

**Penda's footprint? Place-names containing personal names
associated with those of early Mercian kings**

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The purpose of this paper is to revisit the matter of place-names derived from personal names associated with those of early Mercian kings. As far as I am aware, this corpus has not before been presented in detail. The examination discloses interesting characteristics. These include the number of such place-names; an overall distribution which extends beyond a west Midlands core in specific directions; local clusterings; relative presence/absence of certain second elements; and cases of association with sites of putative strategic importance.

We have reason to be grateful to Professor Nicholas Brooks, who in the 1989 volume edited by Steven Bassett, *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, drew attention to “one potential clue to the early activity of the [Iclinga] dynasty... strangely neglected in recent years”.¹ This is the West Midland distribution of place-names “which apparently preserve the rare personal names of Penda and his father Pypba”. It may be added that the name of Creoda, Penda's grandfather according to Mercian genealogy, is also preserved in place-names. So too is that of Penda's son Peada, *princeps* of the Middle Angles and subsequently ruler of the South Mercians. Both are likewise most frequently found in the West Midlands.²

¹ Nicholas Brooks (1989), ‘The formation of the Mercian kingdom,’ in Steven Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, pp. 159-170, esp. pp. 163ff.

² Discussion and critiques of Mercian king-lists and royal genealogies are to be found in K.Sisam (1953), ‘Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies,’ *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39, pp. 287-346, and D.N.Dumville (1976), ‘The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists,’ *Anglo-Saxon England* 5, pp. 23-50. Icel also appears as founder of the Mercian royal dynasty in the eighth-century Life of St Guthlac (*Vita Guthlaci*, ed. B.Colgrave (1956), ch.2).

In 1927 F.M.Stenton rightly warned against an assumption of any automatic, personal association between these place-names and the Mercian rulers.³ Indeed, Professor Brooks, following Stenton, has concluded that the names “became popular among Anglian settlers and lords in the West Midlands because of the success of the dynasty”, in particular Penda’s defeat of Wessex at Cirencester in 628 after which, he argued, the territory of the Hwicce came under the control of Mercia rather than that of Wessex. While this is an attractive explanation, it faces the question of why concentrations of such names are not encountered in other regions where Penda pursued Mercian hegemony and among other Anglian lords indebted to the dynasty.

As far as I am aware, these place-names have not been fully collated before and I am very grateful to Dr Margaret Gelling for helping me prepare a list of accepted cases.

Six characteristics are revealed which may be worthy of further study.

The corpus is almost four times larger than the 15 cases mentioned by Professor Brooks⁴ - 12 ‘Creoda’ names, 16 from ‘Pypba’, 12 from ‘Penda’, 18 from ‘Peada’. Discounting four cases subject to alternative explanation, and four doubtful cases excluded from the corpus, the total is 58.

The personal names had already been in course of development when applied, yet Creoda seemingly passed out of use at an early date.⁵ So some at least of these place-names could date from the seventh century and conservatism in naming fashions cannot alone explain the phenomenon.

The names occur in clusters - Kersoe, Peopleton, Pinvin and Pensham, for example; Creoda’s oak and Penda’s oak; Curdworth and Peddimore; and so on.

There is a close correlation with ancient royal estates.

³ A.Mawer and F.M.Stenton (1927, reissued 1969), *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, English Place-Name Society, IV, p. xxii.

⁴ Professor Brooks gleaned these names from EPNS county volumes and Ekwall (p. 276, fn.23).

⁵ EPNS Bucks. p. xiii.

A significant proportion appear to be associated with infrastructure, in particular at militarily strategic places, several on or close to the line of east and west Wansdyke.

Among the second elements, *worð/-ig/ign* appears six times, *burh* four times, *tun* only twice. Five Creoda names pertain to hills, two to trees.

A handful of places extends far beyond Mercia - one in Cornwall, another in Yorkshire - but they are only that, a handful. The distribution of names, though wider than the two counties Worcestershire and Warwickshire noted by Nicholas Brooks, remains concentrated in western England and particularly in and around the territory of the Hwicce. This hints at an aspect of regional identity, if only in patterns of naming, absent from the remainder of Mercia.

This geographical concentration provides a fresh context in which to examine the personal names from which the place-names derive. Past and present thinking on the personal names is summarised below, with a glance of my own in the direction of St Credan of Evesham. Space does not permit, however, discussion of the potential historical significance of the place-names, a matter I intend to address elsewhere. In that paper I propose also to offer tentative ideas about parallel distributions, and to ask to what extent pseudo-historical and ideological meanings might be involved in the place-names and their distributions, irrespective of the degree to which such names can or ought to be taken as providing clues to events and processes of the period of Mercia's formation and early ascendancy. Hence the question mark in the title of this article. It is less likely to bring light to bear on Dark Age conundrums than to offer yet more questions.

The place-names are listed according to the personal names in their various forms (Appendix I), and geographically (Appendix III, acting also as a key to the maps). Appendix II deals briefly with names associated with other members of the dynasty. Abbreviations are listed at the end of the article.

The personal names

Creoda < Crida

Penda's grandfather and/or penultimate predecessor appears in OE and later sources as *Cryda Cynewolding* (ASC A s.a.626 erased, cf. *Crida* JW s.a.627); *Crioda* (GV 91); *Creoda Cynewalding* (ASC A s.a.755, BC s.a.626, *Creoda* also GC 437, 438, and JW, p. 251); and *Creada* (HH IV 21 s.a.755). In ASC D s.a.855 a *Creoda Cerdicing* was inserted in the royal line of Wessex between Cerdic and Cynric (*Criodo Ceardicing* SG 6; *Creoda Cynricing* GT 173 in error) but this may have arisen from Mercian political retouching of the king-list and the two Creodas may have been one and the same person.⁶ They may also be identical with the Crida mentioned in ASC AB s.a.593 as having perished in that year, possibly together with the king of Wessex, Ceawlin, and an unidentified Cwichehm ("*Her Ceawlin 7 Cwichehm 7 Crida forwurdan*"). Henry of Huntingdon took this to be so (HH II 26, 27).

