

# CELTIC PLACE-NAMES AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN DERBYSHIRE

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## SUMMARY

Prior to the arrival of Anglo-Saxon immigrants into what is now Derbyshire, there cannot have been a hill, stream, route-way or settlement that did not have a Celtic name and a Celtic history. In the intervening centuries however, all but a precious few have been lost to us. Most can probably never now be known, replaced wholesale by Old English names along with a sprinkling of Scandinavian in parts of the county.

Given the paucity of historical sources and the relative archaeological invisibility of key aspects of the post-Roman and early Anglo-Saxon eras, Celtic place-name survivals are a potentially useful means with which to gain some historical and linguistic understanding of this fascinating period in our history. They might provide pointers towards contemporary land-use, settlements, transportation, territorial boundaries and so on, all of which would be of direct interest to historians and archaeologists.<sup>1</sup> However, even beyond their utilitarian possibilities, ancient names like these are as much objects of beauty and wonder as any archaeological site or artefact, a last slender thread linking us to a time, before the Germanic Anglo-Saxons arrived from the continent, when our forebears spoke an ancestor of Welsh.

The most recent survey of pre-English place-name survivals contains a gazetteer and a map showing the distribution of the two-dozen or so currently accepted for Derbyshire and briefly discusses their etymology.<sup>2</sup> The aim of the authors of this study was “to show that the number of Celtic names of England is greater than is accepted at present, and to promote enquiry into other problematic names on the presumption that a credible Celtic etymology may emerge”. It is in this spirit that the author has examined a small number of difficult or problematic Derbyshire place-names.

The ideas presented below are intended to provoke further discussion rather than be the final word on any particular name. The overall aim has been to suggest plausible Brittonic etymologies (Brittonic being the Celtic language of the region prior to the Anglo-Saxon era) for particular place-names, which might thereby throw fresh light on the possible history of an area, a location, or a site. In certain cases, the proposed solution directly suggests the possibility of archaeological evidence being located within a reasonably restricted area. If this approach stimulates readers to consider other place-names and locations in the county, then it will have more than served its intended purpose.

### **\**Peniouanc* ‘Headland of (the) Youth’: a pre-English, Celtic name for Fin Cop?**

Pennyunk Lane is a track that runs from Ashford-in-the-Water (SK1970) up the slope of the hill named Fin Cop (*Fyndon* in 1415; *Fin Cop* in 1767); an imposing, nose-shaped promontory, projecting into a sharp bend in the river Wye (Plate 1A). At the crest of the

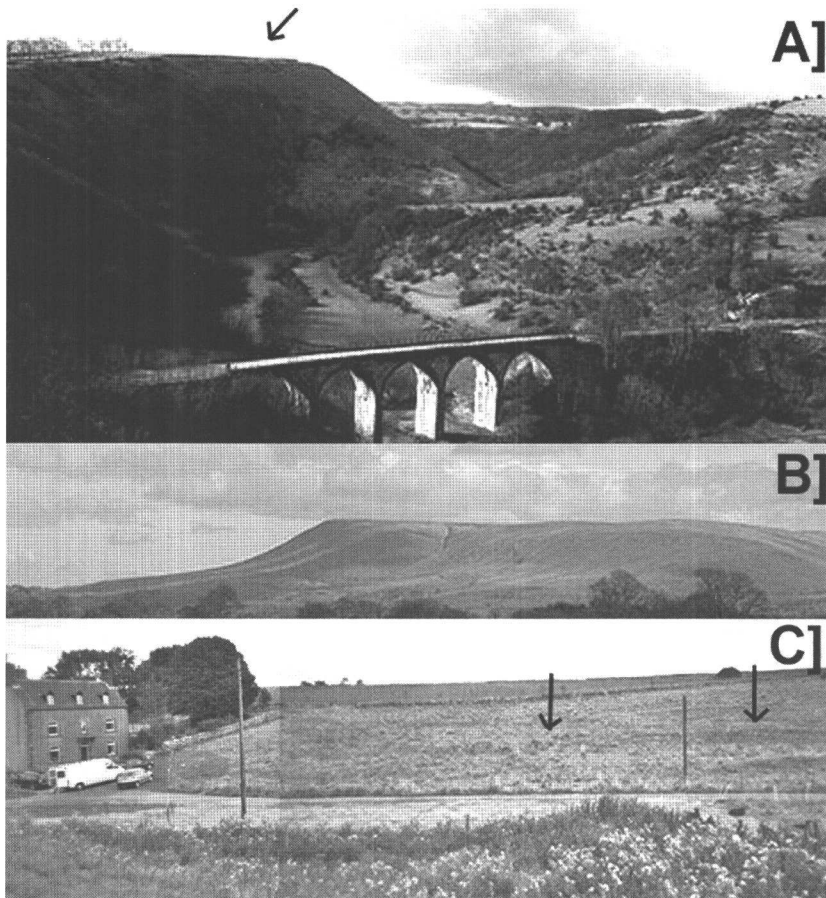


Plate 1 A] Fin Cop (\**Peniouanc?*) from Monsal Head. The site of the late Bronze / Iron Age hilltop enclosure is arrowed. B] Compare the topography of another northern English Celtic *penn* ‘head(land), top, end, promontory’ place-name: Pendle Hill in Lancs. C] Mouldridge Grange: new and old. Earthworks (lynchets, wall footings and terraces probably defining yards, small enclosures and/or buildings), presumed to belong to the 12th to 16th C. grange (arrowed), lie just south of the current farmhouse.

327m hill lies Fin Cop settlement, one of nine or so late Bronze or Iron Age hilltop enclosures in the Peak.<sup>3</sup> The ten-acre site is flanked by steep slopes falling away into the deep gorge of Monsal Dale on two sides, with double bank and ditches on the others.<sup>4</sup>

The earliest recorded forms of the name are: *Penyunke* and *Penyonke* in 1423; *Pennyunck* in 1617; and *Pennyhunck* in 1643.<sup>5</sup> This is clearly an unusual name. An outwork bank below Fin Cop enclosure may represent the vestiges of a prehistoric corral used to over-winter stock.<sup>6</sup> However, it is difficult to envisage an Old English compound beginning with *penn* ‘pen for animals’ followed by the curious element *yunk* / *yonk* (or equally *penny* + *unk*). Gelling and Cole have argued that Old English *penn* is somewhat less likely in a place-name when *Pen-* is the first element in a compound; so that if the name had an English provenance, one might expect the element *penn* to follow a

specifying element as in the names of other suspected hilltop enclosures such as Inkpen in Berkshire and Pilsdon Pen in Dorset (however even with these names there is still uncertainty as to whether the *pen* is actually English or Celtic).<sup>7</sup> A Scandinavian derivation appears equally unlikely and so, despite the relative lateness of the name's first recorded appearance, the possibility that the name represents a genuine Celtic survival must be examined. The Brittonic element *penn* 'head(land), top, end, promontory' is common in Welsh, Cornish and Breton place-names and has also survived in numerous Celtic-derived place-names in England such as Pentrich, Penrith, Pendle, Penge and Penkrudge.<sup>8</sup> Plate 1A & B. shows the topographic suitability of Brittonic *penn* in a pre-English name for the site of this promontory enclosure.

In the Romano-British era (and before), virtually all native P-Celtic place-names would have been formed with the word-order; specifying element, followed by a generic element (as for later Old English place-names).<sup>9</sup> However, a distinctively Celtic type of place-name, called an 'inversion compound', has the opposite order generic > specifier; although place-names of this type were generally not given during the British period and probably first appeared in the sixth century (since they are restricted to the more westerly areas of England, in districts settled late by the Anglo-Saxons, as well as in Wales and Brittany).<sup>10</sup> However, *Pen*-\* / *Penn*-\* names in particular appear to have been formed with the order generic > specifier earlier including, for example, Pentrich (*Pentric* in 1086) meaning 'hill or head of (the) boar' – with *tirch*, the genitive of Brittonic *turch* (-*ch* as in Scottish *loch*), as the specifier.<sup>11</sup> Even older may be the British ancestor of Brittonic *penn* seen in the recorded Romano-British place-name *Pennocrucium* (now Penkrudge) 'headland tumulus' and the British *Pennbrogâ* (Pembroke) 'end land', which both show the extreme antiquity of this particular type of formation.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, all other Brittonic etymologies proposed by the author have the usual specifier > generic word-order that would be predicted for British Celtic place-names coined prior to the arrival of Anglo-Saxon immigrants in the region.

This leaves the rather mysterious element *yunk* / *yonk* in Pennyunk, which does not appear to correspond to any recorded Old English element. Andrew Breeze has suggested that an ancestor of the Welsh word *ieuanc*, or its plural *ieuainc*, would fit the bill.<sup>13</sup> *Ieuanc* carries the meanings: *n.* 'youth', *a.* 'youthful' and since an ancestor of the word occurs in the Romano-Gaulish personal name *Iouincillos* and cognates exist in Middle Cornish (*yowynk*) and Middle Breton (*youanc*); a Brittonic equivalent must also have been known to the sixth-century Celtic inhabitants of the Peak District.<sup>14</sup> Although the word was not recorded (in a surviving Welsh document) until *c.* 1200 C.E. as *ieuangc*, an ancestor of *ieuanc* appears to have been borrowed into English in the pre-Norman period to give rise to the *enke* 'villein' recorded in Medieval Worcestershire documents.<sup>15</sup> By analogy with the known chronological history of sound changes in the British Celtic languages, the first arriving Old English speakers in the later sixth century would probably have met a word something close to *\*iouanc* [jowænk] with final syllable stress.<sup>16</sup> However, as there was no [ou] diphthong in Old English, a Brittonic place-name like *\*Peniouanc* would have been taken into English as something like *\*Penyoanc* [Pénjōænk] which, with the first-syllable stress common to English, is already well on its way towards the earliest forms recorded seven or eight centuries later.<sup>17</sup> A sixth-century Celtic place-name *\*Peniouanc* then, would almost certainly have meant something akin to 'Headland of (the) Youth'.

Fin Cop lies next to a proposed prehistoric north south route-way through Derbyshire, later an Anglo-Saxon port-way and “this stronghold would control the trackway as it crossed open land 400 ft below”.<sup>18</sup> Fin Cop also lies close to at least three nearby settlement sites at Taddington Wood, Horsborough and Brushfield, all thought to belong to the Romano-British era but possibly with longer histories.<sup>19</sup> Fin Cop has yielded finds of stone axes and flint blades and the local availability of rich chert seams almost certainly means that whole area has been occupied for a considerably longer period than that of the late Bronze / Iron Age enclosure.<sup>20</sup> Edmonds and Seaborne described Fin Cop as one of “several sites that would repay closer attention” and argued, “This dramatic bend in the Wye had long been a place where people came into contact with others; encounters prompted by the need for good stone. If an enclosure was first established at this time, it was grafted on to long historical roots”.<sup>21</sup>

No consideration of any possible archaeological or historical significance of a pre-English place-name like *\*Peniouanc* ‘Headland of (the) Youth’ will be attempted here. However, it would be remiss not to highlight the fact that the inhabitants of the sixth-century White Peak would have been speaking a Brittonic language directly descended from the ancestral Celtic tongue spoken by the Iron Age people of the region.<sup>22</sup> Many academics would now go further and argue, “the Celtic languages may have much longer antecedents in the areas where they are now [and presumably once were *PB*] spoken”.<sup>23</sup> So, it is a tantalising possibility, although ultimately probably un-provable, that a sixth-century Celtic name for such a striking and locally important site as *\*Peniouanc* might itself have been a direct descendant of a by-then centuries-old name, originally given by the constructors of the Fin Cop enclosure (perhaps something akin to a hypothetical Proto-British *\*pennon-iouanko*).<sup>24</sup> After all, we think nothing of daily passing by the modern descendants of 1,400-year-old Anglo-Saxon place-names and most of Derbyshire’s major rivers (and some other places) bear names that are considerably older than that.

Perhaps then, the modern-day survival of the name Pennyunk, this fossil amongst farm lanes, this coelacanth of cart tracks, has unwittingly preserved for us a pre-English name for Fin Cop: *\*Peniouanc*. It is uncommon for both the English and a corresponding pre-English name for the same place to have survived to the present day.<sup>25</sup> The modern-day survival of Pennyunk means that the name must have stayed in continuous local use since before the first Anglo-Saxons arrived in the area, otherwise it would have been lost. However at some point, possibly in the later seventh or eighth century, as the last speakers of the Brittonic language aged and approached death (and possibly for a good time afterwards), the local community must have been fully aware that *\*Peniouanc* / *\*Penyoanc* had been a name for the hill and/or enclosure. It seems likely then that for some reason, at some point, the local community, or its leaders, or possibly the region’s new Anglo-Saxon masters felt the need to augment or replace *\*Penyoanc* with a new, English name (probably something like *\*Findûn* originally). Most times (as for *Cructan*), this would have ensured the demise of the old Celtic place-name. However, almost miraculously, in this case the Celtic place-name appears to have lived on (albeit under the severely reduced circumstances of the name of a simple track up Fin Cop). Here, in microcosm, the chance survival of these two names may have given us some small insight into how the Celtic place-names of what is now England could have disappeared. Simply, unceremoniously, dropped as the old language died; to be replaced by place-names

coined in the now-dominant new language, with all it offered in terms of advancement, consolidation, or perhaps even plain survival: English.

**\**Moltdrīg* ‘Sheep/Wether Dwelling/Shieling’: a pre-English, Celtic place-name preserved in Mouldridge Grange?**

Mouldridge Grange (SK2059), like many other granges in Derbyshire, was an outlying monastic farm belonging to a religious house (in this case Dunstable Priory). It lies just south of the entrance to a pair of long, narrow, pass-like valleys, Long Dale and Grattoon Dale (Plate 1C). Early forms for the name are: *Moldrid* in 1215; *Moldrichyt* in 1249; *Moldrich*, *-rych(e)* in 1252, 1285, 1330 and 1381; *Meldrik* (for *Moldrik*) in 1276; *Moldrik*[grauunge] in 1332; *Malderych* in 1381; *Molderigge* in 1467; *Mowderich* in 1535; and *Molderiche* [Grange] in 1539.<sup>26</sup>

Cameron described it as “a difficult name for which no certain solution is possible” and suggested that the first element might be an Old English hill-name *molda* ‘top of the head’. Although the surrounding area is hardly flat, there does not appear to be an appropriate topographical feature in the vicinity of the Grange however, a view shared by Gelling and Cole, who argued that neither *molda* or *molde* ‘earth’ seem convincing as, “there is no notable hill at Mouldridge”.<sup>27</sup> It is also noticeable that unlike other *molda* names such as Mouldsworth in Cheshire (*Moldeworthe* from 1153–81), a third, medial, syllable corresponding to the *-a* in *molda*, does not appear in any of the seven names recorded prior to 1381.<sup>28</sup> For the second element Cameron proposed Old English *ric*, “the exact meaning of which is uncertain, but seems to denote ‘a stream’, ‘a narrow road’, ‘a strip of land’”.<sup>29</sup> He emphasised the location of Mouldridge Grange, “near the head of one of the arms of Grattoon Dale, a dry valley, which forms the western end of a high pass cutting a long ridge of over 1000’; *ric*, therefore, may here have the sense ‘narrow pass’”.

However Gelling and Cole, in an in-depth nationwide analysis of the element *ric*, suggested a number of precise, restricted meanings for this early and uncommon Old English place-name element.<sup>30</sup> They argued it could be used to describe straight, narrow ridges; a raised strip of straight ground; the upcast banks of linear drainage channels or sea-banks; and sometimes the agger of a Roman road. Mouldridge Grange was placed in this final category (they cited Margary on a visible stretch of agger on the Buxton to Derby Roman road, *cyngrat* c. 963 C.E., which passed through nearby Pikehall).<sup>31</sup> There are a couple of difficulties with this explanation however. Derbyshire is hardly short of Roman military roads and as recently as 1971 for example, there were at least *nine* separate stretches of observable linear agger on the thirteen-mile route from Buxton to Melandra (Glossop) alone.<sup>32</sup> Visible linear aggers must have been even more pronounced and commonplace in the era when Old English place-names in *ric* were being coined. Moreover, Mouldridge Grange, at its closest point, is a good half-mile from the nearest section of ‘The Street’. So why not Pikeridge, which actually lies on the road, instead of Mouldridge? Why are none of the many other places that actually lie on, or beside, Roman roads in Derbyshire named using Old English *ric*?

