Cornish Place-Names in the Landscape

Volume 1 of 4

Submitted by Joanne Pye to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology
In September 2018

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature: ……..

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research underpinning this thesis could not have been undertaken without the important contributions of a range of scholars and professional archaeologists, several of whom have kindly commented on its content. Place-name scholars who have been most influential include Oliver Padel, the foremost authority today on the history of the Cornish language and its place-names, for whose personal insights I am grateful; Dr Margaret Gelling who, with Dr Ann Cole, developed landscape analysis of topographical Anglo-Saxon place-names; and Dr Della Hooke, expert in pre-Norman charter bounds in their landscape context.

Staff at the Cornwall Archaeological Unit have been most supportive: their sharing of the Cornwall Historic Environment Record data of early medieval and medieval settlements set the direction of the research and formed the core of this thesis, especially Bryn Tapper, Andrew Young and Francis Shepherd. Other key members of the archaeological community whose knowledge and advice on the landscape of medieval Cornwall I have much valued have been Peter Herring, original developer of the Historic Landscape Characterisation methodology; Ann Preston-Jones; Jacqui Nowakowski and James Gossip; and Professor Charles Thomas, the father of modern Cornish archaeology, for whom I only wish I could have included the place-names of the Scilly Isles within this study. My fellow volunteers at the Meneage Archaeology Group also get a big thanks for bearing with me – you know who you are!

Finally, my deepest thanks go to my patient and long-suffering family and friends, and my University of Exeter supervisors Professors Steve Rippon and Oliver Creighton. Their time, feedback and intellectual rigour have done much to strengthen the quality of the academic research. Saying this, as is always the case, any errors, weaknesses or omissions within this dissertation are entirely my own.

CORNISH PLACE-NAMES IN THE LANDSCAPE

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to investigate a sample of the place-names of medieval Cornwall within their landscape contexts, and thereby gain a better understanding of the relationship of the Cornish landscape to how its places were designated during the medieval period. To explore this issue, I have identified six research questions which relate to aspects of the landscape and selected seventeen Cornish place-name elements to analyse in depth. These include eleven lower and higher status commonly used habitative elements, as well as six widespread topographical elements denoting high points, waterways and woodland features throughout Cornwall. Selection criteria brought together categories used in time-depth landscape classification of landscape with types of place-name element considered important by scholars. A case study for each element has been developed to give further detail of typical landscape contexts.

The analysis of place-name elements has looked at their respective landscape positions, relative elevation, proximity to watercourses, distribution and intensity, Historic Landscape Characterisation types, dates of first recording, and usual combinations with other types of place-name elements. These aspects of landscape have been drawn together through the medium of layers of a Geographic Information System (GIS) reflecting the interdisciplinary research of landscape archaeologists, place-name experts, historians, geographers, and local studies experts. The GIS is based on an extract from the Cornwall Historic Environment Record dataset covering early medieval and medieval settlements, enhanced with additional fields covering details of place-names, and has been used as an illustrative tool for the analysis.

This study demonstrates how place-names reflected the medieval landscape in Cornwall and its dynamic settlement patterns. The distribution of Cornish place-names gives insights into the naming practices used during the medieval period in Brittonic-speaking regions in relation to their landscape contexts.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS THESIS

AEL	Anciently Enclosed Land
BGS	British Geological Survey
CAU	Cornwall Archaeological Unit
CCHER	Cornwall County Historic Environment Record
CPrR	Common Property Regimes
CRG	Coastal Rough Ground
EDINA	Edinburgh University Data Library
EPNS	English Place-Name Society
GIS	Geographic Information System
HER	Historic Environment Record
HES	Cornwall County Historic Environment Service
HLC	Historic Landscape Characterisation
MAGIC	Multi-Agency Geographic Information for the Countryside
NSPM	National Soils Parent Material
ONS	Office for National Statistics
OS	Ordnance Survey
REL	Recently Enclosed Land
URG	Upland Rough Ground

1 INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT FOR THE RESEARCH

"These little territories, the demesne lands of their several lords, were not divided into regular farms till the Romans. But before the Romans they probably gave name to their possessors. And the first Cornish families, deducing their names from their places, seem to have been distinguished by the appellations pen *and* tre*. The* pens*, it is likely, were the more remarkable hill-pastures; the* tres*, the agricultural spots or places. In the process of time each lordship was separated into various farms, by strong and permanent enclosures; and the farms borrowed their respective names from their site on high or low ground — their relative situations — their vicinity to rivers and the sea — from the* forma loci *and its qualities — from woods, and particular trees and other vegetable productions — from their pasture and corn — from native animals — from tame or domestic animals, and from various circumstances which it would be tedious to enumerate. These names they imparted (like the original lordships and manors) to their different possessors or occupiers."*

- Reverend Richard Polwhele, *The History of Cornwall Volume 1*, 1803

1.1 The background to UK place-name studies

Toponymy, or the study of place-names, is a discrete area of research which has become established since the 1920s as a specialist field of historical linguistics. The place-name expert Kenneth Cameron (1969, 25) defined place-name study as 'an analysis of the early spellings of names in the light of historical development of English sounds … [combined with] a knowledge of the actual *topography* [my italics] of the place being considered'. Place-name studies have long fascinated scholars in the United Kingdom, and indeed have formed the basis of more and less well-informed speculation for centuries (Carew, 1602; MacLauchlan, 1848; Morgan, 1912). As early as classical times,

ancient geographers including Ptolemy (Rivet and Smith, 1979) recorded place-names for prominent landscape features in Cornwall, such as *Belerion* (Land's End) and *Ocrinum* (The Lizard), and they were noted in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Cameron, 1969, 31) in the 8th century.

Place-name studies in Britain were formalised with the establishment of the English Place-Name Society (EPNS) in 1923 (Carroll, 2013, xiii), with a mission to determine 'the present state of our knowledge' (Mawer and Stenton, 1924, vii) and identify possible areas for future research. Since that time, the EPNS East Midlands base for place-name research close to centres of scholarship in local history and archaeology has provided opportunities for notable crossover research by distinguished scholars in each field: Christopher Dyer, Harold Fox, and Richard Jones are all examples. Counties in this region benefit from full place-name surveys, well-documented historical research archives and a relatively well-studied archaeological record which includes Anglo-Saxon and Viking settlements, and in some cases source material with roots in the Roman period. The local place-names overwhelmingly derive from Old English and Old Norse lexicons which have been the main focus for research to date, and have told us much of how early incomers to Britain perceived their new landscape. Of the native British residents and their language, known as Brittonic, little was said in the place-names other than referring to them as *walh*, 'foreigners, serfs' (Cameron, 1969, 42), destined for subjugation and eventual servitude. Until the 1980s Brittonic place-names received comparatively little attention, a trend which we shall explore further in the Literature Review (section 2.2.2) below.

Compared to the rest of the UK, Cornwall was one of the few regions to retain its Brittonic language into the medieval period and thereby influence its place-names. Gelling and Cole (2000, xv) notes that the early 'system' of Anglo-Saxon place-naming in England which Gelling identified was 'not so apparent in the south-west peninsula, where English speech arrived several centuries later'. With a peripheral position in the far south west of Britain, Cornwall was not subjected to a dominant Anglo-Saxon influence until at least the 9th century. The precise form that this may have taken is open to debate, ranging along a spectrum of views from political takeover at one end to folk migration at the other. This late arrival meant that, along with other parts of Britain – mainly in

the north and west – which also show some Celtic, or Brittonic, place-name influence, Cornwall had a longer timescale to develop and record native Brittonic place-names. The place-names of Cornwall provide a rich source of terminology for its landscape and habitations that complement and aid our understanding of non-English place-name elements in other parts of the United Kingdom. They therefore contribute to what we know of medieval landscape history in a relatively un-Romanised part of Britain.

1.2 Aims and objectives for the research

The present thesis explores what place-names in Cornwall can reveal about medieval settlement patterns in the landscape. The research aims to deepen understanding of the relationship between place-names in Cornwall in the medieval period and the Cornish topography. To this end I have analysed selected Cornish place-names within their local landscape context, and present results and findings below. Whilst excellent research has been undertaken in place-name studies covering both Cornwall (Padel, 1985) and the rest of England (Gelling, 1978; Gelling, 1984; Gelling and Cole, 2000), integration of these with landscape archaeology techniques strengthens the evidence for interpretation. The use of a Geographic Information System (GIS) to illustrate the distribution of selected Cornish place-names by digital mapping permits the drawing together of scholarship from other studies, both academic and professional, whose triangulation is key to the approach.

The overall objectives of the PhD research are to show how place-names reflect the Cornish landscape, which in turn influenced medieval settlement patterns. The place-name research reveals a vibrant localised and resource-based economy that remained relatively self-sufficient well into the post-Roman period, rather than a peripheral part of Britain that was bypassed for many centuries. Place-name elements recorded in classical literature (Rivet and Smith, 1979) show the Cornish coastline to have been known to seafarers since prehistory (Cunliffe, 2001). Written sources such as medieval Christian saints' lives (Jankulak, 2000) confirm that Cornwall was familiar territory to overseas visitors. Cornish place-names shared with analogous forms in Wales and Brittany

(Galliou and Jones, 1991) shed light on how closely intertwined in language and religion these western Atlantic regions were during the medieval period.

The present research brings together separate fields of academic study based on linguistic, archaeological and historical evidence. Whilst the present review falls mainly under the banner of Landscape Archaeology as its 'home' University department, it builds on the experience of historians, cultural and historical geographers, topographers, geologists, soil scientists and local studies experts, as well as landscape and field archaeologists and place-name scholars. An interdisciplinary approach to landscape research in the early medieval period which includes place-name analysis is not novel, and in the South West has benefited from detailed attention by scholars (eg Baker, 2006; Herring *et al*, 2011a; Hooke, 1999; Pearce, 2004; Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995; Turner, 2006b) to integrate place-names with material archaeology, local history and ecclesiastical records. It is the focus on Cornish place-names here which makes an original contribution to the literature.

1.3 Research questions

To interpret the distribution of place-name elements and the settlements to which they refer, research questions were developed for investigation using the display medium of a Geographic Information System (GIS). Selected GIS layers illustrate selected place-name elements and associated medieval settlements by bringing together details of their historical landscape character, geology and soils, landscape position and elevation, proximity to watercourses, settlement distribution, monument types, surface features, and centuries when first recorded, to test hypotheses and expand our knowledge of place-names alongside settlement development in the medieval period. Each place-name element is also assigned a case study location as an example of its typical landscape context across Cornwall. Research questions are listed below, together with the section in Discussion chapter 7 in which assembled evidence is reviewed.

1. Do different place-names reflect an expansion of settlement from lowlands to uplands? (Discussion section 7.2.1)

2. Do place-names denote seasonal or temporary settlements? (Discussion section 7.2.2)
3. Do habitative place-names of higher and lower status show different preferences for landscape locations? (Discussion section 7.2.3)
4. Where are prehistoric and Romano-British sites located in relation to place-names for medieval settlements? (Discussion section 7.2.4)
5. Do cultural and religious places show preferred locations for their settlements? (Discussion section 7.2.5)
6. Are there place-name elements that identify favoured locations for settlements? (Discussion section 7.2.6)

1.4 The Cornish landscape context

Topographical place-names and their constituent elements reflect how settlement relates to the natural environment in various respects, including the contours of the landscape, surface features, soils, and underlying geology. All make up the local resources available to communities which in turn determine their patterns of land use; as we shall see, these resources appear as a primary theme in Cornish place-names (chapter 7, section 7.3.4). Roberts and Wrathmell (2002, 169-70) characterise the Cornish landscape as a 'diverse terrain … a powerfully rolling, undulating plateau surface', which incorporates granite uplands, sharper ridges, and clay lowlands, all bounded by the sea. Inland plateaux are dissected by a drainage network of deep river valleys which were in turn 'drowned' by rising sea levels, creating a landscape of *ria*s, or coastal estuaries (Balchin, 1983).

Although only major river names in Cornwall have come down to us today, the distribution of coastal and place-names close to water courses, both inland and maritime, suggests that they influenced settlement patterns at least as early as the medieval period. The rocky surface of an unglaciated but weathered landscape has had some likely impact on land subdivision. Roberts and Wrathmell (2002, 170) note that 'land clearance has implied stone clearance as much as the removal of trees and other vegetation'. Scholars (Herring, 1998; 2011c, 31-3) consider that in some places field boundaries and clearance

heaps remain from settlement layouts in Bronze Age times, which were later ‘fossilised’ within medieval field systems.

The underlying geology of Cornwall is varied along the length of the peninsula and dominated down its centre by a ‘spine’ of outcropping granite batholiths. Throughout Cornwall (Figure 1.1) the underlying slates, siltstones and mudstones on the edges of the granite outcrops, together with their derived soil types (Figure 1.2), have been more fertile territory for habitations. In south eastern Cornwall, complex alternating bands of Saltash Slate and Siltstone and Torpoint Mudstone and Siltstone give way in the northeast to the Crackington Mudstone and Siltstone formation, to the Brendon Hornfelsed Slate formation in the north, and in the south and east to Meadfoot and Bovisand Slate, Siltstone and Sandstone formations.

Further west on the north coast lie bands of the Tredorn Slate formation alternating with Tintagel Volcanic Tuff and Agglomerate, including Boscastle Mudstone and Siltstone; Polzeath and Trevose Slate formations lie to the east of the Camel estuary. In mid Cornwall lie bands of slate, siltstone and mudstone of Gramscatho, Meadfoot and Portscatho types. In western Cornwall there are substantial areas of moorland in the centre and south which respectively overlie the core of the Carnmenellis microgranite and Lizard Complex Peridotite and Serpentine. To the south of Carnmenellis are bands of Sandstone and Mylor Slate, and on the Lizard peninsula an unnamed igneous intrusion sits alongside Roseland Breccia formations and Hornblende Schist. The Penwith peninsula in the far west is dominated by granite formations although, adjoining the Penwith granites on their eastern side, there is geologically a sharp discontinuity between Hornfelsed Slate and Siltstone in the Mylor Slates, and the non-Hornfelsed Slate and Siltstone which run between St Ives and Mounts Bay at the narrowest part of the peninsula.

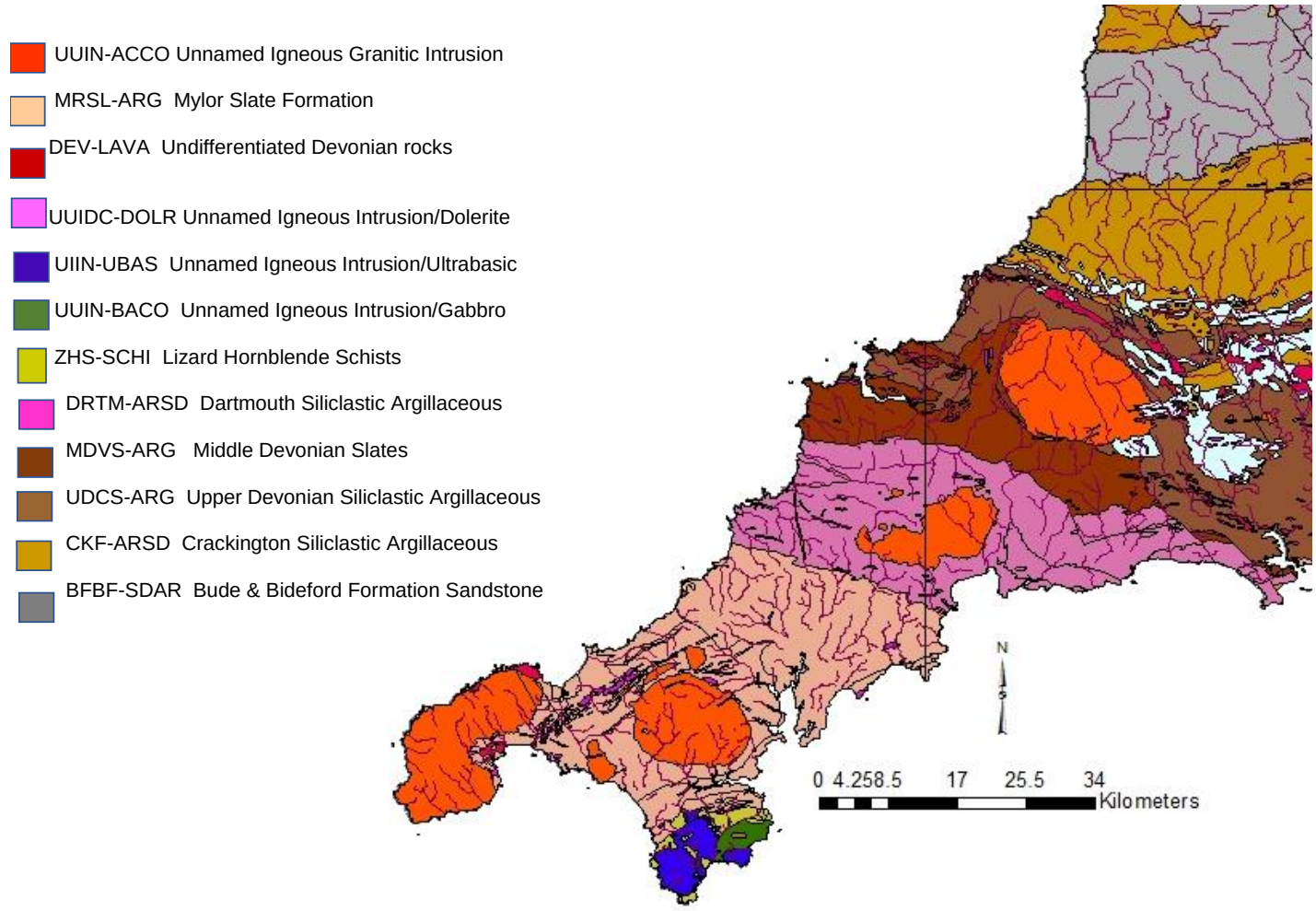


Figure 1.1 Simplified bedrock geology of Cornwall (Source: British Geological Survey)

As would be expected, Cornish soils (Figure 1.2) reflect the complex geological picture beneath. Thus, in eastern Cornwall, settlements tend to be sited in the freely draining acid or slightly acid loamy soils which, towards the north coast, grade into medium to light silty to heavy soils with a silica-clay mineralogy. On the southern edge of Bodmin Moor settlements are located on the edges of light to medium sandy loams where they adjoin medium to coarse acid soils, and further to the south near the coast they occur on light to medium silty loams. In mid Cornwall settlements favour medium to light silty to heavy soils; coarse sandy and loamy soils overlie the St Austell granites. Further west, granularity becomes coarser and quality more acidic as soils overlie igneous bedrock. Here settlements are found on light to medium sandy soils over the Carnmenellis granites which grade to freely draining loams; medium to light silty loamy soils overlie serpentinian bedrock on the Lizard peninsula. In Penwith, soil textures remain light to medium silty where settlements overlie metamorphic and sedimentary rock formations at the narrowest part of the peninsula and igneous bedrock in the far west, with light to medium finer sandy loams in the Penwith interior. We will review the distribution of settlements associated with specific place-name types within the Cornish geology and soils in Discussion section 7.2.6.

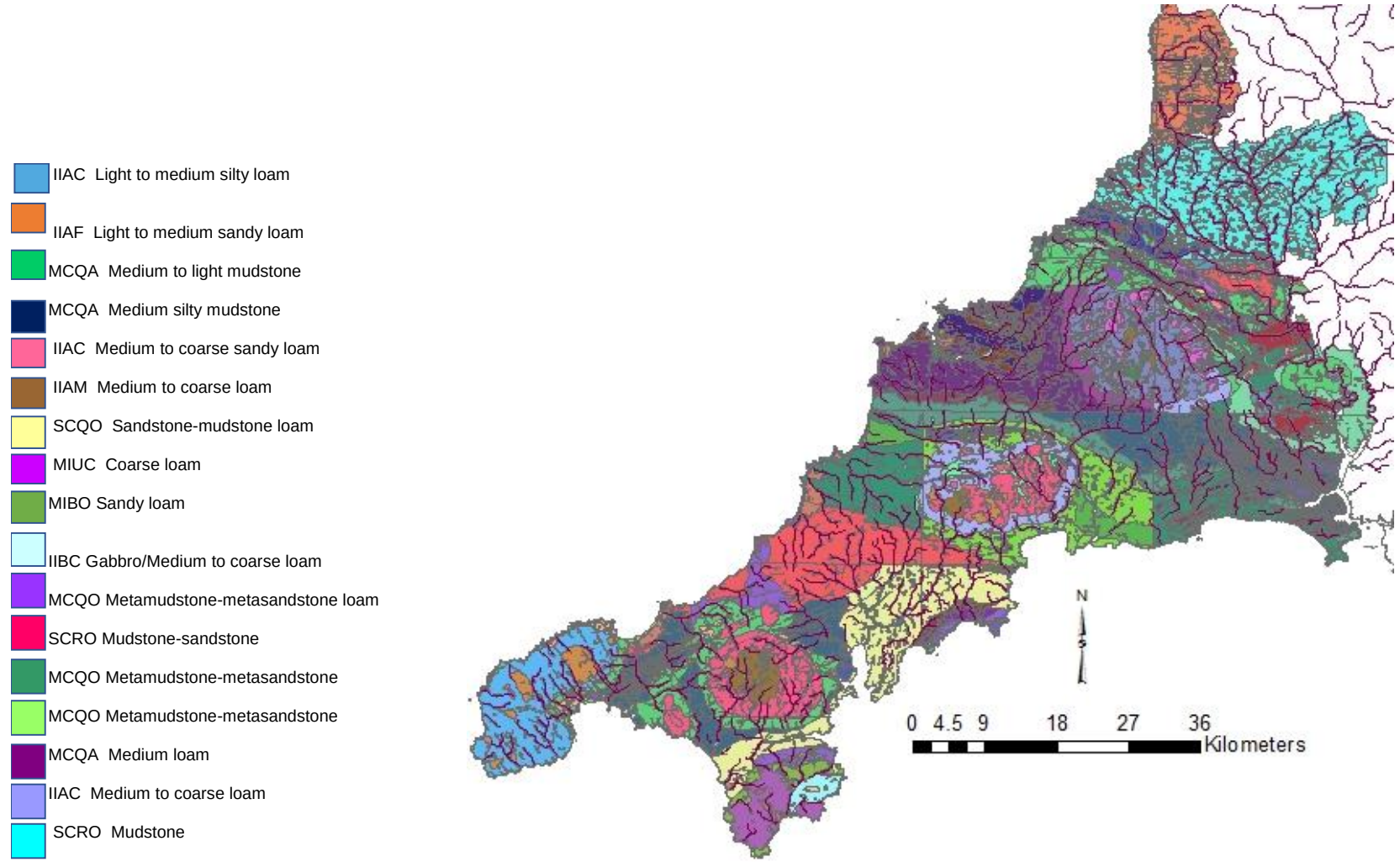


Figure 1.2 Soil types of Cornwall (Source: British Geological Survey)

1.5 Cornwall's medieval historical context

Evidence from excavations confirms that Cornwall's long history of settlement on the landscape dates back at least as far as the Mesolithic period (eg Smith and Harris, 1982, 23-66), and covers all periods between then and the present day. Despite this lengthy yet intermittent occupation of the landscape, Cornish place-names date with certainty only as far back as the time when they were first recorded. The place-name scholar Cameron (1969, 21) noted that the earliest secure documentary corpus for research purposes is the Domesday Book (Thorn and Thorn, 1979); older documentary sources such as pre-Norman charter bounds and manumissions (Hooke, 1994) are also enlightening.