Redin observed that "since the oldest forms have *io*, [the name] can hardly be connected with the Germanic base **kreud-* in OE *crudan* 'to press' [> Mod. Eng. 'crowd']. *Crida* is perhaps Celtic and not the same as *Crioda*. Or is *Crida* the original form and *Crioda* (> *Creoda*) due to *a*-mutation?"⁷ No other literary instances of the name survive. OE sources do, however, provide a single instance of a name *Creda(n)*.⁸ That this was an eighth century abbot of Evesham, Worcs., where he was later enshrined, may not be without significance for the present inquiry. As *Credanus sanctus* he appears in a probable tenth century list of abbots incorporated into the later Evesham Chronicle. As *Credan abbatis* he witnessed charter S113 in 777 and probably S57 in 778-9 (*Tredan abbatis* in error?), and as *Creda abbas*, S62 in 778. S113 is generally accepted as authentic, minus its postscript, as were S57 and S62 by Finberg (F224, F225). Opinion has divided over S54, in which *Credano abbate* occurs in the witness list of a suspicious confirmation; Finberg (F201) argued for the charter's basic authenticity. Redin's opinion was that this name was "Celtic, or related to *Creoda*, *Cri(o)da*?"⁹ The Hwiccian St *Creda(n)*'s name is redolent of the Cornish saints *Creda* at Creed (*Sancte Cride* 1275, '[The church of] St *Creda* or *Crida*,' Ekwall, p. 129) and *Credus/Credanus* at Sancreed

⁶ ASC s.a.855 and *FW* s.a.849.

⁷ Redin, pp. 89-90.

⁸ Redin, p. 89; Searle OAS, p. 144, Evesham Chronicle p. 76.

⁹ Redin, p. 89 and, for *Treda*, p. 79.

(*ecclesia Sancti Sancredi* 1291, Ekwall p. 403). Farmer noted traces of a cult of a male St Credan in Cos. Moyne and Wicklow, while the account of St Creda/*Crida* gives her an Irish origin in the second half of the sixth century or early in the seventh.¹⁰ She appears as *Crite* in a tenth century list of parochial saints, and may be identical with a Breton St Cry.¹¹ Ekwall remarked that the name looked like a Cornish form of St Faith, Cornish *cred*, Welsh *cred*, ‘faith’, with which compare Old Irish *cretim*, ‘I believe’, Latin *credo*.¹² The Devon river name Creedy (*on Cridian* 739 [11th]) Ekwall derived from a British root meaning ‘winding’.¹³ Among his *alt-celtischer* names, Hodder recorded Crit(t)o, with diminutive Critonilla and a variant Critonius.¹⁴ Oliver Padel’s opinion is that in its form with final ‘n’, Abbot Creda(n)’s name may represent a Brittonic name with Irish parallels.¹⁵

Pypba

The name of Penda’s father and/or immediate predecessor appears as *Pypba Crioding* (GV VI 91); *Pybba Cryding* (ASC A s.a. 626 erased) and *Creoding* (ASC BC s.a. 626, A s.a. 755, SG p. 170; *Pybba* also GC 437, Nennius ch. 65, JW 251); *Pippa* (Nennius ch. 65); *Pubba* (Nennius ch. 60); and *Pibba* (WM s.a.626). Spellings with initial *W* in JW and HH are attributed to scribal misreading.

Redin rejected the derivation of this name together with OE *Peuf* (LV 199, cf. *Peufa* LV 216), from a Germanic stem **peuð*, **puð*, ‘puff, blow’; their meaning would then be ‘puffer’, ‘the man who puffs and blows’. “I prefer, like Müller to characterise the name as »undurchsichtig» [‘impenetrable’, ‘unfathomable’].”¹⁶ Kevin Streit, a student at the University of Washington, has suggested a root in common with Welsh *pybyr*, ‘staunch, strong’. Dr Padel has pointed out that the first *y* is a schwa, spelt earlier with *e* (*pebyr* in *Canu Aneirin*, lines 368 and 1001) and asks if this sound would be borrowed into OE as *y*. He draws attention to place-name

¹⁰ Farmer, ‘Saints,’ pp. 113-4.

¹¹ B.L.Olson and O.J.Padel, ‘A tenth-century list of Cornish parochial saints’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 12 (Winter 1986), pp. 33-72, part. p. 60 and fn. 173.

¹² Ekwall, p. 403. W.W.Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (Oxford 1888), p. 141.

¹³ RN, p. 104

¹⁴ Hodder I, 1169-70.

¹⁵ I am grateful for Dr Padel’s opinion, expressed in correspondence, December 1995. opinion.

¹⁶ Redin, p. 34. R.Müller, *Untersuchungen über die Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitæ, Palæstra* IX (Berlin, 1901), p. 43.

examples cited by Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History*, p. 673, located in Dorset and Devon, not in Mercia.¹⁷

Penda

All the literary occurrences of this name refer to the king of Mercia, in HE, ASC, and other material; as *Pantha* in Nennius ch. 60, 64, and, plus variant *Pendæ*, in *Annales Cambriæ* 657; and *Pendan* (nom.) in Alcuin, *Versus* 518, 550.¹⁸ A number of dithematic names incorporate *Pend-* as the first element. Following Mawer and Stenton (PNWorcs. p. 223), and as inferred by Redin, A.H. Smith pointed out that Penda could be a shortened form of such personal names and that they seem to have had “an Anglian but more especially a Mercian provenance” (PNGlos. I, p. 73). Searle listed seven, at least three of them Mercian:

Pendhere, witness, c757, of the Hwiccian under-king’s grant of Tredington to Worcester church (S55, F214 “authentic”).

Pendraed, moneyer under Offa 757x96 (Keary).

