CORNISH TOPONYMS: CRIM ROCKS, DARITE, PERRANUTHNOE, PORT ISAAC, AND TREVERVA

MANY Cornish place-names seem explicable by reference to Middle and Modern Welsh. This paper discusses five such names that have puzzled commentators: Crim Rocks, Darite, Perranuthnoe, Port Isaac, and Treverva. It proposes the respective meanings ‘ridge (or ledge) rocks’; ‘spring, fountain’; ‘St Piran’s church of (the) kilns’; ‘governor’s port’; and ‘racecourses homestead’. If these are correct, they cast light on Cornwall’s history and archaeology, as well as suggesting techniques for future work on Cornish place-names.

Welsh crimp *‘shin; ridge’ and Crim Rocks, Scilly*

Crim Rocks (SV 8009) appeal to the imagination. They lie on the very edge of the British Isles, on the western fringe of the Isles of Scilly, a mile or so north of Bishop Rock lighthouse. Beyond them is nothing but Atlantic. They first appear in the records as Crim in 1689, a form Padel describes as obscure. He suggests a ‘just possible’ derivation from Crybyn ‘little ridge’, later misinterpreted as Cribm, and then hypercorrected back to ‘the assumed original form’ Crim. He concludes that ‘otherwise no explanation can be offered’.[1]

Yet this paper does offer another explanation, simpler than that of Padel. Medieval Welsh provides the forms *crimp* ‘shin; hard sharp edge; ridge, spur; ledge’, *crimell* ‘small ridge or spur; edge, ledge’, and *crimog* ‘shin; shank, leg; ridge, spur’. Quietly seeking a girl’s bed at midnight, Dafydd ap Gwilym tells how he hit his shin (*crimog*) on a kitchen stool and woke the whole house (chaos results). *Crimog* ‘leg-armour, greave, shin-guard’ occurs even earlier in a Welsh account of Bevis of Hampton (translated in the thirteenth century), which refers to *crimogeu* on a knight’s feet and legs. Yet it is *crimp*, defined in 1722 as (amongst other things) ‘the point of a rock’ which is easiest found on the map. Y Crimpiau (SH 7359) ‘the ridges’ go up to 1400 feet above Capel Curig, Snowdonia; Nant-y-crimp ‘ridge stream’ flows near Pont-lliw (SN 6101), north of Swansea.[2]

Because *crimp* is found as a toponym, it suggests Crim in Scilly represents its Cornish cognate, which originally meant ‘shin’, but was later used to mean ‘ridge’ or perhaps ‘ledge’ (those who know Crim Rocks can say which is more apt). There is no difficulty in explaining the *-p* of *crimp*. Although *crimog* and *crimell* have been derived from *crimp* with the addition of standard Welsh suffixes, *p* is surely a late feature, here paralleled in Welsh *chwimp* ‘whim’ (< English ‘whim’), used with this form by Dafydd ap Gwilym.[3]

[1] O. J. Padel, *A popular dictionary of Cornish place-names* (Penzance 1988) 75.
[2] *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (= *GPC*) (Caerdydd 1950–2002) 597.
[3] T. H. Parry-Williams, *The English element in Welsh* (London 1923) 250.

 ©Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

Because Welsh *crimp* ‘shin; ridge; ledge’ occurs in Gwynedd and Glamorgan place-names, it is reasonable to see its Cornish cognate at Crim Rocks, Scilly. That would suggest *crimp* and Crim are of Brittonic origin. The first has been linked with English *crimp* ‘friable, brittle, crisp’, but this is doubtful, as the *Oxford English dictionary* does not record the English word until the sixteenth century. So Crim Rocks, which are fair to see but treacherous to approach, and are situated amongst some of the most dangerous reefs in the world, thus seem to have a Celtic name simply meaning ‘ridge’ or perhaps ‘ledge’.