The timescales of most interest for this thesis when almost all Cornish place-names were initially attested cover both the early medieval period, dated between 410 AD to 1066 AD (Historic England, 2016) or from the departure of the Roman legions from Britain to the Norman Conquest, and the later medieval period from 1066 AD to 1540 AD, or from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Henry VIII. As Cornish place-names may well only have been written down in the later medieval period after some centuries of use, we will refer to the entire period of their attestation as 'medieval' in this thesis. To inform our understanding of the historical background to Cornish place-name formation, we will briefly consider Cornwall's history during the medieval period prior to the Norman Conquest.

During the period leading up to the early 5th century (Jackson, 1953, 13) and in company with other coastal regions of Britain, the ancient British kingdom of Dumnonia in the far south west, comprising Cornwall, Devon and western Somerset, was subjected to increasing incursions by Irish raiders and Anglo-Saxons (Cunliffe, 2003, 71; Thorn and Thorn, 2004). These, together with gradual withdrawal of the Roman presence from Britain, are thought to have set in motion an emigration to Brittany from both Cornwall and Devon, as claimed by early Christian commentators such as Gildas in his *De Excidio* of the 6th century (Giot *et al*, 2003, 119-20).

From the 6th century onwards the so-called ‘second Briton migration’ included ‘saints’ (or *peregrini*; Bowen, 1983, 69; Cunliffe, 2003, 74), perhaps an ‘honorific’ British term for monks with some pastoral responsibilities, arising from a newly dominant Christianity in the 4th century (Giot *et al*, 2003, 120). The suggested direction of travel for the saints – as attested by ogham inscriptions and early saints’ lives, such as the 7th century *Life of St Samson of Dol* – is from an origin in Ireland via west Wales to the north coast of Cornwall, and then across Cornwall from its south coast to Brittany (Cunliffe, 2003, 72; Figure 1.3), perhaps after the conversion of the Frankish king Clovis in 496 AD. The Armorican *Cornouaille* in the south of Brittany and *Domnonie* in the north were probably established during this period (Giot *et al*, 2003, 122). Cunliffe notes a tightly knit social structure in western Britain in which ‘families and kinship groups were strongly bonded’, from which the saints deliberately withdrew to ‘remote and deserted places’ (Cunliffe, 2003, 75). There are suggestions of these in place-name elements which relate to shared access to resources, proximity to water and religious sites, which we will return to below in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Cunliffe (2003, 76) considers that, despite undergoing a period of flux, the 5th to the 8th centuries were a time of consolidation for the Celtic nations. Saying this, there was increasing pressure from the Anglo-Saxons to bring Dumnonia under the control of Wessex from the second half of the 7th century (Hoskins, 1960, 17; Hooke, 1999, 95; Todd, 1987, 270), according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and the conquest of Devon was completed by the early 8th century, as confirmed by several laws of King Ine in 726 AD (Hoskins and Finberg, 1952, 21-23). Although the Anglo-Saxons were defeated by the Cornish at the Battle of *Hehil* around 720 AD (Hooke, 1999, 95), an Anglo-Saxon presence may nevertheless have arrived within the Cornish borderlands as early as the 8th century (Thomas, 1964, 76).

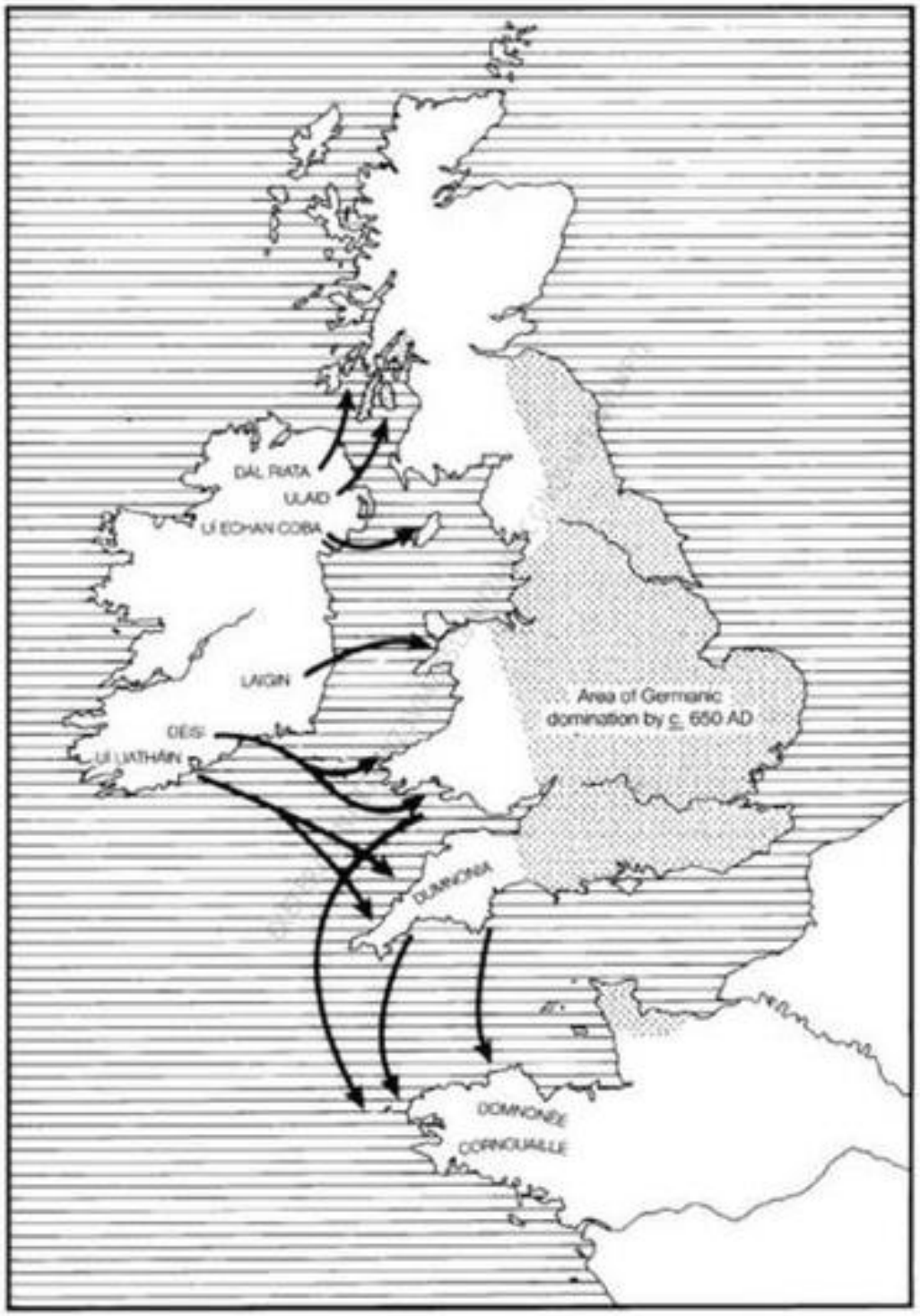


Figure 1.3 *Suggested population movements across Ireland, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany between the 5th and 7th centuries (Source: Cunliffe, 2003, 72, Fig 14)*

The Cornish landscape was divided into a series of districts known as *hundreds* (Figure 1.4), the origins of which have seen considerable speculation. It is thought that these pre-Norman administrative boundaries – much larger than hundredal divisions in England – had a different origin from those in the rest of

Britain and are probably far older. Thomas argued that the six original Cornish hundreds may have represented ancient Dumnonian territorial boundaries whose names had been lost (Thomas, 1964, 70-2). He made a distinction between the 'lateral bounds' dividing the four western hundreds which appear to have followed natural features, and those between the larger, later subdivided, hundreds in eastern Cornwall closer to Devon, which were based on 'co-extant land holdings' as well as natural boundaries. The hundreds' political status was likely to have been formalised after Aethelstan's 936 AD campaign (Hoskins, 1960, 22; Todd, 1987, 275). Harvey (1997, 15-6) considers that in the 10th century 'the incoming Anglo-Saxon regime interpreted what they found…an ancient and relatively stable territorial framework…was incorporated into the administrative developments of the Anglo-Saxon state', whilst Thorn and Thorn (2004) describe the 'assimilation of Cornwall to Wessex' as 'ecclesiastical, administrative and political'.

The oldest attested six Cornish hundred names have been traced to the Geld Inquest of 1083 AD (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 108), in which Powder appears under its earliest recorded name of Tybesta, or *Tybestei*, and the single northeast hundred Triggshire (from *tri-corios*, 'three armies', in the 7th century *Life of St Samson of Dol*, and *Strætneat on Triconscire* in King Alfred's will; Thomas, 1964, 74) as *Strattone*, appearing as *Stratone* or Stratton in Domesday. By the time of the Domesday Book (Thorn and Thorn, 1979), seven Cornish hundreds (Figure 1.4) are present after subdivision of the large hundred to the east of the Fowey estuary into *Rislestone* and *Fawintone*. The three subdivisions of Trigg were later redesignated as Stratton, Lesnewth and Trigg, bringing the total to nine medieval Cornish hundreds which were all renamed as in Figure 1.5 below. It is these latter names that have been incorporated into a base layer within the Geographical Information System (GIS) developed for this thesis, and are occasionally referred to by name in the text.

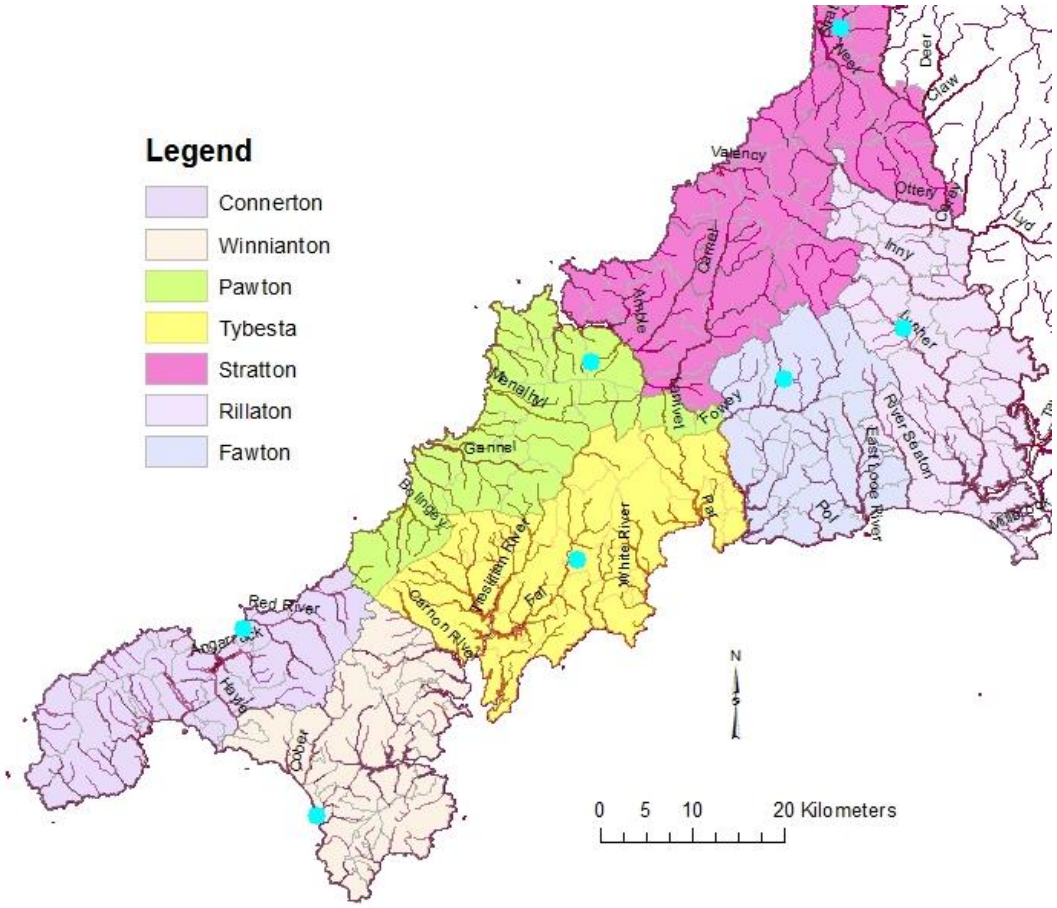


Figure 1.4 *The seven Cornish hundreds and locations of head manors (blue dots) named in the Domesday Book in relation to major waterways (Source: author's database)*

Domesday shows the influence of English naming practices on earlier British names, with an evident preference for the hundreds to be named for their head manors in the English element **tūn*. All head manors have a relationship to major waterways and four are sited far inland. Stratton lies on the river Neet, close to the coast; Rillaton (*Rislestone*) derives from *rid*, or ford, located upstream in the river Lynher. Fawton (*Fawintone*) is sited on a tributary of the Fowey off the southern edge of Bodmin Moor (anciently *Fawymoor*, analogous to Dartmoor). Pawton (*Polltune*) is located on the Polmorla, an inland tributary of the Allen river, whilst Tybesta lies above the Fal. Further to the west head manors Winnianton (*Winetone*) and Connerton (*Conarditone*, from *Dour Conar* or Conar Water) become coastal, commanding views of Mount's Bay and St Ives Bay respectively.

1.6 The Cornish language context

Place-names in Cornwall derive from the same Common Brittonic, or P-Celtic, roots as the languages of Wales and Brittany with which they are closely related, and are the remnants of the ancient language of the island of Britain before the Anglo-Saxon period. The Q-Celtic, or Goidelic, branch of the overall Celtic linguistic family is reflected in the languages of Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man. The shared history of all Celtic languages can be traced back via written classical sources to the Continent and Britain in the late Iron Age (Jackson, 1953, 4) and Romano-British periods, and further through the channels of prehistoric trading routes (Cunliffe, 2001, 2003, 29-32; Davis, 1997, 129-37; Hencken, 1932, 174-5). The emergence of the three distinct P-Celtic languages is thought to have begun in the 6th century (Jackson, 1953, 5) at around the time when Anglo-Saxons 'reached the lower Severn…isolating south-western Britons from their compatriots in the West Midlands and Wales' (Probert, 2007, 231). Once the languages had begun to separate they each underwent their own developments over time alongside retention of broadly similar common place-name elements and constructions.

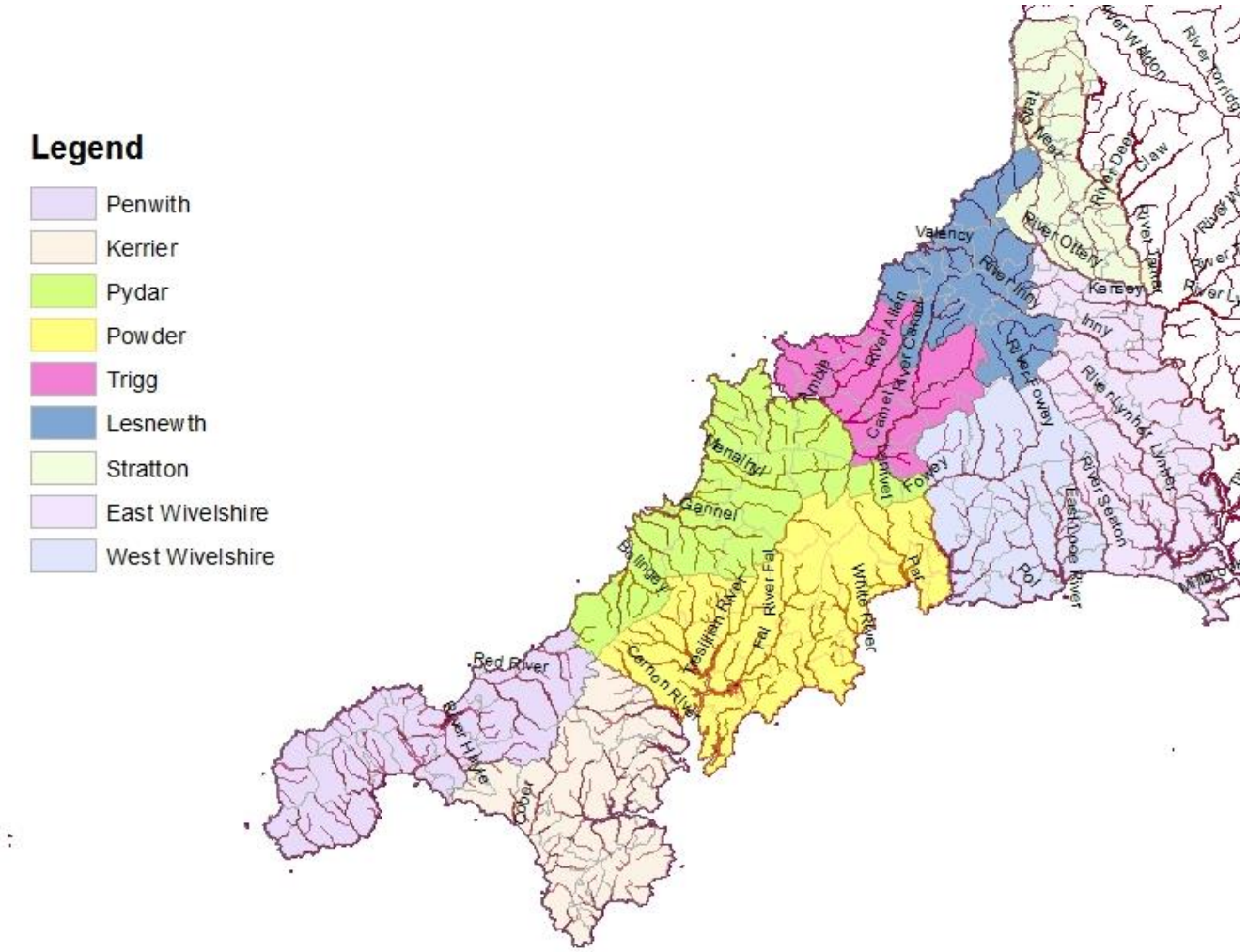


Figure 1.5 The nine later medieval Cornish hundreds and major waterways (Source: author's database)

Padel (1985, xiv-v) considers that the main Brittonic place-name forms are *simplex*, consisting of a single element, or *compound*, where the basic element (or 'generic') appears with a second term (or 'qualifier', which might be noun or adjective). The latter might be either a proper compound – where the adjective precedes the generic – or the 'name-phrase' type, where it follows the noun, and is the commonest form across the Brittonic languages. In some cases, as with the place-name **hendre* (section 4.3.3) – with a shared meaning of 'home farm' in Cornwall and Wales – an originally compound form has become a generic element in its own right. Another unusual feature of the Brittonic languages is that the initial sounds of name elements undergo *mutation*, or 'lenition', in which sounds and spellings change according to gender of a preceding noun, a preceding adjective or qualifying noun, or definite article. The sounds in Cornish that undergo mutation appear in Table 1.1, Appendix A.

Whilst the great Celtic scholar Kenneth Jackson (1953, 694-99) provides a chronology of the changes in the respective Brittonic languages, Padel, cautions against use of word order in compounds to determine absolute dates of place-names (Padel, 1985, xv). We also need to bear in mind that increasing exposure to the Anglo-Saxon language, carried by visitors as well as folk migration, caused mixing of Cornish and English populations which resulted in the use of hybrid place-names, mainly in eastern Cornwall (section 2.2.3).

Padel (1985, xiii) points out that there would have been a period when both Cornish and English would have been spoken by those conferring place-names (section 2.2.3). Dating of these hybrid forms is difficult over a long timescale, as indeed is pinning down the dates of Cornish place-names generally. In the analyses which follow the best estimate is given by the dates a place-name was first recorded or attested, although as we will see this could have been many centuries after a settlement initially appeared. Certainly there is ample opportunity for place-names not only to have undergone internal linguistic changes in Cornish, but also to have absorbed English influences in sound, spelling and vocabulary, as well as be replaced entirely by newer place-name elements as they came into use. These will be considered in more detail as a

theme throughout this thesis (eg section 4.3.2). We will note below distinct elements in Cornish and English place-names, including hybrid forms, which appear to distract from underlying similarities in linguistic constructions, landscape positions and preferred combinations.

Regardless of when the spoken language was finally abandoned, the Cornish language has survived in dialect and field-names as well as in place-names and their spellings, or orthography. It is notable from the spellings of place-names that have been initially recorded well into the medieval period that they appear to be somewhat more 'standardised' than the forms that have come down to us in Domesday, but their forms over the centuries also reflect the idiosyncrasies of individual scribes – and written versions of languages are inherently more conservative than the spoken word (section 2.2.3).

1.7 Some caveats

To approach the corpus of data in this thesis, we need to bear in mind that scholarly analysis and interpretations have not stood still over the past 25 years, and thinking has continued to develop. We see this with Historic Landscape Characterisation (section 2.5), where it now appears that most parts of Cornwall show land use patterns dating to at least the medieval period. As the HLC layer in this thesis is based on the original 1994 interpretation of Cornish HLC types, the designated types appearing in tables in Appendix A need to be treated with caution as to how they relate to settlement patterns shown. As an example, the original interpretation of surviving prehistoric field patterns in far western Cornwall as relatively unaffected by subsequent medieval farming activities has now been reconsidered (Young, 2015, 100): measurement of mean field areas in Penwith, although evidently smaller than in other parts of Cornwall, shows a similar size during both the prehistoric and medieval periods. It is thought that differences in the far west may relate to distinctive farming practices or simply reflect the impact of later changes in the landscape.

We also need to bear in mind that place-names are the main indicators we have of medieval settlement locations, as there is very little excavation evidence to

confirm exact original locations from the medieval period. In addition, there may be a mismatch between the likely extents of early agricultural estates and the point-based data in the Cornwall HER. Settlements with **tre* place-name elements, for instance, are more likely to reflect a wider precinct than a specific point, signifying an area surrounding a **tre* estate than an individual dwelling. Lack of precision in location also applies to settlements that may have shifted position over time, evidenced by realignment of field systems in the early medieval period, as with the strip fields at Bosigran (Herring, 2006, 72; Herring, 2016, 204; Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 60). Where distances between place-names may be as low as a median of 550m (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 65-6) and we also have evidence of subdivided settlements through their place-names (as with Higher and Lower Bosistow in St Levan, just under 0.5km apart; Figure 1.6), it is important not to assume that settlement locations and their place-names precisely reflect their positions in medieval times. We have used the Ordnance Survey 1st series map at a scale of 1:10560 to determine locations of place-names referred to in the thesis (section 3.3.2).

Finally, it should be noted that some of the GIS layers in this thesis (including National Boundaries, Ordnance Survey, British Geological Survey data) have been slightly updated since they were originally incorporated into the GIS system. These changes have not affected the data analysis in chapters 4 to 6.