Given the evident difficulties in finding a satisfying English etymology set out above, perhaps a Celtic one might fare better? The first element of Mouldridge may have descended from the Romano-British era Celtic word *\*molto* (later Brittonic *molt*), possibly originally used with an older, wider sense of ‘sheep’, although the meaning

became ‘castrated ram, wether’ in the successor languages Welsh *mollt*, Cornish *mols* and Breton *maout* (which means that, whatever the precise meaning at that time, local sixth-century natives must certainly have known a cognate word).<sup>33 34</sup> The element has also found its way into place-names in Brittany (Le Moul), Cornwall (The Moul) and, as *myllt* the plural of *mollt*, in Wales (Cerrig-y-Myllt in Beddgelert; and Bryn-myllt in Llanrwst). The only other English place-names the author has been able to find containing *molt* are the Cumbrian pair: Caermote (*Carmault* in 1742) and the lost *Carmalt al. Nooke* (1725), which are both thought to be ‘inversion compounds’ of the sixth century or later (see above) containing the Brittonic / Cumbric words *cair* ‘fortified place’ and *molt*, with the overall meaning therefore of ‘Fort / Stronghold of (the) Sheep / Wether’.<sup>35</sup>

Both earlier in the Romano-British era and in later English eras, there seems to have been a remarkable continuity of farming practice in this locale. A couple of miles away at Roystone Grange, there was a cluster of Romano-British dwellings in which the production of lead and wool as cash crops appears to have supported up to fifty people in reasonable comfort.<sup>36</sup> Prehistoric holloways were augmented by the use of valleys as communication routes with other Romano-British communities at nearby Pikehall and Ballidon.<sup>37</sup> Many of the nearby monastic granges, like the local Romano-British settlements before them, were also effectively sheep ranches.<sup>38</sup> Not too far away in Wirksworth, there was also a (now-lost) ‘wether farm’ (*Wetherwike* in 1276; *Withirwyk* in 1415), whose name would therefore make it almost an exact English equivalent of the pre-English, Celtic habitative place-name proposed below.<sup>39</sup> Closer still is the deeply hollowed Weaddow Lane (*Weather Way* in 1599), a continuation of bridle-ways and hollow ways that both lead north from Long Dale to Middleton, via another grange farm (Smerrill), and also south through Pikehall towards Parwich, whose name also suggests an association of the area with wethers centuries after the one proposed for a native British habitation.<sup>40</sup> [Weaddow Lane is thought to have been a part of *uiam de Peco*, the ‘Peakway’, as referred to in a thirteenth-century charter.<sup>41</sup>] All in all, it seems that despite the schisms in both language and place-names that evidently took place in the early Anglo-Saxon era, it might nevertheless largely have been husbandry business-as-usual from sixth-century Celtic, right through into Anglo-Saxon, Derbyshire.

What of the second element of Mouldridge? Richard Coates has suggested that despite some unexplained variation in the set of medieval spellings of Mouldridge, the second element may be consistent with a derivation from Brittonic *\*trīg* ‘abode, dwelling, stay, shieling’ (cf. Welsh *trig*, Cornish *tryg[va]*).<sup>42</sup> On the basis of known Romano-British place-names and accepted historical changes in phonology, a habitative site dating back to that era would have had a form something akin to *\*Molto-\***trīco*.<sup>43</sup> During the second half of the fifth century, probably as a consequence of the collapse of Romano-British society, the native Celtic language of Britain underwent a complex series of phonological changes such as the process known by Celtic scholars as lenition, which (amongst other things) softened certain consonants which followed the vowel terminating the first elements of compound names (e.g. *-t-* > *-d-* in this case), followed by the subsequent loss of final vowels.<sup>44</sup> As a result of these phonological developments, there would have been an evolution from a Romano-British era *\*Molto-\***trīco* > *\*Moldrīg*, the Brittonic descendant, by the time Anglo-Saxon incomers began to arrive in the area. Once adopted by native Old English speakers, the simplification of the heavy consonant cluster in a

Brittonic name like \**Moltdrîg* would have naturally produced a form like \**Moldrîc* (Brittonic final *-g* appears to have been universally rendered as *-c* <*-k*> after being taken into Old English, as in recorded personal names of the era such as \**Madō:g*> *Madoc* and \**Car'dig*> *Cerdic*).<sup>45</sup> If the medieval *-ch*, *-k* and *-gge* spellings of Mouldridge do indeed point to an original Old English form in <*-k*>, then overall this provides a straightforward, historically and topographically appropriate, Celtic explanation for an otherwise seemingly inexplicable place-name.

Might the Brittonic name \**Moltdrîg* also hint at wider pre-English, Celtic farming practices in the area? On the Romano-British era in the Peak, Hodges has written, “Whether or not flocks were driven up from the Trent or Don valleys by bands of shepherds during Roman times, as they had been in prehistory, remains unknown. The conspicuous remains of Roman shepherds in caves like those at Dimins Dale near Bakewell or Thor’s Cave near Wetton have yet to be interpreted. It is likely, though, that the common pastures were grazed, as they had been in the Bronze Age, by flocks brought from farms like those at Roystone as well as those owned by lowland villa-estates”.<sup>46</sup> The first of May, Beltaine to the Celts, was traditionally the date for the transhumant movement of flocks to reoccupy the upland summer pastures. Phythian-Adams has argued that many of the surviving *Caer-* / *Car-* place-names in Cumbria might originally have corresponded to defensible sites used to protect the summer shielings (with their associated women, children and stock) from cattle raids, as well as being the sites where the *noutgeld* was collected (see below).<sup>47</sup> He continued, “*Caers* might thus be explained perhaps as both integral to the seasonal patterns of a transhumant society and significant as expressions of local power”. Perhaps then, it is telling that the other surviving *molt* place-names in England, *Carmault* and *Carmalt*, are found in the suspected context of transhumant farming?

Other Celtic societies that survived the initial Anglo-Saxon era also show evidence that transhumance was an important agricultural strategy. In Ireland, the practice was termed ‘booleying’ (from the Gaelic word *buaille* ‘cattle enclosure’). In Wales and Cornwall, women and children would spend the summer shepherding in a shieling or *hafod*, whilst farming of hay and other crops continued at the main *hendre*. These terms, along with many others suggesting transhumance, have survived into modern Welsh place-names such as the numerous *Hendre* (literally ‘old homestead or hamlet’, but with the established sense of ‘winter-dwelling’); the plentiful *Hafods*, such as the delightful *Hafody-Maidd* (‘summer-dwelling of the curds-and-whey’); *Esgair-llaethdy* (‘ridge of the dairy’); *Beudy Cefn* (‘cow-shed ridge’); and many others including upland stream names such as *Nant Lluestau* (‘stream of shelters’); *Nant Menyn* (‘butter stream’); *Nant-y-caws* (‘cheese stream’); *Cwm Nant y Beudy* (‘valley of the cow-shed stream’); and *Nant Tŷ Bach* (‘little house stream’).<sup>48</sup> Analogous place-names also survived in Cornwall (for example *Havet*, and the intriguing *Hender-weather*), and Brittany (*Hanvod*); indeed *hewas* (cf. the Cornish word \**havos* ‘shieling’) was used to signify rough pasture as late as the seventeenth century in parts of Cornwall.<sup>49</sup> The practice evidently survived into the Anglo-Saxon era in what is now England. For example, in a roughly contemporary late seventh-century biography, sometime after crossing the *Uuir* (Wear) at *Kuncaeaster* (Chester-le-Street), St Cuthbert was reported to have taken refuge in “some dwellings used only in spring and summer. But it was then winter time and the dwellings were deserted”.<sup>50</sup> A basically Welsh system of livestock rentals, the *horngeld* or *noutgeld*, as

well as archaic cattle renders such as the *Beltankou* (Beltane Cow) and *coumale*, also survived into and beyond the Anglo-Saxon era in certain parts of the north; all of which may reflect traces of earlier modes of generating revenues and goods-in-kind via pasturing rights.<sup>51</sup>

Ireland and Brittany, in particular, are no more mountainous than Derbyshire. The Cornish use of *hewas* and the occurrence of Welsh *hafod* place-names away from the uplands suggests that transhumance required not high mountains as such, more the simple adoption of a particular agricultural strategy for maximising land use potential in a mixed agrarian economy (that seems to have been used almost universally in Celtic societies). The nearby Weaddow Lane / *Weather Way*, has been referred to as, “a very good example of a much used, hollowed, access/pinch point from enclosed lands to open country”.<sup>52</sup> So, along with the Cumbrian *Carmalt* / *Carmault*; St Cuthbert’s winter-time shelter near the River Wear; and the (essentially Celtic) northern rentals and renders, perhaps the survival of the Derbyshire *wether* names, particularly *Weather Way* as part of the thirteenth-century *uiam de Peco*, the ‘Way to the Peak’, hint too at a prolonged continuity in farming practices and wider stock movements that survived even the local death of the Celtic language and culture. In summary then, if annual transhumant movement of stock from the lowlands to the uplands of the Peak was occurring in the pre-English, Celtic era, then perhaps a Brittonic habitative site named \**Moltdrīg* ‘Sheep/Wether Dwelling/Shieling’ may have been situated somewhere close to the entrance of the pair of long, narrow, dry, pass-like valleys now known as Long Dale and Gratton Dale (which may themselves have been part of extended route-ways transporting animals between winter and summer pastures as discussed above). As it was so widespread in contemporary and later upland Celtic and early Anglo-Saxon societies, it would certainly be surprising if *none* of the pre-English inhabitants of the Peaks had utilised some manner of transhumant farming strategy.

Evidence for Celtic and early Anglo-Saxon transhumance in Derbyshire is perhaps more likely to be revealed archaeologically than from within surviving documents or place-names (although one lives in hope). Many of the Welsh *hafod* place-names appear to lie on the margins of enclosed land. The remains of Celtic equivalents in Derbyshire may now lie beneath later sheepfolds or – now-permanent – upland farms. However, Ekwall suggested that the Old English element *scēla* ‘summer hut or cottage’, is present in the name Sheldon (*Scelhadun* in 1086; *Schelehaddon* in 1230; *Sceladon* in 1250) with the overall sense then of ‘summer-dwelling on the heath hill’.<sup>53</sup> However, Cameron rejected this (preferring *scelf* ‘rock ledge, shelving terrain’) on the grounds that “this word [*scēla PB*] does not seem to be used outside the most northerly counties and in Scotland”.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps this is a somewhat circular argument though. Might an open archaeological mind one-day lead to a Dark Age Peakland *hafod*, *scēla*, or defensible *cair*, as opposed to a *hendre*?

As with the name Pennyunk (above), a name like [Brittonic] \**Moltdrīg* / [Old English] \**Moldrīc* must have stayed in constant local use otherwise it would have been lost. Some kind of functioning post-Roman Celtic society seems probable in this part of Derbyshire because one of the few archaeological artefacts dated to this era is a sixth-century bronze penannular brooch found half a mile away at Pikehall suggesting, “a community that had outlived the Empire in some form and continued to occupy dwellings and land that had been in use since the second century”.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps somewhere in the close vicinity of



the monastic and modern Mouldridge Grange, during the era when the Brittonic tongue was beginning to give way to Old English, there was a sheep-farming hamlet, homestead or summer shieling referred to as *\*Moltdrîg* / *\*Moldrîc* (although the reasoning behind the name, an understanding of its Celtic origin and meaning, would no doubt have swiftly died with local knowledge of the language). This then might have been the tenuous thread which preserved the Celts' own name for a pre-English farming unit right down to the present day (albeit in somewhat of a disguise). It also suggests that there might yet be archaeological evidence of post-Roman, pre-English, and early Anglo-Saxon life in the Peak to be found in the area around Mouldridge Grange (Plate 1C).

### **Kinder and Findern: Celtic settlements on the edge?**

Excepting Cornwall, true Celtic habitative names are very rare in England away from the Welsh border and Cumbria. The overwhelming majority of surviving Celtic and Celtic-English hybrid place-names in England utilise Brittonic elements referring to hills, rivers, woods and other topographical features. This was once taken as evidence for non-continuity of settlement sites into the Anglo-Saxon era.<sup>56</sup> However, by comparison with the corpus of known Romano-British settlement names (which overwhelmingly used Celtic-based names referring to adjacent topographical features), it is now thought that most pre-English British settlements were also directly named after such features, without the use of specific habitative terms like Old English *tūn* or *hām*.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, since a surviving place-name ultimately derived from an explicitly habitative Celtic name would strongly suggest continuity of settlement into the Anglo-Saxon era, the very existence of such a name (along perhaps with an understanding of its original meaning), would obviously be of interest to historians and archaeologists. Despite lying at opposite ends of the county and occupying utterly different types of location, these two names will be treated together, as they may have more in common than one might initially imagine.

Both names make their first recorded appearance in the Domesday Book. It is important to emphasise this for Kinder in particular, since discussion of the name's origin thus far seems to have started from the premise that it was the name of a mountain first and foremost. However, the names of equally imposing northern mountains, with impeccable Celtic etymologies, were often not recorded until relatively late (examples being the Yorkshire *Penegent*, for Pen-y-Ghent, in 1307; and the Cumbrian *Helvillon*, for Helvellyn, in 1577).<sup>58</sup> Kinder, in contrast, must owe its Domesday appearance to the fact that it was an economically productive vill ("in *chendre* Godric [had] 2b[ovates]. of land [taxable]") lying on and beneath the western flank of Kinder Scout, rather than because it was a mountain (however impressive).<sup>59</sup> Kinder was almost certainly one of the sixty High Peak *manentes* confirmed to Uhtred in 926 C.E. and from one of the twelve Domesday vills of Longdendale, it subsequently became one of ten Dark Peak hamlets of the administrative division of Bowden Middlecale, itself part of the ancient parish of Glossop (established in 1157) within the Royal Forest of the Peak.<sup>60</sup>

On the name Kinder, Ekwall suggested, "The probability is that Kinder is an old hill-name. If so, it may be a Brit[ish] name consisting of Brit[ish] *Cunētiō* (cf. Countisbury) and *brigā* (Welsh *bre*, mutated *fre*) 'hill'. The Welsh form would be *Cynwydfre*".<sup>61</sup> However, Coates argued that a compound of the Brittonic elements *\*cōnēd* 'hound?' and *\*bre* 'hill', whilst "not formally impossible", nevertheless "leaves unanswered questions about the complete loss of the vowel of the second syllable and the (lenited) initial

consonant of the second element".<sup>62</sup> Cameron concurred with Ekwall that "this obscure hill-name appears to be of pre-English origin", but declined to attempt an explanation.<sup>63</sup> Coates too agreed, "the *a priori* likelihood that the name of such a mountain is Brittonic".<sup>64</sup> None of the above authors explicitly explored the appearance of Kinder in the Domesday Book however. One can only assume that they took it as read that the Domesday vill, and the later hamlet, derived their name from an older one for the mountain. Coates put forward a structure of the form \**Conderch* [\**cönderç*; *-ch* as in Scottish *loch*] 'viewpoint, place with wide views', "as recorded in *Condercum*, the Romano-British name for the fort at Benwell, Northumberland". He continued, "the appropriateness of this for the highest peak of the High Peak is obvious". One problem with this is that Kinder has no 'peak' as such however, although it, "is still repeatedly, but incorrectly, named on some modern maps simply as 'The Peak'".<sup>65</sup> Apart from deep trenches or groughs carved by the innumerable streams, it is remarkably flat, "a fifteen-square-mile plateau of peat bogs, hags, and groughs ringed by a sparkling diadem of gritstone tors. . .".<sup>66</sup> The only places with wide views are to be found on the several-mile circuit of the striking, steep-edged rim of the plateau. Coates' derivation also necessarily introduced a number of phonological and chronological constraints, which ultimately require that Old English speakers took up the name during the mid- to late-sixth century. As Cameron has estimated the arrival of the first Anglian settlers in the area to be in the early seventh century, Coates is forced to invoke the existence of advance Anglian scouting parties who must have adopted the name a generation or two earlier.<sup>67</sup> Although this may all be correct, it might nevertheless be useful to put forward an alternative explanation; that in origin Kinder derives from a Brittonic Celtic *habitative* name, rather than a mountain name.