Welsh darwedd ‘*spring, fountain*’ *and* Darite

Darite (a metallic-sounding name) is an old copper-mining village (SX 2569) on the south fringe of Bodmin Moor. It is recorded as Daryet in 1506, Daryth in 1510 (text of c. 1595), and Daryte in 1530 (text of c. 1595). A Gregory Daryth lived in the area in 1391, and the surname Daryte recurs locally up to 1569. Padel thinks the place was called after the family, as the surname occurs so much earlier, but admits the reverse is possible. He offers no derivation for the forms, which he describes as unknown elsewhere.[4]

Might this Cornish name have a Welsh equivalent? It seems so. An obsolete noun *darwedd* ‘a bubbling, spring, flow’ (where -*wedd* < IE **u̯ed*) figures in early Welsh poetry. It also appears as a verb-noun ‘to flow, pour’, probably giving the obsolete Welsh verb *darwain* ‘to flow, pour, spring’.[5]

Darwedd occurs in a poem by the sixth-century bard Taliesin, which tells how a warband’s lord ‘poured out (*darwed*) wine, bragget, and mead, reward for valour.’[6] A later parody on a battle of trees mentions a hero’s ‘bloody, fame-dripping (*bri am darwed*) sword’.[7] In a pseudo-mystical poem placed in his mouth, Taliesin (now a legendary character) boasts ‘I was bubbling (*darwed*) in beer, I was a drop in a shower of rain.’[8] The bard Cynddelw praises Owain Gwynedd († 1170) for slaying English foes, ‘blood spilling (*ar ddarwet*) in streams, blood pouring forth.’[9] Phylip Brydydd, a thirteenth-century Ceredigion bard, declares ‘inspiration will not cease for the man copiously spending (*ar darwed treul*), as long as moon and sun travel their courses’, i.e., lavish lords attract prime poets.[10] At a practical level, a late medieval medical tract tells doctors to put chopped elder bark into the juices of herbs to soak (*ar darwed*) until the mixture goes sour.[11] Sir Ifor Williams concluded from its constant association with liquids that *ar ddarwedd* meant ‘steeping, soaking’, the verb *darwedd* meant ‘to gush, well, spring’, and the noun *darwedd*

[4] Padel, *Dictionary of Cornish place-names*, 77.

[5] *GPC*, 899.

[6] Ifor Williams (ed.), *The poems of Taliesin* (Dublin 1968) 5; J. P. Clancy, *The earliest Welsh poetry* (London 1970) 27.

[7] Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*, 60.

[8] Ibid. 59.

[9] Ibid. 60; Clancy, *Earliest Welsh poetry*, 145.

[10] Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*, 60.

[11] Ibid. 60.

meant ‘fountain, well, spring’. He linked its second element with the Indo-European root occurring in English ‘wet’, ‘water’, and ‘otter’ (< *_ud-ro_), as also Latin _unda_ ‘wave’ (< *_ud-na_). Lexicographers confirm this, deriving _darwedd_ from Common Celtic *_do-are-ued-_ ‘very wet’, with intensifying prefix.[12] (The anonymous referee of this paper further cites as relevant two Goedelic reflexes with zero-grade of the root: _odar_ ‘brown, otter-coloured’ < *_udro_ and _uisce_ ‘water’ < *_ud-sk-io_.)

Darite stands by a deep hollow containing the source of the river Seaton, which runs nine miles south-south-east to enter the English Channel three miles east of Looe. So it seems the early forms Daryth and Daryte can be explained as cognates of Welsh _darwedd_ ‘spring, fountain’. Semivocalic internal _u_ is retained in Modern Welsh, Cornish and Breton as semivocalic _w_.[13] The loss of _w_ after a preceding consonant, giving modern Darite, would thus surely be a process taking place after borrowing by English. (The referee helpfully refers on this to the English and Scottish toponyms Berwick, Fenwick [Fennick], Harwich, Norwich, Ruthwell [Rivvle], Southwell, and Warwick, and notes on _-th_ > _t_ that _th_ occurred after an unstressed vowel and was therefore unvoiced.)

The above seems to make sense of this Cornish form. It also explains why the surname occurs before the toponym. In 1391, when Gregory Daryth appears in the records, Darite had no importance. It was merely somewhere in St Cleer parish with a spring, which Gregory was called after. With the rise of mining in the sixteenth century, however, a settlement grew up at Darite, so that it began appearing in records. The place was not named after the family; rather, both were named after a spring, which ceased to be obscure once copper-miners built a village by it. If correct, then, the above shows the way in which economic, industrial, and social changes almost inevitably control the recording of a toponym.