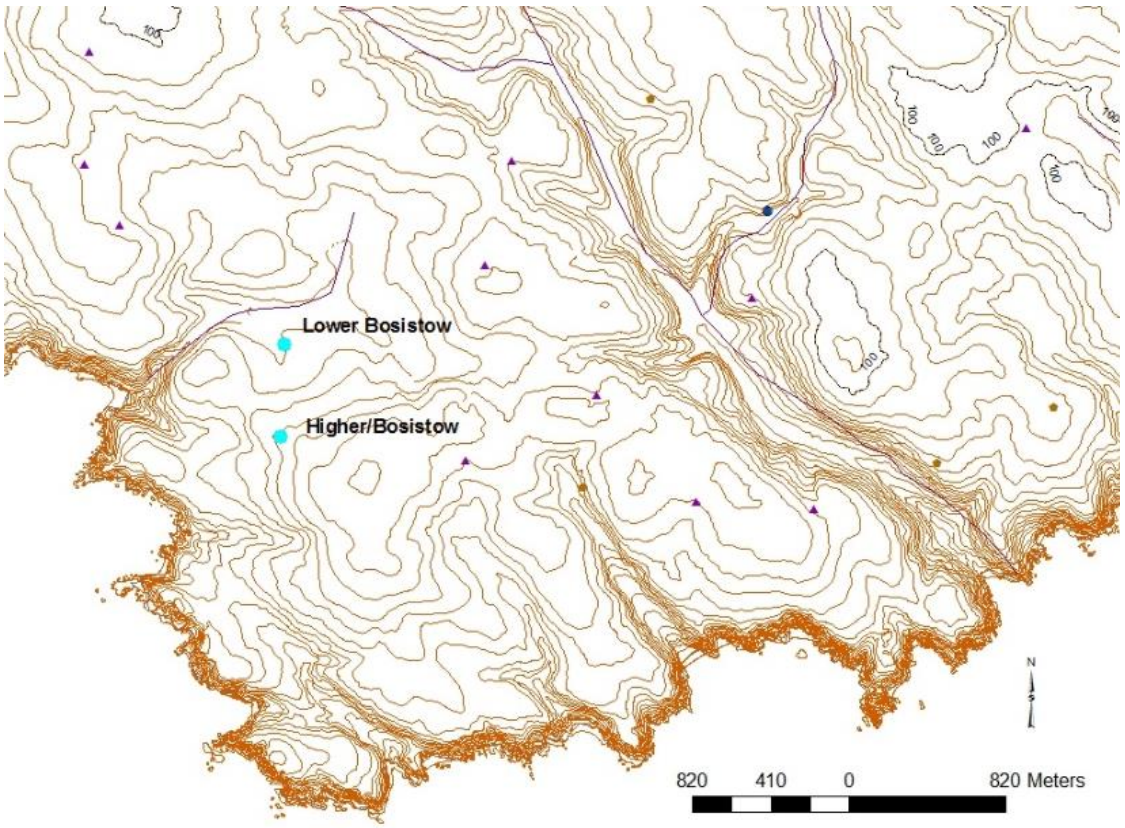


Figure 1.6 *Lower and Higher Bosistow, St Levan: less than 0.5km apart and originally one undivided settlement (Bosistow, 1293 AD), thought to be at the site of Higher Bosistow (Source: author's database/OS Landform PROFILE data)*

1.8 Structure of the thesis

We have now set the scene for the dissertation by introducing the background context that underpins this review of Cornish place-names in the landscape. We have noted the criteria for the physical, historical and linguistic contexts that are likely to have influenced settlement in early medieval times. Key themes for the thesis have also been highlighted and will be returned to in the chapters presented below.

This dissertation is structured into the following chapters:

1. *Introduction* (this chapter) – describing and positioning the PhD research

2. *Literature review* – covering publications across the various disciplines relevant to the research, including place-name studies in the UK and Cornwall, language contact and change, medieval settlement studies and changing settlement patterns, landscape research, and the HLC technique

3. *Sources and methodology* – listing the range of sources which underpins the place-name research, including historical and geographical datasets and printed sources; theoretical methodology including criteria for place-name element selection; and conventions used in the thesis

4. *Lower status habitative place-names* – providing a detailed description and case studies of the place-name elements **tre*, **hendre*, **havos*; **chy*, **caer/*ker/*gear* and **bod*, in terms of: relative landscape positions, contour elevations, proximity to waterways, dispersion and intensity of settlement, HLC types, dates of first recording, and combinations with other place-name elements

5. *Higher status habitative place-names* – providing a detailed description and case studies of the place-name elements **dinas*, **lys*, **lan*, **seynt*, **eglos*, in terms of: relative landscape positions, contour elevations, proximity to waterways, dispersion and intensity of settlement, HLC types, dates of first recording, and combinations with other place-name elements

6. *Topographical place-names* – providing a detailed description and case studies of the place-name elements **pen*, **pol*, **fenten*, **coys*, **kelli*, and **gwyth*, in terms of: relative landscape positions, contour elevations, proximity to waterways, dispersion and intensity of settlement, HLC types, dates of first recording, and combinations with other place-name elements

7. *Discussion* – analysing how the combined features of habitative and topographical place-name elements relate to the research questions raised in the Introduction; key findings from the analysis

8. *Conclusions* – responses to research questions; overall summary of characteristics of all Cornish place-name elements studied in the landscape; and potential areas of interest for future research.

We will now move on to look at the literature consulted across various fields of study that has played an important role in framing the research perspective.

2 REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1 Introduction

This literature review presents an interdisciplinary mix of diverse resources and fields of research. Partly this is due to their origins from a range of 'siloed' academic approaches which initially emerged in isolation, although varying degrees of interconnection between them have developed over the past forty years: landscape archaeology, historical geography, local history, and linguistics both oral (dialects) and written (place-names, inscriptions). Increasingly over time, place-names have emerged as an important element to underpin interpretation of landscape and the settlements that populate it.

The present PhD research draws together the various disciplines mentioned above to analyse place-names in the study area of Cornwall, the westernmost part of the Romano-British *civitas* and early medieval kingdom of Dumnonia (Thomas, 1966, 74), which also covered western Somerset and Devon. We will also highlight place-name research in the wider United Kingdom where relevant. Although it has not been possible to consider in detail other Brittonic place-names in West Wales and Brittany, it is hoped that the findings in this thesis will shine some light on place-naming practices likely to have been held in common during the period when the languages diverged. Even today there is remarkable similarity between names that are nearly identical. Where similar cultures had existed from prehistoric times such as those in the maritime Atlantic provinces (Cunliffe, 2001, 2003, 23; Koch *et al*, 2007, 158-84), shared Brittonic naming conventions can be mapped in relation to their distribution across administrative boundaries and local topographies.

The landscape scholar Everitt noted the 'profound influence of topography and the environment on the course of settlement' (Everett, 1986, 3). A combination of archaeology, place-names and topography provides lines of evidence (Everitt, 1979, 95-112; 1986, 5-6) which can contribute to understanding of landscape regions, or *pays*. The concept of *pays* is a useful way of describing England's historic landscape and settlement patterns (Lake, 2007, 12), as it seeks to characterise 'localized practices and customs' (Fox, 1989, 57) in which

the influences of soils and topography on land use and settlement are clearly drawn. The concept of *pays* is flexible enough to apply to large as well as small areas of the countryside and highlights the interrelationships between social, economic and topographical elements of landscape.

Over the past thirty years landscape and settlement archaeology have been explored by scholars throughout the UK, each using a combination of types of evidence (Table 2.1, Appendix A) including place-names to analyse settlement patterns. This literature review will highlight coverage of place-name research within broader British landscape studies. It will demonstrate how place-names together with landscape archaeology research contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the medieval history of the far South West, in conjunction with relevant methodological and historiographical aspects.

2.2 Place-name research in the UK

2.2.1 Place-name studies in England

To date, the EPNS – now based at the University of Nottingham – has overseen publication of place-name surveys of most English counties, with partial coverage of others including Cornwall and more in preparation. Much of the research over time has been carried out through the voluntary efforts of individual place-name scholars based around the UK, whose geographical coverage reflects their interest in their home counties rather than the country as a whole. Without core guidelines to standardise place-name research, EPNS publications have drawn on a variety of approaches which include complete gazetteers, multi-volume studies, and one-volume dictionaries.

Place-names in most of the earlier EPNS volumes were analysed only occasionally in relation to their landscape settings, and almost all investigated medieval place-names in the Old English, or Anglo-Saxon, language. The non-English languages likely to have been included were Scandinavian and French (Carroll, 2013, xvii-xviii) rather than Celtic, whether Brittonic or Goidelic. Within the first decade of EPNS research, the two volumes covering Anglo-Saxon place-names in Devon (Gover *et al*, 1931; 1932) anticipated themes for future

research into landscape and place-names by including references to soil and geological contexts, dialect and administrative (hundred) boundaries, topography, map references and settlements (Gover *et al*, 1931, xlvii). The volumes also contrast settlement patterns in the former Dumnonia with those in the 'champion' lands elsewhere in England:

> *The parishes of Devon, like those of Cornwall and West Somerset, consist of hamlets and scattered homesteads, the broken nature of the county being unfavourable to the development of the nucleated villages which…were the rule in the more open country of the English Midlands.*
>
> - Gover *et al*, 1931, xiii-xiv

The place-name scholar Margaret Gelling (1978, 1984; Gelling and Cole, 2000), developed Cameron's insights into the topographical positions of Anglo-Saxon place-names (section 1.1) to link them with specific landscape features across regions of England, demonstrating common naming practices in those areas with mixtures of Anglo-Saxon and Norse language elements. In *Signposts to the Past*, Gelling recognised the Roman, Latin and Celtic predecessors of Anglo-Saxon place-names (1978, 30-62; 63-86; 87-105), considering the last to be in the 'Primitive Welsh' language, 'believed to have been acquired by English settlers from the Welsh-speaking people of the countryside' (Gelling, 1978, 87). Gelling was the first to study the detailed distribution in the landscape of topographical place-name elements, and with the geographer Ann Cole (Gelling and Cole, 2000) to plot these in the landscape: 'revolutionising…our detailed understanding of the words used in [place-names]' (Padel and Parsons, 2008, viii).

Gelling (Gelling and Cole, 2000, xvi) recognised, however, that the 'system of topographical naming' that she and Cole had 'decoded' relates to the Old English (or Anglo-Saxon) language, and covers those parts of eastern England most studied in settlement research – with material finds as well as early archives dating to the 7th century. This combined evidence has made it possible to correlate place-names with continuity of settlement development in these areas, which in some cases can be linked to late Roman times. Whilst a complete multi-period array of settlement archaeology together with very early

place-names has not yet been substantiated for Cornwall, gaps in understanding and distribution of remains from Cornwall's rich prehistoric context onwards are under constant revision, as we will see below.

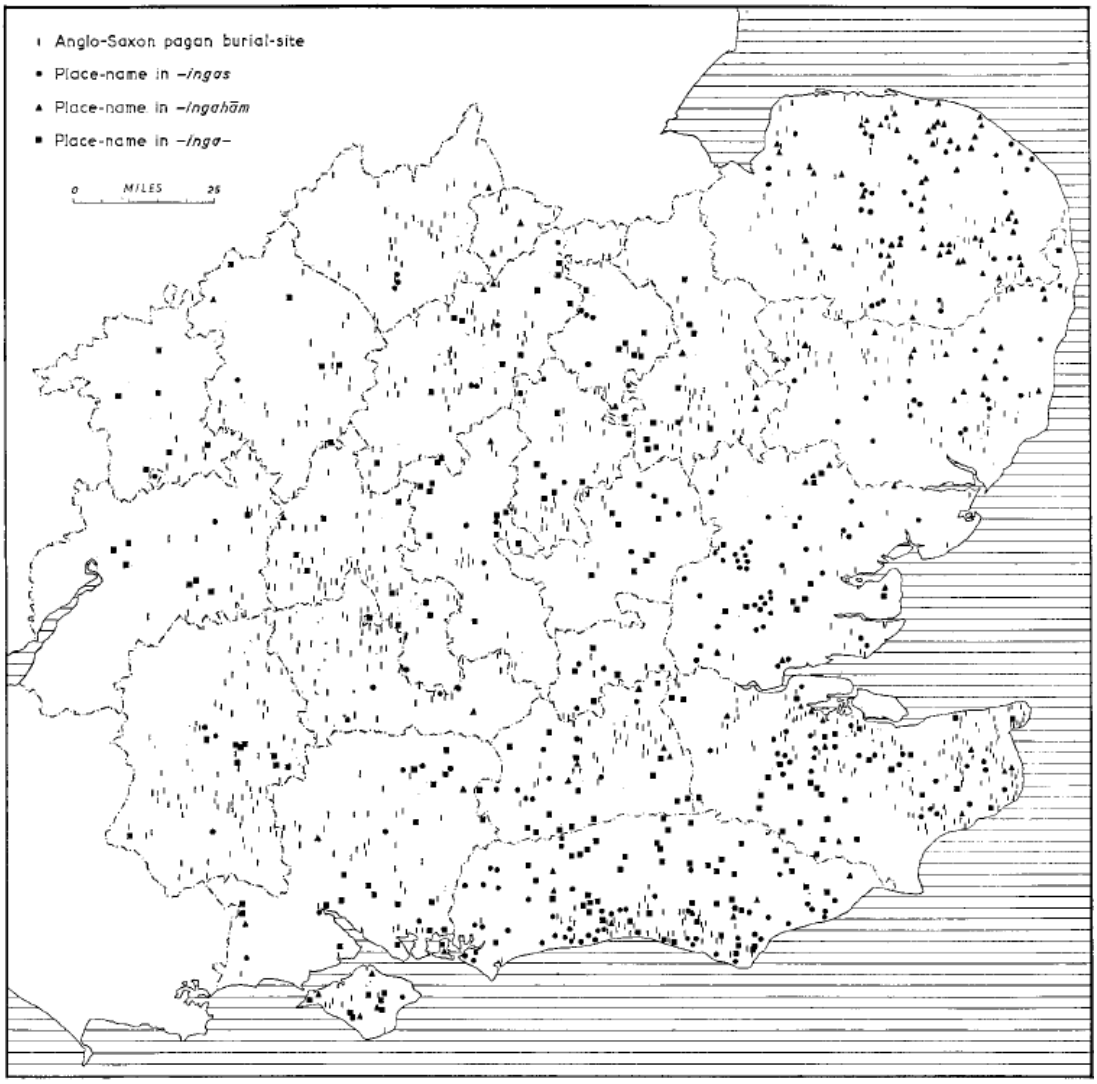


Figure 2.1 *Mapping the distribution of place-names in* *ing/*ingas *with Anglo-Saxon burial sites in the south-east of England (Source: Dodgson, 1966, 7, Fig 1)*

Developments in place-name research have launched debates about the relative chronology of habitative place-names (such as those referring to dwellings or farmsteads) and topographical place-names (denoting geographic features). Recent research into place-names more widely across the Anglo-Saxon regions of England does suggest that topographical names were assigned earlier than habitative or personally derived ones (Gelling *et al*, 2009). Although Gelling's initial work focused on habitative names, the enriched

geographic analysis made possible by her collaboration with Ann Cole shifted her attention to topographical names.

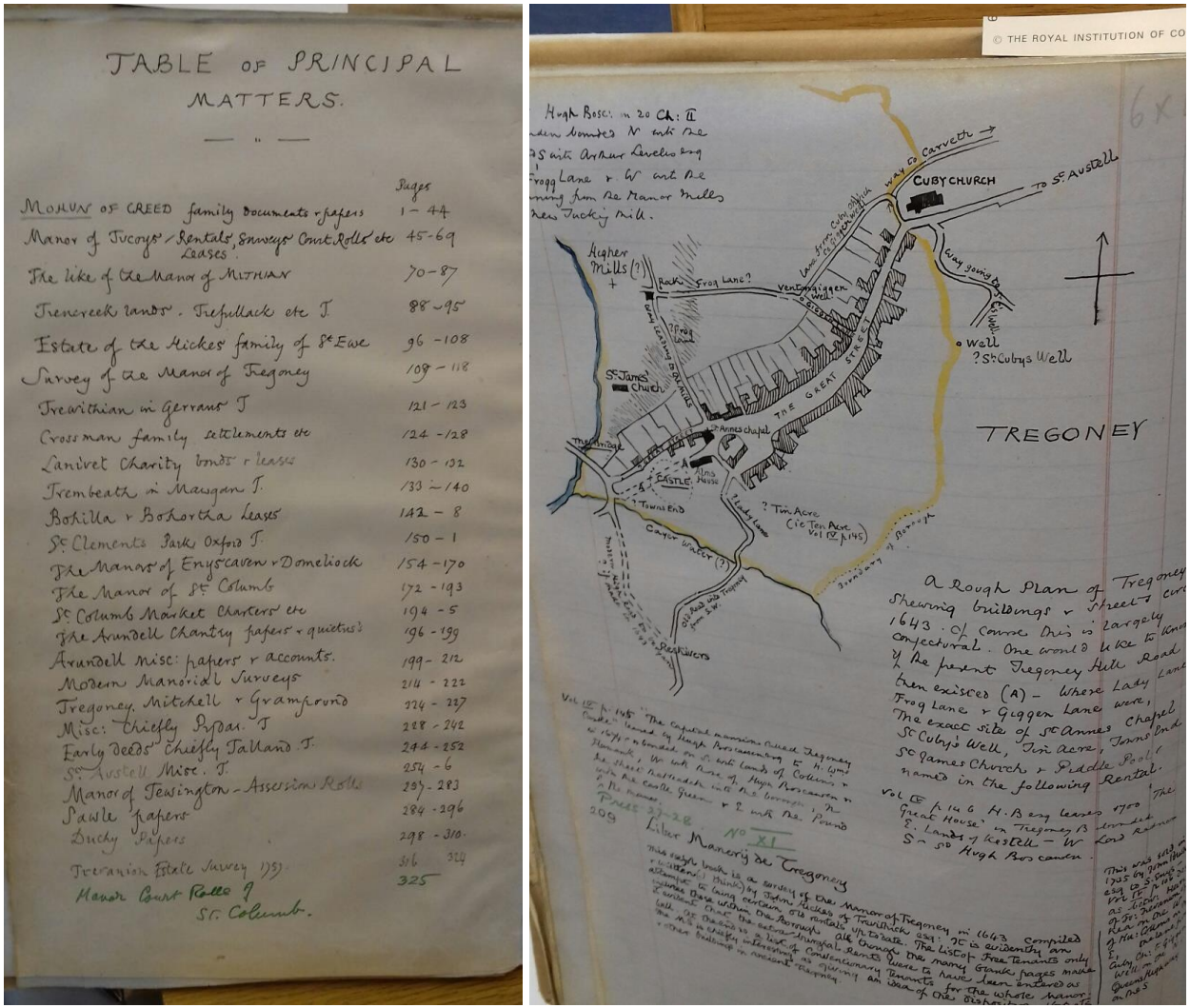
Dodgson (1966, 1-2; Figure 2.1) was amongst the earliest scholars to attempt to apply derivations of Anglo-Saxon place-names in **ing* and **ingas* to settlement histories, referring to 'the names of communities extended to the territory in which they lived'. As they occur in contemporary Germanic languages (Dodgson, 1966, 16), names of this type had been considered to date from the period of the earliest Anglo-Saxon migrations. They were also found in combination with both personal names and topographical features, the latter thought the older of the two components. Dodgson (1966, 3; 6) aimed to plot together distributions of **ing/*ingas* with early pagan burial sites in southeast England and East Anglia (Figure 2.1; Dodgson, 1966, 17) to show correlations between them. Although **ingas* place-names are co-located with Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in some areas, their distribution is far wider (Cameron, 1969, 63-72; Watts, 2004, *xlvi*). Dodgson (1966, 9-11) noted correlations between **ingas* place-names in Kent upland and inland of burial sites and located on 'less attractive' clay and chalk soils. Figure 2.1 – admittedly with a paucity of landscape detail – illustrates the early 'dots on maps' approach to place-name mapping, which was nevertheless considered cutting-edge at the time.

In the following year, Gelling (1967, 87-104) aimed to present evidence of Roman origins for early English settlement by mapping 28 place-names in southern and eastern England, Wiltshire and Yorkshire which derive from Old English **wīcham*, a compound from **wīc*, or 'dairy farm', with **ham* or 'homestead', of which 24 are situated within a mile from a known Roman road. As a habitative name, **wīcham* belongs to a different class than the **ingas* names which refer to groups of people. Gelling (1967, 95) concluded that **wīc* is a Germanic loan-word from Latin **vicus*, or 'village', and that the connection with Roman roads is essential to our understanding of their distribution (Gelling, 1967, 87). Whilst the term is well represented in the part of Wessex settled by the Anglo-Saxons before the end of the 6th century, it is rare in the parts of the South West not absorbed into Wessex until the 7th century. Draper (2002, 32-3) notes examples in Wiltshire of proximity of **wīc*-named settlements to Romano-British villas, roadside settlements or small towns, and considers that the Anglo-

Saxons may have ‘reintroduced’ the Latin sense of **vicus* as ‘dependent economic unit’. Amongst a range of other possible interpretations (including ‘market’ and ‘port’; Coates, 1999, 89-90) **wīc* came to denote ‘emporium’, which might apply in Cornwall to the village Gweek, from the Cornish **wyk*, or ‘village’. Gweek may link with **vicus* as ‘trading post’ (Padel, 1988, 92), located at the head of the Helford tidal estuary on the southern coast and formerly known as a base for tin exports: ‘ancient roads connecting it with the tin-bearing country can still be traced’ (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 70; 73).

2.2.2 Place-name studies in Cornwall

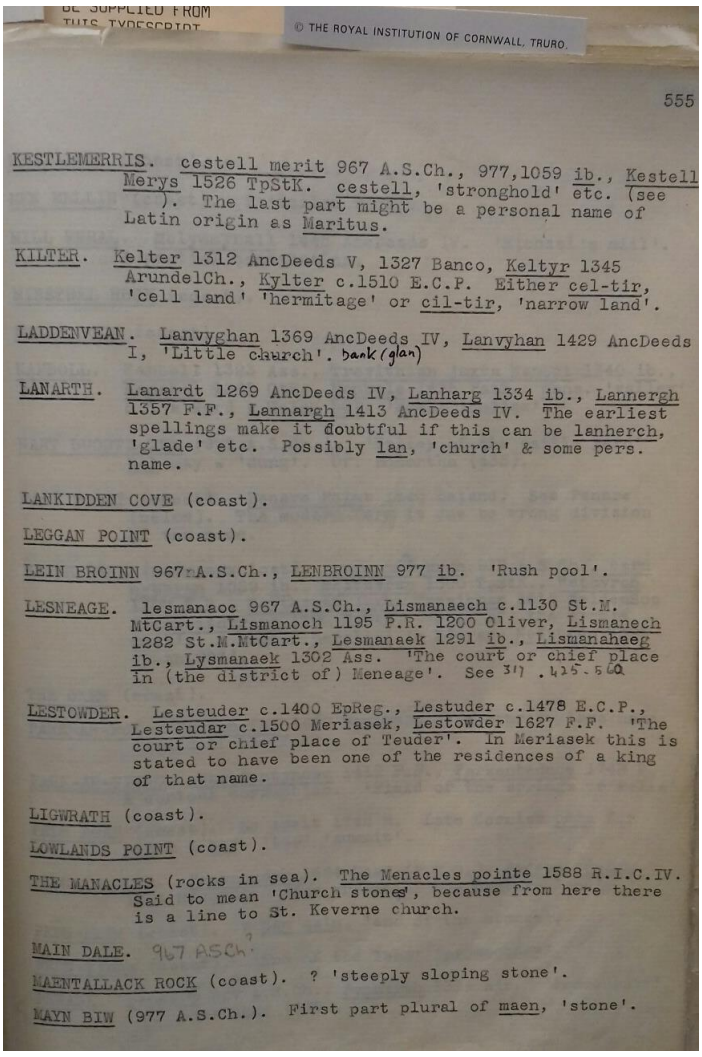
During the 20th century, scholars across disciplines have covered Cornish place-names within their research. In the first decades of the 1900s the Cornish local historian Charles Henderson investigated place-names as part of his extensive archival research into the parishes of medieval Cornwall, collected in his unpublished *Calendars* (Figures 2.2a and 2.2b) and published works (eg Henderson, 1934; Henderson *et al*, 1935), mainly under the auspices of the Royal Institution of Cornwall. At the same time the early Cornish language movement (Nance and Smith, 1934) was considering the role place-names play in language revival and developing forms for standardised Cornish partly based on place-name evidence. The later years of the 20th century saw subsequent Cornish language experts (eg George, 1986; Pool, 1985; 1990; Weatherhill, 2017; Williams, 1995) looking to Cornish place-names and field-names as a basis for modern Cornish language orthography, including 21st century studies into place-name forms for local street signage by Cornwall Council and the Cornish Language Partnership.