Pendwine, moneyer under Ceonwulf 796?x821 (Keary)

Pendgyth, queen and/or abbess, donor to church of Durham by c.825 (Sweet p. 153, line 19). Pendgyth appears eighth in a long list of queens and abbesses, after ‘Reginmeald’, Eanflaed (?of Whitby, d. 704), ?Eormenburh (?of Minster, d. c.700), Ælflaed (?of Whitby, d. 714), Æthelburh (?of Barking, d. 675), Cuthburh (?of Wimborne, d. c.725), and ‘Nunna’.

Pen(d)weald, clerk, ditto (Sweet p. 158, line 174).

Pendwulf, priest, ditto (Sweet p. 157, line 111).

Pendheard, patron of reeve Eanwulf, c912 (S1445, letter to king Edward explaining the history of land at Fonthill, near Warminster, Wilts.).

In addition there is

Penw(e)alh, Mercian noble of tribe of Guthlacingas, father of Ss Guthlac and Pega, probably born by 650, i.e. within reign of Penda (Felix, *Vita Guthlaci*. In the OE translation

¹⁷ I am grateful to Mr Streit for allowing me sight of his unpublished paper, ‘The personal names of the early Mercian dynasty and the formation of cultural identities in seventh century Britain’, and to Dr Padel for his comments (made in September 1995).

¹⁸ Redin, p. 69.

[Goodwin], called *Penwald*). To be identified with the Penwalh listed in the Anglian collection of royal genealogies and king-lists as a great nephew of Penda?¹⁹

Förster suggested that the element *Pend-* in dithematic names might have been borrowed into OE from the Brittonic *pen-*, ‘head’, ‘chief’, though his explanation of *Penda* as a hypocoristic abbreviation of *Pendragon* need not detain us.²⁰ Commenting on Mr Streit’s proposal that *Penda* may represent a shortened borrowing into OE of what in Middle Welsh became *pendevic*, ‘nobleman, peer, prince’, Oliver Padel has suggested that an even better candidate might be **penndav*, ‘chiefmost’, the word proposed by Hamp as that from which *Pendevic* and its Brittonic cognates would have been adjectival formations.²¹

Peada

Peada’s name first appears in runic script, in the form *Pada*, on seventh-century sceattas. Because these are now dated to the period c.670x80, *Pada* is thought to be the moneyer, rather than Penda’s son, who died in 656.²² King Peada appears in ASC s.a. 652/3, 655, HE III ch. 21 and 24, JW, and in S68 (F426 “spurious by with possible authentic basis”) as *Peada* (*Peda*, *Peoda* in versions of HE), and in HH II 34 as *Peda* (WM ch 74, 75 *Weda* through misreading). In addition to Penda’s son, Redin listed

Padda *presbyter*, a member of Wilfrid’s mission in Sussex c.681 (Bede HE IV 13. *Peadda* in one version of the OE translation).²³

Searle provided a further two names:

Pede (long accent on first *e*), a witness of king Aethelbald’s grant in 736 of land for a minster at Ismere (Kidderminster), Worcs. (S89, F211 “authentic”).

Peda, a man (that is, not a royal person) listed in Piper.

In addition, Searle listed two dithematic names:

Padwine/Paduinus, d. c.580, abbot of Le Mans.²⁴

¹⁹ D.N.Dumville, ed., ‘The Anglian collection of royal genealogies and regnal lists,’ *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976), pp. 23-50.

²⁰ Max Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen: eine sprachliche Untersuchung* (Halle 1921), pp. 62-3. I am grateful to Mr Streit for drawing my attention to Förster’s opinion.

²¹ Hamp, ‘The element -tamo-’, *Etudes celtiques* 14 (1974-5), pp. 189-90. I am grateful to Dr Padel for this reference and his comments.

²² Keary, p. 23. Stewart, p. 5. Stewart sees these coins struck north of the Thames because of the absence in Kent of runes; nevertheless, an origin in Kent has also been proposed.

²³ Redin, p. 105.

Padmær, a man listed by Piper.

Von Feilitzen took the single Domesday instance of the name Padda, that of a landholder at Brampton, near Blythburgh, E.Suffolk. to be a nickname from late OE *pad(d)e* or ON *padda*, ‘toad, frog’.²⁵

Redin commented: “Whether [the various] forms represent one or several names, their Germanic origin is very questionable. Kemble, ‘Names’, p. 85, marks *Padda* in Bede as Celtic, and probably the same holds good of *Padda* in DB, though in this case late OE *pad(d)e* ‘toad, frog’ might also be thought of (ODan. *Paddi* is doubtful). Penda’s son is generally called *Peada*, but it would seem that *Pada* on the coins [Redin here gives the first *a* a round accent] is the genuine form, which then underwent Mercian *a*-mutation c. 700, i.e. before the time Bede wrote his history. The two charters from the seventh century in which *Peada* occurs are starred as spurious in KCD (484, 990). The circumstance that this purely Mercian form was afterwards adopted even in WSax. is by no means extraordinary; cf. *Beadu-*, *Aelf-*. With the etymology of *Pada* may be compared Celtic *Padus* (Holder II 920) [Redin gives both names a round accent on the first *a*]. Kemble, ‘Names’, p. 100, translates *Pada* [no accent here] “with a tunic” (: OE *pad* [long *a*], ‘covering, coat, cloak’), but the later form with *-ea-* points to a short *-a-* [round accent]. A Germanic theme **paud-* is not found, as far as I know.”

²⁴ Searle, p. 385. The vita S. Paduinus appears under November 15 in AA.SS. I, p. 271-4 (Augustus Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii ævi*, 2 vols. (1896, reprinted Graz, 1954), II, p. 1506..

²⁵ Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, Nomina Germanica 3 (Uppsala 1937).p. 343.

