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). Although in essence produced by legal differentiation, the relationship between toponymic bynamse and legal status was no doubt also transformed into a cultural differentiation, so that toponymic bynamse were appropriated to impart dignity and mark off status culturally as well as legally—to become ‘cultural’ or ‘symbolic capital’.

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.

---


---

*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 wilderness I wander.
By a knight of ghosts and shadowes
I summon’d am to tournay
Ten leagues beyond the wide world’s end.
Methinke it is noe journey.

From Tom o’ Bedlam’s Song, anon. (?16th century)

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, Perth becomes Bertha, we see a coria, or even a curia, in Currie

---

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 by popular or antiquarian etymology, a locus in *Locus Maponi* (Lochmaben DMF) by scholarly false-etymology, 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’, but there was for long a sort of obduracy in the other direction among toponymists of the Anglo-Saxon school in balding, whether consciously or unwittingly (but not consis-

---

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 Angli 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.


naming from the recorded presence of the deity himself, rather than to summon a shadowy ancient mariner up from the dead.  

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.  

"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."  

False Anglo-Saxon pedigrees? Though the lesson has still not been universally learned, a renewed look at modern English (in particular at the bizarrenesses 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

---


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

---

16 For the evidence of great British to Anglo-Saxon 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. [...] to 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 Sprogsvidenskap, 21 (Oslo, 1967), 167–80. See now The Celtic Roots of English, edited by M. Fillipula, J. Klemola and H. Pitktnen, 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. Foussa, 'A contact-universal 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 EN of Lancaster, inscribed with the enigmatic but suggestive L MP IIII 'from L- 4 miles'. 8 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 inaptitude, 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 9 at the 10–ICCS conference (with an unpopularity 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. O’Maolalpaigh (East Linton, 1999), pp. 509–10. 12–ICCS (Aberystwyth, 2003) showed that many people (mostly academics working with 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’: [‘unknown, but apparently in Scotland north of the Antonine Wall.’ (Rivet and Smith, The Place-names of Roman Britain, pp. 383–84).

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 Dormoraceyester and Licecide 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 Dormoraceyester ever a triple compound to anyone but an erudite bi-lingual? If Dr Gelling’s point be true, it yet distills 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’.


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 Cumbrian ‘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. 273–557 (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...’.

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 (Ribbecastre DB, Ribblecastre 1215) 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 YO ‘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.

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 Saxony 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...’ (the further cites numerous examples of this process) (personal communication, 17 June 1996). Would it be wise here to posit the hardly-envisioned 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.

Lonesdale, in 1130 Lonesdala, and in 1169 Lonesdale,25 these earliest references suggesting that we might be on the right track. Lonton YON ‘on [another] R Lune’ was Lontune in DB.26

As for the river itself, there is no mention earlier than c.1160, when Lonesdale 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 Lancastrum 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 slán ‘health-giving’ and found as Welsh llawn.29 Yet llawn is not ‘health-giving’ but ‘full’ in all its senses (including ‘teeming with, aboundings 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 (Cit) *lan-, cognate with Latin plenus.31

Neither is there any reason to look to Irish slán when G lan (cognate with llawn) is ‘full; flood-tide; swell (of water)’.32 Can we, purely as a hypothesis for the moment, restore the British form of

25 Ibid., p. 304.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid., p. 307.
28 Ibid., p. 285.
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.
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 Dad in Nennius [Historia Brittonum], and via Anglo-Saxon as Doncaster. Jackson traces the development from *Dānum > Pr[imitiv]e W *Dōn > AS *Dōn; [32] this became the Don (1194 x 1199, and of Doncaster DB) [35], eventually the modern Don of river and town. In parallel fashion in Brythonic the sequence would be: Old Welsh (OW) *Don > Middle (M)W *Dawn > 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.

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 Lōn > AS *Lōn > ME Lone-, and in Brythonic as OW Lōn > MW *laun > ModW llaw; we could even hypothesise a *Cair Laun 'Lancaster'. Jackson [37]

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 Dono- came.
37 GPC, s.v.

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

The confusion of vowels in the Lancashire forms and the late survival of Lān- 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 Egfrith (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 Breton'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'-(Kishker, casser). The county's Welsh name, Sir Gaerthryn, 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 (Loonie c.970, Lodene 1091, Laudonia 1126, Leudonia c.1164, Louthion c.1200);\(^{41}\) MW Lleuddin ovoe their name to an unrecorded B *Lugudanon* ‘fortress of the god Lugus’, a Welsh by-form Lleuddinaun hailing from B *Lugu-duniana* ‘the Country of Lugudon’ 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.

Though Kenneth Jackson asserted that ‘the etymology and history of the name Lothian is full of difficulties...’\(^{43}\) there is now a reasonable consensus.\(^{44}\) Perhaps surprisingly, this derivation was obliquely 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.\(^{46}\)


\(^{44}\) ‘...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.


\(^{46}\) His concise argument is worth quoting in full: ‘The forms *Lodene, Laudian, Lodoneis* should be taken with the XII–XIII century forms for Mount Lothian, Muntlawedewen, Mountlothyen, Montlounes in the Reg. de Neubole, the last linking up with *Loenoi*, the kingdom of Loth in *Le Roman de Brut*, both being Anglo-French terms developed through the normal extrusion of “th” between vowels and the application of the Romance suffix derived from the Latin *antis* (cf. *Lodonensem* and *Londeinism* in Mat[thew]. Par[s]. II. pp. 214, 289). Thus we arrive at the Arthurian *Lyonesse*. [Here he footnotes ‘CF. “County of Loweney” (1335) in *Cal. Docs. iii*, p. 216.’] In certain old Welsh texts *Dinas Eidyn* i.e. Edinburgh is mentioned as the abode of *Lleuddan Llywddog*, who is *Loudonius* grandson of Kentigern in the *Vita*, and from whom, it is claimed, the district got the name *Lleuddenanwm* (the suffix *anw* becoming Welsh *awn*), which was Gaelicised and shortened into *Lothian*. (Y *Cymmeror*, vol XI p. 51; cf. Skene’s *Celtic Scotland II*, p. 186; cf. Haddington and ‘Hatherow.’) But both Lyons in France and Leyden in Holland were originally *Lugudunam* 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...
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 its counterparts of Lothian plain: ecclesiae Lugudunensis 549, urbis Lugdun... 6th cent., *Ludumani* 632, *Laudunum* 680, ...montis Laudun... pre-966, Loon, Montloon 12th cent.; cf. Loudon (Sarthe), de Lucuduno 692, *Lodun* 13th cent.