Figures 2.2a and 2.2b Extracts from Henderson's Calendars *(undated): Index and entry for Tregony (Source: Royal Institution of Cornwall)*

Within mainstream UK place-name research, up to the 1980s place-names of Brittonic-speaking parts of Britain did not much feature in EPNS publications. A small section by Eilert Ekwall on 'The Celtic element' (Ekwall, 1924, 15-35) was included in the EPNS' original *Introduction to English Place-Names* (Mawer and Stenton, 1924), followed up with a separate volume on Brittonic river-names (Ekwall, 1928). The English place-name scholar J.E.B. Gover collected Cornish place-name material mainly during the period 1922 to 1927 prior to joining the EPNS; although he published several EPNS volumes up to 1939, the four-volume typescript of his Cornish material was never released (Gover, 1948). It was rejected by Celticists as mainly based on national, rather than local, sources who considered its identifications of locations as not secure; Gover (1948; Figure 2.3) attributed his sources as six-inch Ordnance Survey maps as well as Symons' Gazetteer of 1884. Subsequently, Kenneth Cameron's study into *English Place Names* (1969, 33-46), supported by the EPNS, briefly reviewed non-English place-names including Brittonic, based on Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953). Margaret Gelling's *Signposts to the Past* also included a short section on 'The Celtic Survival' (1978, 87-105).

Of especial relevance to this thesis is the work of polymath Charles Thomas and his studies into Cornish place-names, dialects and archaeology, including the appointment of Oliver Padel as the Institute of Cornish Studies place-name scholar during the Thomas directorship. Professor Thomas introduced the present author to Wakelin's 1961 PhD research into Cornish linguistics, dialects and place-names at Leeds University, eventually published as *Language and History in Cornwall* (Wakelin, 1975). In 1985 Gover's Cornish place-name research, together with unpublished calendar material containing place-names by Henderson and additional research by Reverend W.F. Picken, was compiled and reinterpreted by Oliver Padel as the EPNS volume *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (Padel, 1985). The volume does not resemble other EPNS county-level studies, as it is a dictionary of places rather than a gazetteer: it consists of an index of places in alphabetical order without a map of their locations, together with Welsh and Breton cognates. Based on forms of Middle Cornish appearing in medieval literature, the study provides a thorough, and still unsurpassed, linguistic analysis of the 'building blocks' of Cornish place-names.



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KESTLEMERRIS. cestell merit 967 A.S.Ch., 977,1059 ib., Kestell Merys 1526 TpStK. cestell, 'stronghold' etc. (see). The last part might be a personal name of Latin origin as Maritus.

KILTER. Kelter 1312 AncDeeds V, 1327 Banco, Keltyr 1345 ArundelCh., Kylter c.1510 E.C.P. Either cel-tir, 'cell land' 'hermitage' or cil-tir, 'narrow land'.

LADDENVEAN. Lanvyghan 1369 AncDeeds IV, Lanvyhan 1429 AncDeeds I, 'Little church'. bank (glan)

LANARTH. Lanardt 1269 AncDeeds IV, Lanharg 1334 ib., Lannergh 1357 F.F., Lannargh 1413 AncDeeds IV. The earliest spellings make it doubtful if this can be lanherch, 'glade' etc. Possibly lan, 'church' & some pers. name.

LANKIDDEN COVE (coast).

LEGGAN POINT (coast).

LEIN BROINN 967 A.S.Ch., LENBROINN 977 ib. 'Rush pool'.

LESNEAGE. lesmanaoc 967 A.S.Ch., Lismansech c.1130 St.M. MtCart., Lismanoch 1195 P.R. 1200 Oliver, Lismanech 1282 St.M.MtCart., Lesmanaek 1291 ib., Lismanaheg ib., Lysmanaek 1302 Ass. 'The court or chief place in (the district of) Meneage'. See 317 .425.50

LESTOWDER. Lesteuder c.1400 EpReg., Lestuder c.1478 E.C.P., Lesteudar c.1500 Meriasek, Lestowder 1627 F.F. 'The court or chief place of Teuder'. In Meriasek this is stated to have been one of the residences of a king of that name.

LIGWRATH (coast).

LOWLANDS POINT (coast).

THE MANACLES (rocks in sea). The Menacles pointe 1588 R.I.C.IV. Said to mean 'Church stones', because from here there is a line to St. Keverne church.

MAIN DALE. 967 ASCh?

MAENTALLACK ROCK (coast). ? 'steeply sloping stone'.

MAYN BIW (977 A.S.Ch.). First part plural of maen, 'stone'.

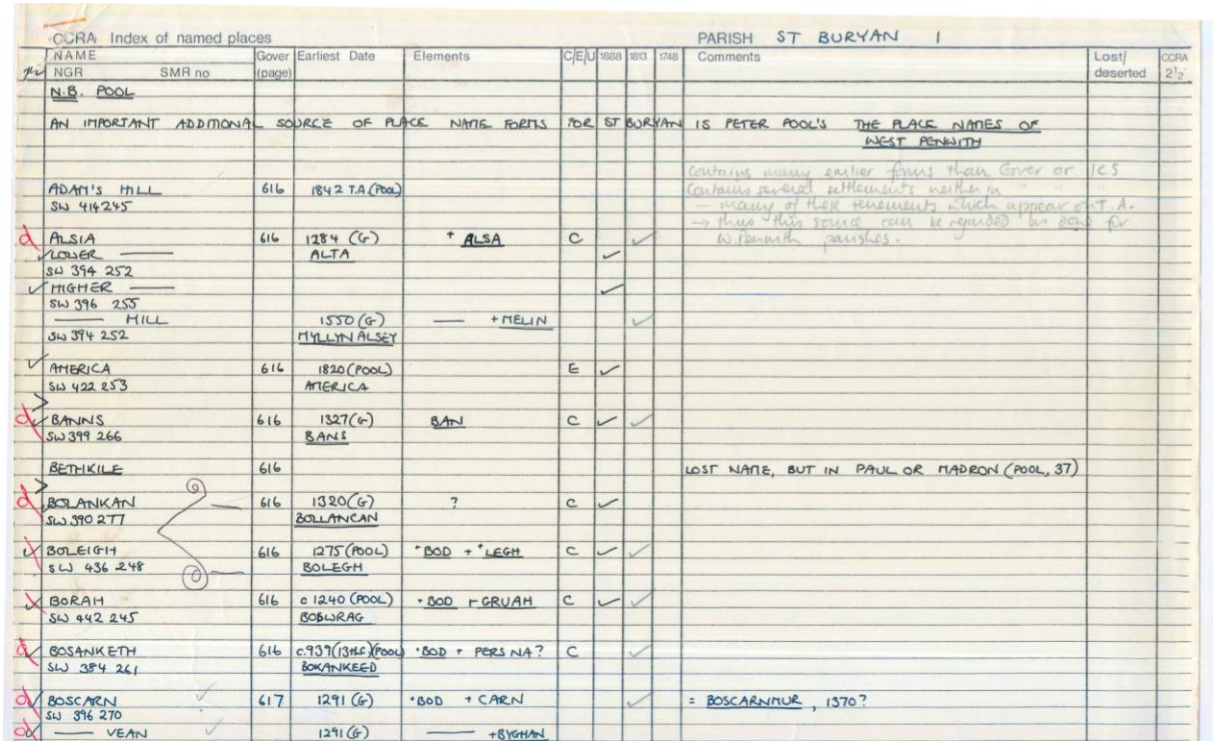
Figure 2.3 *Extract from Gover's Place-Names of Cornwall (1948, 555) unpublished manuscript (Source: Royal Institution of Cornwall)*

To compensate for an attenuation of linguistic connections with Welsh and Breton after the early medieval period, Padel investigated the common features of Brittonic languages presented in Kenneth Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953), an invaluable source of scholarship for the early development of the Brittonic languages. Padel's (1999, 88-94; 2007, 215-30; 2013, 1-41) more recent influential contributions to the EPNS and elsewhere have secured a place for Brittonic place-names within the wider English corpus.

More recently, other linguistic scholars such as Coates and Breeze (2000) have demonstrated the surprisingly broad distribution of an ancient layer of Brittonic place-names in regions of Britain heavily settled by the Anglo-Saxons. Many of these can be traced to the Romano-British period when Roman authorities were making sense of the native British tribal names they encountered (Rivet and

Smith, 1979), building on earlier classical sources, and leading on to journeys by later geographers who assigned tentative locations to the place-names they documented. Further insights into the interrelationship between Anglo-Saxons and native Britons, and its influence on their respective identities, cultures and languages including place-names, were presented in a 2004 conference (Higham, 2007, 165-244). A renewed interest in the European roots of Celtic languages and their place-names was spearheaded by the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies at the University of Wales and published as an atlas of Celtic studies (Koch *et al*, 2007), showing detailed distributions across Europe.

The place-name research carried out by Padel and others has been an invaluable guide for place-name interpretation by Cornwall County and Historic England archaeologists once integrated with grid references for medieval settlements. In the 1980s research by Gover and Padel into the earliest attested name forms for medieval settlements, and Cornish language expert Peter Pool on Penwith place-names, was combined with early settlement locations by Cornwall archaeologist Ann Preston-Jones (section 3.3.2). Results were transferred on to a card record system (Figure 2.4) plotted on to a dye-line map overlay. Now known as the *Index of Cornish Place-Names*, place-name data were incorporated into the Cornwall Historic Environment Records (HER) and eventually digitised. The HER layer containing medieval place-names based on the *Index* has been the fundamental underpinning resource for the research in this thesis.



CCRA Index of named places — PARISH ST BURYAN

NAME / NGR / SMR no	Gover (page)	Earliest Date	Elements	C/E/U	1888	1813	1748	Comments	Lost/ deserted	CCRA 2½
N.B. POOL										
AN IMPORTANT ADDITIONAL SOURCE OF PLACE NAME FORMS FOR ST BURYAN IS PETER POOL'S THE PLACE NAMES OF WEST PENWITH										
ADAM'S MILL SW 416245	616	1842 T.A (Pool)						Contains many earlier forms than Giver or Contains several settlements neither in — many of their tenements which appear on T.A. → thus this source can be regarded 'as gold' for W Penwith parishes.	ICS	
ALSIA	616	1284 (G) ALTA	+ ALSA	C		✓				
LOWER —— SW 394 252					✓					
HIGHER —— SW 396 255					✓					
—— MILL SW 394 252		1550 (G) MYLLYN ALSEY	—— + MELIN			✓				
AMERICA SW 422 253	616	1820 (POOL) AMERICA		E	✓					
BANNS SW 399 266	616	1327 (G) BANS	BAN	C	✓	✓				
BETHKILE	616							LOST NAME, BUT IN PAUL OR MADRON (POOL, 37)		
BOLANKAN SW 390 277	616	1320 (G) BOLLANCAN	?	C	✓					
BOLEIGH SW 436 248	616	1275 (POOL) BOLEGH	*BOD + *LEGH	C	✓	✓				
BORAH SW 442 245	616	c 1240 (POOL) BOBURAG	*BOD + GRUAH	C	✓	✓				
BOSANKETH SW 384 261	616	c.939 (13thC) (Pool) BOKANKEED	*BOD + PERSNA?	C		✓				
BOSCARN SW 396 270	617	1291 (G)	*BOD + CARN			✓		= BOSCARNMUR, 1370?		
—— VEAN		1291 (G)	—— + BYGHAN							

Figure 2.4 *Extract from* Index to Cornish Place-Names *showing earliest Cornish place-name forms with identified settlements, St Buryan parish (Source: Ann Preston-Jones and Cornwall Council)*

2.2.3 The medieval language landscape in Cornwall

The effects of language contact

To consider the historical background for development of place-names in Cornwall, we review the likely linguistic context during the early medieval period when the native British language emerging as Old Cornish was gradually overtaken by Old English. Language contact (Garrett, 2006, 48) is a by-product of linguistic encounters between two or more human groups with different languages, independent of type of contact, context or duration. When sustained for a sufficiently long period, language contact (Garrett, 2006, 53-4) may result in bilingualism or multilingualism. Ross (2003, 174-6) identifies two main contexts for language contact: *language shift*, where a community of language speakers abandons their original language and adopts another instead, and *bilingualism*, where second language acquisition effects changes in the mother tongue. Two types of bilingualism in the spoken language are identified by sociolinguistics as *diglossia* (Ferguson, 1959, 325-40; Fishman, 1967, 29-38; Garrett, 2006, 53-4; Hudson, 1996, 49) and *biglossia* (Fellman, 1975, 39),

relating respectively to societies where two different types of the same language and two distinct languages are spoken.

Researchers (Thomason, 2006, 13; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, 4) consider that social factors are more important than linguistic ones in predicting the outcomes of language contact. Garrett (2006, 57) and Hudson (2002, 6) note that processes of contact-induced change are mainly shaped by their social contexts. With societal bilingualism in its broader sense (Hudson, 2002, 30), the language of greater status eventually displaces that of lower prestige to become the preferred or first language of the language community. Although sociolinguistics can give clues as to motives for spoken language change (Filppula, 2003, 161-173; Fishman, 1971; Hudson, 1996; Schiffman, 1997, 205-16), it relates to those affecting modern populations and so is comparative, rather than historical or reconstructive (Milroy, 2003, 149).

When considering the impact of literacy and the written language, dynamics become more complex (Hudson, 2002, 24). Writing is likely to contribute to the diversity of language forms as well as its use by a more restricted prestige community (Coulmas, 1987, 117), and act 'as a fixative for linguistic structure' (Hudson, 2002, 24). Sjoberg described a situation in pre-industrial societies where most written communication occurs in sacred texts, guarded and curated by a priestly elite (Sjoberg, 1964, 892), of which early medieval ecclesiastical literature in Britain such as saint's lives (eg St Petroc: Jankulak, 2000) is an example. Place-names, along with other early written sources such as pre-Norman charters (Hooke, 1994) and inscribed stones in western Britain (Thomas, 1994), also provide important insights into the period when names were first set down in a fixed form, and 'illuminate other circumstances of English-British relations' (Higham, 2008, 54) such as contact between language groups (Coates, 2007, 43-56; Gelling, 1976, 203; Sandnes, 2007, 123-136).

Language contacts in the medieval period

There has been much discussion amongst scholars as to when language contacts first occurred between the native British and Germanic tribes. It is possible that the first contact may have begun as early as the 4th century, based

on dating of Anglo-Saxon pottery (Myres, 1986, 84, 86). More recent cremation evidence from the Spong Hill Anglo-Saxon cemetery in Norfolk suggests usage dates, and therefore settlement, from the early 5th to the mid 7th centuries (Bond, 1996, 78), and burials at Mucking (Morris, 2005, 247) also have been dated 'securely' to the 5th century. Tristram considers that the language shift scenario described above applies to the changing power dynamics of 5th and 6th century Britain (Tristram, 2007, 194), reflecting the social prestige of an Old English speaking elite amidst Late British speakers in the uplands of south west England.

The cultural historian Hines, speaking of material exchange between 'native' and 'incoming' populations in Britain (Hines, 2000, 89), identifies three possible types of contact: a mixture of 'living cultural traditions' within an area; border transitions of 'neighbouring culture zones'; and longer distance exchange between them, with language an important identity marker (Hines, 2000, 103). Baker (2006, 138) notes that, for Brittonic place-names to have survived rather than be translated into Old English, there must have been direct contact of some type between Anglo-Saxon and Brittonic speakers in the period before place-names were set down. Baker considers several explanations for survival of Brittonic place-names after the language itself had disappeared (Baker, 2006, 138-9): contact may have continued long enough for names to be transferred, or relatively brief, permitting a few useful names to be adopted. The nature of contact might also occur over longer distances and timescales with less interaction, whilst including important landscape markers for travellers; this scenario could give rise to hybrid names, where original place-names were later blended by the incoming population. Native speakers may also have abandoned their own names in favour of newer ones, but this is thought less likely (Baker, 2006, 139).

There is a substantial literature (eg Cameron, 1980, 1-53; Coates, 2002, 47-86; Coates and Breeze, 2000; Faull, 1974, 20-44; Gelling, 1993, 51-6; Higham, 2002, 29-46; Higham, 2007; Padel, 2007, 215-30; Parry-Williams, 1963, 42-59; Probert, 2007, 231-44; Tolkien, 1963, 1-41) and academic debate on the respective mutual influences of Brittonic languages and Old English during the early medieval period, mediated by a third strand of Latin with patchy impact

across the place-name landscape of southern England (Higham, 2008; 19, 24-6). Although the traditional view is that the linguistic direction of travel is from Old English to British, this is also contested (Sims-Williams,1990, 217-62; Tristram, 2007, 192-214).

In the case of Cornwall, the decline of the Cornish language over the centuries and its gradual replacement by English appears to be an exemplar of language contact and subsequent change (Padel, 1988, 8; Spriggs, 2003, 230-5; Wakelin, 1975, 97). How, when and where shifts between spoken languages occurred in the early medieval period can, however, only be open to conjecture, although the conservative nature of place-name spellings (Padel, 1988; 5, 26-7) may provide a clue when linked to known dates for sound changes (Jackson, 1953, 694-9). Widespread replacements in place-names from one language to another – as in the evidenced changes from British to English in Devon (Padel, 1988, 7-8; Higham, 2008, 49-62; Probert, 2007, 231-44) – are likely to denote earlier language contacts between distinctive speech communities that were eventually formalised into written place-names.

Political, administrative and economic contexts for language change

We may infer that the speech communities in Cornwall remained distinct for a longer period than in Devon. With a time lag of possibly two hundred years (Higham, 2008, 51) between the respective arrivals of Saxons in Devon and Cornwall, place-names in both counties reflect 'a very prolonged and gradual process of colonization and naming' (Todd, 1987, 274) from around 700 AD onwards. Higham points out that the far south west of Britain had been colonised in stages (Higham, 2008, 27), and hence there were two layers of cultural difference early in the post-Roman period between a relatively un-Romanised Dumnonia (western Somerset, Devon and Cornwall), Wessex and the more Romanised south east. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reports that Devon was fully incorporated into Wessex during the 9th century (Higham, 2008, 144) at a time when the West Saxon kingdom was itself under active development, whilst Cornwall was absorbed later. Higham considers that the majority of Cornish place-names were probably originally written down in Cornish, and thereby preserved in first recording, before Old English systems

eventually came to dominate local Cornish administrative structures (Higham, 2008, 52). In contrast, with the earlier arrival of Old English speakers into Devon, their social ascendancy ensured that place-names were initially recorded in their own language.

Linguistic barriers could conceivably have influenced the progress of pre-Conquest administrative and economic structures recorded for Cornwall from the reign of Athelstan in the mid 10th century. Todd interprets a 944 AD charter of King Edmund referring to Cornwall as 'the province of the Britons' to mean that it was still not regarded as fully English during this period (Todd, 1987, 289). Compared to four *burh*s of Devon (Higham, 2008, 175-81) which probably date from the mid 9th century (Todd, 1987, 279), no urban centres in Cornwall are listed in the 10th century Burghal Hidage, although pre-Norman mints in eastern Cornwall have been dated to the late 10th century (Todd, 1987, 283). By 1086 AD, Domesday markets had been founded in eastern Cornwall at the ecclesiastical centres of St Germans, St Stephens (later Launceston) and Bodmin (Higham, 2008, 189), the latter the only Cornish borough established by this time.

It would appear from this patchy evidence that the 10th century was a period of consolidation of the English overlordship of Cornwall, during which a bilingual society was developing although still dominated by the British language. We may perhaps surmise that language differences might have played some role in the relatively late emergence of Cornish trading centres. It is suggestive that the sources we have indicate that economic activities were focused in eastern Cornwall. In this area, the larger share of English place-names may indicate sufficient familiarity with the second language by this time to facilitate the introduction of pre-Norman economic systems prior to Domesday.

Place-name evidence for language change

Pre-Conquest Cornish charter bounds (Hooke, 1994) show that 10th century English place-names appear to have been geographically restricted to eastern Cornwall, where they are likely to have replaced earlier Cornish ones (Padel, 1988, 8). Historical antecedents for this distribution may reflect King Alfred's

bequest to Edward the Elder in 888 AD, and possibly date as far back as Centwine's victory over the Britons in 682 AD (Hoskins and Finberg, 1952, 299). After the battle of Hingston Down in 838 AD which is accepted as the final triumph of the English over the Cornish (Todd, 1987, 273), the king of Wessex appointed two 'high-reeves' to administer the affairs of English colonists in Cornwall (Finberg, 1953b, 113-4), one based at Stratton to oversee what was the single northeastern hundred at the time, and one based at Lifton to cover the southeastern area between the Tamar and Lynher rivers. The two densest clusters of English place-names recorded in Domesday include the majority of those in Stratton in northeast Cornwall, 'nearly as high as that in North Devon' (Hoskins and Finberg, 1952, 23-4), and either side of Hingston Down a few miles west of the Devon border (Figure 2.5). In conjunction with place-names, Cornish land divisions may provide further evidence for contrasting systems of landscape organisation prior to Domesday. Harvey combines place-names with land management units (Harvey, 1997, 14) to reconstruct the remnants of pre-Domesday territorial structures in Cornwall and assess the extent of English influence. He observes lower correlation of early medieval tithings with the Cornish three-acre unit of land measurement at both the far eastern and western extremes of the county (Harvey, 1997, 18-9), which he attributes to English influence for the former and private ownership of the hundred of Connerton for the latter. As we shall see, similar medieval land units at either end of Cornwall replicates some Cornish place-name patterns showing an 'east-mid-west' divide (see below and Discussion, section 7.3.1).

By the time of Domesday, out of 331 vills only 45 (14%) appear to be fully Old English; the 24 (7%) 'derivative' vill names (Padel, 1988, 10), where the first element is Cornish and the second English, do not necessarily refer to ethnic Old English speakers (Padel, 1988, 14). All but four Domesday vills with English names are concentrated into two clusters (Figure 2.5) in far eastern Cornwall. The *Domesday Geography* (Darby and Weldon Finn, 1967) confirms a population density of less than 2.5 people per square mile 'except for a strip along the border with Devon'. It is conceivable that this distribution may have represented two settled enclaves of English speakers. At the same time, however, we note a large increase in the frequency of **tre* place-names in

Domesday compared to the pre-Norman charters, which we will explore further in chapter 4 (section 4.3.2) below.

In eastern Cornwall the spoken Cornish language died out earlier than in the west, but the cut-off point is contentious. Padel (2007, 219; 2010) dates the 'die-back' of Cornish to mid Cornwall by about the 13th century, while Wakelin (1975, 77) considers it to have withdrawn as far as Bodmin by around 1100 AD, close to a 'philological' Camel-Fowey river line (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 144). By contrast, Spriggs (2003, 233-4) cites the views of modern Cornish language revivalists (eg George, 1986; Williams, 1995) of a considerably later retreat. As the language progressively declined, the linguistic stage of development it had attained by that time was in effect 'fossilised' and retained archaic forms; for example, element endings in /*t*/ in eastern Cornwall carried on through a final /*s*/ stage in mid and western Cornwall, until reaching a final /*j*/ form in the places where Cornish spoken latest. We will see similar sound shifts in both habitative and topographical place-name elements below, of which **bod* and **coys* provide respective examples of each type (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 145).

The individual Cornish and English place-name distributions do appear to be sharply demarcated at the Camel-Fowey river valleys (Figures 2.6a and 2.6b) – Henderson's 'philological boundary' (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 144) – which separate the four western hundreds from the original two in the east; to the west of this point, English place-names decline substantially. As well as the linguistic boundary between Cornish and English names, we will see throughout this thesis three variations of place-names in Cornish with settlement patterns across the east, middle and west of the Duchy. It is perhaps suggestive that each division appears to be bounded by a major estuary on the north coast (the Camel and Hayle respectively) which opens access into the interior (Rippon, 2007a, 23-38). Interestingly, Wakelin divides Cornwall into three broad dialect zones, which roughly correspond to distinctions in place-name distributions: he places the western boundary of his 'central' zone at the 'westernmost lateral hundreds division' (Wakelin, 1975, 203).