The names as a group

In his comments on Mr Streit's proposals, Dr Padel has suggested that Pypba, Penda, and Creoda if no English derivation can be found, might have begun as Brittonic epithets, not personal names, which were borrowed, shortened hypocoristically by the English and turned into personal names, their derivation from Brittonic "soon lost to sight for both Brittonic and English speakers". He draws attention to Kenneth Jackson's insistence on the distinction between epithets and personal names ('Gildas and the names of the British Princes', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 3, Summer 1982, pp. 36-40), particularly regarding the attempt to see Vortigern as a title instead of a name. For the use of *pybyr*, earlier *pebyr*, as an epithet, Dr Padel offered as a comparison Gronw *Pebyr* (*Peuyr* in one MS) in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi.²⁶

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²⁶ I must repeat my gratitude to Mr Streit and Dr Padel for sharing these thoughts with me.

Appendix I: The place-names

(Parish names unless stated otherwise)

Creoda

< Creoda

Province of the Hwicce

Creodan ac, boundary marker, Cofton Hackett/Alvechurch, Worcs. (849: S1272, F254 “authentic”).

‘Creoda’s oak’.

Adjoining districts

Curdworth, Warwicks. (*Credeworde* 1086 DB). ‘Creoda’s enclosure’, PNWarwicks., p. 44. Curdworth faces the DB royal estate of Coleshill across the river Tame.

Credenhill, Herefs. (*Credenhull* 1067x71, *Cradenhille* 1086 DB). ‘Creoda’s hill,’ HPN p. 63.²⁷ Credenhill has large IA hillfort and lies just north of the RB town of *Magnis*, modern Kenchester. Gelling has pointed out that the name *Magnis*, explained by Jackson, as she says, as meaning ‘The Rocks’, may have been transferred from the hillfort, and that Grimsworth Hundred, lying between the rivers Lugg and Wye, is believed to preserve an old name of the fort, *Grimeswrosen*, ‘The Knot of Grim’, that is, Woden (‘Signposts’, p. 211).

Cradley, Herefs. (*Credelaie* 1086 DB). ‘Creoda’s *leah*,’ HPN p. 61. The shape of Cradley suggests it may have been once part of its southern neighbour Mathon, a DB comital manor. Mawer and Stenton suggested Mathon’s name derived from OE for ‘treasure’ (PNWorcs., p. 65) - an RB coin hoard, possibly.

Creodan hyll, boundary marker, Alton Priors, Wilts. (‘825’: S272; Grundy, p. 164; FW198, “spurious”]. S272 is a grant by king Ecgbeorht to the church of Ss Peter and Paul, Winchester. Creoda’s hill appears to be the high ground now known as Golden Ball Hill, ending in Knap Hill neolithic camp and guarding the place at which the Ridgeway descends to the valley of the Kennett. The charter bounds move from “the dyke (?Wansdyke) to Creoda’s hill, to the Highway and then along the Highway to Tawsmead” - Tawsmead Farm, east of the modern village.

Curbridge, Oxon. (*Crydan brigce* 956 [c. 1200], S 1292). ‘Creoda’s bridge’, PNOxon. II, p. 315. Perhaps crossed the Evenlode at Witney. Possible first element *burh* in name of Burwell Farm, Curbridge.

Elsewhere

Long Crendon, Bucks. (*Credendona* 1086 DB). Creoda’s *dun*, PNBucks. p. 122. Long Crendon is close to Thame, a major DB vill of 60 hides held by the Bishop of Lincoln.

²⁷ HPN: Bruce Coplestone-Crow (1989), Herefordshire Place-Names, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 214.

< Criddi

Hwicce

Kershoe, hamlet in Elmley Castle, Worcs. (*Cri/yddesho* 780 [10xx]). ‘Criddi’s *hoh* [spur of land]’, PNWorcs., p. 122. Elmley was a component of the DB vill of Cropthorne, an AS royal, later episcopal, estate. Mawer and Stenton’s etymology of the first element, in PNWorcs., was that it “would seem to be the otherwise unknown personal name Criddi which is difficult to dissociate from the name *Crioda* found in the early Mercian genealogies”.

<Crioda

Possibly district adjoining the Hwicce.

Criodantreow, location unknown (‘825’: S273; FW “authentic basis”; Heather Edwards, *The Charters of the West Saxon Kingdoms*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 198 (1988), p. 152). Mentioned in the dating clause of this alleged ninth century charter as the location of a battle when king Ecgbeorht of Wessex, described as “rex Geuissorum”, “moved against the Britons”. Same dating clause copied in S272, but that charter is regarded as wholly spurious, probably a post-Conquest product (Dorothy Whitelock, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [London 1961], p. 40, n. 2). See **Creodan hyll**, above. Was there confusion involving events in 825 at Wroughton, Wilts? ASC ‘C’ records that in that year the Britons were in battle against “the men of Devon”, at a place called Galford, but Ecgbeorht’s presence is not attested. Whitelock took the charter comment to refer to another episode in that campaign, but Edwards has written that it is not certain that Whitelock was correct in doing so. It is not impossible that the composer of the annal was confused as between the Galford campaign and one which in fact involved the Mercians. The only battle recorded by the ASC for that year at which Ecgbeorht, accompanied by the army of Wessex, is specifically stated to have been present, is that at Ellandun, otherwise Wroughton, Wilts., in which he defeated the Mercians under their king Beornwulf. The section of the Ridgeway on or near which this battle was fought crosses Wansdyke at *Creoda’s hill* (for which see Alton Priors, above), though this is about 10 miles distant. Dr Edwards has written of the name *Creoda’s tree* that it would “probably not have been accessible to a forger” and that “invention of all this detail” [concerning the campaign] “is most improbable”.

< Cridela

Districts adjoining the Hwicce.

Criddon, Shrops. (*Critendone* 1166). ‘Cridela’s *dun*,’ Ekwall p. 130. “**Cridela* is derived from *Crioda*”, *ibid.*

Carlingcott, Somerset (*Credelincote*, 1086 DB). ‘Cottage(s) associated with Cridel(a),’ Ekwall, p. 88.

< *Cridela/Creodela

Elsewhere than Hwicce and adjoining districts.