Welsh odynau ‘kilns’ _and Perranuthnoe_

Perranuthnoe (SW 5329) is a cliff-top village four miles east of Penzance, with a view of St Michael’s Mount. The first element, attested in ‘church of Sanctus Pieranus’ of 1348, refers to St Piran. But the second has been obscure. Forms are Odenol in 1086, Hutheno in 1235, Udno in 1308 and 1373, and Uthnoe veor ‘great Uthnoe’ (= the churchtown) in 1839. This last neighboured the modern farm of Ednoe-Vean (SW 541297) ‘little Ednoe’. With these Padel compares Udno of 1328, now Hennowe (SW 991460), an isolated house by a stream four miles south of St Austell, and Lanuthinoch in 1204 and Llanuthno in 1269, the old name of St Erth (SW 5535). Lan- there is _lann_ ‘church-site’; Padel thinks the second element may be a district-name.[14]

Yet a district-name makes no sense for a remote spot like Hennowe. The correct explanation seems different. Crucial here is the Domesday form Odenol. This at once suggests a link with Welsh _odyn_ ‘kiln’ (plural _odynau_), and

[12]_GPC_, 891, 899.
[13]K. H. Jackson, _Language and history in early Britain_ (Edinburgh 1953) 367.
[14]Padel, _Dictionary of Cornish place-names_, 82, 136–7.

Old Cornish Odencolc 'limekiln', figuring in an Anglo-Saxon charter of 846 from south Devon (the kiln was near Thurlestone, on the coast by Salcombe).[15]

There is no phonological objection to taking Odenol, Hutheno, Udno, and so on as equivalent to Welsh *odynau* 'kilns'. Old Cornish initial *o* became *u* here; compare Old Cornish *odion*, Modern Cornish *udzheon* 'ox'.[16] The spirantization of *d* is paralleled in Cornish *whethl* 'story' as opposed to Welsh *chwedl* 'story' (an instance proposed by the referee of this paper).[17] Reduction of Cornish plural endings to *-o* is also general.[18] Nor are there semantic difficulties. Various English toponyms refer to kilns. Examples here are Kirkby Overblow (Overblow = 'ore-blower'), Kilnhurst, and Kilnsea (all in Yorkshire); amongst many other places where pots were made (and kilns fired) are Potter Heigham in Norfolk, Potterne in Wiltshire, and Potton in Bedfordshire.[19] There is further evidence for Celtic kilns in England at High Onn, near Penkridge in Staffordshire, where Otne in Domesday and Othna in about 1130 indicate an original plural form equivalent to Welsh *odynau* 'kilns'.[20]

This implies Perranuthnoe was St Pirans 'of kilns' (*udno*), as opposed to Perranarworthal near Falmouth, which was St Pirans 'by a marsh' (Cornish *ar* + *goethel*), and Perranzabuloe on the north coast, which was St Pirans 'in the sand' (Latin *in sabulo*), the dunes of which later buried it.[21] Similarly, Lanuthno was 'church-site of kilns' and Udno or Hennowe simply 'kilns'. The names are thus hitherto unrecognized evidence for Cornish industry.

References to kilns in such Celtic sources as the Book of Llandaff and the Welsh and Irish laws are frequent.[22] They were used variously to dry corn, bake pots, and produce lime. So the kilns of Perranuthnoe, St Erth, and Hennowe indicate tasks for archaeology. Early kilns would tend to be near gorse or brushwood, used for kindling; pottery kilns needed sources of clay. If the kilns of Pennanuthnoe, St Erth, and Hennowe baked pots, they would leave abundant sherds. In short, these Cornish toponyms provide historians and archaeologists with fresh information on Cornwall's past, and starting-points for research.

Tywysog *'prince' and Port Isaac*

The Tudor antiquary John Leland called Port Isaac (SW 9980) 'a praty fischar village' with 'a pere and sum socour for fisschar botes'. It is still much the same. It lies on the north Cornish coast between Padstow and Tintagel, in St Endellion parish, and is recorded as Portusek in 1337, Porthissek and Portissek in about 1540, and Porthtyseke in 1576. The first element is Cornish *porth* 'harbour', but the second has been obscure. Padel, stating 'more early spellings are needed', notes the 1337 form tends to rule out *tysek* 'corn'. If

[15] Richard Coates and Andrew Breeze, *Celtic voices, English places* (Stamford 2000) 197.
[16] K. H. Jackson, *Language and history*, 596.
[17] *GPC*, 846.
[18] Padel, *Dictionary of Cornish place-names*, 32.
[19] A. D. Mills, *A dictionary of English place-names* (Oxford 1991) 196, 199, 262.
[20] Coates and Breeze, *Celtic voices*, 197.
[21] Padel, *Dictionary of Cornish place-names*, 136–7.
[22] *GPC*, 2618; Coates and Breeze, *Celtic voices*, 197.