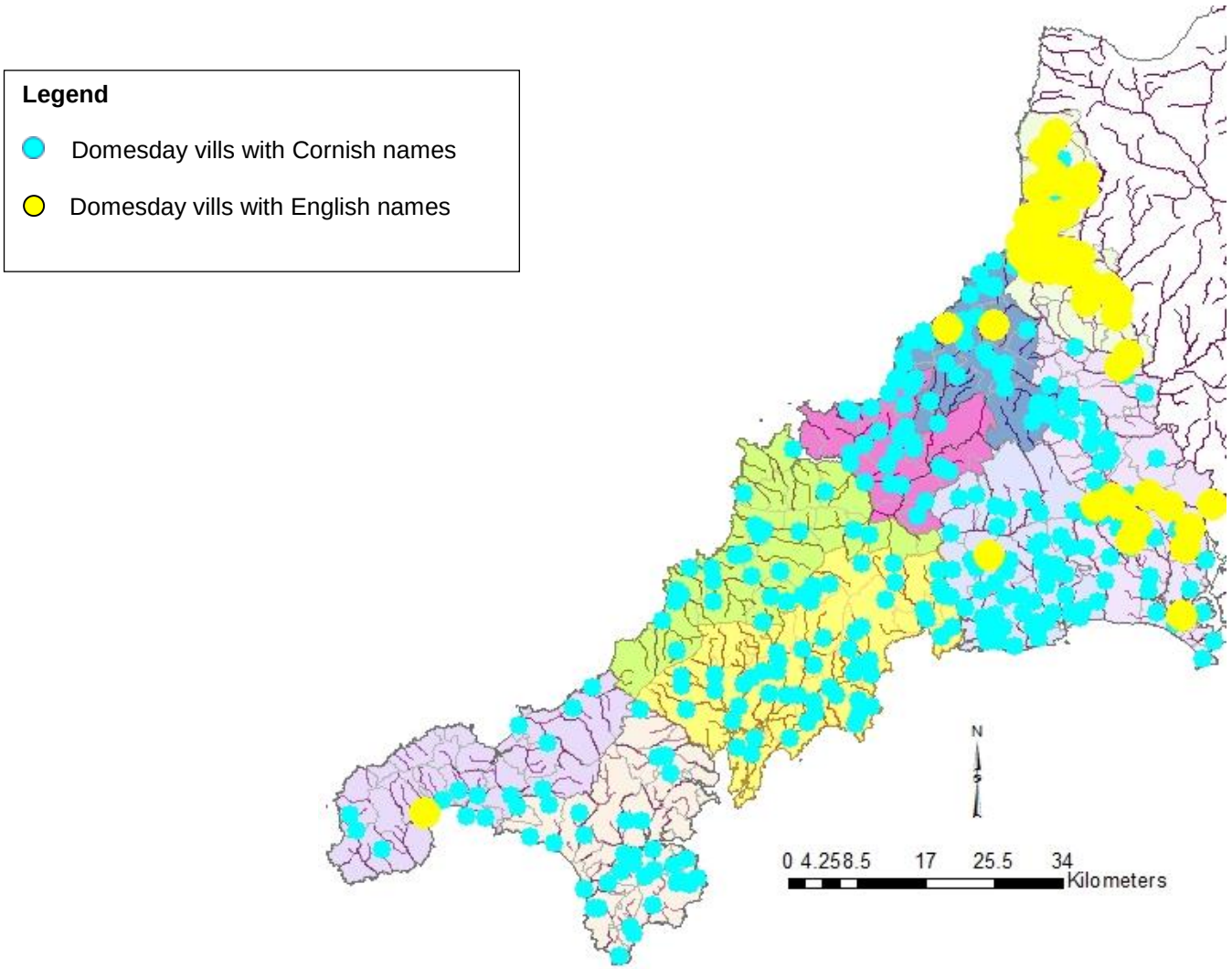
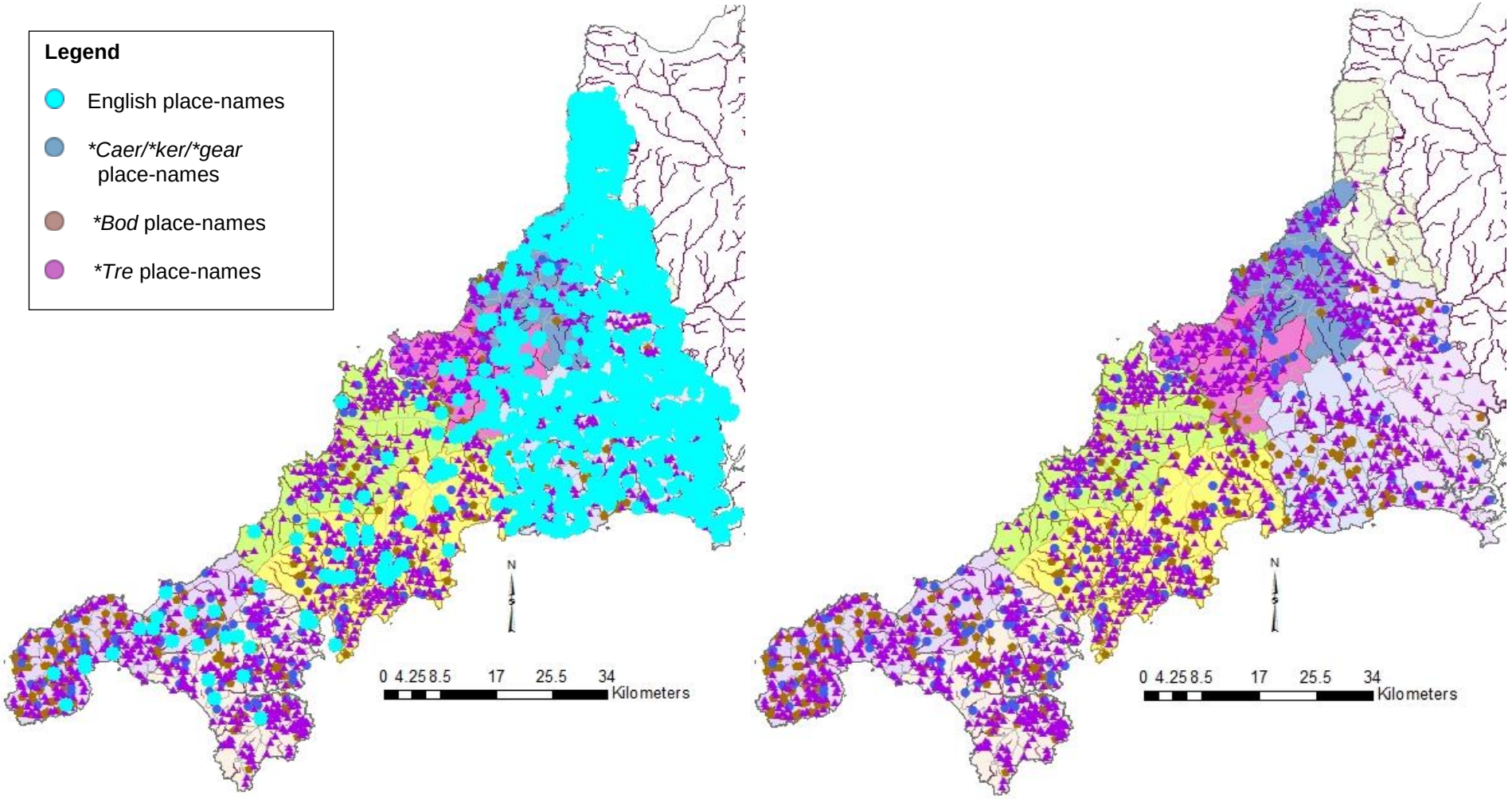


Figure 2.5 Domesday vills with English and Cornish names, showing the two clusters of English names in the far northeast and southeast of Cornwall (Source: author's database)



Figures 2.6a and 2.6b. Relative distribution of English to Cornish place-name elements against the backdrop of lower status habitative elements *tre, *caer/*ker/*gear *and* *bod*, showing the sharp decline of English elements to the west of the Camel-Fowey river valleys (Source: author's database)*

2.3 Place-names in medieval settlement research

2.3.1 Place-names and settlement research in England

Place-names can offer clues as to the relative status or position of a settlement alongside neighbouring sites. At the same time the etymology of a place-name can confirm its relationship to local topographies, and show how that interpretation can apply to similar locations elsewhere. A glance at academic indexes of medieval settlement development over the past 25 years reveals that the use of place-names to inform interpretation has gradually expanded to cover Wales and Scotland as well as regions of England, and place-names are now a regular feature in medieval settlement and landscape studies. Rural settlement patterns in England and how place-names can inform their interpretation have been highlighted by landscape researchers, including: Baker (2006, 138-186), Draper (2002, 27-44; 2004), Dunn (2005, 17-30), English (2002, 45-52), Faith (2008, 9-13), Hooke (1989, 9-30), Welch (1985, 13-25), and Winchester (2008, 14-21), and in Cornwall by Herring (2016, 192-215), Hooke (1994, 4-82), Nowakowski (2016, 189-91), Rose and Preston-Jones (1995, 51-68) and Thomas (1964, 70-9).

Aston interpreted Dodgson's early research as rejecting accepted chronologies for place-names, rather emphasising their use to reconstruct places' status in the landscape independent of chronology (Aston, 1997, 82). He cited the place-name element **tūn* as an example, originally thought to represent the earliest layer of Anglo-Saxon settlement due to its wide distribution in Domesday. In fact, scholars found that the **tūn* place-name element was not 'in vogue' much before 730 AD (Dodgson, 1966, 65), and its use with personal names in south west Britain continued into the 'post-Conquest' period (Gelling, 1978, 230). Aston cautioned that the Domesday survey and other documentation was selective and incomplete, 'since it relies entirely on the vagaries of documents surviving and the place … being important enough to be mentioned' (Aston, 1997, 82). Whilst status was also linked to land quality and how that affected its use, their importance could also change over time.

Well-known settlement studies over the past thirty years have focused on the Midlands (eg Lewis *et al*, 2001; Thirsk, 1976, 2000), where settlement developments during the medieval period are well supported by archival material, facilitating triangulation with the archaeological record. The nucleated medieval villages of the Midlands have provided case studies for interdisciplinary research, combining place-names, regional geography, geology, archaeology and historic settlement patterns to understand the wider context. Lewis *et al* (2001, 18-9) showed that in the Midlands 'place-names appear to provide direct evidence for early settlement, as many were formed between the fifth and tenth centuries, and they often contain a word that can be translated as "farm" or "village" [eg habitative place-names]'. Lewis *et al* (2001, 85) also acknowledge Gelling's (1978, 161) identification of early Anglo-Saxon religious sites in place-names referring to pagan shrines (eg Weedon, Harrowden) and associations with pagan gods (eg Wodneslawe). Such names did not occur in conjunction with habitative elements, which suggested that the foci of late pagan religious survival were in locations peripheral to settlement.

Alongside research elsewhere, in south west Britain studies of medieval settlement have also developed and been informed by place-names amongst other techniques. By contrast with 'Midland-centric' nucleated settlement patterns, the South West is generally characterised by a dispersed settlement pattern 'typically of small hamlets and isolated farmsteads' (Rippon, 2006, 41-65). Hooke notes that dispersed settlements seem to be characteristic of areas of mainly pastoral farming, where settlement nucleation 'offered few practical advantages' (Hooke, 1998, 129); in some areas, infield/outfield systems may have coexisted with common fields. Across the medieval South West, pollen analysis confirms that much land was managed according to principles of convertible husbandry (Rippon *et al*, 2006, 31), in which crop rotation was combined with long periods of ley or fallow. Rippon (2008, 265) refers to the 7th century to the 9th century as a transitional time for settlement change and development in dispersed zones as the 'long eighth century' (Hanson and Wickham, 2000).

Hoskins suggested that ancient 'Celtic' settlement patterns in the far west of Cornwall could equally well have characterised uplands across the peninsula as

far as Dartmoor (Hoskins, 1955, 22-4), which practiced seasonal pasturing known as *transhumance* (Fox, 1996, 15; 2012) as did Bodmin Moor (Herring, 1996, 35-44). Hoskins noted the place-name Treable in the foothills of Dartmoor as a rare occurrence of a 'Celtic' name in the Anglo-Saxon landscape of Devon (1955, 26). Scholars have mapped surviving British names scattered across Devon (Todd, 1987, 274; Coates and Breeze, 2000, 117-40); although the general distribution of extant British names seems to be random, there are none on more favoured fertile ground in South Devon. Todd concluded that a 'British substratum' of names had survived, but that place-names recorded between the 8th century and 10th century could not be taken to reflect its scale.

Fox noted a shift in scholarly thinking which now concluded that much of the 'basic bone structure' of the early Dumnonian landscape – including settlement sites, some estates and boundaries – was already in place by the post-Roman period (Fox, 1989, 42). However, within a few centuries, place-names in early medieval charters recorded a settlement pattern of substantial estates across the South West that by the 10th century was breaking down (Hooke, 1994, 51; Rippon, 2006, 65). Before the Norman Conquest both secular manors and parochiae of the minsters were becoming fragmented (Hooke, 1999, 98) with additional churches established within their territories, often by manorial lords (Turner, 2006b, 161). Fox refers to a gathering momentum of place-names in documentary records which reached a peak in the 13th century to 14th century – a time of rapidly expanding rural population over the two centuries since the Norman Conquest (Fox, 1989, 42).

Place-name studies, however, are constrained by the limitations of the written archives in Devon and Cornwall. The earliest authoritative records are the pre-Norman charters of the 9th and 10th centuries (Hooke, 1994; Finberg, 1953) and the Domesday Book (Hooke, 1999, 98), which are themselves incomplete and focused on high status settlements. With few early medieval population centres other than monastic settlements and distant ecclesiastical overlords, there is an absence of centrally held documentation of land tenure or manorial records. This leaves gaps in the place-name corpus and less opportunity to triangulate sources not resolved by late recording. In addition, locations of settlements on high moorland or other 'marginal' land may be late medieval (Turner, 2006b,

81). Place-names indicating resources or types of land use may suggest colonisation of previously marginal higher rough ground, which is often associated with seasonal stock movements or transhumance (Herring, 1996, 35).

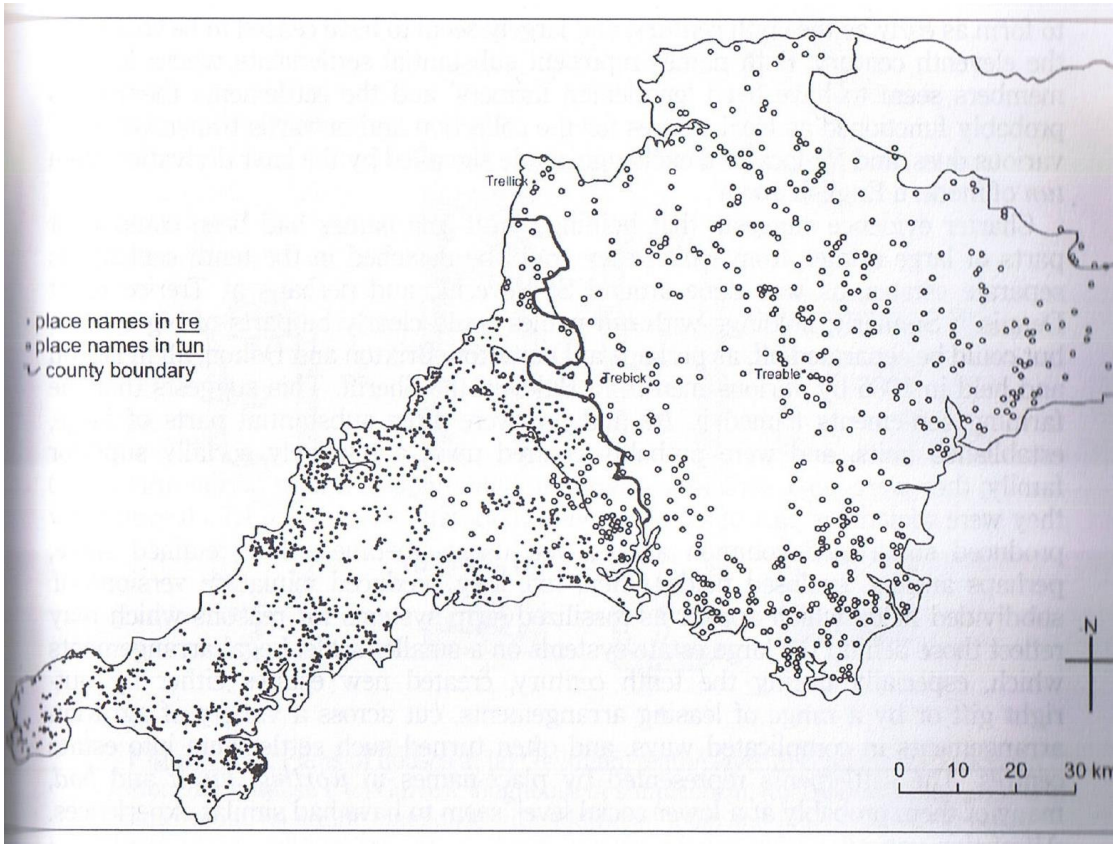


Figure 2.7 *Distribution of* *tre *and* *tūn *place-names across Cornwall and Devon (Source: Pearce, 2004, 303, Fig 133; see Figure 4.3 below for more detailed distribution in Cornwall)*

Pearce (2004, 303) compared place-name evidence referring to settlements from Cornwall and south Wales on the one hand, and Devon on the other, where **tre* and **tūn* respectively referred to 'farmstead, estate' (Figures 2.7 and 4.3). In Wales, as in Cornwall, unenclosed settlements, marked by names in **tre*, emerged across the region in early medieval times. In later medieval records, **tre* and **tūn* settlements appear to be the major units of food production. Rippon (2008, 241) also discovered links between Wales and south west England through landholding tenures and families that owned estates in both Devon and the Welsh marches. The 'customary acre' referred to in the

lordship of Pembrokeshire, for example, was identical to that in Devon and Cornwall.

2.3.2 Changing settlement patterns in the medieval period

Throughout the medieval period locations and types of settlements have not remained static. Researchers into medieval settlement patterns across northwest Europe (Hamerow, 2002, 104) have noted some shifting, both in the siting of settlements and their character. Shifts in location may be minor where constrained by early land boundaries, as observed by early commentators (eg Hoskins, 1955, 231) in the South West, where the outlines of landscape boundaries denoted by hedges and stone walls seem too massive to have changed much since the land was 'anciently-enclosed': 'the network of small irregular fields bounded by miles of granite-boulder walls was almost impossible to change once the pattern was laid down' (Hoskins, 1955, 24). Elsewhere in the UK, however, there is more evidence for settlement shift, such as at Mucking, Essex, where large-scale archaeological excavations showed that the settlement shifted location from south to north between the 5th and 8th centuries (Hamerow, 1991, 1-17; 2002, 121).

Settlement shifts may be due to a variety of reasons. One could relate to advances in agricultural technology, which enabled settlements to move from, for example, lighter, more easily worked riverine gravels up to the 7th century to more productive, heavier soils by the time of Domesday (Hamerow, 1992, 39-46). Faith (2008, 11) considers that changes in rural economy from about 800 AD are reflected in the archaeological record, where some sites appear to have undergone 'a shift in location and a more organised look', noting how differences in the 'cultivated area' may eventually lead on to open fields. Other causes for shifts may reflect soil exhaustion, or changing routes or characteristics of surface features (Faull, 1979, 37) such as waterways. Place-names may also move with shifting locations of settlements, as with elements denoting 'ford' for river crossings that are no longer close to rivers – whether due to estate fragmentation, or actual location shifts (Hooke, 1989, 26).

Studies in Kent have shown (Everitt, 1986, 46) that rivers have guided settlement patterns from prehistoric times to the later medieval period, as evidenced by clusters of funerary monuments sited in river valleys. Rivers and land routes in Kent shaped settlement patterns and burial locations between the 5th and 6th centuries (Brookes, 2007, 431). Elsewhere, in the Midlands, some of the earliest minsters from the 7th and 8th centuries (Hooke, 1998, 13) continued to follow the courses of rivers, as did early medieval land units in Wales (Jones, 1976, 18). Baker points out that place-names for major rivers particularly tend to survive better than settlement names, as they are known to a larger number of people – without the need for 'extensive contact between the linguistic groups along the rivers' (Baker, 2006, 140). He notes that the likelihood of a river's name becoming widely known beyond its region depends on its accessibility, size and social or economic importance (Baker, 2006, 157). Padel considers that river-names may have undergone some changes between the late medieval and early modern periods, and that in the South West 'there are sometimes numerous estates all named from a single river' (Padel, 2013, 8-9). Generally, minor river names have not survived well in the Cornish written records, despite their valleys being intrinsic to the local settlement patterns.

Visible archaeological surface remains have been shown to influence sites for subsequent settlements (Crewe, 2012), although this effect would decline over time after their eventual disappearance and with changing cultural norms. The excavations at Yeavering (Hope-Taylor, 1977; Semple, 2013, 4), Northumbria, showed an 'intentional planning' of settlements in relation to ancient monuments during this period. Semple (2013, 21) reviews 'associative groupings' of primary Anglo-Saxon burials sited close to earlier prehistoric barrows and cists and speculates that such locations may have been chosen to lay claim to or control territory or resources within it (Semple, 2013, 24); they may also have been reused as an 'elite tool' to indicate high status (Crewe, 2008, 7). Early medieval estates often encompassed ancient monuments within their lands or boundaries, as traced by place-names appearing in pre-Domesday charter bounds (Bonney, 1976, 74; Hooke, 1989, 1994; Reynolds, 2003, 97-139). Place-names may denote archaeological features such as Iron Age hillforts which have been incorporated within estates (Draper, 2011, 100; Meaney, 1995, 29-42), and even be named for them with the place-name element *bury*,

derived from Old English *burh*, for a fortification (Gelling, 1978, 132-3; Hooke, 1998, 13).

The break-up of major estates, which could have been as large as 5,000 acres (Davies, 1978, 7) in some areas, seems to have become a trend across Britain in the 'long eighth century' and resulted in the creation of new settlements enumerated in pre-Domesday charters. Charter evidence from England shows that the 8th century onwards was a period of large estate fragmentation (Hooke, 1989, 19; 1994, 51; 1995, 99), corresponding in time to the first recording of the **tūn* place-name element to denote smaller agricultural estates (Cox, 1976, 12-66). In Wales, Davies (1978, 13) notes more charters in the 8th century than at any other time in the early medieval period, confirming declining sizes of land grants. The designations *uillae*, or *tref/v* in the vernacular (Jones, 1961, 111-32), were assigned from this time up to about the 11th century (Davies, 1978, 12) to individual settlements of around 125 acres which often attracted personal names. In Brittany, by contrast, the term **tre* was superseded relatively early in the Middle Ages by the element **ker* and is thought to belong to the 'earliest stratum' (Flatrès , 1977, 73) of Breton place-names, where **tre* tends to refer to larger farms or agricultural settlements.

In Cornwall, as shown by Domesday entries, the **tūn* place-name element occurs in the eastern half of the Duchy where English was spoken earliest (section 4.3.2; Figure 4.3), in some areas replacing (Turner, 2006b, 115) the **tre* element which also refers to early medieval estates (Padel, 1999, 88-90). Pre-Norman charter evidence from the 10th century on the Lizard peninsula shows that here the **tre* element appeared in smaller units arising from the break-up of the great monastic estate at St Keverne (Hooke, 1994, 51), which gave its name to the large region of the Meneage on the eastern side of the Lizard (from **menegh*, for 'monks'; Padel, 1985, 156). Herring (2006, 48) noted that Flatrès (1957, 362-5), in comparing field patterns in Cornwall with those in Ireland, Wales and the Isle of Man, had observed that the distribution of strip fields was associated with hamlets with **tre* prefixes, also likely to coincide with the better quality agricultural land. Higham (2008, 250) observes that this core agricultural zone in the far South West contains most of its habitative place-names, of which the **tre* element is paramount in Cornwall.