The ancestors of Kinder (and Findern) may both originally have contained the Brittonic element *tre*(*β*) (*β* was not always present but would be equivalent to English <-v>), 'farmstead, hamlet'; represented in Modern Welsh as *tref*, in Cornish as *tre*, in Old Irish as *treb*, and thus far virtually unknown in English place-names outside the fringes of the Celtic west, except at Treales in Lancashire (*Treueles* in 1086) and possibly Chitterne in Wiltshire (*Cetre* in 1086).<sup>68</sup> As described above, during the second half of the fifth century the Brythonic Celtic languages underwent lenition followed by loss of element-final vowels, resulting in the initial consonants of second elements in compound names being 'softened' (in this case *-t-* > *-d-*).<sup>69</sup> As also described above for \**Molto-tríco* > \**Moltdrîg* > \**Moldrîc*, these processes would have caused a softening of *-tre* to *-dre* in an appropriate compound Romano-British era place-name. Equally, after this period, in the Brittonic era, an analogous process to what is now known as the 'soft mutation' in Welsh could have softened *-tre* to *-dre* in a newly-coined name if the element *-tre* followed a feminine singular noun. Certain other particular words or prefixes could (can) also cause this type of mutation, as seen in Welsh place-names such as Mochdre ('pig hamlet'), Ucheldre ('high hamlet') or Felindre ('mill hamlet').<sup>70</sup>

Early forms of the name Kinder are: *Chendre* in 1086; *Kender* in 1275; *Kendyr* in 1285; *Kunder* in 1299; *Kyndre* in 1315; *Chynder* in 1553.<sup>71</sup> There are only two forms with the element *-dre* as such (in 1086 and 1315). However, it is important to bear in mind that by 1086, the ancestor of *Chendre* would probably already have been an 'English' name for at least 450 years. An eventual, if fitful, evolution from *-dre* to *-der* forms reflects a wider phonological trend that can be discerned in the chronological development of

other Celtic British place-names that were taken into English (e.g. *Lodre* > *Lodres* > *Loders*; \**Melvre* > *Melver* > *Mellor*; *Cinibre* > *Chenavare* > *Kinver*; *Dinre* > *Dinder*; \**Cair Britton* > *Carbertone* > *Carburton*; and the rivers *Tren* > *Tern*; and \**Tres(t)* > *Terste* > *Test*).<sup>72</sup> This process, termed metathesis, “is a well-known Middle English phenomenon and needs no special explanation”.<sup>73</sup>

This leaves the element *Chen-* > *Ken-* (in its earliest recorded manifestations). The recorded trend bears a strong resemblance to the contemporary evolution of the names of villages situated on, and taking their names from, rivers now named *Kenn*: in Devon (*Chent* in 1086; *Ken* in 1274) and Somerset (*Chen* and *Chent* in 1086; *Ken* in 1220).<sup>74</sup> Ekwall continued, “The original form was *Kent*, whose *t* was lost early presumably before a word beginning with a consonant, as brook”. He linked the *Kenn* names with the River Caint (Ynys Môn, Wales) and the Romano-Gaulish *Cantia*. Jackson too proposed a chronological evolution from \**Cantia* > \**Cen't* > *Kenn*.<sup>75</sup> Padel discussed three possible meanings for the “obscure” Celtic element \**cant* and placed it in an early name for The Quantocks in Somerset: *Cantuc*.<sup>76</sup> Higham has since provided strong place-names evidence for one of the meanings put forward by both Padel (“edge, border”) and Evans (“edge, rim, corner”).<sup>77</sup> Discussing the place-names of early territorial boundaries, she listed the following names that are thought likely to be derived from \**cant*: Pen-y-Ghent (Yorkshire); Cant Beck, Blind Cant and Cant Clough (Lancashire); Cant (Cornwall); and the Scottish place-names Carcant; Pennygant; and the Cant Hills.<sup>78</sup>

So what of *Chendre*? It is possible that \**Chent*, like the Welsh Caint or the West Country Kenns, was an older name for either the River Kinder or the River Sett. One can presume both rivers had earlier names since nearby, much less substantial streams than these had identifiable pre-English names. For example, the modest tributary of the Sett that flows beneath (and gave its name to) Cown Edge, was first recorded in the thirteenth-century name *Colenegge*. This stream evidently bore the common pre-English name \**Colûn* (as did rivers at Clowne and Colne).<sup>79</sup> However, \**Chent*, like the same element lenited (‘softened’ from *c* to *g*) in the Yorkshire Celtic mountain name Pen-y-Ghent, might more probably have been applied to the most striking landscape feature in the area; the steep rim of the plateau, “the sparkling diadem of gritstone tors” beneath which nestled the first-recorded thirteenth-century farmsteads of Kinder hamlet (Plate 2A–H). Later peoples evidently saw things in much the same way, since the modern name utilises the Norse-derived element *skuti* ‘projecting cliff, overhanging rock’ in Kinder Scout, which appears to be applied specifically to the steep western face of the plateau at Kinder Downfall on the First Edition 1864 OS map, “while the bulk of the mountain is emphatically misnamed ‘The Peak’”.<sup>80</sup> Using the western slopes of Kinder Scout as a backdrop, a little-known Victorian novelist (Mrs Humphrey Ward) described, “a magnificent curving front of moor, the steep sides of it crowned with black edges and cliffs of grit. . .”.<sup>81</sup> It is certainly striking, and probably not coincidental, that the other Kinder names (Kinder Low, Kinder Downfall, Kinder Head, Kinder Road, Kinder Bank and the River Kinder) are *all* associated with the western flank of the plateau or the land beneath, which comprised the twelfth-century Kinder hamlet. Perhaps Smith was right when he wrote, “As with many mountains, it had been given different names by the folk who lived on either side of it”.<sup>82</sup>

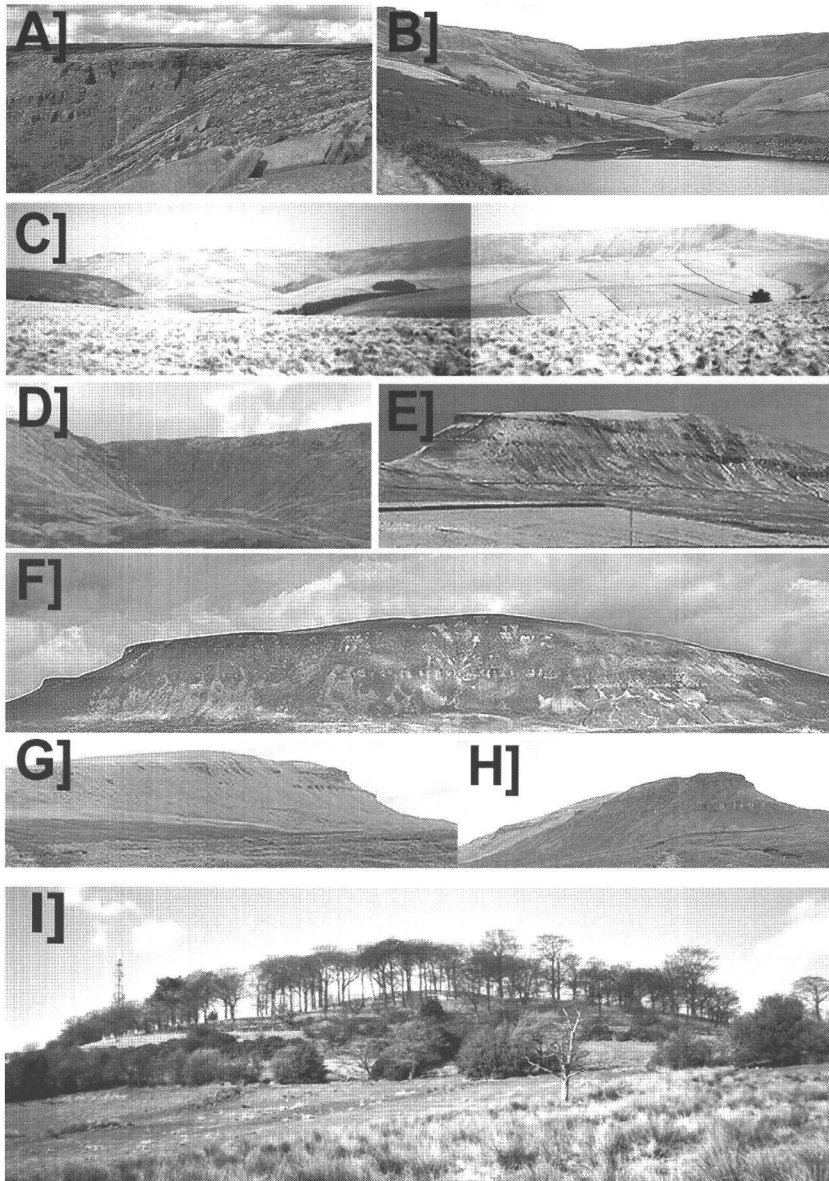


Plate 2 A] – D] Views of various aspects of the western ‘edge / rim / boundary’ of Kinder Scout. In the etymology proposed here then – Romano-British *\*Cantjo-treb* > Brittonic *\*Cen’t’dre(β)* > Old English *\*Kendre* – the name originally meant “farmstead/hamlet at the edge/rim/boundary” E] – H] Pen-y-Ghent in Yorkshire. If *\*-ghent* preserves a lenited form of the element *\*chent* found in Kinder, the name originally meant something akin to ‘head(land)/top/end/promontory of the edge/rim/boundary’. I] Mouselow / Castle Hill, the highest point of Dinting township in Glossop (see text for details).

This striking topographical feature then, could obviously have formed a natural ‘edge, border, rim’ in any era. Alternatively, the eastern boundary of both Kinder hamlet and the ancient parish of Glossop ran across the plateau of Kinder Scout, carefully weaving its path between the headwaters of the multitude of streams that rise there.<sup>83</sup> Plateau streams within the old boundary of Kinder hamlet (and more widely within the ancient parish of Glossop) empty into the Irish Sea via the Mersey; those without into the North Sea via the Derwent and Trent. A striking topographical boundary like this can hardly have been accidental and as it also appears to have made use of the prehistoric round barrow at Kinder Low (according to the 1864 OS map), there seems no reason why it could not pre-date the arrival of both the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons. At any event, there seems to be both phonological and topographical evidence to place Kinder alongside the other Celtic-derived boundary names in *\*cant* discussed by Higham.

In summary then, the name Kinder / *Chendre* might ultimately derive from a British farmstead or settlement on the western flank of the plateau that survived intact into the early Anglo-Saxon era. If the place-name already existed in the Romano-British era, it would have had a form like *\*Cantjo-treb*.<sup>84</sup> This would have evolved into a later Brittonic form something close to *\*Cen't'dre* ( $\beta$ ) by lenition and loss of element-final vowels (or would have arrived at much the same point if newly-coined in this era from ‘feminine’ *\*chent* / *\*cen't* and lenited *tre* > *dre*).<sup>85</sup> Once taken into Old English, a simplification of this heavy consonant cluster would naturally lead to a form like *\*Chendre* / *\*Kendre* (cf. the discussion of the evolution of the name Mouldridge above). Brittonic *\*Cen't'dre* ( $\beta$ ) would therefore originally have meant something akin to ‘farmstead/hamlet at the edge/rim/boundary’.

Kinder has been used by humans since prehistoric times and there is archaeological evidence that this continued through to the pre-English period. On the western flank of Kinder (within the old bounds of Kinder hamlet), two probable oval house platforms, possibly from the Romano-British era, have been provisionally identified as the remains of a settlement near Tunstead Clough, with an Iron Age, or Romano-British, corn-grinding quernstone also found not far away at Cluther Rocks.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps the survival of a Celtic habitative name in this particular locale should be no great shock though, given the isolated nature of the area and the striking local concentration of other surviving Celtic place-names, including two nearby examples of *Eccles*, which are strongly thought to refer to British Christian communities that survived into the Anglo-Saxon era and “constitute an important body of evidence for co-existence between the two peoples”.<sup>87</sup> To this day, what was once Kinder hamlet is still a landscape of dispersed individual farmsteads (many of which bear names first recorded in the thirteenth century and may themselves stand on the sites of older dwellings) which, along with the striking upland scenery, puts one more in mind of parts of Snowdonia than lowland England.

The ancestor of Findern might also have contained the lenited element *dre*. The early forms of the name are recorded as: *Findre* in 1086; *Fi*, *Fyndern(e)* between 1100 and 1204; *Finder*(') in 1183 and 1219; *Findena* (sic) in 1188; *Fyndren* in 1330; *Fyndryn* in 1332; and *Fenderne* in 1420.<sup>88</sup> Findern is characterised in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* as “*Findre* 1086 (DB). An obscure name, still not satisfactorily explained”.<sup>89</sup> Cameron described it as “a difficult name” and speculated that the Old English words responsible might be *fīn* ‘wood-pile shed’; with the *-ren* / *-ryn* / *-ern(e)* endings possibly corresponding to the related Old English elements *renn* and *ærn* ‘house,

habitation, building'.<sup>90</sup> Though after struggling with the persistent presence of a medial *-d-* in all early-recorded forms he concluded, "It would hardly seem fruitful to continue along these lines. No plausible solution can be offered and the name must be left an unsolved problem". However, if one abandons the assumption that the name must be English, it is possible to come up with a plausible explanation of Findern as a further surviving Celtic habitative name.

Breeze, writing on Chitterne (near Salisbury), gave the following run of forms for that name: *Cetre* in 1086; *Cetra* in 1167; *Chittra* in 1232; *Chyterne* in 1268 and 1289; *Cetre* in 1279; *Cheterne* in 1279; *Cette* in 1291; followed then by *-ern(e)* forms.<sup>91</sup> He derived the name from the Brittonic elements *ced* [cē:d] 'trees, wood' and an unlenited *tre*. (*-tre* doesn't undergo lenition to *-dre* after the plural *ced* or its later Welsh descendant *coed*, as seen in the fourteenth-century Welsh place-name *ecclesia de Coytre* and the modern Coytrahene, Goytre and Goetre.)<sup>92</sup> A mixed run of *-tre* / *-tra* and *-terne* forms before a final stabilisation as *-tern(e)* would appear to mirror the chronological development of Findern: where early forms in *-dre* and *-der* (resembling the common Middle English metathesis pointed out above in the development of names like Kinder) run into *-dren* / *-dryn* and ultimately *-dern(e)* forms as for Chitterne. On the *-arn* element in later forms of Chitterne, Breeze argued, "By coincidence (not conscious translation), this [element *PB*] very roughly resembles the meaning of the British original ('homestead, dwelling') represented by Welsh *tref*. The name Chitterne thus shows an unintelligible element modified into an intelligible one, a normal feature of analogical change". So, the same reasoning used for Chitterne could be applied to the overall shift from a hypothetical original *-dre*, into *-dre/-der* > *-dren/-dryn* > *-dern(e)* forms over time with Findern.<sup>93</sup>

Admittedly, the existence of only a single, albeit the earliest, unambiguous form in *-dre*, followed by others in *-der* and *-dren/-dryn*, is hardly the strongest evidence on which to postulate Findern as a surviving Celtic habitative name. This explanation would not have been put forward but for the following undeniable facts: that, as described above, no fully plausible English etymology for the name Findern has yet been given; that the run of names does show strong similarities to the evolution of the name Chitterne; and that the Celtic etymology completed below both fully accounts for the difficult medial *-d-* and also fits in with what little can be surmised about possible contemporary territorial structures.

If the second element of Findern / *Findre* did derive from Brittonic *-dre* then, what of the first? In Modern Welsh the word *ffin* means 'boundary, border'.<sup>94</sup> The borrowing of this word from Latin probably pre-dates the break-up of the ancestral Brittonic tongue, as cognates occur in all three successor languages (in Cornish, *fyn*; and in Breton, *fin*). The element occurred in early place-names such as the battle of *finnant* 'boundary valley' recorded in the mid-tenth century *Annales Cambriae*: as well as in modern Welsh and Cornish 'inversion compound' type place-names (see above) such as Ffos-y-ffin; Capel-y-ffin; Tre-fin (which has the same elements proposed for *Findre* but reversed); Trefinnick; guoun teirfin; and the west Cheshire Macefen 'boundary field' (*Masefen* in 1170), which would be *Maes-y-ffin* in Modern Welsh.<sup>95</sup>

If Findern / *Findre* was originally a Celtic 'hamlet on the boundary', this raises the question the boundary of what? The siting of particular first-century Roman garrison forts appears to have divided the military jurisdiction in the Peak from the villas and native sites in the tribal land of the Corieltauvi (formerly known as the Coritani) in the

Trent basin, Leicestershire and the northern part of the midland plain to the south and east.<sup>96</sup> Todd argued that the Trent was most unlikely to have formed a cultural divide between an upland sept of the Brigantes in the Peak and the lowland Coritani, and therefore argued that, “the Brigantes met the Coritani approximately along the line of Rykniel Street”.<sup>97</sup> The persistence of tribal boundaries into the post-Roman and early Anglo-Saxon eras has been suggested for a number of local territories (e.g. the Deceangli > Powys; the Cornovii > the *Wrocensæte*; the *Lutudarenses* > the *Pecsæte* ‘the Peak Dwellers’; the Corieltauvi > Flavia Caesariensis > [original] Mercia).<sup>98</sup> As Roman roads also commonly became boundaries in later periods, it does not seem too fanciful that Rykniel Street might have become, or continued to have been, an important boundary in the post-Roman era, especially since Findern lies immediately south of the original route of Rykniel Street between *Letocetum* and *Derventio* and Rykniel Street went on to form the north west boundary of Findern parish.<sup>99</sup> So, a sense of Findern / *Findre* as a ‘boundary hamlet’ seems, in principle at least, applicable here. Alternatively, the southern boundary of Findern parish lies on the Trent. If this parish represents a much older territorial entity (as many Derbyshire parishes might), then it is possible that Findern could have referred to a boundary on the Trent, which according to Bede, was used to divide Northern and Southern Mercia from one another in the early Anglo-Saxon era.<sup>100</sup> Clearly though, such arguments are necessarily highly speculative and, in the absence of new documents coming forward, a thorough examination of the Romano-British, post-Roman and early Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence is probably the only way to take this particular hypothesis forward.

In summary then, if the above etymologies are accepted, the Brittonic ancestor-names of *Chendre* and *Findre* probably represented the names of pre-English ‘boundary’ settlements or territorial entities. Their original pre-English territories may, or may not, relate to the boundaries of later vill/hamlets/parishes, but the names themselves might be viewed as providing a frozen snapshot, giving a rare glimpse into the kinds of post-Roman Celtic territories that might have been taking shape in the fifth and sixth centuries. There are distinct similarities between the duodecimal arrangements (twelve vills per manor) of Domesday estates like Longdendale in upland northern Derbyshire and analogous native Welsh arrangements also recorded in Domesday (and these structures probably date back at least as far as the early tenth century – see above).<sup>101</sup> Perhaps if the English had never come to Derbyshire, the ancestors of *Chendre* and *Findre* would have gone on to form *trefi*, within the kind of Welsh *maenors* seen in the tenth century and in the Domesday Book there.