so, he thinks we might have an adjective *usek* 'chaff' (which he admits makes poor sense) or an adjective *tusek* 'people' (which he admits is little better).[23]

This is not satisfactory, and a different solution seems indicated by other Celtic languages. Cornish -*tusek* suggests a link rather with Welsh *twysog*, a variant of *tywysog* 'leader, prince'. This is cognate with Old Irish *toísech* 'leader, chieftain' and Scottish Gaelic *tòiseach* 'chief, ruler'. These words are all well-attested. The earliest evidence for them dates from about 500 AD, in an ogam inscription SIBILINI TOVISACI '(stone) of Sibilinius Tovisacus', paralleled by Latin SIMILINI TOVISACI '(stone) of Similinius Tovisacus', from Clocaenog, Denbighshire.[24] Similinius, who had a Roman name but Irish blood, clearly possessed authority. In Welsh literature, a later addition to *Armes Prydein* 'The Prophecy of Britain' (written in the summer or autumn of 940) declares 'May St David be the leader (*tywyssawc*) of our warriors.'[25] A text of between 1110 and 1128 in the Book of Llandaff sets out rights which 'kings and princes (*touyssocion*) of Wales granted for ever to the church of Teilo'.[26] The Four Branches of the Mabinogi, written in the early twelfth century, mention seven men left as leaders or overlords (*tywyssogyon*) in Britain when Bendigeidfran invaded Ireland.[27]

These suggest -*tusek* of 1337 and -*tyseke* of 1576 are Cornish equivalents of Middle Welsh *tywyssawc*. Middle Cornish -*ek* is the cognate of Welsh -*awg* and -*og*; this derivation also explains the *t* of -*tusek* and -*tyseke*; it accounts as well for the *u* of Portusek (where the referee thinks *u* perhaps represents <*iw*> or <*ew*>, so that the vocalic nucleus became simplied). Significant in this context is Early Modern Welsh *twysog*, closer to -*tusek* and -*tyseke* than standard *tywysog* is.[28] Given the existence of *twysog*, it would be difficult to maintain that -*tusek* and -*tyseke* are not cognate with *tywysog*.

Cornish became extinct at Port Isaac in the fifteenth century.[29] Hence -*tus*- in 1337 would apparently show the difficulties of speakers of Cornish (not English) in pronouncing *-*tywys*-, simplified to -*tus*- much as Welsh *tywysog* was to *twysog*. An explanation of Portusek as equivalent to Welsh *porth twysog* 'prince's harbour' thus seems tenable on phonological grounds. It makes semantic sense as well. In England are Finglesham 'prince's estate' in Kent and Allington 'princes' estate' in Lincolnshire and Wiltshire, with a Welsh parallel at Nant Teyrnon (now Llantarnam), 'lord's stream, king's stream',

[23] Padel, *Dictionary of Cornish place-names*, 144.

[24] It is 176 at V. E. Nash-Williams, *The early Christian monuments of Wales* (Cardiff 1950) 121.

[25] Ifor Williams (ed.), *Armes Prydein* (Dublin 1972) 14; A. C. Breeze, '*Armes Prydein*, Hywel Dda, and the Reign of Edmund of Wessex', *Études celtiques* 33 (1997) 209–22, at 215.

[26] J. Gwenogvryn Evans (ed.), *The Book of Llan Dâv* (Oxford 1893) 120, 364–5.

[27] Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones (trans.), *The Mabinogion* (London 1949) 33; Derick S. Thomson (ed.), *Branwen uerch Lyr* (Dublin 1961, repr. 1986) 9; Sioned Davies, *Crefft y cyfarwydd* (Caerdydd 1995) 7–8.

[28] John Morris-Jones, *A Welsh grammar* (Oxford 1913) 54.

[29] Ken George, 'Cornish', in M. J. Ball (ed.), *The Celtic languages* (London 1993) 410–68, at 412.

Monmouthshire.[30] These places were all possessed by men of noble rank, and the same seems true of Port Isaac.