There are many pitfalls associated with using surviving site locations to demonstrate settlement shift in the landscape, let alone those which have disappeared. Even where material remains of site types occur in an apparently regular distribution, we cannot assume that they represent a sequential relationship. Turner (2006b, 21) points out that the date range of sites based on cropmark or earthwork evidence is always uncertain, and surveyed rounds could date to any time between the 4th century BC and the 6th century AD. Visibility is also no substitute for below-ground evidence; survival of settlements may be haphazard, and is as likely to represent a 'thinning-out' as an actual shift. Cropmarks themselves may have been ploughed out to give no visible signs at surface and so apparently present a blank canvas. In this thesis we have focused on those medieval settlements which benefit from more precise National Grid Reference easting and northing locations and associated documentary evidence, rather than those which have approximate locations and are listed as 'extant structure'. Without individual excavation, it is important to recognise that nearby settlement sites nevertheless may have been linked or indeed shifted location at some point in the past.

2.3.3 Place-names and settlement research in Cornwall

When considering place-names in Cornwall, we therefore need to bear in mind that the names given do not necessarily reflect the exact locations over the long period during which medieval settlements were established. A recent study on lowland Cornwall, which utilised place-name mapping to aid landscape interpretation using HLC, assumed that the land surrounding settlements with early medieval place-names should likewise be identified as 'core' (Dudley, 2013, 47). Turner noted that place-names' relationship to landscape features can be deceptive and often refer to the land unit containing it rather than the feature itself (2006b, 17), as seen with place-name elements for woodland in Cornwall (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 53). Triangulated cropmark, geophysical and aerial survey evidence (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 56-7) from the centuries following the Romano-British transition to the early medieval shows that in places settlements at higher levels were abandoned whilst lower ones continued, which may indicate settlement shrinkage; desertion of

settlements is thought to be very rare in West Cornwall (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 66).

Scholars have claimed that, like other parts of Britain, Cornwall has been subject to similar processes of settlement shift during the medieval period (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 52-3), and to demonstrate this have presented survey evidence of ancient settlements. In lowland Cornwall, visible remains of dispersed medieval settlements were surveyed at intervals of between 600m and 1km along valley sides. These were measured by aerial surveys at distances of between 500m and 1km and at heights of between 8m to 30m above the nearest medieval settlement, and considered similar to the distributions of late Iron Age/Romano-British rounds (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 56-7; 60).

A recent study of lowland Cornwall (Young, 2015, 5) aimed to resolve some of the uncertainties associated with visible remains by developing predictive models of prehistoric and Romano-British landscape to show areas of high potential for buried archaeology. Young (2015, 18) considers that some early medieval settlements may have been named with reference to the nearby abandoned enclosures. Supported by statistical and predictive modelling and further refinements to the Cornish Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) model, Young (2015, 23) aims to demonstrate that early medieval farmers inhabited the same lowland areas as Romano-British settlement and inherited similar environmental and cultural contexts. Cornwall's early medieval place-name evidence is thought key to underpinning the study (Young, 2015, 155).

Surveys of the multi-celled courtyard house structures unique to West Penwith in Cornwall, thought to be contemporary with Romano-British rounds (Nowakowski, 2016, 191; Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 63), showed typical spacings between them of 450m to 800m. Courtyard houses were found at between 50m and 750m from the nearest early medieval settlement with a median distance at 400m, compared with a median distance of 550m between a small sample of medieval settlements (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 64), which they suggested as consistent with the 'medieval pattern'. More recent research (Nowakowski, 2016, 175, 178, 190) records a close physical

relationship between many rounds and courtyard houses (Figure 2.8), such as at Bosporthennis, although the precise nature of a presumed coexistence is not well understood. We will cover this further under **bod* place-names in section 4.3.7 and in Discussion section 7.2.3.

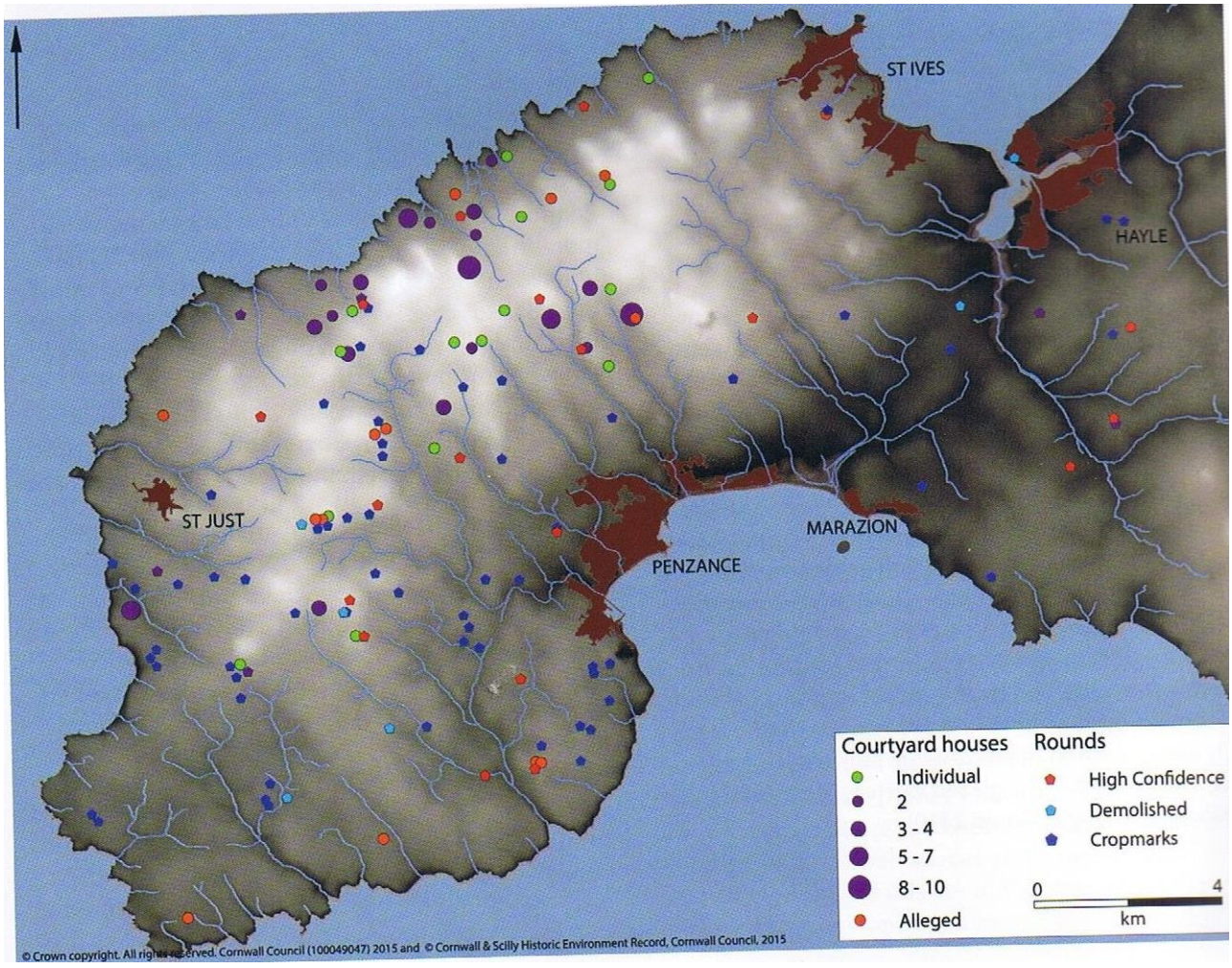


Figure 2.8 *Respective locations of courtyard houses and rounds in West Penwith (Source: Cornwall Council, 2016 (Herring* et al*, 88, Fig 7.26)*

Commentators have noted that the close association of the place-name elements **ker* and **tre* (Johnson, 1998, 12-3), such as in the place-name Tregear (from **tre* for 'estate' and **ker* for 'round'), may suggest that many farms may overlie prehistoric rounds, or be located near, or within, enclosures; Tregear Farm at Nanstallon is one excavated example (Fox and Ravenhill, 1967, 32-4). Herring proposes that the reorientation of the Cornish agricultural

landscape may have coincided with the abandonment of the Iron Age rounds in the 6th and 7th centuries (Quinnell, 2004, 243-4) and their replacement by early medieval settlements or hamlets with names in **tre* (Herring, 2006, 73). Herring combined field surveys, historic mapping, aerial photography and other evidence to suggest that much of Cornwall during this period saw the reorganisation of prehistoric and Romano-British field systems into open fields (Beresford, 1964, 27) containing strips, located within small estates (Herring, 1999, 3-8; 2006, 44-103; 2011a, 168).

In West Penwith, Herring (2016, 193-4) notes a 'close correlation' between the place-name elements **tre*, **ker* and **bod* and prehistoric and Romano-British settlements (Figure 2.9). Citing evidence from ancient land boundaries (Oosthuizen, 2013, 69-75), Herring (2016, 195-6) contends that early medieval farms in Penwith often seem to have reused prehistoric or Roman period sites. He distinguishes between **bod* settlements on the edges of northern uplands which he considers to be 'secondary' to the 'core' lowland farms often named in **ker* and **tre*, of a size of around 150 acres (Herring, 2016, 197). Courtyard house settlements are often found in the higher valleys and the edges of rough ground (Nowakowski, 2016, 188) and their distribution, according to Herring (2016, 194), 'complements' the main pre-Norman place-name elements for farming settlements **tre*, **ker*, **hendre* and **bod*. We will return to this theme in chapter 4 below; as we shall see, place-names and settlement patterns in Penwith are different in many ways to the rest of Cornwall, and we therefore need to extrapolate with caution the trends noted below.

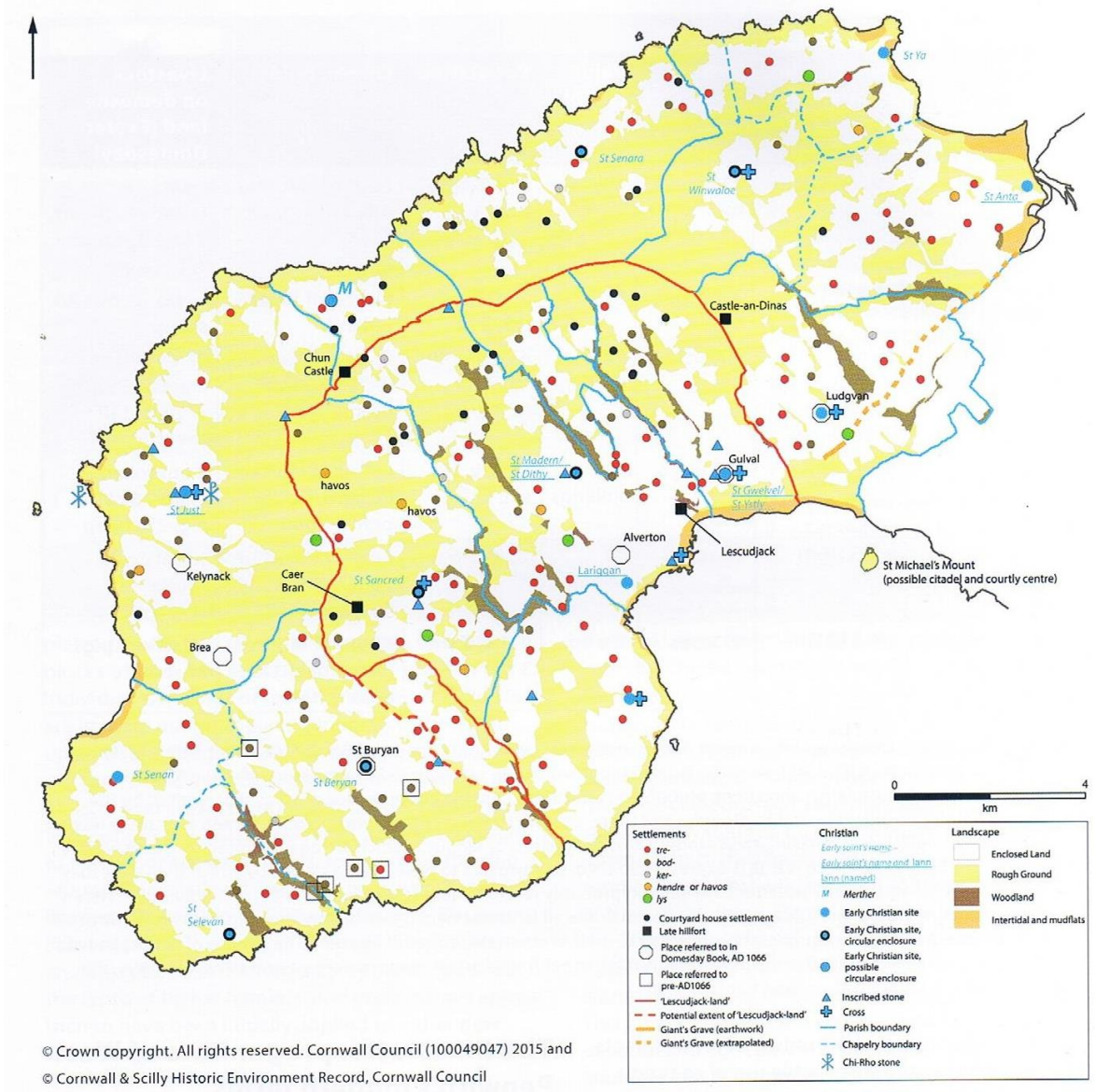


Figure 2.9 Pre-Norman and Romano-British settlements, West Penwith (Source: Cornwall Council, 2016 (Herring et al*, 194, Fig 8.1))*

2.4 Place-names and landscape research

From the 1970s onwards, landscape research has gradually emerged as an interdisciplinary field which brings together medieval history, archaeology, historical geography, geology and soil analysis, settlement research, local studies and place-names. Looking at landscape with a wider overview has helped to link the separate disciplines together to develop a more holistic perspective, integrating areas of research and enabling testing and cross validation of findings. Landscape studies have proved fruitful in actively investigating regions of the UK beyond the Midlands that offer alternative settlement histories, although most of the landscape-based place-name research has been related to Old English, rather than Brittonic, place-names. A sample of recent literature summarised below highlights how inter-related approaches have contributed to what we know of the early medieval landscape across the diverse regions of the UK, including Cornwall.

2.4.1 Landscape research in England

In their seminal *Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*, Roberts and Wrathmell (2000) built on earlier landscape mapping and research to identify three 'distinct national provinces' of England: the Northern and Western, Central, and South-Eastern Provinces (Figure 2.10). Landscape in the several provinces was characterised by aggregating distinctive nucleated and dispersed settlement patterns in each area, reflecting earlier distributions of landscape features such as Roman villas, pagan burials, pre-Norman place-names, and Domesday woodland. For Roberts and Wrathmell (2002, 6), the hierarchy of forms and changing functions across settlement types shed light on what they considered to be important socio-economic transformations. Their 'synoptic' view of settlement development (2002, 12-4) charted changes in spatial patterns of landholding over time, for which place-names add weight to the documentary evidence.

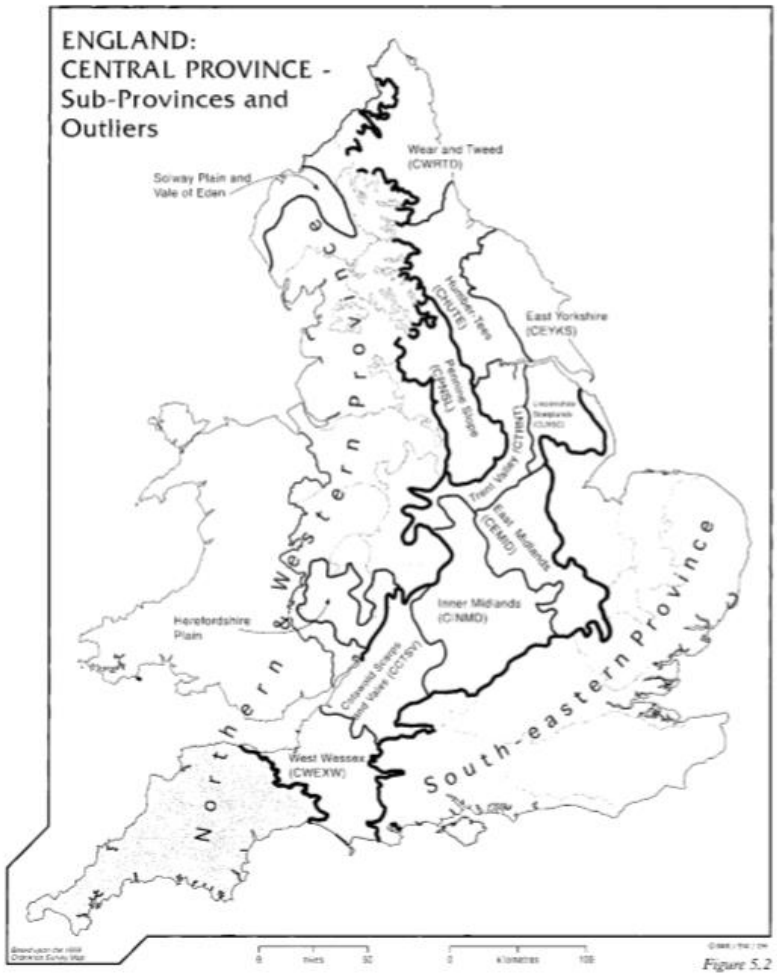


Figure 2.10 The 'distinct national provinces' of England (Source: Roberts and Wrathmell, 2002, 120, Fig 5.2)

Place-names can reflect how socio-historic processes are linked with settlement patterns in the landscape. As part of their broad geographic focus on England, Roberts and Wrathmell (2002, 21) included the research of Oliver Rackham (1986) to map Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian woodland place-name distribution (Figure 2.11). They found that the open fields and nucleated settlements of the Central Zone coincided with a relative absence of woodland, which tended to be more prevalent in other regions (Roberts and Wrathmell, 2002, 2), and may have perpetuated patterns long established prior to the Domesday Book (Wrathmell, 2017, 312). Elements of place-names in other geographical zones of Britain were found to correlate with settlement patterns associated with woodland areas; for example, later place-names containing 'green' were especially prevalent in the South East of England. Recent interest in smaller stands of woodland such as groves and the contribution of place-

names has also been shown by Hooke (2017, 11), who notes their utility in relation to pre-Norman charter bounds. Place-name elements for woodland and groves will be included in our analysis of Cornish place-names below (chapter 6) and what they reveal of types of woodland in medieval Cornwall.

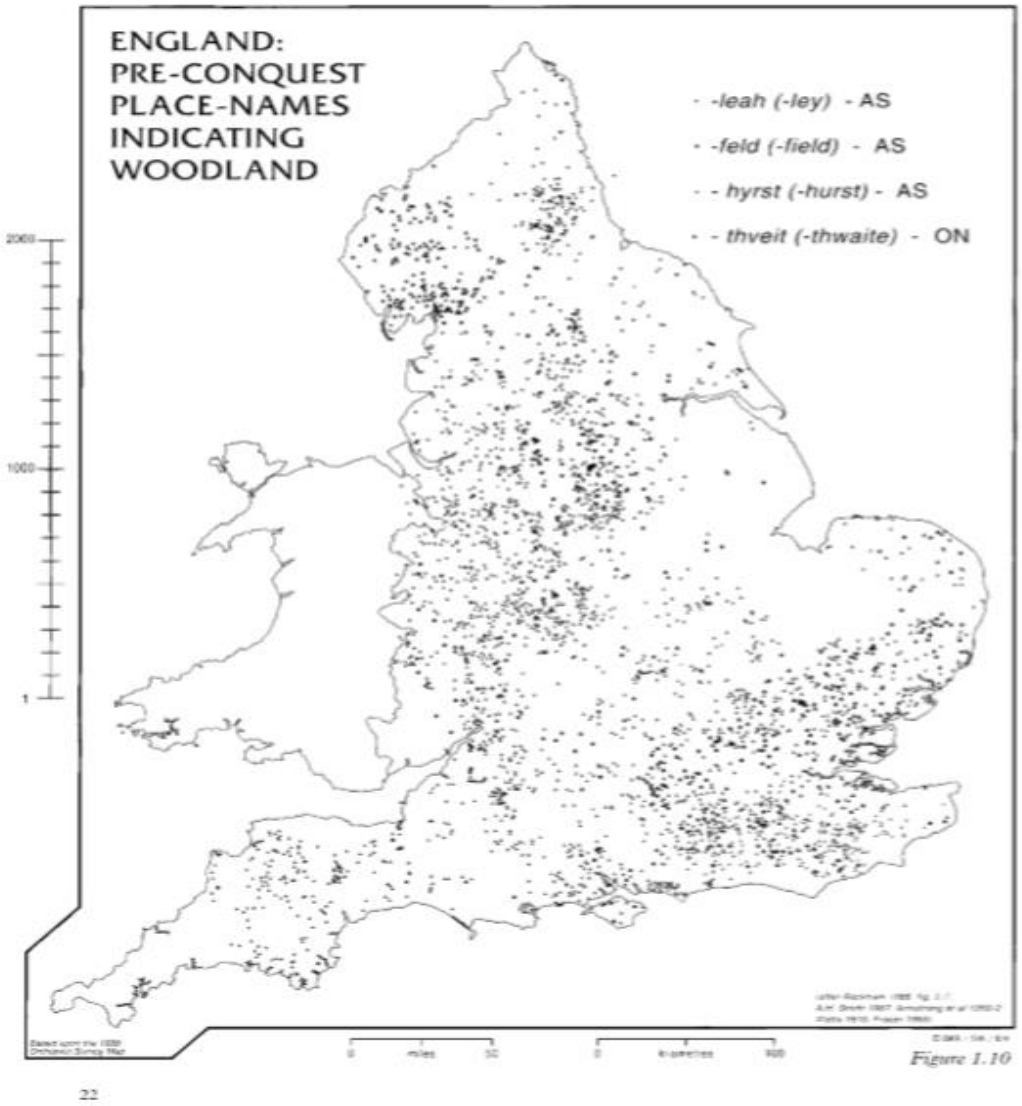


Figure 2.11 Pre Conquest place-names indicative of woodland (Source: Roberts and Wrathmell, 2002, 22, Fig 1.10)

Place-name studies have found their position within landscape research from the outset of its emergence on the academic scene and have regularly appeared in publications. Place-name research, however, has not been without its own methodological challenges. Margaret Gelling, whilst welcoming 'non-specialist participation' in place-name studies, issued a warning against relying on modern spellings for their interpretation (Gelling, 1984, 8). Care must also be

taken for interpretations of topographical place-names not to fall prey to a 'circular argument', when landscape features are reconstructed from place-names (Faull, 1979, 34). The study of place-names must also rely on the earliest date of attestation (*terminus ante quem;* Faull, 1979, 36), to take account of changes in language form and use including dialectal variation. By the 1980s, Faull showed the value of applying computerised mapping techniques to early Anglo-Saxon habitative place-name elements (eg **ham*, **inga/*ingas*, **ingaham, *eccles*), which confirmed their linguistic correspondence with known early Christian habitation sites and their absence from areas with Scandinavian names (Faull, 1983, 25-8).