### **Dinting: a surviving post-Roman, Celtic territorial name?**

Dinting (SK9503) is a township of Glossop in the extreme north west of the county. Early forms of the name are: *Dentinc* in 1086; *Dunting(e)*, *-yng*, *-ynk* in 1226 and 1285; *Dontyng* in 1285; and *Dintyng*, *-ing* in 1285.<sup>102</sup> Cameron argued, “the first element of this name is almost certainly pre-English”, and “the second is apparently *-ing*<sup>2</sup>”.<sup>103</sup> Smith thought the first element of Dinting represented an older British hill-name in his discussion of *-ing*<sup>2</sup> (an early Old English place-name forming suffix added to both Celtic and English elements in the names of many topographical features, farmsteads, minor settlements and rivers).<sup>104</sup>

Ekwall succinctly described Dinting as, “on the slope of a hill on which is the ruin of a castle or camp” and agreed with Cameron that the early presence of *-inc / -ynk* forms ruled out a derivation from an Old English personal name in *-ingas*.<sup>105</sup> He argued the first element came from an old British name identical with Dent in Yorkshire (*Denet* in 1202; *Deneth* in 1289; *Dent* from 1348–) and Dent in Cumbria (*Dinet* in 1200; *Denthill* in 1576; *Dint* in 1690; *Dent* in 1754); and suggested that they might be derived from, “a Brit[ish] word corresponding to O[ld] Ir[ish] *dinn, dind* ‘a hill’”, so that the ancestor of Dinting originally meant ‘Dent hill’ or ‘place by Dent hill’.<sup>106</sup> Gelling, like Ekwall, linked Dinting with Dinthill in Shropshire (*Duntone* in 1086; *Dunthull* in 1200; *Dynthill* in 1544) and argued that both might contain an as-yet-unidentified element *\*dunt*; despite an admission that “the undramatic topography of the country w[est] of Shrewsbury is quite different from that near Glossop”.<sup>107</sup> Coates, in the most recent gazetteer of Celtic place-names in England, has listed Dinting under the ‘Ancient’ category, which “covers both Old European and anything else not fully explicable which must have been named before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons”.<sup>108</sup> All in all then, Dinting is almost certainly, at least in part, a pre-English name, but a difficult one to explain.

Given its location within an area marked by a notable absence of Brittonic place-name survivals, the Cumbrian Dent might well be derived from a genuine (Old Irish-)Viking *dind* and Coates’ gazetteer lists it under ‘Goidelic’ (i.e. Old Irish Gaelic).<sup>109</sup> The striking similarity of the early forms of the Yorkshire Dent and its Cumbrian counterpart suggest both might share a common origin, possibly via *dind*. However, it is possible that even if the name of the modern Yorkshire Dent (region and settlement) is ultimately of Irish origin, this might represent an analogical replacement of an earlier regional name, which appears to have been in use long before the arrival of Old Irish speakers in the Viking era. A number of northern districts were over-run by the English c. 670 C.E. and handed shortly afterward to St Wilfrid by Kings Ecgrith and Ælfwini.<sup>110</sup> A biography written within living memory of Wilfrid (by a monk who was present), discussed the dedication of the church at Ripon where Wilfrid read out, “a list of the consecrated places in various parts which the British clergy had deserted when fleeing from the point of the hostile sword wielded by the warriors of our own nation”.<sup>111</sup> Land “*in regione Dunutinga*” was one of these territories and has generally been taken to correspond to the later region of Dent in Yorkshire.<sup>112</sup> *Regio Dunutinga* is thought to have been part of the British kingdom of Rheged originally and M. Higham has suggested that the part donated to Wilfrid was equivalent to the later ecclesiastical parish of Sedbergh (which included Dent and Garsdale) in north west Yorkshire.<sup>113</sup> N. Higham has pointed out that Wilfrid’s biographer implied that, minus its British clergy, the remainder of the population of *regio Dunutinga* (a British area name “anglicised as ‘the people of Dent’”) were still in place and that it was productive land which Wilfrid’s church was receiving in the 670s (“in other words the *Dunutingas* were British”).<sup>114</sup>

On the Yorkshire Dent, Coates’ gazetteer followed Ekwall in suggesting a Brittonic provenance, “perhaps including some relative of O[ld] Ir[ish] *dind* as a hill-name??? with suffix *-ed-* or *-ēd-*”.<sup>115</sup> Cox had previously argued that *Dunutinga* too was “a group-name with the first el[ement] possibly a Brit[ish] word corresponding to O[ld] Ir[ish] *dind* ‘hill’, v. *-ingas*”.<sup>116</sup> M. Higham has suggested that the ‘people of the hill’ to whom this etymology would refer, were not actually based on the later Dent village but at the site of the prehistoric hill(fort) of Ingleborough, which sat at the centre of the proposed



larger *regio Dunutinga* and “dominates the whole area”.<sup>117</sup> She went on to discuss Mac Mathúna’s work on Old Irish *dind*, which has given a range of meanings such as ‘height, [fortified] hill/town, notable place’.<sup>118</sup> If there was a Brittonic cognate *\*dind* with analogous meaning to the Old Irish one, then she argued it might well have been applied to the hill-top site at Ingleborough, which “was probably the ‘central place’ for a Sept of the Brigantes”.<sup>119</sup>

As with the *-ing* in Dinting, the *-inga* in *Dunutinga* has been assumed to have been an English suffix. Ekwall stated, “*Dunutinga* is apparently the genitive of a folk-name *Dunutingas*”.<sup>120</sup> Sims-Williams too argued that the “*-inga* is the genitive of *-ingas*”, which “may represent an Old English formation”.<sup>121</sup> As we have seen, N. Higham argued it was a British area name “anglicised as ‘the people of Dent’”.<sup>122</sup> Cox’s group-name, composed of a hypothetical Brittonic *\*dind* with Old English *-inga* would be, “uniquely an uncompounded gen[itive] pl[ural]”; although as M. Higham pointed out, this suggests “the name does not fit the usual Anglo-Saxon pattern of ‘group names’”.<sup>123</sup> Might this be a clue that the *-ing(a)* elements in *Dunutinga* (and Dinting?) did not originate from an Anglo-Saxon source at all? Prior to all the above authors, Morris had already dismissed “Ekwall’s derivation from a non-existent British equivalent of the Old Irish *dind*, ‘hill’”.<sup>124</sup> He continued, “*Regio Dunotinga* plainly takes its name from a person named Dunawt, Latin Donatus, as does the district of Dunoding in Merioneth” [in Gwynedd, west Wales *PB*]. With this final statement, perhaps Morris opened the door for a wholly Celtic explanation of both *Dunutinga* and Dinting.

Rather than being derived from a hypothetical topographic Brittonic element *\*dind* ‘hill’ then, both *Dunutinga* and Dinting can be explained as equivalent post-Roman, Celtic territorial names. Dinting has survived to the modern day, while *Dunutinga* may, or may not, be preserved in the Yorkshire regional and settlement name Dent (perhaps in a similar manner to how the original pre-English area-name *regio Loidis* came to be attached to Leeds, “probably in the mid- to late- seventh century when the regional name became superfluous”).<sup>125</sup> Both names would be compounds of the same well-attested contemporary Celtic personal name, *Dunod*, along with a well-attested early Celtic suffix (*-in / -ing* see below), “which could be added to the names of individuals, rather than those of tribes or clans, with probably a primary meaning of ‘descendants, people of so-and-so’, and then ‘territory held or ruled by so-and-so’”.<sup>126</sup>

So what of the name itself: *Dunod* (or *Dunawt*)? The Venerable Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, written c. 731 C.E., referred to the Abbot of Bangor Iscoed who met with Augustine in 603, as *Dinoot*. Jackson has proposed that in 603, *Dunod* [Dūnōd] would have been pronounced with a long Brittonic *-o-*.<sup>127</sup> By Bede’s time, the *-o-* would have shortened, so he concluded that Bede must have used a source text actually written in or around 603, as *Dinoot* was “an attempt to spell the sound as heard by English ears” at that time. There are two other examples also recorded in early texts: *Dunod* son of Cunedda (middle-to-late fifth century Gwynedd referred to by Morris above) and *Dunod* son of Pabo (late sixth-century Pennines), although both are a good deal more problematic than the good Abbot. Surviving copies of literary, historical, and genealogical texts covering the fifth and sixth centuries such as the *Historia Brittonum* and the Harleian collection of Welsh royal genealogies are thought to be ultimately derived, at the earliest, from late eighth and early ninth century originals (the *Annales Cambriae* is thought to be mid-tenth century). The appearance of named

personages in these texts is now widely thought to be insufficient proof in itself of their actual historical existence.<sup>128</sup> The lives and exploits of both Pabo's and Cunedda's dynasties can, and have, been analysed as being "refashioned", if not concocted, to suit later Welsh political and dynastic realities and aspirations.<sup>129</sup> However, that notwithstanding, we meet *Dunod* ("the stout", "son of Pabo") in various early Welsh and Latin texts: his description as a "pillar" and "shepherd" of Britain in the *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (The Welsh Triads); his family 'pedigree' in entries 11 and 19 of the Harleian Genealogies; his participation in the bloody battle of *Armterid* (thought to be Arthuret near Carlisle) in 573 as covered by both the Triads and the *Annales Cambriae*; and finally the obituary of *Dunaut rex* in 595, again in the *Annales Cambriae*.<sup>130</sup> Miller, discussing place-names, archaeology and other materials concluded, "there seems to be an absence of negative evidence bearing on the hypothesis that Dunod's dynasty ruled the Cumberland coast in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, and may also have held the limestone crescent between the Carlisle plain and the Cumbrian dome".<sup>131</sup> For present purposes however, it is enough to note that the name *Dunod* was evidently in contemporary use in northern Celtic societies of the sixth and seventh centuries. Moreover, due to the famous Abbot of Bangor Iscoed if nothing else, *Dunod* must also have been widely familiar to Anglo-Saxon elites as a British personal name after 603 – if not before.

Richards has analysed a collection of early Welsh territorial suffixes including: *-in/-ing*; *-iog/-iawg*; *-ion/-iawn*; *-iwg/-wg*; *-ydd*; *-ain/-ein*; *-i*.<sup>132</sup> These suffixes were added to personal names in order to designate whole provinces and smaller territorial units such as cantreds, commotes, townships and/or parishes. This discussion will concentrate only on the *-in/-ing* forms. Provinces and other major units included: *Cadelling* (from 'Cadell', possibly fifth century Powys); *Coeling* ('Coel Godebog'); *Cyndrwynin* ('Cyndrwyn' of Powys); *Cynferching* ('Cynfarch Gul ap Meirhion' – "the area was that of Rheged in the old north"); *Glywysing* ('Glywys', fifth century south-east Wales).<sup>133</sup> Cantreds and commotes included: *Cedewain* (\*'Cadaw'? in Powys); *Dogfeiling* ('Dogfael', son of Cunedda, in Dyffryn Clywd); *Dunoding* ('Dunawd', son of Cunedda, fifth century Gwynedd). Scholarly doubts regarding the historical reality of particular individuals and their exploits does not invalidate Richards' identification of the early use of these particular eponymous territorial suffixes, since these territories are obviously based on personal names, whoever the individuals may actually have been.

Given the number of early eponymous Celtic territories in *-ing*, perhaps it is unnecessary to implicitly assume (as has generally been the case) that the *-inga* in *Dunutinga* must be an English suffix. If Wilfrid's seventh-century biographer was indeed implying that *regio Dunutinga* had but recently been taken from British Rheged into English control and its clergy expelled, then the name of the territory could derive from a wholly Celtic \**Dunoding*. Brittonic *-in / -ing* and Old English *-ing* are not thought to be etymologically related. Morris-Jones has argued that the Celtic element is derived from "the plural of *-iknos*, the Keltic suffix used to form patronymics, as in the Gaulish *Toutissicnos* 'son of Toutissos'", via \**-ikni* > \**-ygn* > *-yng / -ing*; whereas the "Old Eng[lish] patronymic *-ing* is a different formation, coming from original \**-enkos* . . .".<sup>134</sup> Both suffixes nevertheless perform very similar semantic functions (i.e. the sense of 'people or territory belonging to'). So it seems entirely possible, maybe even likely, that a newly acquired British territory with a name in *-ing* based on *Dunod* (a contemporary Celtic personal name), would contain the Celtic, rather than the Old English, suffix *-ing*.

The name *Dunod* (probably in a form with the shorter *-o-* by the later seventh century) would have been well known to Northumbrians like Wilfrid, due to the famous Abbot at least, if not his Pennine namesake.<sup>135</sup> So a Celtic area-name *\*Dunoding* might quickly come to be referred to and recorded as the Old English *Dunutinga* by the newly-installed Northumbrian elite, in a direct imitation of both phonology and meaning of Brittonic *-ing*.

The earliest secure *-ing* name from Richards' list of early Welsh territorial suffixes appears to be that of *Glywysing*. Davies has suggested that this kingdom may have existed (as an *-ing* name) from the early sixth century in south-east Wales.<sup>136</sup> Lloyd argued that the antiquity of the form *Glywysing* is shown by its appearance in *Historia Brittonum* as "*Gleguissing* in the best texts".<sup>137</sup> However, the first text of the *Historia Brittonum* is now considered to have been written c. 829/30 C.E. and has been described as, "a history written in pursuit of present, political and ideological concerns".<sup>138</sup> So, if *Dunutinga* really did derive from the transition of a wholly Celtic *\*Dunoding* > *Dunutinga*, then the bald catalogue of newly-acquired territories trotted out by Wilfrid may inadvertently have preserved by far the earliest, securely-dated, instance of an eponymous Celtic territorial name in *-ing*, moreover, arguably from a source that may be far more reliable than many later Welsh and Latin texts, since neither Wilfrid nor Eddius (his biographer) could have had an axe to grind regarding far-off future developments in Welsh dynastic politics.

Moving over to Cheshire, Dodgson has discussed *Dintesmere* / *Duntsmere*; a lost twelfth-century place-name at Combermere (which originally meant 'Welshmen's Lake') in Dodcott-cum-Wilkesley.<sup>139</sup> He derived the name from Old English "*mere* 'a mere, a lake', added to the anglicised genitive-singular of a form *dint*, *dunt*, which could represent the Brittonic personal name *\*Dūnodʹ*". Dodgson employed the linguistic evidence from Jackson (see above) on *Dinoot* to conclude, "the form in the Cheshire place-name is identical" and that, "*Dintesmere* contains a Welsh personal name with a sixth-century development which would become less likely after the seventh century". In other words, if *Dintesmere* (and *Dinting?*) were derived from *Dunod*, then it is likely that both names were adopted into Old English speech (and hence their Brittonic sound evolution halted) in the late sixth or early seventh century – probably as something akin to *\*Dinootesmere* and *\*Dinooting*. Dodgson's time-window for *Dintesmere* is interesting, as Cameron (discussing the arrival of the first Anglians in north-west Derbyshire), argued on linguistic grounds that, "the first Anglian penetrations into this part of the country are, therefore, likely to have been late, perhaps in the seventh century, and this may also help to explain the presence in this area of the largest group of Celtic place-names in Derbyshire".<sup>140</sup> There is indeed a cluster of at least six surviving Celtic names within a few miles of Dinting (more than are found in a number of counties in the south east), which in itself argues for the late and substantial survival of a local Brittonic speaking population.<sup>141</sup>

A hypothetical Celtic territorial name *\*Dunoding*, like all Celtic names of this period, would have been stressed on the final syllable [Dūnōd́ing].<sup>142</sup> Once taken into English however, the stress would have shifted to the first syllable; with subsequent reduction of the second syllable of *\*Dinootesmere* and *\*Dinooting* naturally producing forms close to the *Dintesmere* and *Dentinc* first recorded. For example, compare the directly analogous

change independently paralleled in the chronological development of the name Countisbury. This Devon place-name (thought to be based on a former British fort) is composed of the Celtic personal name \**Cunuit*; to which was added the English genitive *-es* (as in *Dintesmere*) and Old English *burh* ‘fortified place’ (i.e. *Cunuit*’s fortification).<sup>143</sup> Again, the change to first syllable stress in Old English caused the personal name \**Cunuit* to lose its second syllable as the name evolved from an original \**Cunuitesburh* to *Contesberie* by the time of Domesday.