Cridling, township in Darrington parish, near Pontefract, W.Yorks. (*Cred(e)ling* 1155-77). Smith proposed a derivation from *Cridela*, or *Creodela*, plus *-ing*, arguing that Ekwall's derivation from *Creoda* plus *hlinc* (p. 130) did not fit the local topography and that *hlinc* was in any case an element not found with certainty in Yorkshire (PNW.Riding II, pp. 62-3). An OE *Cridela* was not on record, but would be a normal *-el* derivative of *Crida*, which became *Creoda* owing to back-mutation.

Names subject to alternative explanations

Crudwell, Wilts. (*Croddewell(e)* 854 etc. Also *C -mor, -ham*). “Probably ‘Creoda’s spring or stream’,” PNWilts. p. 56. Crudwell was a major DB holding of the nearby church of Malmesbury and is probably to be associated in origins with the likewise neighbouring royal estate of Brokenborough out of which, it has been conjectured, Malmesbury’s home estates were carved. However, Gelling takes the view that the regular *-dd-* in the spellings rules out involvement of the personal name Creoda. She is suggesting an OE antecedent of ME *crudde*, modern *curd*.²⁸

Creddacott, farm in Week St Mary parish, near Bude, north Cornwall (*Crodecote* 1298, *Croudecote* 1302 etc, *Cred(d)acott* modern). ‘ME *crowde* < Welsh *crwth*, ‘fiddle’; alternatively OE personal name Creoda,’ Svensson, p. 62.

²⁸ I am grateful to Dr Gelling for her comment, made in December 1995.

Pypba

< Pypba

Hwicce

Pepwell, local name in Hartlebury, Worcs. (*Pepewell* 1200, *Peopewell* 1274). ‘Pyppa’s spring,’ PNWorcs., p. 245 (“Pyppa from Pypba”). Hartlebury was a pre-Conquest episcopal manor and seat of the bishops of Worcester; perhaps an early royal or comital monastery estate.

Pepper Wood, Belbroughton, Worcs. (*Pup(p)erode* 1230, *Pepperod(e)* 1251, *Pyperode Wood* c.1830). ‘Pypba’s rod (clearing)’, PNWorcs. p. 277 (“Same pers. name Pypba or Pyppa [as] in Pepwell, Peopleton and Pedmore”). Part of a large wooded area on the boundary between two Domesday hundreds.

< Pyppe

Hwicce

Peopleton, Worcs. (*Piplincgtun* 972 [c. 1050] S786, *Puppylnton* 1240). ‘Pyppe’s tun,’ Mawer and Stenton PNWorcs. p. 216 (“[Pyppe] a diminutive of [Pypba or Pyppa]”). Ekwall’s suggestion (p. 363) that the first element might be a stream-name from OE **pyppel*, ‘pebble’, is not supported by the history of the brook near which Peopleton stands (PNWorcs., p. 10). Peopleton was a member of the federative royal/ecclesiastical manor of Pershore, a Domesday triple hundred.

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

Hwicce

Pedmore, Worcs. (*Pevemore* 1086 DB, *Pubemora* 1176, *Pebb(e)more* 1291). ‘Pypba’s mor’, Mawer and Stenton, PNWorcs. p. 306; ‘Peobbe’s mor’, Smith, PNGlous. I, p. 252. Mawer and Stenton suggested that “in addition to the assimilation to Pyppa there may have been another to Pypba which would account for the forms found for Pedmore”. Smith commented that “the very regular spellings for [Pedmore and Pebworth, q.v. below] cannot be directly from [Pypba]; there may have been, however, a form Peobba from a different grade (PrGerm **peub-* [‘to puff’]) [GRJ: Add cross to *b*] as in OE *Peuf(a)*.” Wallenberg (KPN, p. 191) saw this Germanic stem as perhaps underlying Pivington, Kent, and compared it with the personal name **Pefi*, **Pefen* offered by Mawer and Stenton for Pusey, Berks., Pewsey, Wilts., and Pevensey and Pensford, Sussex (PNSussex, p. 444). (For interchange between *b* and *d*, Mawer and Stenton drew comparison with Bedgrove (PNBerks., p. 166), earlier Bebgrove.)

< Peobba

Hwicce

Pebworth, Gloucs. (*Pebewrthe* 848 [14th]; *aet Pebbewurðy* 1012-23). ‘Peobba’s enclosure’, Smith, PNGloucs. 1, p. 252. See Smith’s comment on Pedmore [above], made in the course of his remarks on Pebworth. “Pedmore is parallel to Pebworth.” Smith noted that Pedmore’s change of *Peb-* to *Ped-* was similar to that in a form for Pebworth, *Pedworthe* (1583).

< Pybba / *Pubba

District adjoining the Hwicce

Publow, Somerset (*Pubelawe* 1219, *Puppelawe* 1262). ‘OE *pybban hlaew*, Pybba’s (burial) mound,’ Michael Costen, *Origins of Somerset* (Manchester 1992), p. 82; ‘Pubba’s *hlaw*, *Pubba related to Pybba,’ Ekwall, p. 374. Publow formed with Pensford a chapelry of Stanton, which in turn is probably to be associated with a likely royal estate centre, Chew Magna.

< Pybba

Elsewhere than Hwicce and adjoining districts (all in south-east England)

Pibworth, local name in Aldworth, Berks. (*Pubbewurth*, 1242). ‘Pybba’s *word*,’ PNBerks., II, p. 495.

Pebmarsh, Essex (*Pebeners* 1086 DB). ‘Pybba’s [*ersc*], stubble field,’ PNEssex, pp. 449-50.

Pebhale, lost place at or near Stebbing, Essex (12xx). ‘Pybba’s *halh*,’ PNEssex, p. 450.

Pephurst, local name in Wisborough Green, W.Sussex (*Pibeherst* 1303, *Pub(b)ehurst* 1370, *Pephurst* *al.* *Pubhurst* 1640). ‘Pybba’s *hyrst*,’ PNSussex, p. 134 (“Cf. Pepper Wood and Pepwell,” q.v. above). Like Peppering, W.Sussex, below, Wisborough Green lies on the Arun.