Throughout the rest of the 1980s and 1990s scholars (Table 2.1, Appendix A) continued to explore ways of combining emergent landscape archaeology research techniques with those of other disciplines, including place-names. Welch (1985, 13-8) aimed to reconstruct ancient land units through correlation of Anglo-Saxon and Viking archaeological sites with personal tribal names appearing in documented 5th to 9th century place-name elements. As part of the study, he reassessed the use of charters, settlement patterns, and soils and topography to identify favourable sites for habitations. Robinson (1988, 15-24) researched the potential of an interdisciplinary 'land-system' approach to map the boundaries of an ancient Shropshire estate, which brought together archaeology, geology, geomorphology and pedology with Ordnance Survey, tithe and manorial surveys and place-name analysis, highlighting minor field- or farm-names.

From the 1990s onwards, place-names became increasingly embedded into landscape research, and have shed light on how land types were designated in the medieval period. In a discussion of resource management of early estates in pastoral regions, Faith noted that a change in interpretation of the place-name element **lēah* from 'woodland clearing' to 'wood-pasture' (Hooke, 1998, 148), shows that it can be mapped in complementary distribution to the element **tūn* across much of southern England (Faith, 2008, 11-2). Faith (1998, 33-8) also explores the distribution in southern England of large farms named in Hyde that appear in Somerset as Huish, from **hiwisc*, for 'household', that were considered by Costen (1992, 93-5) to be the earliest type of independent Anglo-

Saxon farm. Costen's research, and Roberts and Wrathmell's mapping (2002, 181) of **worthy* place-names led Faith (2006, 9-14) to investigate their distribution not only beyond the South West, but also on the edge of Dartmoor in Devon. The distribution of the place-name element **worth*, for 'soil', suggested a riverine distribution across southern and central England (English, 2002, 45-6), whilst in the Midlands they appeared to mark roads and boundaries (Allred, 2016, 32-3).

2.4.2 Landscape research in the South West

In the wider South West, the growing importance of place-names to landscape research was demonstrated in two chapters of the *Historical Atlas of South West England*, both in their own right (Padel, 1999, 88-94) and to trace Saxon conquest and settlement using pre-Norman charter bounds (Hooke, 1999, 95-104). Padel points out that the ubiquity of **tre* place-names throughout Cornwall, but their nearly complete absence in Devon, may reflect a naming trend in Cornwall that took place after Anglo-Saxon control was established in Devon, involving a replacement of **tre* names in Cornwall by Anglo-Saxon speakers (1999, 88-94). In addition to distribution maps of the Cornish elements **bod* and **tre*, Padel also mapped **tūn*, **worðig* and **cot* in Devon. Selected topographical place-name elements denoting 'rough ground' (**goon*, **hal*, **ros*) that were thought to date from the later medieval period were likewise considered by Padel (2011, 78-83), as part of a wider study (Dudley, 2011) into the archaeology and landscape history of moorland and downland in mid and western Cornwall.

The research undertaken by Della Hooke (1994) on pre-Norman charter bounds and Saxon settlement patterns (Hooke, 1999) in Cornwall and Devon has highlighted the value of our earliest archival evidence of Cornish and English place-names in Anglo-Saxon land charters. Most of the place-name elements in this thesis have already appeared in the early charters, and their relative distributions give clues as to how long, and where, they had been in use. It is important to acknowledge, however, that as with Domesday early charters present a highly selective picture of early medieval landholding that depends on the chance survival of records of 'grants of lands and privileges to both laymen

and the Church (Hooke, 1999, 99)'. Coverage across Cornwall is patchy and tends to relate more to high status transactions. Hooke (1999, 101) notes that the plentiful place-names in **tre* in St Keverne parish on the Lizard peninsula refer to *tref*s, or early agricultural estates, which were formed from a large ecclesiastical holding that was being broken up into secular ownership by the 10th century.

In relation to the Christian landscape across three study areas of the South West, Turner (2006b, 8-9) warned of the pitfalls of assuming that place-names containing dedications to individual 'saints' were assigned during their lifetimes, with no 'reliable' recordings any earlier than the 9th century. It is also difficult to determine the status of an ecclesiastical site through its dedication to a particular 'inter-Celtic' saint. Turner found little archaeological evidence to support the presence of enclosed cemeteries in the South West as denoted by the *lann* model proposed by Preston-Jones (1994, 71-95; see chapter 5) before the 8th or 9th centuries (Turner, 2006b, 9-10). Nevertheless, Turner recognises the benefits of integrating place-names, historical sources and archaeological evidence at different scales through Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) techniques using Geographic Information Systems (Turner, 2006b, 15; section 2.5 below).

In his study of the dispersed landscape of settlement in the South West, Rippon (2008, 125) acknowledged the contribution of place-names in pre-Norman charters and the Domesday Book to fill in gaps in our knowledge of hamlet distribution in the early medieval period. He cautioned, however, that apart from these sources, it is difficult to identify the age of Devon's place-names with any accuracy. Rippon's contribution to the South West Archaeological Research Framework (Rippon and Croft, 2012, 197) cited an influx of English place-names into southeast Cornwall during the later medieval period which he considered might refer to fresh urban settlement.

Interdisciplinary research bringing together place-names, topography and archaeology was carried out (Dunn, 2005, 17) across four places in the Bristol and Bath region that were thought to derive their names from the Brittonic word **nemet* or **nemeton* or 'sacred place'. Topographical analysis of the four sites

suggested similar landscape settings, each on a plateau-like spur of high ground with extensive views and roughly analogous morphologies (Dunn, 2005, 19). Dunn (2005, 26) also noted a cluster of **nemet* names in North Devon appearing in the former river-names for the Mole and Yeo rivers (*Nymet* and *Nemet*), nearby place-names in Nympton and Nymet, and the Roman fort at North Tawton, Devon (*Nemeto Statio*; Rivet and Smith, 1979, 425). As the modern day A377 traces the route of the Yeo river, **nemet* place-names occur in proximity to important routeways between coasts and inland settlements that are close to Roman sites as well as prehistoric fortifications (Dunn, 2005, 20); five examples occur in Cornwall.

Studies into Cornish landscape archaeology have made useful correlations using place-name evidence. Peter Herring's (1996, 2006, 2009, 2011c, 2016) extensive research on transhumance, or seasonal stock movements, in Cornwall has enhanced understanding of upland pastoral practices in early medieval settlements, and how they relate both to the predecessor prehistoric landscape and the later medieval period. Herring has demonstrated how the habitative Cornish place-names **hendre* (for 'winter' or 'original farmstead') and **havos* (for 'summer dwelling') can be interpreted to denote their respective roles in transhumance, particularly on the rough ground of Bodmin Moor (see sections 4.3.3, 4.3.4 and 7.2.2). The use of such terms has direct counterparts in Wales; this shared use was thought by Padel (1985, 127-9) to suggest that transhumance was actively practiced in both Cornwall and Wales by the 7th century when their common Brittonic language was separated by the 'westward expansion of Wessex' (Herring, 2009, 47). Herring was also able to relate English place-names around Brown Willy on Bodmin Moor to later medieval reorganisation of a strip-field landscape into smaller holdings (Herring, 2006, 59).

2.5 Landscape research and Historic Landscape Characterisation

2.5.1 The background to Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC)

The Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) model (Herring, 1998, 102-3) is an example of a 'bottom-up' approach to managing the historic environment, contrasted with 'top-down' approaches where experts define more limited areas of landscape for study. HLC integrates a range of survey methods – such as aerial photography, settlement patterns and field morphologies – to interpret the historic character of the whole landscape (Fairclough *et al*, 1999). Its roots stem from the 1980s when Cornwall Council's Cornwall Archaeological Unit (CAU) worked with English Heritage to extend their National Mapping Programme (NMP) in a detailed study of Bodmin Moor (Johnson and Rose, 1994, ix), using aerial photogrammetry and in depth ground surveys based on the National Monuments Record (NMR). Although place-names did not form an integral part of the study, their potential contribution to identify landscape features of interest was later noted by Johnson and Rose (1994, 78) (Figure 3.6).

By the 1990s, the Government White Paper *This Common Inheritance* (Department of the Environment, 1990) heralded an increased national emphasis on management and conservation of the historic landscape, leading to evaluation by English Heritage of 'different methods for understanding and valuing the so-called historic landscape' (Turner, 2006a, 389-390). Between 1994 and 2006 Cornwall Council conducted aerial mapping throughout Cornwall as part of a wider rollout of the English Heritage National Mapping Programme. Increased technological capabilities in digital mapping systems were also becoming more widely available for application to the historic landscape, making use of the georeferenced coordinates of Global Positioning Systems (GPS) to produce Geographic Information System (GIS) environments.

The initial Bodmin Moor survey formed the basis of a pilot Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) exercise of the area in 1993 (Johnson and Rose, 1994, ix), which was swiftly followed up by the first county-wide HLC implementation in Cornwall, funded by the (then-)Countryside Commission (1994). The original

exercise was achieved very rapidly and based on field morphology in conjunction with place-name analysis, used to indicate medieval settlement patterns as confirmed by the earliest attested form of place-names in documentary sources. Herring (1998, 26-7) noted how Cornish place-names had informed his own HLC development by working with the unpublished Institute of Cornish Studies *Index of Cornish Place-Names*, transferred onto dyeline map overlays by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit in 1986 and described further below (section 3.3.2). In his HLC report, Herring (1998, 27) used the Index to verify the existence of 'pre-1600 farming settlement' in conjunction with field morphology at 1:25000 scale.

Based on GIS systems since the 1990s (Herring, 2007, 18), HLC has been rolled out across the UK and has now come into its own as a major tool, not only for landscape characterisation but also for purposes of planning (Diacono and Associates and White Consultants, 2007), heritage management (Harvey, 2006, 217), landscape protection, land use and environmental change (as in Devon; Turner, 2007b). HLC has, however, attracted some mixed reactions since its introduction, and the academic community of landscape archaeologists has not been entirely uncritical. Some scholars (eg Finch, 2007, 50) contend that HLC is 'ill equipped to recognise cultural processes', whilst Williamson argues that is too reliant on digital map technology, and can lead on to previous field landscape studies being ignored (Williamson, 2007, 64-71; see Williamson, 2003). Generally HLC has been a factor in reopening much earlier debates between the merits of field and desk based archaeological research (Fleming, 2007, 85-99; Johnson, 2007, 126-8).

One criticism of HLC is that its very flexibility can reflect subjective interpretations of landscape character rather than an established consensus. Whilst HLC has been successfully tailored to individual priorities for each UK county and country (as with Wales; Alfrey, 2007, 86), the ramification is that its variations are not wholly comparable, even across adjacent counties. Nevertheless, this is not necessarily a disadvantage: an interim review of national HLC progress recommended that county-level maps should not only reflect their 'local and regional landscape diversity', but also their distinctive cultures and attitudes towards landscape (Fairclough *et al*, 2002, 72).

We must remember that HLC fundamentally characterises what we see on the surface landscape, within which interpretations of earlier historic processes are nested according to time-depth (section 2.5.2 below). HLC has its limitations, as it creates generalisations of broad patterns rather than specific histories (Turner, 2007b, 44). Like the 'dots on maps' of site-based studies (eg Figure 2.1) typical of earlier place-name research, HLC does not give a full picture of context. For the purposes of research into Cornish place-names and settlement patterns in the early medieval period, HLC types provide only one clue for long-past land use, and should ideally be triangulated with other sources (Rippon, 2007b, 5; Turner, 2007b, 44) which draw on evidence from below ground. If contemporary documents do not exist, corroborating sources ought to include material from excavations as the highest quality of evidence (Cornwall Council, 2011, 2), supported if available with geophysical surveys (Herring, 2007, 21) or crop mark analysis (Young, 2015, 2).

2.5.2 Time-depth and place-name elements

The original concept behind the HLC model sought to trace the 'imprint of the past on the landscape' (Fairclough, 2003, 304) by utilising *time-depth*. Time-depth analysis shows how landscape components may have changed over time, or survived, through identification of inherited field and settlement systems. In an HLC environment, time-depth corresponds with the functional elements of Roberts and Wrathmell's 'synoptic' view of the visible landscape, 'in which the visible elements of the landscape may be the end-product of several thousand years of development' (Roberts and Wrathmell, 2002, 18).

The earliest Cornish HLC model (Herring, 1998, 43) used time-depth analysis (Figure 2.12) to classify landscape according to 'historical processes, typical archaeological, historical and semi-natural components' (Herring, 2008a, 1), showing dominant patterns across a succession of time periods. The Cornish time-depth matrix (Herring, 1998, 113; Figure 2.12) was presented as a grid in which eleven successive time periods appear horizontally on the *x*-axis, ranging between the Mesolithic to the Modern. These are plotted against broad

categories of land use which appear vertically on the *y*-axis, with sub themes (Herring, 1998, 44-5) illustrating specific types or forms.

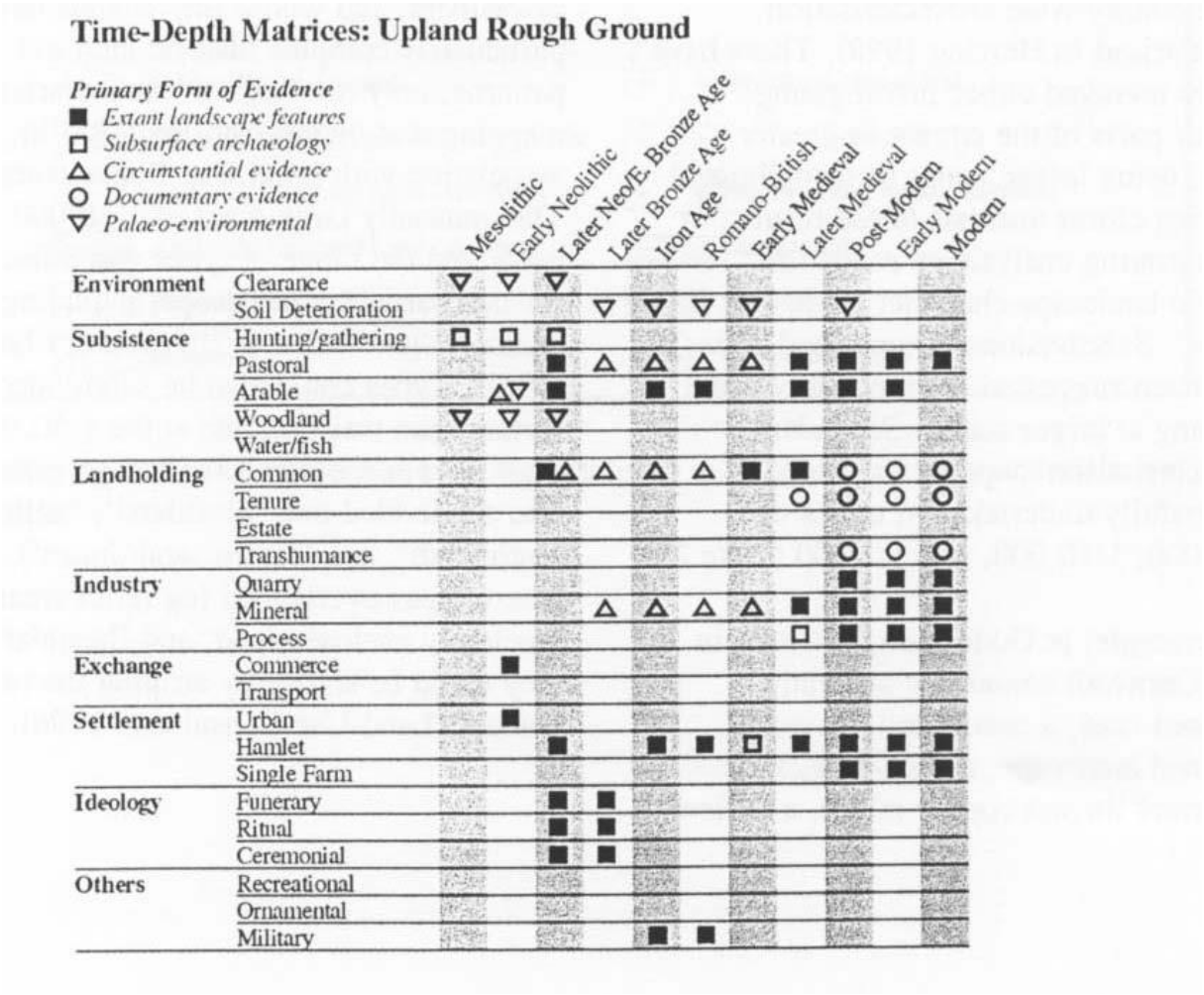


Figure 2.12 Time-depth analysis for Upland Rough Ground (Source: Herring, 1998, 44, Fig 31)

How time-depth translates into ‘slices’ of settlement can be seen in the shifting relationships between both settled and relatively unsettled areas from earliest times. For example, although such HLC types as Upland Rough Ground (URG), Coastal Rough Ground (CRG) and Recently Enclosed Land (REL) may not show signs of habitation during the medieval period, below ground remains may include concentrations of prehistoric cairns and barrows (Herring, 2007, 21; Figure 2.13). Where examples of post-medieval enclosure exist in more recent centuries, these may relate back to extensions of medieval farmland into upland areas (Herring, 2016, 74) of previously open character, as with Upland Rough Ground (Herring, 2008a, 3)

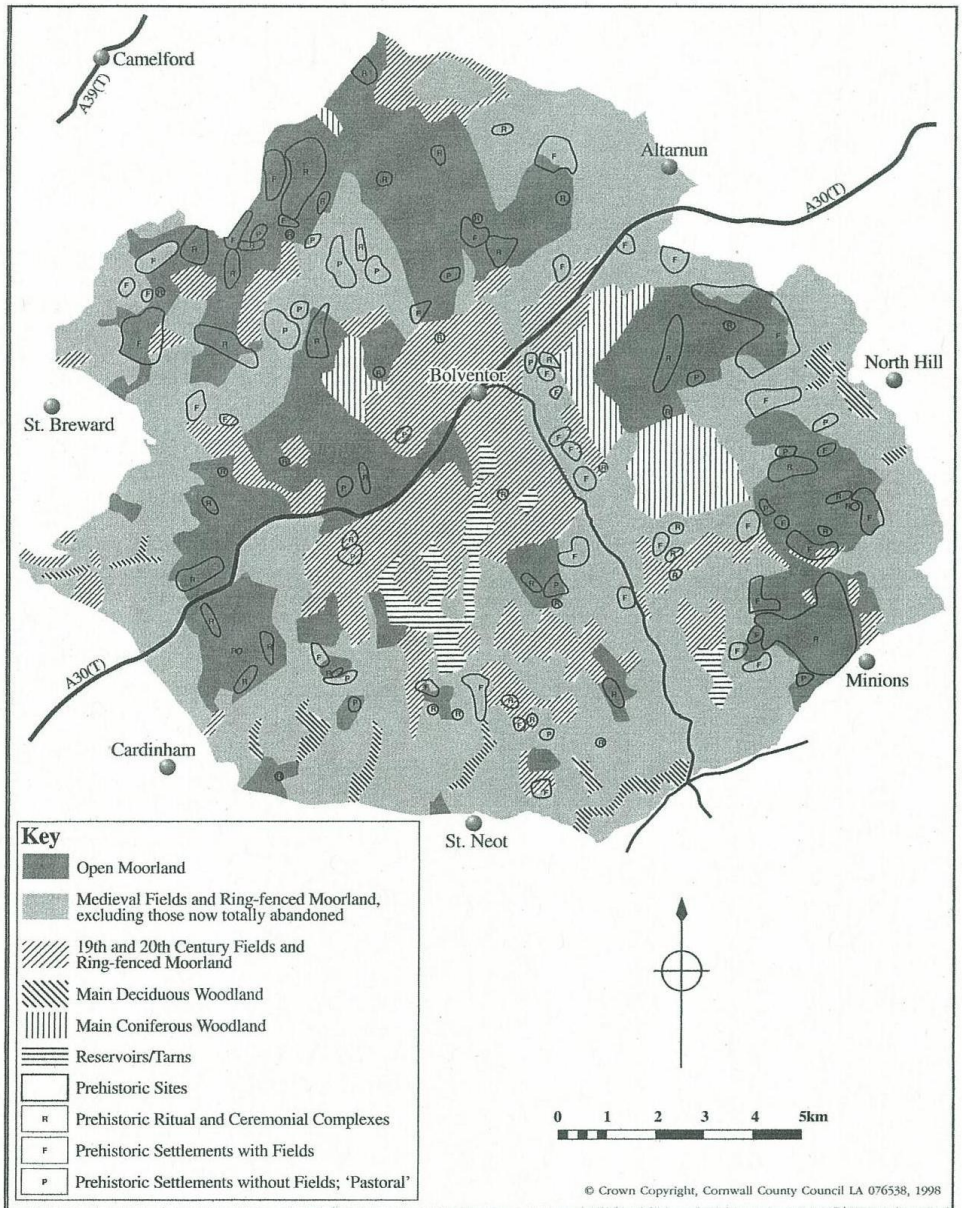


Figure 2.13 The historic landscape on Bodmin Moor, illustrating time-depth across timescales and landscape elements (Source: Herring, 1998, 54, Fig 36)

The time-depth approach illustrated in Figure 2.12 has been formative to this thesis in identifying categories of place-names for detailed mapping (see Methodology, section 3.2.2). The detailed analyses of place-name elements (chapters 4 to 6; Appendix A) have needed to interpret post-medieval HLC classifications through the lens of their likely land use in the medieval period.

2.5.3 Changing perspectives of HLC landscape types

During the 25 years that Cornwall's HLC has been utilised it has been continually revisited and further refined (Herring, 1998, 2008a; Young, 2015) to reflect more closely the character of predominant types of the Cornish landscape. We highlight subsequent developments that have supported revision of the original model below. In the GIS developed for this thesis the HLC layer used for analysis is based on the sub-types included in the original 1994 characterisation, and so represents the earliest HLC interpretation of landscape character types in Cornwall.

Herring (1998, 12; 44-6) assessed the Cornish historic landscape at three distinct spatial levels: HLC *types*, the most detailed representation, plotted at scales of 1:10000 and 1:2500; *zones*, simplified and generalised from the types, identifying broader patterns (Herring, 2008b); and *areas*, discrete blocks of the landscape dominated by a single historic process or event. Twenty HLC types were initially identified in Cornwall (Table 2.2, Appendix A) and their geographic distribution is illustrated in Figure 2.14 below. The original paper-based HLC resource, which was initially transcribed onto 1:25000 OS coloured maps (Tapper, 2012, 47) was digitised into GIS format in 2001 by Cornwall's Historic Environment Record team.

Ongoing refinements to the Cornish HLC and additional studies have helped to develop new ways of conceptualising the medieval landscape and what is revealed by Anciently Enclosed Land (AEL; Medieval Farmland in the 1994 HLC), the 'medieval farming and settlement heartland' (Young, 2015, 11) for lowland Cornwall. Since the 1994 HLC, separately funded research into AEL (Tapper, 2009) across parts of Cornwall has resulted in more detailed characterisations into local sub-types, reflecting earlier origins from enclosed or unenclosed strip fields, cropping units, 'barton farm' patterns and more irregular field boundaries.