So, if \**Dunoding* > \**Dinooting* > Dinting was originally a British territorial name taken into English and ultimately (as with Dent and Leeds?) transferred to a settlement, what kind of territory or settlement might it originally have corresponded to? Dinting’s highest point is the top of Mouselow / Castle Hill (Plate 2I), which gives a plainly defensible site with uninterrupted views of both the Glossopdale and Longdendale valleys (and the Roman fort of Melandra / *Edrotalia* half-a-mile away). Mouselow, thus far, appears to have received scant archaeological investigation.<sup>144</sup> The local archaeologist Glynis Reeve carried out a short excavation in August / September 1984, which revealed a V-shaped, 2.3m deep, motte ditch; but no small easily datable finds. This is somewhat surprising as there are indications that it might at least have been the site of both an Iron Age and Norman fortification, and was possibly used in the intervening period too, since the immediate vicinity has yielded finds potentially from the Celtic and early Anglo-Saxon eras, including the elaborately carved ‘Mouselow Stones’ now in Buxton museum.<sup>145</sup> According to Reeve, G., *Mouselow Castle: Interim Report* – the Mouselow Stones appear to be markedly ‘Celtic’ in style and “may have come from a small shrine”. Other chance finds in directly adjacent fields have included: a “British spearhead”; a “small black bead provisionally dated to the late Romano-British or early Anglo-Saxon period”; a possible “Roman terret”; and “a quantity of broken swords and spearheads” found by “Alderman Luke Darwent whilst ploughing”. It has been suggested that there are “traces of Iron Age ramparts close to the summit” and “on the eastern face aerial photographs show circular crop marks identical to those of ploughed out Iron Age barrows in the Welsh marches” – see Reeve, G., *Glossop Before The Conquest* (Unpublished, 1985), also available at Glossop Heritage Centre on Henry St. An included copy of the Ordnance Survey Record Card stated, “There are fairly obvious traces of a double rampart and on the east a triple rampart – encircling an oval formation of around 350 ft in diameter“. It continued that the site was, “probably a Celtic fort to some extent re-used during the Roman occupation” and that there is “a motte with slight indications of a former bailey in the south west, the latter now being almost quarried away”. Taken from Reeve, G., *Mouselow Castle (Interim Report)*

Dinting’s appearance in the Domesday Book, along with the high local concentrations of surviving Celtic names straddling the Derbyshire-Cheshire border either side of the Etherow valley, is not inconsistent with the idea of a still-functioning British territory whose land and population would have been taken under Anglo-Saxon control sometime in the late sixth or early seventh century. Continuity of British territorial units and boundaries into Anglo-Saxon era multi-settlement estates has been proposed for a number of areas in the north west such as the Lune Valley, the Fylde Plain, and the Cartmel, Wigan, Heysham and Manchester areas.<sup>146</sup> Nevell has proposed an Anglo-Saxon multi-settlement ‘lordship’ of Longdendale centred on Mottram-in-Longdendale; which would have covered the whole of Glossopdale, virtually the whole of the

Longdendale and lower Etherow Valleys and also included part of the rest of the later north eastern ‘pan-handle’ of Cheshire (basically the northern-most parts of the later Hamestan / Hamenstan Hundreds of north east Cheshire and north west Derbyshire respectively).<sup>147</sup> The name Mottram derives from the Old English element *môterum* ‘speakers’ place’ or ‘place where meetings are held’, suggesting its early centrality to any putative multi-settlement estate.<sup>148</sup> The other chief settlements would have been the later parish centre of Glossop and the townships of Tintwistle and Dinting.<sup>149</sup> Surrounding *-word* place-names on the Derbyshire side of the border (Chisworth, Charlesworth, Ludworth) would then represent economically dependent sub-settlements, with Derbyshire *-feld* and *-lēah* place-names (Hadfield, Padfield, Whitfield, Simmondley, Gamesley) representing areas of upland pasture and light woodland respectively. Names in *-word* and *-lēah* are thought (on the basis of archaeological and early place-names evidence) to belong to the eighth century and later, suggesting that an estate based on Mottram could have been in existence by the eighth or ninth century.<sup>150</sup> Whether such economic estate arrangements reflect aspects of the prior existence of British territories and/or boundaries in this area is unknown, although Nevell has suggested that a pre-English, British estate in the Longdendale Valley was “probable”.<sup>151</sup> (And the existence of a pre-English ‘boundary hamlet’ on the western slopes of Kinder Scout has been proposed above.) Clearly though, given the exciting developments at nearby Mellor (another Celtic name, meaning ‘bald hill’) in recent years, there is clearly scope for archaeological investigation into all these somewhat speculative ideas.<sup>152</sup>

So, Dinting might take its name from a (hypothetical) Brittonic *\*dind* (‘height, [fortified] hill/town, notable place?’) or an as-yet-unidentified element *\*dunt*. Alternatively, Dinting (and *Dunutinga*) might have been surviving post-Roman Celtic territorial names, originally derived from *\*Dunodīng* ‘the descendants, people or territory of *Dunod*’. In the end though, whichever – if any – of these potential explanations is preferred, there seems every possibility that the area of Dinting / Castle Hill / Mouselow has long been an inhabited place, whose pre-English name (whatever its ultimate origin) was taken over along with control of the region by new Anglo-Saxon masters sometime around the early seventh century. Any further advance in knowledge of this fascinating, but murky, period covering the end of Celtic rule and the birth of the early Anglo-Saxon era is likely to come through archaeology. However, Dinting is now part of a burgeoning commuter town on the edge of Manchester. Most of the lower parts of Dinting have already disappeared under houses, supermarkets and businesses in recent years. From the other side, Mouselow continues to be remorselessly eaten away by quarrying. Hopefully though, something might yet be salvaged, before more of Dinting’s secrets disappear forever under the weight of these ever-accelerating twin onslaughts.

## Discussion

The collapse of Roman Britain and the subsequent immigration and eventual take-over of large parts of what is now England by Germanic continentals, the Anglo-Saxons, is still one of the least understood, and yet most pivotal, eras in British history. Surviving texts and archaeology have gone some way toward mapping the broad outline of events. However, the fact that academics can still disagree so fundamentally on an issue as basic as an estimate of the number of continental immigrants – from less than 10,000 to 250,000 or more – indicates how little still is firmly known.<sup>153</sup> This particular problem

has recently begun to be analysed using molecular biology and population genetics techniques and a much clearer picture can be expected to emerge over the next few years.<sup>154</sup>

However, such approaches can tell us almost nothing about the life or language of the pre-English inhabitants of Derbyshire. Archaeology is one way of approaching the problem. Unfortunately however, in general, populations became largely archaeologically invisible in the post-Roman era and it has been difficult to build a detailed picture on this basis.<sup>155</sup> There is also a very restricted canon of historical and textual sources from this period. Although these have been mined extensively and insightfully for nuggets of information on contemporary life and society, there is little that refers to anywhere near Derbyshire throughout the fascinating two to three centuries between the collapse of Roman Britain and the rise of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia.<sup>156</sup> It still remains the case that for areas like Derbyshire, archaeology and place-names are sometimes the only way one can gain insights into pre-English society.

Scholars like Härke and German have used linguistic, archaeological, and biological evidence from skeletal remains, to argue that the seventh and eighth centuries were a period of assimilation and acculturation of the British by the Anglo-Saxons, during which the coming of Christianity and the fading of former ethnic designations led to the creation of a new social order.<sup>157</sup> And what could be a clearer indication of acculturation than a, seemingly deliberate, sidelining (but *not* elimination) of a Celtic place-name by a new Old English one as described above for *\*Peniouanc* > *\*Findûn*?

These ideas gain independent support from recent re-interpretations of the rich archaeological legacy provided by the barrow-burials of the middle and later seventh century Peak District (many originally excavated by antiquarian investigators like Bateman). Ozanne, who originally reconsidered the antiquarian material in the 1960s, thought the archaeological evidence broadly suggested that Christianised Anglian settlers had utilised these barrows.<sup>158</sup> However, a process of acculturation along the lines set out by Härke would probably have led to the same evidence, since native Britons would then appear as Anglo-Saxons in the archaeological record.<sup>159</sup> Hodges thought, “The 7th-century Peak-Dwellers might be interpreted as colonists. But in an English context they appear to represent a point of great stress as sub-Roman Britons adapted to the new socio-economic forces of England”.<sup>160</sup> Loveluck argued that the clear evidence of continuity in native styles of burial (rock-cut graves, east-west alignment of bodies, accompaniment with quartz pebbles and antler tines), along with a smaller group of exclusively Anglo-Saxon type burials, represented the contemporary presence of both native and immigrant elites in the mid-seventh century lands of the *Pecsate*.<sup>161</sup> He suggested that barrows displaying both native burial practices and imported luxury Anglo-Saxon artefacts were probably those of a native elite, which combined native burial traditions with “a new medium of expression”. Equally, “there is no reason to doubt the immigrant Anglo-Saxon character of the earthen barrows with their furnished internments and lack of native traits”, which were also associated with imported luxury goods.

The considerable wealth required for these grave goods, in an agriculturally poor region, was almost certainly largely derived from the local mining of lead. Loveluck argued that after the expansion of the Mercian confederation in the mid-seventh century, both native Celtic and immigrant Anglo-Saxon elites alike would have been compelled

to accept Mercian overlordship.<sup>162</sup> Ensuing obligations would have introduced surviving native elites to full-blown contact with the high-status Anglo-Saxon material and linguistic culture of their new Mercian peer group. Even if the wider *Pecsæte* were still largely a 'Celtic' people in the later seventh century, continued acceptance of native elites by their new Anglian peers in the surrounding Mercian tributary kingdoms may, implicitly, have depended on a wholesale adoption of Anglo-Saxon goods, dress, customs, mores and, inevitably, language.<sup>163</sup> The opulence of imported luxury goods found associated with both native and immigrant barrow burial-types might therefore be interpreted as a "need to achieve and express dominance on the part of the native and immigrant ruling elements within the Peak" in a medium easily understood by the broad mass of the native British population.<sup>164</sup> Härke too argued that, "The seventh- and eighth-century evidence suggests that the social elite transformed the weapon burial rite into a mere status symbol, and attempted to establish a link to the indigenous, pre-Anglo-Saxon past, conceivably to legitimate their rule over an increasingly mixed population".<sup>165</sup> If this scenario is accepted, then as high-status natives began to develop Anglo-Saxon forms of cultural expression and speech, perhaps the old Celtic tongue began to be perceived as 'low status', or as an encumbrance to the ambitious, even in strongly British areas. As the Brittonic language began its decline towards eventual local extinction, the Celtic names of countless other places (besides \**Peniowan*) must have begun to be replaced by Old English place-names.

Perhaps examining a place like Wirksworth (an important settlement in the early Anglo-Saxon era) and its surrounding region might be instructive here.<sup>166</sup> Wirksworth must have had a pre-English existence too, albeit evidently under a different name. As well as its location on, or close by, up to five pre-English route-ways, the Roman lead mining centre *Lutudarum* was only a couple of miles away.<sup>167</sup> In the Romano-British era, the Peak District may have comprised a region discrete from the Brigantes to the north, the Cornovii to the west and the Corieltauvi to the south and east. Higham has suggested (from several strands of evidence) that the *Lutudarenses* may have been a minor tribe of the Romano-British and sub-Roman eras whose territory, focussed on the White Peak and based centrally in the Carsington/Wirksworth area, may have lasted into the Anglo-Saxon era: with the Hundreds of Hamestan (Cheshire); Hamenstan (Derbyshire) – later the Medieval Hundreds of Wirksworth and High Peak – and Totmanlow (Staffordshire) corresponding to the territory of the tributary kingship, later the Mercian province, of the *Pecsæte*, the 'Peak Dwellers', first recorded in the Tribal Hidage c. 625 C.E.<sup>168</sup>

The lead mining culture that funded the affluent lifestyle of the elites of the *Pecsæte* (whether immigrant Anglian, aspirational native Celt, or a mixture of both) must surely have been built on local skills and knowledge of galena-sources passed down from the Romano-British era. Ancient lead-mining rights, customs and privileges were confirmed and put on a legal basis by a 1288 Inquisition for the King's Field of the High Peak and Cockerton has argued that Wirksworth's Great Barmote Court (with its Grand Jury to supervise mining rights under the Barmaster) might have had its ultimate origin in Roman mining law, with the Barmaster essentially being a successor of the original office of *Procuratores Metallorum*.<sup>169</sup> (Many of the unique laws and regulations of the Barmote Court have been linked to those in force in mining districts of the Duchy of Cornwall.) Demand for lead is likely to have been low in the post-Roman era, but a steep rise in the need for lead by the nascent Church saw local resources rapidly re-exploited.<sup>170</sup> By the

end of the seventh century, the Peak District had become the unrivalled lead-producing region of England and the Abbey of Repton had probably gained the rights to Wirksworth's lead since, in 714 C.E., it was used to make a leaden coffin for Saint Guthlac, provided by Æcgburh, the Abbess of Repton (herself the daughter of an East Anglian king).<sup>171</sup> Ecclesiastical take-over of the control of lead production by the early eighth century probably reflected a post-conversion Mercian strong-arming of the *Pecsate*, since this arrangement would have had the twin virtues of both diverting the wealth-base of existing local elites, whilst helping to enforce the power of the Mercian dynasty in this formerly outlying region.<sup>172</sup> A combination of local loss of wealth and changes in burial practices influenced by Roman Christianity might then explain the concurrent rapid demise of the former barrow-burial practices seen in the archaeological record.

Along with the various strands of evidence set out above, one final line of argument might further suggest a substantial Celtic presence into the Anglo-Saxon era in the Wirksworth area. Anglo-Saxon immigrants would have been pagan prior to the dispatch of four missionary priests to the "Angles of the Midlands" by Bishop Finan of Lindisfarne in 653 C.E.<sup>173</sup> However, immediately south of Wirksworth, the local watercourse begins to be referred to as the River Ecclesbourne. Although an English river-name, the Ecclesbourne (*Ecclisborne* in 1298; *Eclesburne* in 1330) most likely referred to a surviving pre-English church-site with the sense 'church stream', since the adoption of \**écles* into Anglo-Saxon place-names is generally thought to provide strong evidence of the existence of a living British Christian community that had survived the initial Anglo-Saxon settlement phase.<sup>174</sup> Wirksworth's greatest archaeological treasure is its remarkable carved stone slab, discovered lying face-down over a stone-built vault containing a large human skeleton beneath the floor of St Mary's Church around 1820. Kurth analysed the style and iconography of the slab and concluded that, "On the whole, the analogies are so numerous that the slab might well be considered as a late legacy of Roman Britain and a remote descendant of early Christian art".<sup>175</sup> She also argued that the slab most probably originally served as the lid of a sarcophagus and that, "The deep parallel folds of the drapery, the ribbed wings of the angels, the doll-like heads are all characteristic features which can hardly be later than 800". Cockerton too analysed the complex 'iconographical order' of the slab and argued that it "seems a perfect reflection of the transitional stage of Celtic Christianity, with its Galician, Byzantine and Eastern influences, towards the growing power of Rome".<sup>176</sup> By correlating the imagery depicted on the slab with known, dated, prohibitions on certain aspects of iconography decreed by the early church, Cockerton came to the conclusion that the slab must have been carved between 653 and 692 C.E. – possibly to cover the remains of "the saintly Betti", one of the four missionary priests originally sent from Lindisfarne.<sup>177</sup>

Consider the following evidence for Wirksworth alone then: St Mary's curvilinear churchyard; its 'eastern', Romano-British influenced, possibly seventh or eighth-century, sculptured stone slab; its proximity to the head of the suggestively-named River Ecclesbourne; its site at the junction of up to five pre-English route-ways; its location on the edge of a region with strong archaeological suggestions of late-seventh century native Celtic elites; the central local role in lead production in this era (and several other eras); the local survival of a number of wholly Celtic place-names like Mouldridge, Crich,



Pentrich, Chevin (Milford); as well as hybrid Celtic-English minor place- and field-names such as *le Brefeld* and *Bannokhill* in Wirksworth (lost), *the Cruckhill* in Matlock (lost), *Lynerbrok* in Windley (lost): all suggestive of a substantial, prolonged Celtic survival into the Anglo-Saxon era in this area.<sup>178</sup> Perhaps early in the post-conversion era, a new church (now St Mary's in Wirksworth) was founded on the site of the *\*eglēs* 'church' of a surviving post-Roman British Christian community (which may have had a continuous history dating back to the Romano-British era)?<sup>179</sup> Archaeology may one day be able to test some of the above ideas independently.