< Pybbi

District adjoining the Hwicce

Pebsbury, local name in southeast of Langport, Somerset (*Pibbesbyrig* 1065). ‘*Pybbi*, sideform of *Pybba*,’ plus *burh*, Ekwall, p. 360.

Uncertain relationship of personal name to Pypba

< Pippa

Hwicce

pippan slæd, boundary marker, Bishops Cleeve, Gloucs. (769x85 [11th]: S141; F30 “authentic”; G.B. Grundy, *Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire*, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society [1935] I, pp. 71-90). ‘Pippa’s slade [short valley],’ Grundy, p. 84. See discussion under Pepperwell, below.

< Piper(a)

Elsewhere than Hwicce and adjoining districts (all Surrey or Sussex).

Peppering, local name in Burpham, W.Sussex (*Piperinges* c. 725 [14th] S44, *Peperying* 1263). ‘The people of Piper(a),’ an *r*-derivative of Pippa,’ PNSussex, p. 167. Peppering lies on the Arun, as does Pebhurst, q.v. Wallenberg suggested that *Piper(a) was a nickname denoting a person of small roundish stature (‘like a peppercorn’, OE *piper*), or ultimately from a Germanic base **pip-*, ‘to swell’ (PNKent, p. 593).

Peppering Eye, local name in Battle, E.Sussex (*Piperinge* 12th, *Peperengee* 1189-99). “A repetition of the name Peppering in W.Sussex,” PNSussex, p. 498.

Pepperhams, former name of Haslemere parish, Surrey (*Piperham* c.1180, *Pyperham* 1302, *Peperham* 1367). ‘Pip(e)ra’s *ham(m)*’, PNSurrey, p. 206.

< Piper(a)?

Peper Harow, Surrey (*Pipereherge* 1086 DB, *Pyperhargh* 1291). Second element *hearg*, ‘heathen temple’. First element ‘(of) Piper(a)/Pipp(e)ra’, PNSurrey, p. 208; *pipera*, ‘of the pipers’, Ekwall, p. 363.

Penda

< Penda

Hwicce

Pendiford, lost place in King's Norton, Worcs. (1240). 'Penda's ford', PNWorcs., p. 223.

Pinvin, Worcs. (*Pendefen*, 1275). 'Penda's fen or marsh', PNWorcs., p. 223. Pinvin was a member of the home estate of the major federative royal/ecclesiastical manor of Pershore.

Peandan Wrye (709x716 [12xx], Goscelin's *Life of St Mildburh*, in BM Add. MS. 34,633). ?Wrye

Piddle, Worcs. (*Pidele* 1086 DB, *Wrye Pidele* 1208), PNWorcs., p. 155, without etymology.

Finberg, ECWM, pp. 203, 211; p. 89: "*Peandan* is apparently the genitive singular of the personal name Penda... Nothing can be made of *Wrye* as it stands; we should probably read *Wrye*. If so, the place may be identified with Wrye Piddle, for this parish adjoins *Pendan-fen* ... now Pinvin" (q.v. above).

Pendan aec, boundary marker, Cofton Hackett/Alvechurch, Worcs. (849; S 1272, F254 "authentic").

'Penda's oak.' See also *Creoda's ac*, above, from the same charter bounds.

Pinbury Park, Duntisbourne Rouse, Gloucs. (*Penneberia* 1086 DB). 'Penda's *burh*,' PNGloucs. I, p. 73.

Pendebur (1291 etc). ?Pimbury Park, Avening, Gloucs. PNGloucs., I, p. 87: Many spellings of a place-name *Pendebur* etc. difficult to identify with Pinbury Park or Pimbury Park but seem to belong to the Avening area. If not a manorial name from a family name, then Pimbury "has a similar origin, 'Penda's fortified place'."

Adjoining district

Pendeford, near Wolverhampton, Staffs. (*Pendeford*, 1086 DB). 'Penda's ford,' Ekwall, p. 361.

Elsewhere

Pend(e)ley, near Aldbury, Tring, Herts. (*Pentlai* 1086 DB). 'Penda's *leah*,' PNHerts. p. 53.

Penley, Froyle, Hants. Gover, EPNS Herts. p. 53, compared Penley with Pendley, Herts, q.v. Thus 'Penda's *leah*'?

Penley/Llenerch Banna, Flint. 'Penda's *leah*,' Gelling, in Bassett, 'Origins,' p. 189.

< Pendel

District adjoining the Hwicce

Pensworth, near Redlynch, Downton Hundred, Wilts. (*Pendeleswirth* 1227 etc.). 'Pendel(e)'s enclosure', PNWilts., p. 396 ("Pendel would be an l-derivative of ... Penda").

< Pendhere

District adjoining the Hwicce

Pende[re]s clif, boundary marker (921 [14th], S379, FW237; 968 (c.1225), S756, FW303) southwest of Southgrove Farm, Burbage, Wilts. **Penceley** in Tithe Award, c.1840. In bounds of Collingbourne Kingston (S379, grant by King Edward to *minister* Wulfgar) and of Bedwyn, (S756, grant by King Edgar to Abingdon Abbey), both therefore royal estates in the ninth century. According to the Abingdon monks, Bedwyn was the capital of Cissa, *sub-regulus* in Berkshire and north Wiltshire at least as far as Malmesbury, from whom Chisbury hillfort, Little Bedwyn, was named, (*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J.Stevenson, Rolls Series, II, p. 268). The story does not belong to the older stratum of Abingdon tradition (Stenton, *Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon*, 1, 2, 13). See also (*ad*) *peadan stigele* below.

Peada

< Pada

Hwicce

Paddington, field-name in Minety, Gloucs., now Wilts. (*Padingden*, 1540). ‘Pada’s *denu*, ‘valley’,’
PNGloucs., 1, p. 78.

