

When compounded with imperial names -dunum and -durum always appear as the second element and this is universally true of -dunum in classical times when otherwise compounded. Besides -durum, however, we also have Duro- occurring as the first element. This is normal in Britain (where Lactodurum, Towcester, is the only known example of the other form); and on the Continent, with only two outlying examples, Duro- names are concentrated between the Marne and the sea. This suggests that the form is a specifically Belgic development and this may have important implications for Britain.

Assuming that some at least of these fortification names describe early Roman forts (later to be transferred to their successor towns), two questions arise: first, what were the forts called by the Romans when they were operative, and second, how did they acquire these secondary names? The answer suggested for the first question is that they were known by the name of the unit in garrison, since to apply the name of a commander would have been *lèse majesté* in imperial times and there is evidence elsewhere, notably on the upper Danube, of unit names for forts persisting. As for the second question, the name Durobrivae could be the result of an enquiry when a unit finally abandoned a fort ("We can't go on calling this Cohors III Nerviorum: what is its proper name?" "We call it the fort by the bridge").

While some Duro- and -dunum names (e.g. Camulodunum) are obviously of pre-Roman origin, the full paper of which this is a summary concludes by considering some two dozen names which may be considered secondary in this sense, including Durocornovium (Wanborough, where the second element might even reflect garrisoning by the Cohors I Cornoviorum) and a few which may refer to Roman activity other than fortification. It is suggested that these conclusions have both toponymical and cultural implications.

## NOTE

\*This is a summary of a paper given at the Twelfth Conference of the Council for Name Studies on March 21st 1980. The paper originally formed part of the author's Presidential Address to the Roman Society, and is being published in full, with references, in Britannia XI (1980).

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## PLACE-NAMES AND THE KINGDOM OF ELMET\*

Place-names constitute almost the entire corpus of evidence for the nature of the kingdom of Elmet as the literary material is very slight. The only source which proves its existence as a kingdom is the Historia Brittonum, ch. 63, which records that Edwin occupied Elmet and expelled Ceretic, king of that region, presumably soon after Edwin became king of Northumbria in 617. Even after its incorporation into Northumbria, Elmet appears to have retained a separate regional identity for some considerable time, to judge from twelfth- and thirteenth-century references to it as a provincia, and from its use as a personal-name affix, de Elmet, borne by people living in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The place-name evidence is relevant to identifying both the boundaries of Elmet and sites within the kingdom. The general area of Elmet is indicated by a concentration of surviving Celtic place-names, which extend north-westwards into Craven, which may also have been an unrecorded British kingdom. The eastern boundary of Elmet is defined by a line of some nine vills, whose names are recorded with the affix '-in Elmet' in the period after the Norman Conquest. The distribution of these vills coincides with that of presumed early Anglo-Saxon place-names in hām and of seventh-century pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, and seems to be related to a system of eastward-facing defensive dykes, which probably date to the Dark Ages. This line follows the narrow Magnesian Limestone belt (approximately the course of the modern A1), which probably formed the eastern boundary of Elmet in the early seventh century at the time when the kingdom may have been coming under threat from Æthelfrith. The Magnesian Limestone zone in Yorkshire appears to have been cleared from at least as early as the Iron Age, in contrast to the area of Elmet to the west, whose heavily wooded nature is evidenced by the distribution of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse place-names formed with elements referring to woodland, and by Bede's reference to the monastery of Abbot Thrythwulf as being in silua Elmete.

The southern boundary of the kingdom was probably formed in part by a tributary of the Don, the river Sheaf, whose name comes from OE scēað 'boundary'. The boundary probably continued along the line later followed by the boundary between Northumbria and Mercia and subsequently between the West Riding of Yorkshire and Derbyshire. Dore, which the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries for 830 and 942 show was on the northern boundary of Mercia, is formed from OE duru 'door, gate', referring to the entry into Northumbria and probably also earlier into Elmet. The southernmost of the group of eccles names within Elmet (see further below) are located in this southern corner of the kingdom, while the promontary fort at Carl Wark near Hathersage, if, as seems likely, this is indeed Dark Age in date, may also relate to this southern boundary.

The north-western boundary of Elmet must simultaneously have been the south-eastern boundary of Craven, whose territory is much more clearly defined than is that of Elmet. Craven, the area which is now generally referred to as the Dales, was thought of as a distinct region of that name until at least the mid-seventeenth century. The area which constituted Craven may be reconstructed by the plotting of the vills listed in Domesday Book as lying in the wapentake of Cravescire, of the fifty-three vills whose names are recorded in the Middle Ages with the affix '-in Craven', of the thirty places recorded in the sixteenth-century Fountains Abbey lease book

as being in Craven, and of the territory of the medieval and post-medieval deanery of Craven. Craven may thus be seen to include the whole of East Staincliffe wapentake and to extend westwards into West Staincliffe wapentake and across the river Ribble; the southern and eastern boundaries of East Staincliffe wapentake therefore probably formed the north-western boundary of Elmet.