If Welsh *tywysog* explains Portusek, can we say what *-tusek* means exactly? The basic meaning of *tywysog* and Old Irish *toísech* is 'leader'.[31] *Tywysog* still has this meaning in the thirteenth-century Welsh life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, though it is also used collectively of such Norman lords as Hugh of Chester, Robert of Rhuddlan, and Walter de Lacy.[32] However, in the twelfth century it gained prestige in a way lucidly described by Pierce. He noted that *tywysogion* (meaning *duces* rather than *principes*) is a rare word in the Welsh chronicles before 1154, and is almost unknown in the Welsh laws. The word had no official status, merely distinguishing Welsh lords of ancient royal ancestry from leading native freemen (*uchelwyr* 'gentry') and Marcher barons. But *tywysog* acquired status as the title of the rulers of Gwynedd when they dropped claims to kingship, after pressure from Henry II.[33] Its customary meaning 'prince' became established, beginning a historical sequence leading to the modern Prince of Wales or Tywysog Cymru. To this day, the British monarch's eldest son has a title reflecting twelfth-century constitutional change.

The Welsh word's Gaelic cognates also gained status. In early Irish texts *toísech* already means 'chief, ruler' (of territory or a people) as well as 'leader'. A grant of between 1033 and 1049 in the Book of Kells thus declares the monastery of Kildalkey (Co. Meath) is free from 'the quartering of men upon it by king or toísech'. In twelfth-century Scotland the word had an extra meaning, referring not only to a chieftain by descent (as in Ireland), but also to a senior royal officer. It is from the latter that the name Macintosh 'son of the Toísech' surely derives, since 'son of the clan chief' makes little sense: all Gaelic nobles were sons of chiefs.[34] Irish *taoiseach* received a further meaning in the twentieth century, as the title of the Irish Republic's prime minister.

For Port Isaac, the history of *tywysog* thus suggests that the meaning is not 'prince's port', but perhaps 'governor's port'. The name would predate the early tenth century, when the native Cornish ruling class lost the last of their power, and probably the early ninth, when Wessex took control of the country. It suggests whoever possessed Port Isaac was not of royal blood; if this were not so, we should see more of *tywysog* in early sources. But it does indicate civil or military authority. There is evidence here in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi, which show unusual precision on royal and political status.[35] We have seen that when Bendigeidfran leaves for Ireland, seven *tywyssogyon* are appointed to rule Britain in his absence: Cradawg son of Brân, Hefeydd

[30]Ifor Williams (ed.), *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (Caerdydd 1930) 146.

[31]Joseph Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien: Lettres T-U* (Dublin and Paris 1978) T 100–101.

[32]D. Simon Evans (ed.), *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (Caerdydd 1977) 10, 12–13.

[33]T. Jones Pierce, *Medieval Welsh society* (Cardiff 1972) 28–9.

[34]K. H. Jackson (ed.), *The Gaelic notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge 1972) 91, 110–13; F. J. Byrne, *Irish kings and high-kings* (London 1973) 41; A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: the making of the kingdom* (Edinburgh 1975) 108–115.

[35]B. F. Roberts, 'Where were the Four Branches of the Mabinogi written?', in J. F. Nagy (ed.), *The individual in Celtic literatures* (Dublin 2001) 61–75.

the Tall, Unig Strong-shoulder, Wlch Bone-lip, and others. These men sound heroic, but not (on the whole) royal or aristocratic. For the author of the Four Branches, the word *tywysog* implied a person with large powers of command. Yet these powers are delegated and do not come from descent. Port Isaac, then, may have belonged to a man who was a general or governor or both, but with an authority obtained from the ancient kings of Cornwall and not by inheritance. (The fifth-century leader Similinus, descended from Irish immigrants in North Wales, perhaps had similar acquired power.) As regards Port Isaac, the translations 'nobleman', 'chieftain', and even 'lord', which have distracting later associations, should thus be avoided. The closest equivalent in early and modern English is probably 'governor'.

If this reasoning is valid, Port Isaac provides a glimpse of the governance of early Cornwall, where the Cornish cognate of *tywysog* was a word that had risen in status, like its Celtic equivalents. Yet any further political or semantic development was cut short in the ninth and tenth centuries, when the native ruling classes of Cornwall were dispossessed. While medieval Welsh words for rulers are copious and varied, their Cornish equivalents are thus meagre and ill-attested.[36] And this would naturally produce difficulties for modern scholars in recognizing a cognate of *tywysog* in Portusek, Porthissek, Portissek, and Porthtyseke 'governor's port'.