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

As befits the god of many masks, several other derivations of *Lugus* (pl. *Lugoues*) > *Llu* have been proposed. Discussing the Lugi, a 4

(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 Loweney's compare (le) *Lyonnais*, the region around Lyons (another *Lugudunon*), French -ais < -ois being the equivalent of W -weis < -ais, both < *lais-*, a good example of similar substrata (Gaulish and British) acting on a superstratum tongue (Latin).


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 *lagos > Ir loch “black”') and hence perhaps 'raven' in Gaulish (Gaulish *lougos* recorded as *louca* 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 *lue* could be cognate with Irish *lug*, in which case some examples of *lue* 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".
crop to an already crammed wordfield, he felt though—

that Lugh- may be cognate with Ir[ish] lúge, the verbal noun of tongid 'swears', but also meaning 'oath' (from *hngio-). It is of interest that 'match-making', 'marriage' and 'courtship' are outstanding features among the traditions connected with the Lugh-festival, [...] for Ir lúge '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 lúge of the Chamalières inscription, 57 characterised as 'the script of a magico-religious ritual for obtaining the help of Arvernian Maponis 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 lúge 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 plucked 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 -mnii iis / Luge. dessumii. 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 égúe', Studia Celtica, 26–27 (1991–92), 21–33 (p. 26), where the whole text is presented.
60 F. C. Robinson 'The significance of names in Old English literature', Anglia, 86 (1968), 14–58 (p. 27).

pervasive Sufi ('Sufi has no etymology')—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 LUGUSDUM '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 LINEOUGLA (*Longovicio Lanchester), VINOVIA (*Vinovia Binceh), LAVARIS (*Lavatris Bowes), CACTABACTONION (*Cataractonium Catterick), EBRACUM (*Ebracum York), and DECUARIA (*Petauria Brough-on-Humber). Now he appears to waver: DEVOVICIA (*Delgovicia ?Wetwang) and DIXIO (*Dicto ?Wearmouth) are followed by LUGUDUNO (*Luguduno —), COGANGES (*Concangis Chester-le-Street) and CORIE LOPOCARUM (*Coriopatium? Corbridge) which end the section; our name is left by Rivet and Smith as ‘[u]known, but apparently in northern England. 62


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 *CORISOPITUM*, restored to replace the usual, impossible CORSTOPTUM 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, Brads and Graffiti’, Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series, Vol. II (Hexham, 1993), pp. 19 and 42–43). CORSTOPTUM will be a garbling of something like *CORIO(?SO)*RITUM ‘hosting-ford’ (B *ritu-
Nikolai Tolstoy, maybe the only Arthurian scholar so far to have used the divine derivation to any effect, identifies Ravenna’s entry with Lothian. In view of the Roman connection, though, this is more likely to be Loudoun Hill AYR (sic c.1140) 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 burh ‘fort’) 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’.  

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 (Loudon [sic]); note that Watson’s ‘Lothangill south-west of Carlisle’ (ibid., p. 101) is actually Lowthian Gill CMB by Barpark Fell SE of Carlisle [NY 465485]. Louden Knowe PEB [NT 137363], an outlier of Trehanna Hill, sits at the head of a long ridge above the magnificently situated hillfort known nowadays as Derva Craig (where Derva 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 Drumeltzie 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 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 Delgovita (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).


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 unflawed 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.
The English Place-Name Society

For over eighty years the English Place-Name Society has been issuing its yearly volumes on the place-names of the counties of England. These publications, prepared under the General Editorship of the Honorary Director of the Survey of English Place-Names, are recognised as authoritative by scholars in many disciplines, and have proved of great value in a wide range of studies.

Research on the names of twenty-five complete counties has been published, and there are volumes for parts of Dorset, Staffordshire, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Shropshire and Leicestershire. The fourth part of Shropshire and the third of Leicestershire have recently been published, and work on these counties, and several others, continues. It is hoped that the first volume of the County Durham survey, left nearly finished by Victor Watts when he died, will be ready for publication in 2005.

Some of the costs of research and publication are met by the subscriptions of members. An increase in membership would help to speed up the publication of further volumes. Members of the Society enjoy, in addition to a free copy of the county volume and of the Journal published during each year of their membership, the use of the Place-Names Room in the University of Nottingham, with its excellent reference library and other facilities. They may participate in the running of the Society by attendance at the Annual General Meeting, and are eligible for membership of its Council.

There is scope for further research on the place-names of all counties of England, including those already published. Proposals or enquiries, from students, academic supervisors, or private individuals, regarding individual or joint projects, will be gladly discussed by the Honorary Director of the Survey.

Details of membership, a list of the Society's publications, and further information can be obtained from:
The Secretary, English Place-Name Society, School of English Studies, University of Nottingham, Nottingham NG7 2RD.
<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/english/page1.htm>

What Happened to the UK 1881 Census Surnames by 1997

Ken Tucker
Carleton University, Ottawa

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 Britain1 (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.