There is at present little evidence for determining the course of the northern and western boundaries, possibly because these were less well defined or because a natural feature was involved rather than an artificial line. The river Wharfe may have constituted the northern boundary, while the western boundary presumably lay along the Pennine ridge, perhaps following the line later used for the boundary of the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is perhaps noteworthy that whereas Domesday Book lists north Lancashire as part of Yorkshire, it includes the area between the Ribble and the Mersey with Cheshire, suggesting that at least as early as the early Norman period the area along the top of the Pennines was thought of as part of Mercia rather than Northumbria; the region belonged c. 1000 to Wulfric Spot, a major Mercian landowner albeit with Northumbrian connections.

Some evidence for administrative subdivisions within Elmet comes from Bede's reference to the regio Loidis, which Professor G.R.J. Jones considers approximated to the wapentakes of Barkston Ash and Skyrack together with Leeds parish south of the river Aire. Another British regional subdivision may have been the regio Dunutinga given to St Wilfrid by Ecgfrith and Ælfwine and whose name may survive in that of the township of Dent. Dent lies just outside Craven, so it is uncertain to which territory it would have belonged.

Place-names are also of vital importance for identifying possible sites associated with Elmet, as there is so little archaeological material from that period. Apart from the possibly Dark Age dykes, the only finds are two coins of the emperor Justinian, which need not necessarily have been lost in antiquity, and the undated 'Celtic' carved stone heads which abound in the West Riding.

Recent work suggests that the modern city of Leeds is to be identified with the Roman site of Cambodunum, which the Antonine Itinerary locates on the Roman road between Tadcaster and Manchester, and with Campodorum, which was the site of Paulinus' church and Edwin's villa regia burnt by Penda of Mercia in 634. The most likely interpretation of the name Cambodunum is 'fort by the river bend'; the river Aire has a large bend in its course immediately to the south of Leeds and there are references in the antiquarian literature to a major earthwork on Quarry Hill in the north-eastern part of the city, which could have been the \*dūnon of the place-name. The fact that the regional name Loidis came to be attached to Leeds, probably in the mid- to late-seventh century when the regional name became superfluous, indicates that Leeds was the most important place in that regio after the Anglo-Saxon takeover and explains the disappearance of the original name. Early last century a burial with grave-goods was found just south of the river in Leeds; this may have been a pagan Anglo-Saxon interment, in which case it would be the only example known from within Elmet proper, as distinct from its eastern boundary, and may possibly have been associated with the villa regia. The eastward-facing defensive dyke, Grim's Ditch, which runs approximately north-south for some 8.8 km, appears to be placed to defend Leeds to its west, suggesting that Leeds was also of

importance in the period before the English conquest and that Edwin's villa regia was established in an already existing British centre, which was the successor of the Roman site.

A group of specialised sites within Elmet is represented by places with names containing OE eccles, derived from PrW \*eglēs 'a church'. All nine examples in the county of Yorkshire lie within the area believed to constitute the territory of Elmet, suggesting that these were religious centres associated with the kingdom. A number of the names belong to vills or to settlements, making it difficult to pinpoint the site of the church, but three are the names of fields which are small enough to hope to locate the church by archaeological investigation. The Yorkshire examples do not seem to be closely related to the course of Roman roads, but tend to lie close to the boundaries of parishes and townships, location of significant features on boundaries being more often a Celtic than an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon. An aerial photograph of one of the fields, Eccles at Stanbury in Haworth township, reveals possible hut circles and an enclosure containing at least one building. Phosphate analysis of samples from the field has shown a higher concentration of phosphates in the subsoil than in the topsoil in the region of the enclosure, pointing to human activity in this area. It seems likely that this case at least is an example of a British ecclesiastical establishment, although its exact nature has still to be determined.

British secular sites are much more difficult to identify, as surviving Celtic place-names cannot be directly linked with places where people actually lived. Places with names in walh were presumably regarded in the period after the English takeover as having a noticeable British character. Although there may have been some movement of population after 617 and before the formation of the names, recent research indicates that the names were probably given relatively soon after the Anglo-Saxon settlement of an area,<sup>1</sup> and so some of these places may well have been originally British settlements in independent Elmet. Walh names referring to tracts of land, such as Walsden 'valley of the British', cannot be used to identify settlement sites, and it is even dubious whether this is possible with those names which are both settlement and township names, such as Walton near Wakefield, one interpretation of whose name is 'vill of the British'. Only excavation within one of the smaller walh settlements will determine whether it was indeed a British settlement and whether its establishment predated the English conquest of Elmet.

#### NOTES

\*This paper, which was delivered at the Twelfth Conference of the Council for Name Studies at Keele on March 22nd 1980, is based on material in M.L. Faull, British Survival in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Leeds, 1979).

1. K. Cameron, 'The meaning and significance of Old English walh in English place-names', Journal of the English Place-Name Society, 12 (1979-80), pp. 1-46.

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Wakefield