, Worcs
14 Pinbury Park, Glos
15 Pendebur, Glos
< P(e)ada
16 Padonger, Warwicks
< Pad(s)a
17 Paddington, Glos
18 (the) Overpadden, Glos
< Peilen
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

13 Ekwall, Dictionary.
14 Ekwall, Dictionary.
26 Publow, Somerset
< Pybby
27 Pelsbury, Somerset
< Penda
28 Pendeford, Staffs
< Pendel
29 Pensworth, Wilts
< Pendhere
30 Pendrefred clif (Penceley), Wilts
< Peda
31 (ad) Peadan stigele, Wilts
< Peda
32 Peddimore, Warwicks
< Padeca (dim. Pad(d)a)
33 Patcombe, Wilts
< Peda
34 Pedwell, Somerset
35 Pedwardine, Herefs

Elsewhere

< Creoda
36 Long Crendon, Bucks
< *Cridela/Creodela
37 Cridling, Yorks WR
< Pybba
38 Pibworth, Berks
39 Pemmarsh, Essex
40 Petehale, Essex
41 Pehurust, W. Sussex
< Piper(a)
Uncertain relationship of personal name to Pypba
42 Pepering, W. Sussex
43 Pepering Eye, E. Sussex
44 Pepperhams, Surrey
< Penda
46 Pend(e)ley, Herts
47 Penley, Hants
48 Penley/Llanannerch Banna, Flints
< Peada
49 Padworth, Berks
< Padda
50 Padbury, Bucks
51 Paddington, Middx
52 Paddington, Surrey
53 Padfield, Derbys
54 Padley, Derbys
< Peda
55 Padham, Lancs
56 Pedan hrycg, Surrey

Location unknown

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

Etymology open to question

< Ped(d)el / Partel
59 Paddlesworth, Kent
60 Paddlesworth, Kent

Names subject to alternative explanations

61 Crudwell, Wilts
62 Credcadoc, 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

Creda < Crioda < Crida

Penda's grandfather and/or penultimate predecessor appears in OE and later sources as Crida Cyanewolding (ASC 'A' s.a. 626, erased; cf. Cridda (JW s.a. 627), Crioda (GV 91), Creda Cyanewolding (ASC 'A' s.a. 755, 'BC' s.a. 626, Creda also GC 437, 428, and JW, p. 251), and Creda (HH, IV, 21, s.a. 755). In ASC 'D' s.a. 855 a Creda Ceriding was inserted in the royal line of Wessex between Cerdic and Cynric (Ceridio Ceriding SG 6; Creda Cynricing GT 173 in error), but this may have arisen from Mercian political retouching of the king-list, and the two Credas 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 Cewalinn 7 Cwicelm 7 Crida forwardan'). Henry of Huntingdon took this to be so.116

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 (> Creda) due to a -mutation?"117 No other literary instances of the name survive. OE sources do, however, provide a single instance of a name Credatu.118 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 Credant abba[s] he witnessed charter S113 in 777, and probably S57 in 778–79 (Tredan abbatis in error?), and as Creda absb, 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 abbatte 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 Creda, Cri(oda)?:119 The name of the Hwiccian St Creda(n) is reminiscent of those of the Cornish saints Creda at Creed (Sancte Cride 1275, [The church of] St Creda or Crida,120 and Credus/Credanus at Sancred (ecclesia Sancti Sacredi 1291121). Farmer noted traces of a cult of a male St Credan in Counties Moyn and Wiclow, 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.122 She appears as Cride in a tenth-century list of parochial saints, and may be identical with a Breton St Cry.123 Ekkwall remarked that the name looked like a Cornish form of that of St Faith, Cornish cred, Welsh cred, faith',124 with which compare Old Irish creit 'I believe', Latin credo.125 The Devon river name Creedy (on Cridian 739 [11th c.]) was derived by Ekkwall from a British base meaning 'winding'.126 Among his 'Old Celtic' names, Holder recorded Crid(i), with a diminutive Cridionilla and a variant Critionnes.127 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.

Pybba

The name of Penda's father and/or immediate predecessor appears as Pybbra Criding (GV VI 91); Pybbra Criding (ASC 'A' s.a. 626 erased) and Creeding (ASC 'BC' s.a. 626, 'A' s.a. 755, SG p. 170; Pybb also GC 437, Nennius, chapter 65, JW 251); Pippa (Nennius ch. 65); Puppa (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,128 from a Germanic stem *peub, *pub, 'puff, blow'; their meaning would then be "puffer", the "man who puffs and blows". 'I prefer, like Muller, to characterise

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116 HH, II, 26 and 27.
117 Redin, Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names, pp. 89–90.
119 Redin, Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names, p. 89 and, for Treda, p. 79.
120 Ekkwall, Dictionary, p. 129.
121 Ibid., p. 403.
124 Ekkwall, Dictionary, p. 403.
127 A. Holder, Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1891–1925), I, 1169–70.
the name as "undurchsichtig" ["opaque"].

Kevin Streit, a student at the University of Washington, has suggested a root in common with Welsh *pybry, 'staunch, strong'. Dr Padel has pointed out that the first y is a schwa, spelt earlier with e (pehly in Canu Anineir, 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,

located in Dorset and Devon, not in Mercia.