Welsh gyrfa *'race-course' and Treverva*

The farm of Treverva (SW 7531) lies three miles west of Falmouth in south-west Cornwall, in the parish of Budock. It appears as Trevyrvo in 1407, but is known earlier from Richard Trewruvo in 1327 and John Trefurvo in 1358. Padel reasonably takes Trewruvo as an error for Trewurvo, the first element being *tre* 'farm'. But he describes the second element as an unknown word or name, perhaps Urvo, though he notes this name is not found elsewhere.[37]

However, another approach is possible. The *w* of restored Trewurvo could be from a mutated original *g*-, as at Trewoon near St Austell, explained by Padel as 'downs farm' (*tre* + *goen*). This suggests a cognate in Welsh *gyrfa* 'course, journey; race, race-course; furlong', which occurs in medieval texts. The fifteenth-century bard Gutun Owain declares, *Y'r yrfa aed yr aerfarch* 'Let the warhorse run its course', galloping so fast that small birds are left behind. From the same century comes *gyrfarch* 'racehorse', with Guto'r Glyn saying of a musical patron that he does not want gold or racehorses (*gyrfeirch*), but a lamprey with an emperor's breath (= a trumpet).[38]

Gyrfa is also a place-name element. Near Pen-tyrch (ST 1081) outside Cardiff is a farm called Cae'ryrfa 'race-course field'.[39] It has Scandinavian parallels. Hesket in Cumbria, and Hesketh in Lancashire and North Yorkshire, may mean 'racecourse' (Old Norse *hestr* 'stallion' + *skeith* 'running-ground');

[36]Wendy Davies, *Patterns of power in early Wales* (Oxford 1990) 12–15.
[37]Padel, *Dictionary of Cornish place-names*, 171.
[38]*GPC*, 1796–7.
[39]Ibid. 1796.

Wickham Skeith, near Eye in Suffolk, is certainly 'Wickham of the race-course'.[40] Follifot (*fola feoht* 'fighting of foals') in North Yorkshire has an English name for a Viking barbarism: horse-fighting was a Viking 'sport'.[41] The English also raced horses. *Beowulf* 864–7 and 916–17 tells how warriors 'let their bay horses gallop, run on in races' along 'straight roads strewn with sand'.[42] Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* V.vi mentions 'a level and dry road' in Northumbria, where youths would 'gallop and try out their horses against one another' until one fractured his skull (he survived to become abbot of Tynemouth and tell Bede his story).[43] So there is nothing strange in a toponym referring to horse-racing. The above also shows how race-courses should be level, dry, and straight. (The referee cites further the Welsh toponym Epynt 'path of horses', though this hardly refers to a racecourse, and the Irish toponym An Achréidh 'horse plain, horse run' east of Galway, which surely does.)

Treverva is situated at the west end of a plateau followed by the B 3291 from Penryn to Gweek. The area is almost the only flat land for miles around. Being dry, straight, and tolerably level, it is suitable for horse-racing as most of the Falmouth region is not. But there is a phonological problem. The forms Trewruvo, Trefurvo, Trevyrvo end in *o*, which cannot represent the *a* found in Welsh *gyrfa*. It seems, then, that Treverva contains a plural corresponding to Welsh *gyrfâu* 'race-courses'. The Middle Cornish equivalent of this would end in *-ow*, reduced to *-o* in our attested forms, and then the present *-a*.[44] The development from Trewurvo to Trevyrvo is presumably due to assimilation to final *v*.

Treverva may thus provide evidence for early Cornish horse-racing. If so, it resembles Mondrum 'man's joy' in Cheshire, and Plaistow, Playford, Plaxtol, Plowden and other places with an element referring to 'play' or sport.[45] So, like them, it would be toponomical evidence for ancient pastime and pleasure, showing how the study of place-names can shed light on the men and women of the past, especially in Celtic lands.[46]

ANDREW BREEZE

University of Navarre, Pamplona

[40] Mills, *Dictionary of English place-names*, 169, 358.

[41] Ibid. 134.

[42] J. R. Clark Hall (trans.), *Beowulf* (London 1940) 63, 66.

[43] Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (ed.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford 1969) 467.

[44] Cf. Padel, *Dictionary of Cornish place-names*, 32.

[45] Mills, *Dictionary of English place-names*, 260.

[46] I thank the anonymous referee of this paper for corrections of phonological arguments and one Cornish form, as also for certain other suggestions. On the five forms discussed here, see now Victor Watts (ed.), *The Cambridge dictionary of English place-names* (Cambridge 2004) 169, 179, 469, 479, 628, which state nothing that is new.