(the) **Overpadden**, field-name in Meysey Hampton, Gloucs. (1639). ‘?Pada’s *denu*, ‘valley’,’ PNGloucs., I,
p. 78, comparing this name with that of Paddington in Minety (q.v.).

< Padeca (dim. Pad(d)a)

District adjoining the Hwicce

Patcombe Hill, Bratton, Wilts. (*Patekynhull* 1330; *padecan stan* 968 [S765, FW304 “authentic”]).
‘Padeca’s *cumb* and stone,’ PNWilts., p. 146. S765 grant of land by King Edgar to Romsey
Abbey.

< Peda

Hwicce

Pensham, in St Andrew’s parish, Pershore, Worcs. (*Pedneshamm*, 972 [c.1050]: S786; F120, “authentic”).
‘Peda’s *hamm*,’ PNWorcs. p. 221.

District adjoining the Hwicce

Peddimore Hall, Sutton Coldfield, Warwicks. (*Pedimor*, 1298). ‘Peda’s *mor*,’ PNWarwicks., p. 50.

Elsewhere

Pedan hricg, boundary marker, Merstham, Surrey (948, S528). S528 grant of land by King Eadred to
Oswig, *minister*.

< P(e)ada

Hwicce

Padonger, local name in Studley, Warwicks. (1232). ‘P(e)ada’s *hangra*, ‘wooded slope’,’
PNWarwicks., p. 226.

< Peada

District adjoining the Hwicce

(*ad*) **peadan stigele**, boundary marker, Little Bedwyn, Wilts. (778: S264; FW194 “authentic”; G.B.Grundy, *Archaeological Journal* LXXVI (1919), p. 151). S264 grant by Cynewulf, king of [West] Saxons, to Bica, *comes* and *minister*. See also *pende(re)s clif*, above.

Elsewhere (Searle, Peada with long ‘e’).

Padworth, Berks. (*æt Peadanwurðe* 956, S620, G80, grant of land by King Eadwig to his man Eadric). Peada’s enclosure, Ekwall p. 356. Through Padworth parish runs the earthwork known as Grim’s Bank, dug north-to-south in parallel with the river Kennett, thus blocking the approach to Silchester from Dorchester-on-Thames.²⁹

Unknown location (Searle, Peada with long ‘e’).

peadan beorge (868, S214). S214 is a grant of 5 hides at an unspecified *Upthrop* by Burgred, king of Mercia, in a postscript to which is mentioned 20 hides at *peadan beorge*. Birch (IIA, p. 141, no. 524), suggested the location of the grant might be Padbury, Bucks., but a marginal note in a copy of *Cartularium Saxonicum* in Leicester University library offers Upthorpe in Cam, Gloucs., or Aston Upthorpe, Berks. The Domesday estate at Padbury was of 20 hides (DBBucks 43,8), but see below for the derivation of its name from *burh*.

< Peoda with long e

Districts adjoining the Hwicce

Pedwell, hamlet of Walton, Somerset (*Pedewelle*, 1086 DB). Peoda’s spring, Ekwall, p. 360.

Pedwardine, Brampton Bryan, Herefs. (*Pedewrde*, 1086 DB). Peoda’s (Piuda’s) enclosure (*worþign*), Ekwall, p. 360.

< Padda

Elsewhere than Hwicce and adjoining districts.

Padbury, Bucks. (*Paddeberi*, 1167). ‘Padda’s *burh*’, PNBucks., pp. 55-6. A large defended enclosure, Norbury, stands by the river at Padbury. Buckingham, a neighbouring parish, was the location of the pre-Conquest shrine of St Rumwold, supposed son of Peada.

Paddington, Middx. (*in Padintune*, 959 (13th) S1293, *Paddington* 998). ‘Pad(d)a’s *tun*,’ PNMiddx, p. 132. S1293 is a forged confirmation of royal grant of lands to St Peter’s, Westminster.

Paddington, near Abinger, Surrey (*Padenden(e)*, 1086 DB). ‘Pada’s *denu*,’ PNSurrey, p. 260.

Padfield, in Glossop parish, Derbys. (*Padefeld*, 1086 DB). ‘Perhaps Pad(d)a’s *feld*,’ PNDerbys., I, p. 104.

²⁹ B.H.St J. O’Neil (1943), ‘Grim’s Bank, Padworth, Berkshire,’ *Antiquity* 17, pp. 188-98. I am indebted for this reference to Dr Barbara Yorke (1995), *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 27.

Padley, Derbys. (*Paddeley(e)*, c. 1230). 'Perhaps Padda's *leah*. Alternatively *padde*, 'toad' might be considered,' PNDerbys., I, p. 158.

Padiham, Lancs. (Padiham 1251, Padingham 1292). 'Padda's *ham* or of his people,' Ekwall, p. 356. 'Padda's *hamm?*', see PNLancs, pp. 79-80.

Etymology open to question (both Kent)

< Pæd(d)el / Pættel (From Pead(d)a or Peatta, but the latter unrelated to Peada).

Paddlesworth, near Dover, Kent (*Peaddleswurthe*, 10xx). **Pæddel* or **Pættel* related to *Pead(d)a* or

Peatta, Ekwall, p. 356. Pæddel's or Pættel's enclosure. 'Most likely OE nickname **Pædel* or the like, derived from the same stem as Mod Engl 'paddle', PNKent, p. 151.

Paddlesworth, in Snodland parish, near Maidstone, Kent (*Petelesuurthe* c.975 BCS 1321;

Peaddleswyrpe c.975 BCS 1322. Neither charter listed in S.). 'Pædel's enclosure?' Wallenberg's etymology, PNKent, p. 151, given under previous entry. In KPN, p. 307, he had suggested an alternative topographical sense 'something of a rounded shape', related to *pad(d)e*, 'toad', 'frog'.