Place-names can also be of interest and use at a number of levels. Linguistically, they show that the Brittonic language spoken in pre-English Derbyshire was certainly a dialect of the P-Celtic forerunner of Welsh, Cornish and Breton. Moreover, if the arguments set out above are correct, certain Derbyshire place-names appear to contain Celtic words that were not recorded until many centuries later, showing that these words must already have been in active use in the lost Brittonic language of the fifth and sixth centuries, if not before. For example, the Welsh word *ieuanc* was not recorded in a surviving document until c. 1200 C.E. as *ieuangc*.<sup>180</sup> If *\*Peniouanc* really was a sixth-century native name for Fin Cop, then it means that an ancestor of *ieuanc* (n. 'youth', a. 'youthful') must have been a Celtic word in active use in the Peak District at least six centuries before it was first recorded in Welsh.<sup>181</sup> More interestingly from the point of view of local archaeology and history, an indication that the native British (and possibly their Bronze or Iron Age forebears) may have called the place 'Headland of (the) Youth' might allow the archaeological record to be interpreted in new ways, perhaps allowing Fin Cop to be placed in context with regard to other sites of importance in the prehistory of the Peak.<sup>182</sup> Similarly, if Mouldridge Grange carries a distant echo of *molt*, a presumed Brittonic word for a (castrated) ram, or possibly for sheep in general, then one can be all-but-certain that *\*molto* must have been a word known to and used by the Romano-British sheep ranchers of nearby Roystone Grange.<sup>183</sup>

This leads on to potentially one of the most useful aspects of surviving Celtic place-names in terms of archaeology: the possibility that a name immediately suggests the presence of a nearby site or activity that might be amenable to archaeological investigation. To use the example of Mouldridge Grange again: it was argued above that the original form of the name, Brittonic *\*Moltdrīg* 'sheep/wether dwelling/shieling', might be interpreted as a name signifying a sheep-farming hamlet, homestead or transhumant summer shieling. If this reasoning were correct, then by analogy to surviving Welsh *hafod* place-names, these sites would most likely have been strongly associated with dairy production.<sup>184</sup> Modern forensic techniques are quite capable of picking up traces of, for example, dairy production on archaeological sites, via the tenacious survival of certain chemical 'fingerprints' from partially degraded milk lipids and proteins attached to finds like ceramic fragments.<sup>185</sup> Perhaps a number of nearby upland archaeological sites might one day give up molecular clues as to their former use as British Celtic summer dairy dwellings? Similarly, if the Celtic origin of the name Mouldridge is accepted, the most probable reason for the name's survival was the presence of a sixth- and/or seventh-century habitation site named *\*Moltdrīg* / *\*Moldrīc* somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the later grange. Both these ideas are obviously testable hypotheses, the very basis of scientific enquiry, at any rate. Likewise, if Kinder and Findern too really are surviving (explicitly habitative) Celtic place-names, then

perhaps archaeological traces of settlement sites from this era could be found to support these hypotheses too. Much the same approach might be followed for intriguing sites like Dinting in Glossop and other long-settled places with Celtic place-names in Derbyshire.<sup>186</sup>

Although it would be rash to draw too many conclusions from the modest collection of Celtic place-name survivals in Derbyshire, perhaps one or two threads emerge from the names discussed above. For instance, a Celtic and, what appears to be, a replacement English name surviving alongside each other (e.g. Fin Cop / Pennyunk) strongly argues that, in the wider scenario, Celtic place-names were not lost due to the displacement or extermination of the local Brittonic speaking population (otherwise there would have been *no* survival of an adjacent, parallel, topographically-appropriate, albeit displaced Celtic place-name). Rather the implication could be that this dual, Celtic/English, name-pair is a rare survival of what once may have been commonplace during the era when both Old English and the Brittonic language co-existed.<sup>187</sup> If the above names are at all representative, then it seems that places that had perfectly useable, functional, Celtic names may nevertheless have been deliberately re-named in the Anglo-Saxon era, with both Celtic and English place-names perhaps existing in parallel, side-by-side with the two languages, for a time. Others have discussed the possible motives, pressures and inducements for remaining Brittonic speakers to take up Anglo-Saxon names, lifestyles and language with admirable clarity.<sup>188</sup> Perhaps too there is the merest hint that many of the Celtic place-names that somehow survived (even if under reduced circumstances) in Derbyshire are ones that would have most likely been relatively easily managed phonologically by Old English speakers (i.e. they are composed of Brittonic elements that are similar or identical sounding to ones in Old English; even if the original meanings are in no way similar). Perhaps if places had native names that were more Celtic-sounding, or more difficult for Old English speakers to get their tongues around, their eventual abandonment, along with the thousands of other now-lost Celtic place-names, may have been that bit more assured, as Old English speech and mores became the norm.

Because there is no getting around the striking fact that the vast majority of place-names in England, even in the north and west, are indisputably English in origin. Initially this seems incompatible with the arguments sketched out above for a rather substantial survival, especially as one moves north (and upland) in the county, of a Brittonic speaking British population into the Anglo-Saxon era. Some place-names experts have argued that although an eventual change of language to fit in with a new Anglo-Saxon ruling elite is entirely conceivable; the “renaming of the vast majority of settlements is inconceivable without the influx of a mass of peasant settlers”.<sup>189</sup> Experts in historical philology however, have pointed out that a conqueror’s language tends to form what linguists refer to as a superstratum to the existing language. This situation is often characterised by the presence of many borrowed loan words in the language of the conquered (the substratum), but with the now-dominant language exerting little structural influence.<sup>190</sup> The converse situation according to Vennemann is that, “It is a general observation that substrata tend to influence the *structure* of their superstrata more than the vocabulary”.<sup>191</sup> Thus the small number of Celtic words borrowed into the English language is entirely to be predicted. On the other hand, one would also predict by this hypothesis that prolonged interaction between a dominant Anglo-Saxon elite and

a dominated British Celtic majority should have had a profound influence on the eventual *structure* of the English language.<sup>192</sup>

There are indeed a number of specific structural features of English which suggest a much closer link to the Brythonic Celtic languages than to the continental Germanic languages from which Old English sprang: for example the use of the ‘Expanded Form’, “distinguishes English among Germanic languages. Inside Europe, only Celtic gives as much prominence to similar locative structures with verbal nouns”.<sup>193</sup> Klemola has looked at the ‘Northern Subject Rule’, a distinctive subject-verb agreement pattern long observed in many northern and north midland English dialects and argued, “From a typological point of view, agreement systems of the type exemplified by the northern subject rule appear to be extremely rare. The closest parallel to the construction type is found in the Brythonic languages Welsh, Cornish and Breton”.<sup>194</sup> The similarity between these latter three languages, Klemola argued, suggests that the agreement pattern dates back to their parent Brittonic language spoken prior to the arrival of Old English and may represent evidence for a clear substratum influence on English from the Brittonic originally spoken in these parts of the north. It is surely no coincidence that the area covered by the northern subject rule correlates with an area that would have been almost wholly Brittonic speaking until *c.* 600 C.E. and which also gives the largest numbers, and later types, of Celtic place-name survivals.<sup>195</sup>

In the case of the place-names of towns and villages however, perhaps here in particular one should be unsurprised to see the almost complete preponderance of English forms. The seventh to eleventh centuries saw huge changes in agricultural and economic practices.<sup>196</sup> The seventh century saw the rise of the newly established Church as a permanent and powerful landowner. The eighth century saw substantial grants of land beginning to be awarded to individuals, giving permanent ownership of land and leading ultimately to the rise of the ‘multiple estate’. The ninth and tenth centuries saw the introduction of open field systems and the concomitant rise of nucleated villages. These processes naturally led to large-scale reorganisations of both land and populations, the so-called Anglo-Saxon settlement shift, and would have meant that most settlement patterns would have had little continuity over the centuries between the end of the Brittonic speaking era to the Norman era when most place-names (in Derbyshire at least) were recorded for the first time. It is obvious that almost all new structures, settlement sites, estates etc would be given English names by their new masters over this period and this probably explains why so many place-names in Derbyshire (as elsewhere in England) incorporate an Anglo-Saxon personal name (e.g. Bakewell-*Beadecanweallan* from *Beadeca*; Beeley-*Begellie* from *Bēga*; Brushfield-*Bryctichesfeld* from *Brihtric*; to name but three of very many). After all, much the same went on in Wales during the post-Roman centuries, where “earlier names were jettisoned on a massive scale to be replaced by new ones which referred to the church or to the saint to which it was dedicated”.<sup>197</sup> However, this process obviously went on wholly within the medium of Welsh, so place-name change and loss was not necessarily dependent on a language schism like that undergone by England during the early Anglo-Saxon era.

In this light then, perhaps it is actually surprising that towns, villages and hamlets like Crich, Dinting, Mellor, Kinder, Clowne, Pentrich, and possibly Mainstone (*a.k.a.* Chinley) and Findern, managed to retain Celtic, or partly Celtic, place-names right through the Anglo-Saxon era and beyond.<sup>198</sup> Most of these names however, are those of

natural features that at some point came to be applied to adjacent settlements. As discussed above, this was a characteristic feature of both Romano-British and later post-Roman, British Celtic place-names. So, paradoxically, perhaps further Celtic place-name discoveries are more likely to be found among the ‘lesser’ names derived from topographical features: for example the names of old farms (Mouldridge Grange); minor- or field-names (*le Brefeld, Bannokhill, Cruckhill, Lynerbok* etc) or paths / tracks (Pennyunk Lane).<sup>199</sup> None of the above names were recorded until well into the Norman era (even later for the minor names). Perhaps a re-examination of texts from this era up to (say) the sixteenth century might yet reveal further possible Celtic-derived place-names that have now been lost. Of course there are also many current place-names in Derbyshire that may, or may not, have a Celtic provenance but for which there are (as things stand) simply insufficient early recorded forms to judge. Just a trio of many possible examples will have to suffice here:

- Axe Edge and Moor (*Axeedge* in 1533) near Buxton.<sup>200</sup> The ‘axe’ might simply be an English topographical name. However, British \**īscā* (probably a generic term for ‘water, river’ from an ancient Indo-European word) has left its trace in several modern British river-names: *Usk, Esk, Wysg* (in Wales) and (by metathesis) *Exe* and two rivers named *Axe* (cf. Axminster, Axbridge, Axmouth).<sup>201</sup> Four major rivers with pre-English names (the Dove; the Goyt; the Wye and the Dane) all have their source on, or adjacent to, Axe Edge/Moor. Perhaps then, as in the *Ax-\** place-names above, the ‘axe’ was originally \**īscā* and referred to a pre-English recognition of the area as a birthplace of these four major rivers. Only forms recorded far earlier than 1533 could hope to resolve a question like this though.
- Pentars Wood is a small wood perched on a headland overlooking the site of the Romano-British sheep farm of Roystone Grange (now a modern farm), “Few trees grace this landscape today. Pentars Wood is the only coppice in the valley; it lies behind the Medieval grange, but its presence reminds us that the open pastures may belong to recent millennia”.<sup>202</sup> Given the topography and the location (the remains of Romano-British walls can still be identified all around the wood), there seems every chance that this place-name could be Celtic in origin: i.e. a Brittonic *penn* ‘head(land), top, end, promontory’. In the same parish (Ballidon) is an 1884 field-name recorded as *Pentor*, although others will have to judge whether the two names refer to the same place.<sup>203</sup> The second element might conceivably correspond to Brittonic *tardd* ‘spring’ (–*dd* as *th* in *this*), as springs lie directly below the headland.<sup>204</sup> If earlier documented forms of a name for this site could be found then a judgement on its provenance might then be formed.
- Chew is a wood and/or stream near Charlesworth. The wood (which apparently contained ancient oaks within living memory) and the stream to which it hugs lie in the centre of a tight cluster of surviving Celtic place-names in the extreme north west of the county (Dinting, Mellor, Cown Edge and, just over the border, Werneth). There is a River Chew in Somerset (*Chyw* in 1050), which has the same origin as the Welsh stream-names *pant ciu* (Glamorgan) and *foss ciu* (Monmouthshire): i.e. from Welsh *ciw* meaning ‘young of an animal, chick’; two of over fifty Welsh rivers whose names derive from animals.<sup>205</sup> Perhaps our Chew is also a stream-name with a Celtic provenance from Brittonic *cīw* rather than from Old English *ceo*, ‘gill of a fish, narrow valley’.<sup>206</sup> However, Chew does not (thus far) appear to have been recorded

prior to the Ordnance Survey in 1842.<sup>207</sup> Obviously, as things stand, this is of no use in deciding between the above two possibilities.

The author would be happy to compile a collection of interesting place-names that other researchers come across in their work, which might one day become a useful resource for future investigators. The combined efforts of place-names scholars, philologists, historians, archaeologists and, probably to an increasing extent, experimental scientists, will surely mean that we will come to know yet more about our Celtic and Anglo-Saxon forebears in Derbyshire and about this fascinating period in the history of our nation.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sincere thanks to various academics, writers and fieldworkers, who have been kind enough to respond to unsolicited e-mithering on many specific points or themes with great forbearance and helpfulness. Including: Tim Allen; Bill Bevan; Heinrich Härke; Nick Higham; Richard Hodges; Alan James; Mike Nevell; Hywel Wyn Owen; Glynis Reeve; Brian Rich; David Roffe; Roly Smith; Alice Ullathorne; and Peter Wroe. Many thanks indeed to Richard Coates for much-needed guidance on historical developments in the Celtic and Old English languages. Special thanks too to Andrew Breeze, without whose generosity and encouragement this work would never have been attempted. All errors and shortcomings, as usual, are the sole responsibility of the author.

### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> e.g. Jackson, K.H., *Language and History in Early Britain (L.H.E.B.)*, (Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1953)
- <sup>2</sup> Coates, R., 'Introduction', 'Gazetteer of Celtic Names in England (Except Cornwall)' (*Gazetteer*), 'Glossary and Element List', 'River-Names', and 'Distribution Maps by County', in Coates, R., Breeze, A.C., and Horovitz, D., *Celtic Voices, English Places - Studies of the Celtic Impact on Place-Names in England (C.V.E.P.)*, (Shaun Tyas, Stamford, 2000), 1-14, 263-345, 346-56, 357-66, 367-91
- <sup>3</sup> Edmonds, M., and Seaborne, T., *Prehistory in the Peak (P.I.T.P.)*, (Tempus Publishing Ltd, Stroud, 2001), 73, 186-93
- <sup>4</sup> Tristram, E., 'Fin Cop prehistoric fort', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal (D.A.J.)*, 34 (1912), 133-9; Wilson, J., and English, E., 'Investigation of a ditch and bank at Fin Cop, Monsal Head, Ashford, Derbyshire', *D.A.J.*, 118 (1998), 86-93
- <sup>5</sup> Cameron, K., *The Place-Names of Derbyshire (P.N.Derb.)*, (English Place-Name Society Vols. 27-9, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1959), 28
- <sup>6</sup> Edmonds, M., and Seaborne, T., *P.I.T.P.*, 190
- <sup>7</sup> Gelling, M., and Cole, A., *The Landscape of Place-Names (L.P.N.)*, (Shaun Tyas, Stamford, 2000), 210-13
- <sup>8</sup> Gelling, M., and Cole, A., *L.P.N.*, 211; Mills, A.D., *A Dictionary of English Place-Names - Second Edition (O.D.E.P.N.)*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998), 269-270
- <sup>9</sup> Cameron, K., *English Place Names (E.P.N.)* (B.T. Batsford Ltd, London, 1996), 39-41
- <sup>10</sup> Coates, R., 'Introduction', *C.V.E.P.*, 1-14; Cameron, K., *E.P.N.*, 39-41
- <sup>11</sup> Mills, A.D., *O.D.E.P.N.*, 270; Coates, R., *Gazetteer*, and 'Glossary and Element List', *C.V.E.P.*, 263-345, 346-56
- <sup>12</sup> Gelling, M., *Place-Names in the Landscape (P.N.L.)*, (Phoenix Press, London, 1984), 138, 182-3

- <sup>13</sup> (Dr) of Navarre University: personal correspondence.
- <sup>14</sup> Schrijver, P., *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology (Celtic Phonology)*, (Rodopi, Amsterdam, 1995), 344
- <sup>15</sup> Thomas, R.J., *et al. (eds) Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru (G.P.C.)*, (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1950–2003), 2013; Breeze, A.C., ‘Enke “villein” in the Red Book of Worcester’, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeology Society*, 20 (2002), 233–4
- <sup>16</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, xxv; Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 384, 682–9
- <sup>17</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 372
- <sup>18</sup> Dodd, A.E., and Dodd, E.M., *Peakland Roads and Trackways – Third Edition (P.R.T.)*, (Moorland Publishing, Ashbourne, 2000), 13–19, 44–49
- <sup>19</sup> Bevan, B., ‘Peak District Romano-British Settlement Survey, Phase 1, 1998–2000’. Unpublished report for Derbyshire Archaeological Advisory Committee. Held by the Peak District National Park Authority Archaeology Service, Aldern House, Baslow Road, Bakewell, Derbyshire DE45 1AE. Email: archserv@peakdistrict.org
- <sup>20</sup> Edmonds, M., and Seaborne, T., *P.I.T.P.*, 73, 134, 154, 190
- <sup>21</sup> Edmonds, M., and Seaborne, T., *P.I.T.P.*, 73,
- <sup>22</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 3–7
- <sup>23</sup> Renfrew, C., *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (Pimlico, London, 1998), 6–8, 211–249; Gray, R.D., and Atkinson, Q.D., ‘Language-tree divergence times support the Anatolian theory of Indo-European origins’, *Nature*, 426 (2003), 435–9
- <sup>24</sup> Schrijver, P., *Celtic Phonology*, 12, 344–5
- <sup>25</sup> A nice example of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon speech and place-names existing side-by-side with one another during the settlement era itself is glimpsed in an Anglo-Saxon charter c. 682 C.E., which described the future Creechbarrow Hill in Somerset as “*collem qui dicitur Britannica lingua Cructan, apud nos Crycbeorh*”: “the hill called *Cructan* (Brittonic *crū:g* ‘hill, mound, tumulus’ on the river Tân/Tone) in the British language and among us *Crycbeorh* (‘hill, mound, tumulus named *Cryc*’ – by the Britons originally of course). See Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 239, 310, 621; Gelling, M., *P.N.L.*, 137–9. Note that it was the native Celtic name for the site, *Cructan*, that disappeared! The modern Creechbarrow is a descendant of the Old English name *Crycbeorh*.
- <sup>26</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 352; Earthworks (lynchets, wall footings and terraces probably defining yards, small enclosures and/or buildings), presumed to belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> C. grange, lie just south of the modern farmhouse and were surveyed in 2002. Ullathorne, A., ‘Mouldridge Grange, Brassington, Derbyshire’. Archaeological Field Survey for Countryside Stewardship Scheme Upland Option. Peak District National Park Authority Archaeology Service, Aldern House, Baslow Road, Bakewell, Derbyshire DE45 1AE. Email: archol@peak-district-npa.gov.uk. [The author is grateful to Mr Lewis, the owner, for a copy of this survey].
- <sup>27</sup> Gelling, M., and Cole, A., *L.P.Ns.*, 216
- <sup>28</sup> Dodgson, J.McN., *The Place-Names of Cheshire (P.N.Chesh.)*, (English Place-Names Society Vols. 44–48, 54, 74, Nottingham, 1970–97), *Part III*, 279
- <sup>29</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 352
- <sup>30</sup> Gelling, M., and Cole, A., *L.P.Ns.*, 213–16
- <sup>31</sup> Gelling, M., and Cole, A., *L.P.Ns.*, 214; Margary, I.D., *Roman Roads in Britain, Vol. II*. (Phoenix House, London, 1957), 44
- <sup>32</sup> Wroe, P., and Mellor, P., ‘A Roman Road between Buxton and Melandra Castle, Glossop’, *D.A.J.*, 91 (1971), 40–57
- <sup>33</sup> Padel, O.J., *Cornish Place-Name Elements (Cornish)*, (English Place-Name Society Vol. 56/57, Nottingham, 1985), 168
- <sup>34</sup> French *mouton* ‘sheep’ is derived from Celtic \**molto-*, which was originally borrowed into the Vulgar Latin of Gaul. See Schrijver, P., *Celtic Phonology*, 63, 68