Penda

All the literary occurrences of this name refer to the king of Mercia, in HE, ASC and other material; as Panitha in Nennius, ch. 60, 64, and, with variant Pende, in Annales Cambriae, s.a. 657; and Peadan (nom.) in Alcuin, Verses, pp. 518, 550. Eight or nine dithematic names are known which incorporate Penda as the first element, at least three of which are Mercian. Following Mawer and Stenton 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'.

Penwealh, Mercian noble of tribe of Guthlacings, father of SS Gwaellog and Pega, probably born by 650, i.e. within reign of Penda. In the OE translation called Penwold. To be identified with the Penwalh listed in the Anglian collection of royal genealogies and king-lists as a great nephew of Penda? Dr Julia Barrow has suggested that Pega's name might be 'a shortened form of a Mercian family name fitting into the Pendu/Penda pattern'.

Pendhere, witness, c.757, of the Hwiccian under-king's grant of Tredington to Worcester church (SS55, F214 'authentic').

Pendraed, moneynor under Offa 757 x 796 (Keary).

Pendwine, moneynor under Coenwulf 796 x 821 (Keary).

Pendryth, queen and/or abbess, donor to church of Durham by c.825 (British Library, Cotton MS Dom. A 7, the so-called Liber Vice Dunelmensis).

Pendryth appears eighth in a long list of queens and abbesses (fol. 13; LV, p. 153, line 19), after Regвинead (sic), Eanflaed (of Whithby, d. 704), Eormenburgh (of Minster, d. 700), Aelflæd (of Whithby, d. 714), Ethelburh (of Barking, d. 675), Cuthburh (of Wimborne, d. c.725), and Nuna (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 Fonthill, near Warminster, Wilts).

Pandwyyn, patron saint of Eltisley, Camb., 1344 ('d. c.904').

Forster 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.

Dr Insole'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.' 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 *penndaw, 'chiefman', the word proposed by Hamp as that from which pendevic and its

129 Redin, Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names, p. 34. ( Müller, Untersuchungen, p. 43.)


131 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 in September 1995.


133 Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Eboracensis ecclesiae, edited by E. Dummele, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Poetæ Latinæ, 1 (Berlin, 1881), pp. 169 ff.; Redin, Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names, p. 69.

134 PN Worcs, p. 223.

135 PN Glos, 1, 73.


137 The Life of St Guthlac, edited by C. W. Goodwin (1848).


139 Internet discussion list Medieval-Religion, 17 November 1998.

140 Farmer, Saints, p. 377.

141 M. Förster, Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen: eine sprachliche Untersuchung (Halle, 1921), pp. 62-63. I am grateful to Mr Streit for drawing my attention to Förster's opinion.

Nomina 21

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Brittonic cognates would have been adjectival formations. 143

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. 144 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:

Pada presbyter, a member of Wilfrid’s mission in Sussex c.681. 145

Searle provided additionally:

Pede, 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 Pada, that of a landholder at Brampton, near Blythburgh, E. Suffolk, to be a nickname from late OE padde or Old Norse (ON) padda ‘toad, frog’. 146

Redin commented:

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

143 Hamp, ‘The element -tamo-’, Études celtiques, 14 (1974-75), 189-90. I am grateful to Dr Padel for this reference and for his comments.


145 HE, Book IV, ch. 13 (Pead in one version of the OE translation); Redin, Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names, p. 105.


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 started 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. Bead-., Eaf-.. With the etymology of Pada may be compared Celtic Padha (Holder I 920). Kemble, ‘Names’, p. 100, translates Pada ‘with a tunic’ (c. OE pad, ‘covering, coat, cloak’), but the later form with -ea- points to a short -d-. A Germanic theme *pad- is not found, as far as I know. 147

As Dr Insley pointed out to me, three Continental names listed by Searle 148 are not relevant to the English corpus and would need to be checked against the source. These are Peda and the dithematic Padmar, attributed to Piper, 149 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. 150

The names as a group

In his comments to me on this corpus (October 1996), Dr Insley remarked that he suspected that ‘Pyba, Pebbia, 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 Pybb, 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, 151 particularly regarding the attempt to see Vortigern as a title instead of a name. For the use of pebb, earlier pebyr, as an epithet, Dr Padel offered as a comparison Gronw Pebyr (Pebyr in one MS) in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi.

147 Redin, Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names, pp. 105-06.

148 Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonum, p. 385.

149 F. Piper, Die Calendarien und Martyrologien der Angelsachsen (Berlin, 1862).


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, etc.  Location uncertain
- Pybba, etc.  Uncertain
- Penda, etc.
- Plead, etc.  Uncertain
- Eowa

Key to symbols
○ < Creoda  ○ Uncertain etymology
△ < Creoda (Uncertain location)  ▲ < Crédela
■ < Griddi  Numerals refer to list of place-names, Appendix II

E  Evesham: See reference to Abbots (St) Credain, Appendix III
Fig. 3: PN's associated with the personal name Pypha, etc.

Key to symbols

- < Pypha
- < Pypel
- < Pypha / Peabba
- < Pybbi
- < Peabba

Numerals refer to list of place-names, Appendix II

Uncertain etymology

< Pybb / *Pubba

Uncertain relationship to Pypha

Key to symbols

- < Penda
- < Pendel
- < Pendhere

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.¹ They also constitute some of our earliest and most extensive evidence of non-literary texts in Old English.² 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.³ A further problem, and

¹ 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.

² Important work in this field has been undertaken by P. R. Kitson, ‘Quantifying qualifications 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.

³ I have looked at cartulary copies of vernacular wills in “As fre as thou/”