Appendix II: Other members of the dynasty

Space prevents full citations for Evenlode, Worcs. (Gloucs. since 1931), whose name associates with that of Penda's supposed brother **Eowa** (PNGloucs. I, p. 219), and Kemerton, Gloucs. (PNGloucs. II, p. 59), vis-a-vis the name of Penda's daughter **Cyneburh**. Both places have early associations with the Hwiccan nobility (Jones, pp. 52, 61). Dr Gelling justifiably advises caution in respect of place-names associated with the name borne by Penda's son **Wulfhere**. As she points out, the name is too common to be central to the present inquiry. There is something of a Mercian distribution in the cases published in the PN volumes and in Ekwall, pp. 529-533, listed below. Conceivably this could alter when the Suffolk and Norfolk volumes are completed.

Province of the Hwicce (four names)

Wulfhereslaw Hundred. "Ancient episcopal Hundred" of cathedral church of Worcester (S731, dated 964 but authenticity disputed.)

Wolverton, Worcs. (*Wulfringctun* 977, S1332).

Wollescote, Worcs. (*Wlfrescote* 1275).

Wolverdale, Gloucs. (1374 field name, location unspecified in PNGlos, IV, p. 209.)

Adjoining districts (four names)

Wolverlow, Herefs., near Tenbury, Worcs. Compare Wulfhereslaw Hundred, above.

Wolvershill, Bulkington, near Nuneaton, Warwicks.

Wulfhere's clif and **cumb**, boundary markers near Charlbury Hill and the ridgeway in Little Hinton parish, near Swindon, Wilts. (S312; Grundy, p. 174).

Wolverton, Wilts, near Wincanton, Somerset.

South-eastern counties (five names)

?**Wolverton**, Hants., near Newbury, Berks. Ekwall: "First element such as Wulfhere, Wulfred or Wulfrun."

Woldringfold, near Horsham, W.Sussex.

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

?**Wolverton**, Bucks. (*Wluerintone*, 1086 DB). Ekwall: "Wulfrun's or Wulfhere's *tun*."

Woolverstone, Suffolk.

Elsewhere (three names)

Ulrome, Barmston, Holderness, E.Yorks.

Ullrefurthebec, Cumberland, and

Ulverpole, Cumberland, field-names, location unspecified in PNWest.

Appendix III: The place-names arranged geographically

(Numbers act as key to maps)

Province of the Hwicce

< Creoda

- 1 **Creodan ac**, Worcs.
- 2 **Curdworth**, Warwicks.

< Criddi

- 3 **Kershoe**, Worcs.

< Pypba

- 4 **Pepwell**, Worcs.
- 5 **Pepper Wood**, Worcs.

< Pyppel

- 6 **Peopleton**, Worcs.

< Pypba / Peobba

- 7 **Pedmore**, Worcs.

< Peobba

- 8 **Pebworth**, Gloucs.

< Pippa

Uncertain relationship of personal name to Pypba

- 9 **pippan slæd**, Gloucs.

< Penda

- 10 **Pendiford**, Worcs.
- 11 **Pinvin**, Worcs.
- 12 **Peandan Wrye**, Worcs.
- 13 **Pendan aec**, Worcs.
- 14 **Pinbury Park**, Gloucs.
- 15 **Pendebur**, Gloucs.

< P(e)ada

- 16 **Padonger**, Warwicks.

< Pad(d)a

- 17 **Paddington**, Gloucs.
- 18 (the) **Overpadden**, Gloucs.

< Peda

- 19 **Pensham**, Worcs.

Adjoining districts

< Creoda

20 **Credenhill**, Herefs.

21 **Cradley**, Herefs.

22 *Creodan hyll*, Wilts.

23 **Curbridge**, Oxon.

< Cridela

24 **Criddon**, Shrops.

25 **Carlingcott**, Somerset

< Pybba / *Pubba

26 **Publow**, Somerset

< Pybbi

27 **Pebsbury**, Somerset

< Penda

28 **Pendeford**, Staffs

< Pendel

29 **Pensworth**, Wilts.

< Pendhere

30 *Pende[re]s clif (Penceley)*, Wilts.

< Peada

31 *(ad) peadan stigele*, Wilts.

< Peda

32 **Peddimore**, Warwicks.

< Padecca (dim. Pad(d)a)

33 **Patcombe**, Wilts.

< Peoda (with long *e*)

34 **Pedwell**, Somerset

35 **Pedwardine**, Herefs.

Elsewhere

< Creoda

36 **Long Crendon**, Bucks.

< *Cridela/Creodela

37 **Cridling**, W.Yorks.

< Pybba

38 **Pibworth**, Berks.

39 **Pebmarsh**, Essex

40 ***Pebehale***, Essex

41 **Pephurst**, W.Sussex

< Piper(a)

Uncertain relationship of personal name to Pypba

42 **Peppering**, W.Sussex.

43 **Peppering Eye**, E.Sussex.

44 **Pepperhams**, Surrey.

< Piper(a)?

45 **Peper Harow**, Surrey.

< Penda

46 **Pend(e)ley**, Herts.

47 **Penley**, Hants.

48 **Penley/Llenerch Banna**, Flint.

< Peada (Searle gave long *e*)

49 **Padworth**, Berks.

< Padda

50 **Padbury**, Bucks.

51 **Paddington**, Middx.

52 **Paddington**, Surrey.

53 **Padfield**, Derbys.

54 **Padley**, Derbys.

55 **Padiham**, Lancs.

< Peda

56 ***Pedan hricg***, Surrey.

Location unknown

<Críoda

57 **Críodantreow**, ‘battle between Wessex and Britons, 825’. Possibly confusion with place in Wilts.

< Peada (Searle gave long *e*)

58 **peadan beorge**. Padbury, Bucks., unlikely. Upthorpe in Cam, Gloucs., and Aston Upthorpe, Berks., possible.

Etymology open to question

< Pæd(d)el / Pættel

59 **Paddlesworth**, Kent.

60 **Paddlesworth**, Kent.

Names subject to alternative explanations

61 **Crudwell**, Wilts.

62 **Creddacott**, Cornwall.