- <sup>35</sup> Armstrong, A.M., Mawer, A., Stenton, F.M., and Dickins, B., *The Place-Names of Cumberland* (English Place-Names Society Vols. 20–22, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1950–2), 326, 455; Phythian-Adams, C., *Land of the Cumbrians: A Study in British Provincial Origins, AD 400–1200 (Cumbrians)*, (Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1996), 85; and Coates, R., *Gazetteer, C.V.E.P.*, 282, 354
- <sup>36</sup> Hodges, R., *Wall-to-Wall History: the Story of Roystone Grange (Roystone Grange)*, (Duckworth, London, 1991), 70–91
- <sup>37</sup> Hodges, R., *Roystone Grange*, 85
- <sup>38</sup> Hodges, R., *Roystone Grange*, 109–113
- <sup>39</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 415
- <sup>40</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 396; Dodd, A.E., and Dodd, E.M., *P.R.T.*, 56–8
- <sup>41</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 404; Dodd, A.E., and Dodd, E.M., *P.R.T.*, 56–8
- <sup>42</sup> (Professor) of Sussex University: personal correspondence. [Assuming the medieval *-ch* spellings for Mouldridge were an attempt to represent a name that originally corresponded to <-k> in Old English, as is actually suggested by the versions *Meldrik* (for *Moldrik*) in 1276; *Moldrik*[graunge] in 1332; and *Molderigge* in 1467.] Gelling - in discussing place-names coined using the Old English element *-ric* [and hence also applicable to the Old English era form of *Moldric* proposed below] - noted that in later forms, “*ric* is liable to be replaced by the common word *hrycg*”. [‘ridge’ *PB*] And that, “There should be a preponderance of spellings in *-ric*, *-rich*, *-riche* (as *Cameric* 1086, *Kimerich* 1212 for *Kimmeridge* DOR) before a name is classified in this small category.” See Gelling, M., *P.N.L.*, 185. This run of spellings closely mirrors the medieval spellings of Mouldridge and, given the topography around Mouldridge Grange, it seems reasonable to argue that the medieval *-ch* spellings derived from <-k> originally and that the evolution to *-hrycg* > *-ridge* was a consequence of phonology and not toponomy as for *Kimmeridge* and the other *-ric* place-names discussed by Gelling.
- <sup>43</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 618–33;
- <sup>44</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 543–61 (lenition), 618–33 (loss of element-final vowels); An analogous process, the ‘soft mutation’, occurs in Modern Welsh; whereby certain initial consonants can be softened (e.g. *t* to *d*, *c* to *g* etc) when they follow certain words, prepositions, adjectives etc. A discussion of phonological changes like lenition is beyond the scope of this piece, but Jackson, 544, relates a directly analogous sound change that is familiar to us all: the regular change of intervocal *t* to *d* in colloquial American English (‘later’ to something like ‘lay-der’).
- <sup>45</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 554, 557
- <sup>46</sup> Hodges, R., *Roystone Grange*, 87–8
- <sup>47</sup> Phythian-Adams, C., *Cumbrians*, 85
- <sup>48</sup> Lias, A., *A Guide to Welsh Place-Names (Welsh PNs)*, (Welsh Heritage Series No. 3, Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, Llanrwst, 1994), 33–4, 45; Ward, A., ‘Transhumance and Place-Names: An Aspect of Early Ordnance Survey Mapping on the Black Mountain Commons, Carmarthen-shire’, *Studia Celtica*, XXXIII (1999), 335–48
- <sup>49</sup> Padel, O.J., *Cornish*, 127, 129; Henderson, C.E., *Essays in Cornish History* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1935), 129
- <sup>50</sup> In the *Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert*, (Anon. 1, vi), in Colgrave, B., (ed) *Two lives of St Cuthbert* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1940), 71
- <sup>51</sup> Higham, N.J., *The Kingdom of Northumbria* (Alan Sutton, Stroud, 1993), 102–3; Kenyon, D., *The Origins of Lancashire (Lancashire)*, (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1991), 92; Barrow, G.W.S., ‘Northern English Society in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, *Northern History*, IV (1969), 1–28 – who commented, “We can be sure, for example, that the hill country where the South Tyne rises was already subject in the twelfth century to ancient customs with regard to waste and pasture and summer shielings” (23).

- <sup>52</sup> Dodd, A.E., and Dodd, E.M., *P.R.T.*, 57
- <sup>53</sup> Ekwall, E., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names - Fourth Edition (D.E.P.N.)*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1960), 415
- <sup>54</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 164
- <sup>55</sup> Hodges, R., *Roystone Grange*, 96; although Ozanne, A., ‘The Peak Dwellers’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 6–7 (1964), 15–52, argued that its provenance was probably by trade and cultural contact and it was not evidence for “a native British element in the English population”.
- <sup>56</sup> Whitelock, D., *The Beginnings of English Society* (Vol. 2 in *The Pelican History of England*), (Penguin, London, 1952), 18; Stenton, F.M., ‘The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: England in the Sixth Century’, in Stenton, D.M., (ed) *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1970), 260
- <sup>57</sup> Gelling, M., ‘Why Aren’t We Speaking Welsh?’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 6 (1993), 51–6; Cameron, K., *E.P.N.*, 35–6
- <sup>58</sup> Smith, A.H., *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire (P.N.W. Yorks.)*, (English Place-Names Society Vols. 30–37, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1961–63), *Part VI*, 219; Ekwall, E., *D.E.P.N.*, 233
- <sup>59</sup> Morgan, P., (ed) *Domesday Book: Derbyshire* (Phillimore, Chichester, 1978), 1, 30
- <sup>60</sup> Roffe, D., ‘Place-Naming in Domesday Book: Settlements Estates and Communities’, *Nomina*, 14 (1999–1), 47–60; Roffe has commented, “I do feel that the tenurial structure of Derbyshire has been subject to less change than elsewhere”: personal correspondence; Brumhead, D., and Weston, R., ‘Seventeenth Century Enclosures of the Commons and Wastes of Bowden Middlecale in the Royal Forest of the Peak’ (*Bowden Middlecale*), *D.A.J.*, 121 (2001), 244–86, esp. Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 9; Hanmer, J., and Winterbottom, D., *The Book of Glossop* (Barracuda, Buckingham, 1991), 33–8, esp. Fig. (38)
- <sup>61</sup> Ekwall, E., *D.E.P.N.*, 277; British *Cunētiō* became Brittonic \**cōnēd*, an “element of uncertain meaning used as a name in Brittonic, probably a male personal name, apparently based on the root meaning ‘hound’; also applied as a R[iver] N[ame]”, see Coates, R., *Gazetteer, C.V.E.P.*, 349
- <sup>62</sup> Coates, R., ‘Kinder, the Highest Mountain of the Peak District’ (*Kinder*), *C.V.E.P.*, 165–6
- <sup>63</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 114–15
- <sup>64</sup> Coates, R., *Kinder*, 165
- <sup>65</sup> Smith, R., ‘The Kinder Caper’ (*Kinder*), 11–25 (15), in Smith, R., (ed) *Kinder Scout: Portrait of a Mountain* (Derbyshire County Council Libraries and Heritage Department, Matlock, 2002)
- <sup>66</sup> Smith, R., *Kinder*, 17
- <sup>67</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, xxvii; Coates, R., *Kinder*, 166
- <sup>68</sup> Mills, A.D., *O.D.E.P.N.*, 352; Breeze, A.C., ‘Chitterne, on Salisbury Plain, Wiltshire’ (*Chitterne*), *C.V.E.P.*, 85–87
- <sup>69</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 543–61 (lenition), 618–33 (loss of element-final vowels).
- <sup>70</sup> Lias, A., *Welsh PNs*, 9–11, 23, 25, 45; Davies, E., (ed) *Rhestr O Enwau Lleoedd / A Gazetteer of Welsh Place-Names (Welsh Gazetteer)*, (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1975), 43, 80, 116
- <sup>71</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 114–15
- <sup>72</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 144; Mills, A.D., *O.D.E.P.N.*, 70–1, 113, 207, 238; Coates, R., *Gazetteer*, 288, 304, 331, 334; Breeze, A.C., ‘Loders, near Bridgeport, Dorset’, *C.V.E.P.*, 95–6; Coates, R., ‘Carburton, Nottinghamshire’ (*Carburton*), *C.V.E.P.*, 150–2; Ekwall, E., *English River-Names (River-Names)*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1928), 400–1; Breeze, A.C., ‘The River Test, Hampshire’, *C.V.E.P.*, 77–8
- <sup>73</sup> Coates, R., *Carburton*, 151



- <sup>74</sup> Ekwall, E., *River-Names*, 224–225
- <sup>75</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 602
- <sup>76</sup> Padel, O.J., *Cornish*, 37–38
- <sup>77</sup> Higham, M.C., ‘Names on the Edge: Hills and Boundaries’ (*Names on the Edge*), *Nomina*, 22 (1999), 61–74; Evans, E., ‘Some Celtic Forms in *Cant-*’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XXVII (1977), 235–45
- <sup>78</sup> In the case of the mountain names Pen-y-Ghent and Pennygant, the initial consonant of the *\*chent* / *\*cant* element has ‘softened’ (from *c* to *g*) after the definite article *y* ‘the’, in an equivalent manner to the ‘soft mutation’ in Modern Welsh. This demonstrates, incidentally, that this element would have been ‘feminine’ in later Brittonic and Primitive Welsh (feminine nouns ‘mutate’ after the definite article *and* themselves cause mutations in following elements). For example, *carn* [*f*] ‘cairn’ goes to Pen-y-Garn. But see Carnrgwv ‘cuckoo cairn’, where *carn* has resulted in the lenited ‘softened’ form of *ewkw* ‘cuckoo’. So a later Brittonic *\*chent* / *\*cant* would undergo lenition to *\*-ghent* / *\*-gant* following *-y-* but would also itself cause lenition in appropriate consonants beginning a following element in a compound word (i.e. *-tre* > *-dre* in this instance). cf. also, Pen-y-Graig, from *craig* [*f*] ‘rock’ and Penygroes, from *croes* [*f*] ‘cross’ etc. As it came to be feminine, by accepted phonological processes, the element must, earlier in Romano-British times, have ended in a vowel (i.e. something like the known Romano-Gaulish *Cantia* or British *\*cantjo*). By analogy to the evolution proposed for Mouldridge, the lenition of *-tre* > *-dre* is therefore exactly to be expected following this element in any era from the later fifth century right up to the time of the death of the Brittonic language in Anglo-Saxon Mercia.
- <sup>79</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 151, 238
- <sup>80</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 695; Smith, R., *Kinder*, 18
- <sup>81</sup> The quote from Ward, H., *The History of David Grieve* is taken from Smith, R., *Kinder*, 17
- <sup>82</sup> Smith, R., *Kinder*, 18; Roly Smith (personal correspondence), “On the earliest maps, it was known as ‘Noe Stool Hill’ (after the gritstone tor which stands above the source of the River Noe), when viewed from the Edale side. It is exactly like the Matterhorn, which was known as Mount Cervin on the Italian side, and the Matterhorn on the Swiss. There are many other parallels in mountainous districts.”
- <sup>83</sup> As confirmed in a 1640 survey, which showed that the eastern boundaries of the King’s and the tenant’s parts of the commons and wastes of Kinder corresponded with that of the modern Hayfield parish (and the earlier boundaries of Kinder hamlet and Glossop parish). See Brumhead, D., and Weston, R., *Bowden Middlecale*, 244–86, esp. Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 9
- <sup>84</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 602; Ekwall, E., *River-Names*, 224–225
- <sup>85</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 543–61, 618–33
- <sup>86</sup> Bevan, B., ‘A Mountain of Time: Human History’, 61–73, in Smith, R., (ed) *Kinder Scout: Portrait of a Mountain (Kinder)*, (Derbyshire County Council Libraries and Heritage Department, Matlock, 2002)
- <sup>87</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, xxvii, 7; Coates, R., *Gazetteer*, 279–81, 288–9, 369; Cameron, K., *E.P.N.*, 32–3
- <sup>88</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 464
- <sup>89</sup> Mills, A.D., *O.D.E.P.N.*, 138
- <sup>90</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 464
- <sup>91</sup> Breeze, A.C., *Chitterne*, 85–87
- <sup>92</sup> Evans, J.G., and Rhys, J., (eds) *The Text of the Book of Lan Dâv* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1893), 321; Davies, E., (ed) *Welsh Gazetteer*, 31, 50
- <sup>93</sup> *renn* is thought to be an older form than *ærn*, see Smith, A.H., *English Place-Name Elements* (English Place-Names Society Vols. 25 & 26, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1956), Vol. 25, 4

- <sup>94</sup> Ffin is feminine in Welsh, and so, as for the first element proposed for Kinder, a Brittonic \*fīn, or a vowel-ending, Romano-British era, predecessor, would almost certainly have caused lenition of *-tre* > *-dre* in any pre-English period.
- <sup>95</sup> Davies, E., (ed) *Welsh Gazetteer*, 22, 46, 112; Padel, O.J., *Cornish*, 98; Dodgson, J.McN., ‘The English Arrival in Cheshire’, in *P.N. Chesh.*, Part V(2), 262–307
- <sup>96</sup> Todd, M., *The Coritani: Revised Edition* (Duckworth, London, 1991), 11–15
- <sup>97</sup> Todd, M., *The Coritani*, 14–15
- <sup>98</sup> Higham, N.J., *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings (Bede)*, (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995), 84–5, 150–1; Higham, N.J., *The Origins of Cheshire* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1993), 34–5, 61, 70, 73–5, 175–6
- <sup>99</sup> *cyngstrate* (the Roman road between Buxton and Derby), for example, has formed estate and parish boundaries from at least tenth-century Anglo-Saxon to modern times – see Brooks, N., Gelling, M., and Johnson, D., ‘A New Charter of King Edgar’ (*Edgar Charter*), *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13 (1984), 137–55; Muir, R., *The NEW Reading the Landscape* (University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 2000), 100–1, 112
- <sup>100</sup> Roffe, D., ‘Pre-Conquest Estates and Parish Boundaries’, 115–22, in Faull, M.L., (ed) *Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford University Department for External Studies, Oxford, 1984); the 963 C.E. charter referred to above shows that the boundaries of the Anglo-Saxon estate of *Beligden* (Ballidon) are – as far as can be told - the same as those of the civil parish of 1866 – see Brooks, N., Gelling, M., and Johnson, D., *Edgar Charter*, 154; c. 731 C.E. Bede wrote, “At this time Oswiu gave Peada, the son of King Penda, the Kingdom of Southern Mercia because he was his kinsman. It was said to consist of 5,000 hides, being divided by the River Trent from Northern Mercia, which is 7,000 hides in extent.”, from Colgrave, B., and Mynors, R.A.B., *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969), 294–5
- <sup>101</sup> Although, after noting the similarities, it would probably not be wise to draw any further conclusions – D. Roffe; personal correspondence. However, writing on the Domesday Book, Barnatt, J., and Smith, K., *The Peak District: Landscapes Through Time* (Windgather Press, Bollington, 2004), Figure 28, 60–61, pointed out that, “Many of the privately held manors are found in discrete blocks [like Longendale *PB*] suggesting a systematic division of the region into large manors, perhaps when the region was incorporated into Mercia. . .”. It is certainly striking that there were *three* distinct hamlets still bearing Celtic names – Kinder (see above), Mellor (‘bald hill’) and Dinting (see below) – in the twelfth century, as well as the adjoining Werneth ‘alder grove place’ on the opposite bank of the Etherow.
- <sup>102</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N. Derb.*, 103,
- <sup>103</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N. Derb.*, 103, 706
- <sup>104</sup> Smith, A.H., *English Place-Name Elements*, Vol. 25, 285–9
- <sup>105</sup> Ekwall, E., *English Place-Names in -ing – Second Edition (-ing)*, (Gleerup, Lund, 1962), 201
- <sup>106</sup> Ekwall, E., *-ing*, 201–2; Ekwall, E., *D.E.P.N.*, 142, 145; Smith, A.H., *P.N.W. Yorks, Part VI*, 252; Armstrong, A.M., Mawer, A., Stenton, F.M., and Dickens, B., *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 358
- <sup>107</sup> Ekwall, E., *D.E.P.N.*, 145; Gelling, M., and Foxall, H.D.G., *The Place-Names of Shropshire - Part I* (English Place-Names Society Vol. 62, Nottingham, 1990), 109
- <sup>108</sup> Coates, R., *Gazetteer*, 266–8, 289
- <sup>109</sup> Coates, R., *Gazetteer*, 265–6, 286, 370–4
- <sup>110</sup> Colgrave, B., (ed) *Eddius Stephanus, Life of St Wilfrid (Wilfrid)*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1927), 35–37; Sims-Williams, P., ‘Wilfrid and Two Seventh-Century Charters’ (*Wilfrid Charters*), *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 39 (1988), 163–83
- <sup>111</sup> Colgrave, B., *Wilfrid*, 35–37

- <sup>112</sup> Sims-Williams, P., *Wilfrid Charters*, 174–83; Colgrave, B., *Wilfrid*, 35–37; Cox, B., ‘The Place-Names of the Earliest English Records’ (*PNs Early English Records*), *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 8 (1975–76), 12–66 (65)
- <sup>113</sup> Higham, M.C., *Names on the Edge*, 61–74
- <sup>114</sup> Higham, N.J., *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*, (Seaby, London, 1992), 206–8
- <sup>115</sup> Coates, R., *Gazetteer*, 344, 392
- <sup>116</sup> Cox, B., *PNs Early English Records*, 39–40
- <sup>117</sup> Higham, M.C., *Names on the Edge*, 68–9
- <sup>118</sup> Higham, M.C., *Names on the Edge*, 68; Mac Mathúna, L., ‘The Topographical Vocabulary of Irish: Patterns and Implications’, *Ainm*, 4 (1989/90), 144–64
- <sup>119</sup> Higham, M.C., *Names on the Edge*, 68–70
- <sup>120</sup> Ekwall, E., *-ing*, 77
- <sup>121</sup> Sims-Williams, *Wilfrid Charters*, 181
- <sup>122</sup> Higham, N.J., *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*, 207
- <sup>123</sup> Cox, B., *PNs Early English Records*, 65; Higham, M.C., *Names on the Edge*, 68–70
- <sup>124</sup> Morris, J., *The Age of Arthur, A History of the British Isles from 350 to 650 (Arthur)*, (Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1973), 573
- <sup>125</sup> Faull, M.L., ‘Place-Names and the Kingdom of Elmet’, *Nomina*, 4 (1980), 21–24
- <sup>126</sup> Richards, M., ‘Early Welsh Territorial Suffixes’ (*Suffixes*), *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 95 (1965), 205–212
- <sup>127</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 295
- <sup>128</sup> Dumville, D.N., ‘Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend’ (*Sub-Roman Britain*), *History*, 62 (1977), 173–92
- <sup>129</sup> Dumville, D.N., *Sub-Roman Britain*, 173–92; Miller, M., ‘Historicity and the Pedigrees of the North Countrymen’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 3rd series, XXVI (1975), 255–80
- <sup>130</sup> Miller, M., ‘The Commanders at Arthuret’ (*Arthuret*), *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, new series, LXXV (1975), 96–118
- <sup>131</sup> Miller, M., *Arthuret*, 105–110
- <sup>132</sup> Richards, *Suffixes*, 206–209
- <sup>133</sup> Wendy Davies in Davies, W., *Patterns of Power in Early Wales (Patterns of Power)*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990), 63, suggested that the battle of Chester (c. 616 C.E.) may have dislodged a Welsh dynasty (“quite possibly the Cadelling”) from a political base there.
- <sup>134</sup> Morris-Jones, J., ‘Taliesin’, *Y Cymmrodor*, xxviii (1918), 208–9
- <sup>135</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 295
- <sup>136</sup> Davies, W., *Patterns of Power*, 32
- <sup>137</sup> Lloyd, J.E., *History of Wales, From the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest – Vol. 1* (Longmans, London, 1911), 273
- <sup>138</sup> Higham, N.J., *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History* (Routledge, London, 2002), 165
- <sup>139</sup> Dodgson, J.McN., *P.N.Chesh., Part III*, 100; and *Part V(2)*, 292
- <sup>140</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, xxvii
- <sup>141</sup> Coates, R., *Gazetteer*, 279–81, 288–9, 369
- <sup>142</sup> Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 682–9
- <sup>143</sup> Breeze, A.C., ‘Countisbury’, *C.V.E.P.*, 126–8
- <sup>144</sup> See Reeve, G., *Mouselow Castle: Interim Report* (Unpublished 1984), which can be viewed at Glossop Heritage Centre on Henry St.
- <sup>145</sup> On permanent display.
- <sup>146</sup> Kenyon, D., *Lancashire*, 70–75 and 89–97
- <sup>147</sup> Nevell, M.D., *Tameside Before 1066* (Tameside Metropolitan Borough Council with the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit, 1992), 87–89; Nevell, M.D., *Lands and Lordships*

- in *Tameside* (Tameside Metropolitan Borough Council with the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit, 1998), 47–52
- <sup>148</sup> Mills, A.D., *O. D. E. P. N.*, 247; Dodgson, J.McN., *P. N. Chesh.*, Part I, 202–3
- <sup>149</sup> Nevell, M.D., *Lands and Lordships in Tameside*, 49
- <sup>150</sup> Cox, B., *PNs Early English Records*, 60, 66; Nevell, M.D., *Lands and Lordships in Tameside*, 49
- <sup>151</sup> Dr Michael Nevell: personal correspondence
- <sup>152</sup> Information can be obtained from: Mellor Archaeological Trust, The Old Vicarage, Mellor, Stockport, SK6 5LZ.
- <sup>153</sup> e.g. see Härke, H., ‘Kings and Warriors: Population and Landscape from Post-Roman to Norman Britain’ (*Kings and Warriors*), 145–75, in Slack, P., and Ward, R., (eds) *The Peopling of Britain: The Shaping of a Human Landscape* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002); Myres, J.N.L., *The English Settlements* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1986); Higham, N.J., *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*
- <sup>154</sup> Capelli, C., et. al. ‘A Y Chromosome Census of the British Isles’, *Current Biology*, 13 (2003), 979–84; Weale, M.E., et. al. ‘Y Chromosome Evidence for Anglo-Saxon Mass Migration’, *Mol. Biol. Evol.*, 19 (2002), 1008–21
- <sup>155</sup> Esmonde Cleary, S., ‘Approaches to the Differences between Late Romano-British and Early Anglo-Saxon Archaeology’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 6 (1993), 57–63; Härke, H., ‘Population Replacement or Acculturation? An Archaeological Perspective on Population and Migration in Post-Roman Britain’, in Hildegard, H.L.C., (ed) *The Celtic Englishes III* (Winter, Heidelberg, 2003), 13–28
- <sup>156</sup> e.g. see Higham, N.J., *Bede*; Higham, N.J., *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century*, (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995)
- <sup>157</sup> Härke, H., ‘Early Anglo-Saxon Social Structure’, in Hines, J., (ed) *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration period to the Eighth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective* (The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1997), 125–60; German, G.D., ‘Britons, Anglo-Saxons and Scholars’, 346–74, in Hildegard, H.L.C., (ed) *The Celtic Englishes II* (Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg, 2000), 347–74
- <sup>158</sup> Ozanne, A., ‘The Peak Dwellers’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 6–7 (1962–63), 15–52
- <sup>159</sup> Härke, H., *Early Anglo-Saxon Social Structure*, 125–60
- <sup>160</sup> Hodges, R., ‘Notes on the Medieval Archaeology of the White Peak’, 111–21, in Hodges, R., and Smith, K., (eds) *Recent Developments in the Archaeology of the Peak District* (J.R. Collis, Sheffield, 1991)
- <sup>161</sup> Loveluck, C., ‘Acculturation, Migration and Exchange: The Formation of an Anglo-Saxon Society in the English Peak District, 400 - 700 A.D.’ (*Acculturation*), 84–98, in Bintliff, J.L., and Hamerow, H., (eds), *Europe between late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Tempvs Repartvm, Oxford, 1995)
- <sup>162</sup> Loveluck, C., *Acculturation*, 91–2
- <sup>163</sup> Loveluck, C., *Acculturation*, 91; Kenyon draws an analogy with the strong incentive for colonised natives to learn English, as a vehicle for advancement under the British Empire, in Kenyon, D., *Lancashire*, 86–89; the general process, with specific regard to early Anglo-Saxon England, is set out and discussed in depth by Higham, N.J., *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*, esp. Chapters 7 & 8, 189–236
- <sup>164</sup> Loveluck, C., *Acculturation*, 88–91
- <sup>165</sup> Härke, H., *Early Anglo-Saxon Social Structure*, 146–51
- <sup>166</sup> Cameron, K., *P. N. Derb.*, xlv, 338–9, 413–21
- <sup>167</sup> Dodd, A.E., and Dodd, E.M., *P. R. T.*, 24–6, 44–9; Ling, R., and Courtney, T., ‘Excavations at Carsington 1979–80’ *D. A. J.*, 101 (1981), 58–87; Ling, R., Hunt, C.O., Manning, W.H., Wild, F., and Wild, J.P., ‘Excavations at Carsington, 1983–84’, *D. A. J.*, 110 (1990), 30–55

- <sup>168</sup> Higham, N.J., *Cheshire*, 34–5, 175–6, 213; Roffe, D., *The Derbyshire Domesday* (Derbyshire Museum Service, Matlock, 1986), 27; Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 338–9; Higham, N.J., *Bede*, 83–111
- <sup>169</sup> Cockerton, R.W.P., ‘The Wirksworth Slab’ (*Slab*), *D.A.J.*, 82 (1962), 1–20 (1–2)
- <sup>170</sup> Loveluck, C., *Acculturation*, 90
- <sup>171</sup> Colgrave, B., (ed) *Felix’s Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1956), 146–7
- <sup>172</sup> Loveluck, C., *Acculturation*, 90–1
- <sup>173</sup> Colgrave, B., and Mynors, R.A.B., (eds) *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969), 279–81
- <sup>174</sup> Brittonic \**eglēs* ‘church’ was invariably taken into English as \**écles*. \**écles* is found in many surviving place-names such as Eccles (Derbyshire, Lancashire, Norfolk); Eccleston (Cheshire, three in Lancashire); Eccleshall (South Yorkshire, Staffordshire, two in Warwickshire) etc. See Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 7; Cameron, K., *E.P.N.*, 32–3
- <sup>175</sup> Kurth, B., ‘The Iconography of the Wirksworth Slab’ (*Slab*), *The Burlington Magazine*, 86 (1945), 114–21
- <sup>176</sup> Cockerton, R.W.P., *Slab*, 19
- <sup>177</sup> Cockerton, R.W.P., *Slab*, 19; however, Harbison, P., ‘Two Panels of the Wirksworth Slab’, *D.A.J.*, 107 (1987), 36–40, carried out a detailed comparison between two panels of the slab and a number of surviving Irish High Crosses and has instead proposed a date of the ninth or tenth century.
- <sup>178</sup> Coates, R., ‘Distribution Maps by County’, *C.V.E.P.*, 288–9, 369; Numerous curvilinear cemeteries in the Welsh borderlands of England are thought to have originated in the British past – with size relating directly to importance. See Brook, D., ‘The Early Christian Church East and West of Offa’s Dyke’, 77–89, in Edwards, N., and Lane, A., (eds) *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxbow, Oxford, 1992)
- <sup>179</sup> This is not an original notion. See Cockerton, R.W.P., ‘*Slab*’, 1; but subsequent archaeological and place-names work set out in this piece might bolster this argument?
- <sup>180</sup> Thomas, R.J., et al. *G.P.C.*, 2013
- <sup>181</sup> However, since a probable ancestor of the word also occurs in the Romano-Gaulish personal name *Iouincillos* and cognates exist in Middle Cornish (*yowynk*) and Middle Breton (*youanc*), it is probably to be expected anyway – in this case - that the sixth-century Celtic inhabitants of the Peak District would also have known a Brittonic cognate.
- <sup>182</sup> e.g. see Edmonds, M., and Seaborne, T., *P.I.T.P.*, 73,
- <sup>183</sup> Hodges, R., *Roystone Grange*
- <sup>184</sup> cf. Upland Welsh place-names associated with transhumant farming like *Hafod-y-Maidd* (‘summer-dwelling of the curds-and-whey’); *Esgair-Ilaethdy* (‘ridge of the dairy’); *Beudy Cefn* (‘cow-shed ridge’); *Nant Menyn* (‘butter stream’); *Nant-y-caws* (‘cheese stream’); *Cwm Nant y Beudy* (‘valley of the cow-shed stream’) and so on.
- <sup>185</sup> Evershed, R.P. et al. ‘Lipids as carriers of anthropogenic signals from prehistory’, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Series B*, 354 (1999), 19–31; Craig, O., et al. ‘Archaeology: Detecting Milk Protein in Ancient Pots’, *Nature*, 408 (2000), 312
- <sup>186</sup> Coates, R., ‘Distribution Maps by County’, *C.V.E.P.*, 288–9, 369
- <sup>187</sup> Recall the example of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon speech and place-names existing side-by-side with one another in the settlement era recorded in the Anglo-Saxon charter c. 682 C.E. (see reference 25)
- <sup>188</sup> Loveluck, C., *Acculturation*, 91; Kenyon, D., *Lancashire*, 86–89; Higham, N.J., *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*, 189–236
- <sup>189</sup> Gelling, M., ‘Why Aren’t We Speaking Welsh?’, 51–6

- <sup>190</sup> Vennemann gen. Nierfeld, T., ‘English as a “Celtic” Language: Atlantic Influences from Above and Below’, in Hildegard, H.L.C., (ed) *The Celtic Englishes II* (Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg, 2000), 399–408
- <sup>191</sup> Vennemann gen. Nierfeld, T., *English as a “Celtic” Language*, 403
- <sup>192</sup> Thomason, S.G., and Kaufman, T., *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics* (University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1992), 121
- <sup>193</sup> see German, G.D., ‘Britons, Anglo-Saxons and Scholars’, 346–74, in Hildegard, H.L.C., (ed) *The Celtic Englishes II* (Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg, 2000), 347–74, and references therein
- <sup>194</sup> Klemola, J., ‘The Origins of the Northern Subject Rule: A Case of Early Contact?’, in Hildegard, H.L.C., (ed) *The Celtic Englishes II* (Universitätsverlag C. Winter, Heidelberg, 2000), 329–346
- <sup>195</sup> Klemola, J., *The Origins of the Northern Subject Rule*, 334, 340; Jackson, K.H., *L.H.E.B.*, 215–9, 222f, 238, 241
- <sup>196</sup> Härke, H., *Kings and Warriors*, 145–75
- <sup>197</sup> Gelling, M., *Why Aren’t We Speaking Welsh?*, 54, e.g. the many *Llan-* and *Merthyr-* place-names
- <sup>198</sup> More strictly, perhaps the term ‘pre-English’ place-names should be used as Clowne and possibly Dinting could contain ‘pre-Celtic’ elements.
- <sup>199</sup> e.g. analysis of a single collection of Duchy of Lancaster Estate papers and a Catalogue of Ancient Deeds by the author threw up the following minor (lost) fifteenth and sixteenth century place-names, which – if further and/or earlier forms could be found - might turn out to be (at least partly) Celtic in ultimate origin: *Purchard* (Duffield) from Brittonic *\*pert-ced*, ‘bushy wood?’, *Whelen* (Duffield) – cf. Old Cornish *hwilen*, Welsh *chwilen*, ‘beetle’ (used as a river-name in Wales); *Panfot* (Loscoe) – perhaps from Brittonic *pant*, ‘hollow, dingle, small valley’ combined with Old English *fōt*, ‘foot’ (“used especially of ‘land at the mouth of a stream’” - Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 680) rather than Old English *panne*, ‘pan-shaped feature’ (cf. the River Pant in Essex which gave its name to the village of Panfield); *Hoo Fechin* (Brassington), an alternative name for Hoe Grange (cf. Ecclefechan, ‘little church’, Llanfairfechan, ‘little church-site of St Mary’).
- <sup>200</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 372
- <sup>201</sup> Ekwall, E., *River-Names*, 151–6; Rivet, A.L.F., and Smith, C., *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (Batsford, London, 1979) 376–9
- <sup>202</sup> Hodges, R., *Roystone Grange*, 14
- <sup>203</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 344
- <sup>204</sup> Padel, O.J., *Cornish*, 183; Coates, R., ‘Glossary and Element List’, *C.V.E.P.*, 346–56
- <sup>205</sup> Ekwall, E., *River-Names*, 77; Thomas, R.J., *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru* (Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, Caerdydd, 1938), 52
- <sup>206</sup> Cameron, K., *E.P.N.*, 194
- <sup>207</sup> Cameron, K., *P.N.Derb.*, 80

*The Society gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the East Midlands Region of the Council for British Archaeology in the publication of this paper.*