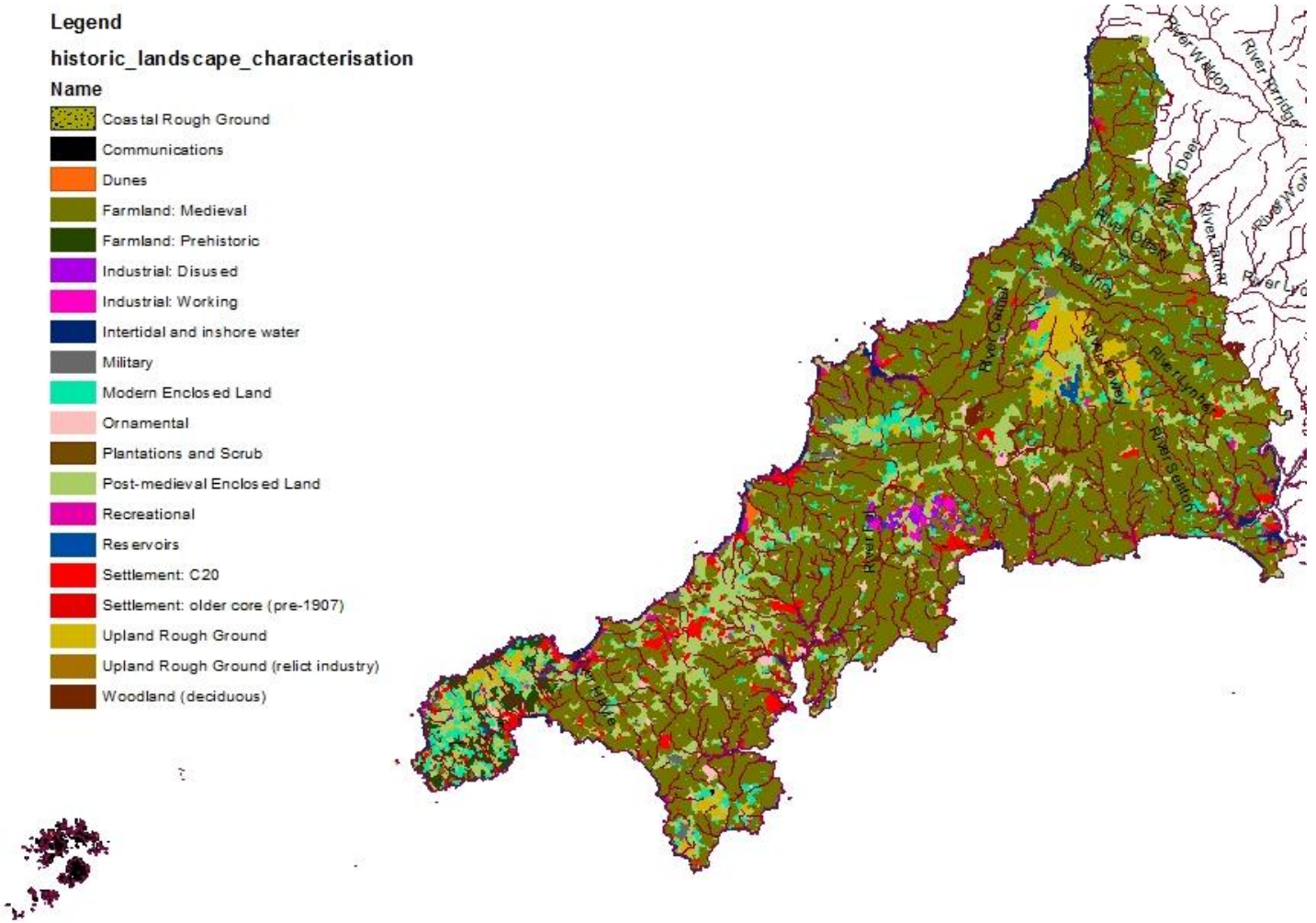


Figure 2.14 1994 Historic Landscape Characterisation types (Source: author's database (after Herring, 1998))

A recent study of lowland Cornwall (Young, 2015) used field morphology, HER event records, crop mark analysis, aerial reconnaissance, soils and geology, and statistical modelling to reinterpret about 20% of the initial HLC coverage (Tapper, 2012, 47). Although some place-name analysis was included in the research, it was mainly used as a predictive tool to identify settlements that were likely to be in existence by the early medieval period. The understanding of AEL's relationship to other HLC types has been extended by the research, along with appreciation of how land use and resource management have changed since the medieval period in the four lowland Cornwall case study areas (Young, 2015, 3).

Generally, HLC definitions of time periods have become less distinct as deeper interpretation has progressed in different parts of Cornwall. These changes show how a generalised 'broad brush' approach – or, indeed, too narrow an interpretation, whether of time periods or geographical divisions – can mask the underlying effects of more localised regions, or *pays*, of Cornwall. As we shall see, the patterns revealed in place-name and settlement distributions are likely to be much earlier than the later medieval hundred boundaries. To highlight these fine-grained patterns, we will include case studies within our analyses to illustrate 'typical' distributions of place-name elements across Cornwall.

2.6 Conclusions

In the foregoing literature review I have attempted to pull together much disparate material to illustrate what is currently known about place-names in relation to medieval archaeology and landscape studies in England. To an extent this has involved looking more at the spaces between disciplines to identify the most fruitful themes to cover in the PhD research. Nevertheless, the limited extent of Brittonic place-name research in relation to landscape studies in areas of Britain without a strong history of Roman and Anglo-Saxon settlement makes these easy to distinguish.

It is clear that the advent of landscape archaeology research over the past thirty years has promoted interdisciplinarity across relevant academic fields, broken

down barriers and helped to pave the way for linkages to be made. This trend has continued with the use of innovative mapping techniques and methodologies embedded through HLC work. With ever more archival and historical information, maps and more detailed online data becoming available, the PhD study builds on excellent previous research.

The following chapter will cover the methodology developed to analyse place-names in the Cornish landscape, and detail the selected data sources brought together to underpin the research. It is hoped that the present thesis will contribute to establishing place-names as an important component of interdisciplinary landscape-based research – and extend our understanding of how they were used during the medieval period.

3 METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

3.1 Methodology for the Cornish place-name research

3.1.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the research methodology and interdisciplinary sources used to investigate place-names and what they can tell us about medieval settlement in the Cornish landscape. The diverse scholarship contributed to the research base and underpinned the use of a Geographic Information System to illustrate place-names and medieval settlement patterns.

Following in the footsteps of earlier scholars, the present thesis seeks to investigate what Cornish place-names can tell us about early medieval settlement patterns in Cornwall by combining the following types of evidence:

- Written archives, including charters
- HLC typologies
- Excavation reports
- Topography
- Geology
- Soils
- Qualifying elements of place-names.

This thesis augments previous research on place-name elements in Cornwall by incorporating a Geographical Information System (GIS) platform into its investigations. Whilst Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) using GIS has now become part of a researcher's toolkit to facilitate analysis of source data through use of digital mapping layers (Herring, 2011b, 107-12; Turner, 2006a, 385-98), georeferenced place-name material is not usually available for interpretation. The author is indebted to the Cornwall Archaeological Unit for sharing a dataset extract from their Cornwall Historic Environment Record

(HER) covering place-names and archaeology for medieval settlements, drawn from the unpublished *Index of Cornish Place-Names*. Datasets from this and other sources described below have been brought together into a GIS which extends the Cornwall HER data with companion historical and geographical layers, including Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC), to illustrate the research in this thesis.

We now discuss how the theoretical methodology was developed to lead on to practical implementation of the research strategy.

3.1.2 Theoretical background to research methodology

This thesis hopes to show that categories drawn from the time-depth model (section 2.5.2), a key element of the original HLC approach, can be transferred from landscape archaeology to place-name and settlement analysis. As the time-depth model plots historical timescales against types of activity and material evidence, it identifies time periods and names for specific activities. An example in the time-depth matrix for Upland Rough Ground (Figure 2.12) is Landholding > Transhumance, evidenced by documentation in the pre-modern period. Extended to this thesis, such evidence may include recording of a medieval Cornish place-name such as **havos* for 'summer pastures' and its counterpart term **hendre* for 'winter farm', which in both Cornish and Welsh signify transhumance, or seasonal stock movements in areas of Cornish rough ground.

Place-name scholars (eg Cameron, 1969; Gelling and Cole, 2000) have long noted that specific designations of land use, such as ploughland, meadow and pasture (Gelling and Cole, 2000, v), are reflected in place-naming practices throughout the UK. With the application of geographical mapping to Anglo-Saxon place-names in England, Gelling and Cole (2000) identified topographical features as reflected in names for landforms, water features, rough ground, tracks, woods and clearings. Whilst topographical place-name elements refer mainly to aspects of the natural environment and its resources,

habitative place-names relating to anthropogenic elements can also be depicted by time-depth when researching the types of named settlements. Selected time-depth categories (Figure 2.12) relating to subsistence, landholding, settlement, and ideology compare well to constituent elements of medieval Cornish place-names cited below.

Bringing time-depth classifications together with the Gelling and Cole classification yields the following working typology for topographical and habitative Cornish place-name elements:

- *Environment / Topography*: natural landscape features, rivers, hills, soils
- *Subsistence:* arable, pastoral
- *Landholding:* common, estate
- *Settlement*: hamlets, single farms
- *Ideology / Religious*: ritual, ceremonial
- *Industry / Economy*: transport, fishing

Place-name elements were highlighted for their likely insights into research questions (section 1.3) from many possible candidates referenced by Padel (1985; section 2.2.2), which respectively denote habitative (eg settlements or farmsteads) and topographical (eg landscape features) types. Personal names also occur as a third place-name type, mainly in combination with habitative names, but are more difficult to identify (Padel, 1988, 14) and tend to appear in the Cornwall HER data as ‘unknown’ derivations. The dataset of 5138 place-names was scanned and seventeen place-name elements selected (Table 3.1) according to their number of occurrences, general distribution throughout Cornwall and how well they related to the proposed typology above. Each place-name element was tagged in a separate field for easier analysis.

3.1.3 Stages of the research process

In his discussion of landscape regions, Everitt (1986, 338-9; section 2.1) notes that the *pays*, or character, of a settlement zone is defined by ‘considerations of

geology and soil type…: land forms, altitude, contours, fertility, water supply, cultivability, woodland cover, drainage, aspect, shelter, rainfall, warmth, accessibility, proximity to water'. These aspects of settlement positions and the place-names that relate to them are reflected in the criteria below which have been used for analysis. In addition to the geographical factors above, we also include in analysis the following 'cultural' criteria, all of which reveal distinctions between place-name elements: relative dispersion and intensity of settlement patterns, Historic Landscape Characterisation types, dates of first recording, and combinations with other elements for each type of place-name element.

Landscape positions

Each place-name element type was analysed in relation to the position in the landscape of its analogous settlements, with a corresponding case study developed to show the typical landscape contexts favoured by each element. One task for the thesis is to assess whether the undulating Cornish topography – more rugged in eastern Cornwall, and lower-lying in mid and southern Cornwall – influenced the landscape locations of early medieval settlements and their place-names. It should also be noted that landscape positions are relative, rather than absolute, depending on where they lie in the Cornish topography. In other words, 'high ground' refers to relatively elevated landscape settings such as edges of hilltops, but which in the lower-lying lands of mid Cornwall may occur under the 100m contour. In the higher ground of eastern Cornwall, settlements and place-names generally appear at greater absolute elevations, which are detailed under Elevation below.

Positions of the individual settlements and their place-name elements were categorised by visual assessment of where they appear in the contours of the landscape as shown in the Landform PROFILE map layer and are illustrated in Figure 3.1 below:

- *High* – hilltop, edge of high ground, or at break of a hillslope (a marked change in the steepness of a slope) (denoted by H)
- *Mid* – halfway down a valley side, or mid slope (denoted by M)

- *Low* – near the base of a hillslope or in a valley (denoted by L)

The detailed breakdown of place-name positions appears for each element in Appendix A and refers to the percentage of place-names in high, mid or low slope positions.

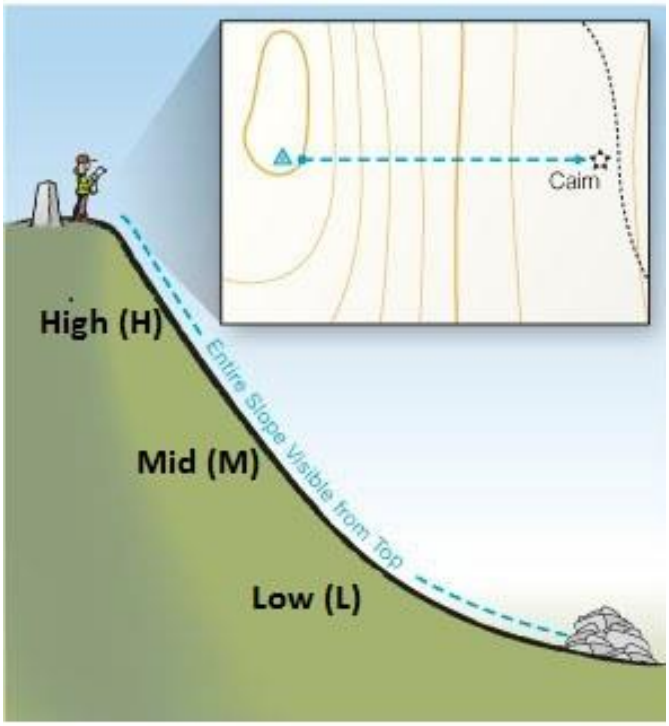


Figure 3.1 *Relative landscape positions for Cornish settlements in hillslopes in this thesis (Source: Forte, C.: Navigation in the Mountains: the Definitive Guide for Hill Walkers, Mountaineers and Leaders, 2012)*

Elevations

Absolute elevations of place-name settlements have been analysed for each Cornish hundred and are detailed in tables for each place-name in Appendix A. These have been determined through their individual contour heights as measured in the OS Landform PROFILE map layer. Elevations can be compared with soil type and land classification, depending on where they are situated within Cornwall, which may suggest whether settlement sites are more

conducive to activities such as seasonal transhumance in the thinner soils of elevated uplands (Herring, 2011c, 39). Certain types of settlement in such landscapes may attract a place-name element denoting its function, such as **hendre* or **havos* for 'winter' and 'summer' transhumance dwellings respectively. By the same token, however, higher absolute elevations do not necessarily reflect an absence of farming activities, although these may reflect an expansion of settlement onto higher ground during the later medieval period (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 54). One intriguing example is the cluster of five settlements named in **tre* in St Teath parish (Figure 3.2) overlooking the north coast, located on medium to light silty soils. Although they are sited at around the 150m contour on a steeply shelving coastal hillside and so may be thought to show later medieval expansion onto marginal ground, two of the five are Domesday vills.

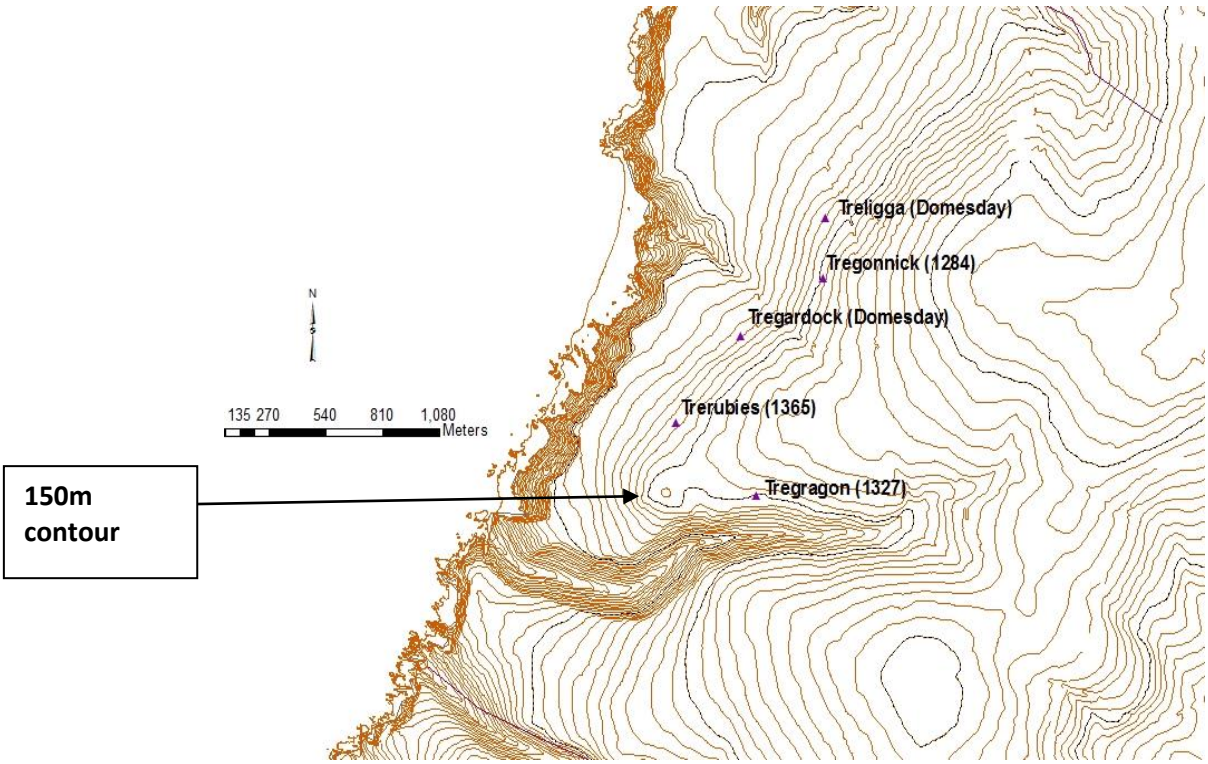


Figure 3.2 *A cluster of* *tre *named settlements and dates of first attestation at around the 150m contour in St Teath parish, Trigg hundred (Source: author's database/OS Landform PROFILE data)*

Scholars have not generally set consistent contour height bands within which to characterise settlement patterns in Cornwall. This lack of standardisation suggests an awareness of the importance of relative, rather than absolute, heights in such a diverse and localised topography. Another factor might be the southerly tilting topography of the peninsula itself (Young, 2015, 14) where, although it encompasses hilly terrain in most areas, these are not necessarily at higher elevations. Examples of varying scales derived for different purposes include *The Historical Atlas of South-West England* (Kain and Ravenshill, 1999), which shows its maps with a single standard contour for high ground at 183m (600ft), whilst Young (2015, 87-95) uses a set of height ranges for each of his four case study areas across Lowland Cornwall which details settlement patterns at lower contours: 0-40m, 41-75m, 76-105m, 106-40m, and 141-205m.

As this thesis is based on a dataset of over 5000 settlements and their place-names across all parts of Cornwall, contour heights need to be set at levels which reflect: 1) a general trend for decreasing elevations west to east across the Cornish topography, except for the far west, and 2) settlements in the upland areas of over 150m: under 100m, 100-49m, 150-99m, and over 200m. Initial heights set were found to be meaningful across a wide range of settlements and place-name types as confirmed during the analysis. For example, settlements named in **tre* are more likely to be found at contours under 100m in lowland parts of Cornwall and above 100m in the more elevated uplands, whilst settlements in **ker* – considered to relate to the sites of late Iron Age/Romano-British rounds (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 54) – tend to lie at contours above 100m except in the lowest lying areas.

In the tables in Appendix A, elevations are presented as numbers of settlements for each place-name element within separate contour bands, also cross-tabulated with dates of first recording and HLC types to show trends in naming or siting over time.

Proximity to watercourses

Proximity to watercourses, included in tables in Appendix A, is an essential requirement for settlements regardless of when they were first established, and whether their activities centred round pastoral or agricultural economies or other purposes. Place-name distributions may suggest, for example, whether access to water resources may have been more important for domestic use than for more intermittent functions – such as possible governance (denoted by **dinas* for 'fort' or **lys* for 'court') or specific types of work places (as with some **chy* forms, like *laity* for 'dairy' or *krowji* for 'hut').

There is little detail in the literature on medieval settlement distribution in Cornwall relating to precise distances from minor watercourses. In this thesis, to detect possible correlations, the distance of settlements with each place-name type from major or minor waterways was measured at intervals up to one to two kilometres (approximately a half to one mile respectively), and percentages at each interval were calculated (Appendix A). It was hoped to show differences in distribution patterns relating to watercourses for settlements according to place-name type.

Dispersion and intensity

There are many reasons why clusters of specific place-name types and their obverse, gaps in place-name distributions, may occur. Absence of certain place-name elements may be due to a range of factors, such as abandonment of early settlements; subsequent changes in name; other place-name elements preferred in that locality, whether due to linguistic or dialectal differences; or an overall lack of settlement that might reflect other underlying factors – such as unfavourable geology, soils, elevation, or distance from watercourses.

All place-name elements reviewed and their corresponding settlements throughout Cornwall have been identified and measured for respective distances using ArcGIS measurement tools to assess their general dispersion patterns. Locations of where they do, and do not, appear in the Cornish

landscape, were noted and possible reasons for anomalies proposed. Complementary distributions were also assessed to determine where place-name elements may have coexisted with each other, which may suggest distinctive cultural preferences. In addition, for habitative place-name types, specific distances and gaps between settlements are given that may suggest deliberate efforts to emplace a planned layout for land use. Figure 3.2 above shows a tight cluster of settlements named in **tre* of between 0.22km and 0.49km from each other, including two Domesday vills at a separation of 0.62km. We may speculate as to whether the later settlements represent an example of 'infill', or coexistent dependent minor settlements, in the centuries following Domesday. The place-name forms suggest combinations with personal names in the later settlements, which may indeed point to their establishment in the 13th or 14th centuries.

Compared with settlements containing habitative place-name elements, it is considered that topographical place-name elements may have been assigned according to differing criteria. Topographical elements are considered by place-name scholars (eg Cameron, 1969; Gelling and Cole, 2000) to have been used to designate settlements during the earliest stages of assigning place-names. It is possible that their use in naming settlements may have related to proximity to landscape features, as with those close to ancient monuments; this assumption will be explored in the analyses (see Introduction, section 1.3, research question 4, and Discussion, section 7.2.4).

Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) types

The Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) model, originally piloted in Cornwall (Herring, 1998, 27), is described more fully in section 2.5 above. We utilise HLC within this thesis to refer to landscape types containing settlements with medieval name forms. In doing so, we need to be careful that this method does not set up a circular argument, where the presence of early medieval name forms is taken uncritically to prove existence of pre-Conquest settlements. This is especially the case with the place-name element **tre* which

is known to have been initially assigned over a long period; first designations occur up to and beyond the 15th century, perhaps by analogy with earlier settlements (Padel, 1985, 225-6).

The rapid analysis of field morphologies which underpinned the original HLC implementation (Herring, 1998) noted that most settlements with medieval place-names tended to lie in the classic Medieval Farmland, or Anciently Enclosed Land (AEL), HLC type, estimated to comprise 67% of Cornish land area up to 250 years ago (Herring, 2006, 44). Subsequent studies, however, have demonstrated that this single characterisation is too generalised, and now recognise a long history of Enclosed Land and Settlement types in Cornwall that may represent thousands of years of field use (Herring and Tapper, 2002; Herring and Young, 2016, 73-6; section 2.5.3, Figure 3.3). With careful analysis of time-depth layers (section 2.5.2) in association with attested dates, elevations and positions, HLC analysis together with place-names should indicate land use patterns by medieval settlements across Cornwall.

Dates of first recording

The earliest dates of place-names in Cornwall are a notoriously difficult area to analyse with certainty, with a lack of written sources from the early medieval period (Padel, 1985, xii). It is widely accepted that many centuries could have elapsed from the initial establishment of a settlement and when it acquired a place-name; between the first use, or assignation, of a place-name to a settlement and its eventual recording; or at what point the place-name became codified in its final form. At varying times across Cornwall and for different reasons, place-name elements assigned to settlements were also replaced with others, which adds to the overall complexity of interpretation. We will return to this theme below (see Discussion, section 7.3.2).

Settlements presumed to be early medieval (eg 410 AD to 1066 AD), whether for reasons of archaeology, morphology or place-name origins, are attributed as such in the Cornwall HER dataset and differentiated from those considered to be established later, well into the medieval period (1066-1540 AD). The

timescale across which place-names were first recorded tends to lag somewhat behind settlement establishment and generally ranges between Domesday in 1086 AD and 1400 AD as the earliest phase for secure records, although a few place-names also appear in pre-Norman charters dating to the 10th century (Hooke, 1994). With these uncertainties in mind we refer to all settlements as 'medieval', bearing in mind that it is only those whose names were recorded prior to Domesday that can be considered truly early medieval.

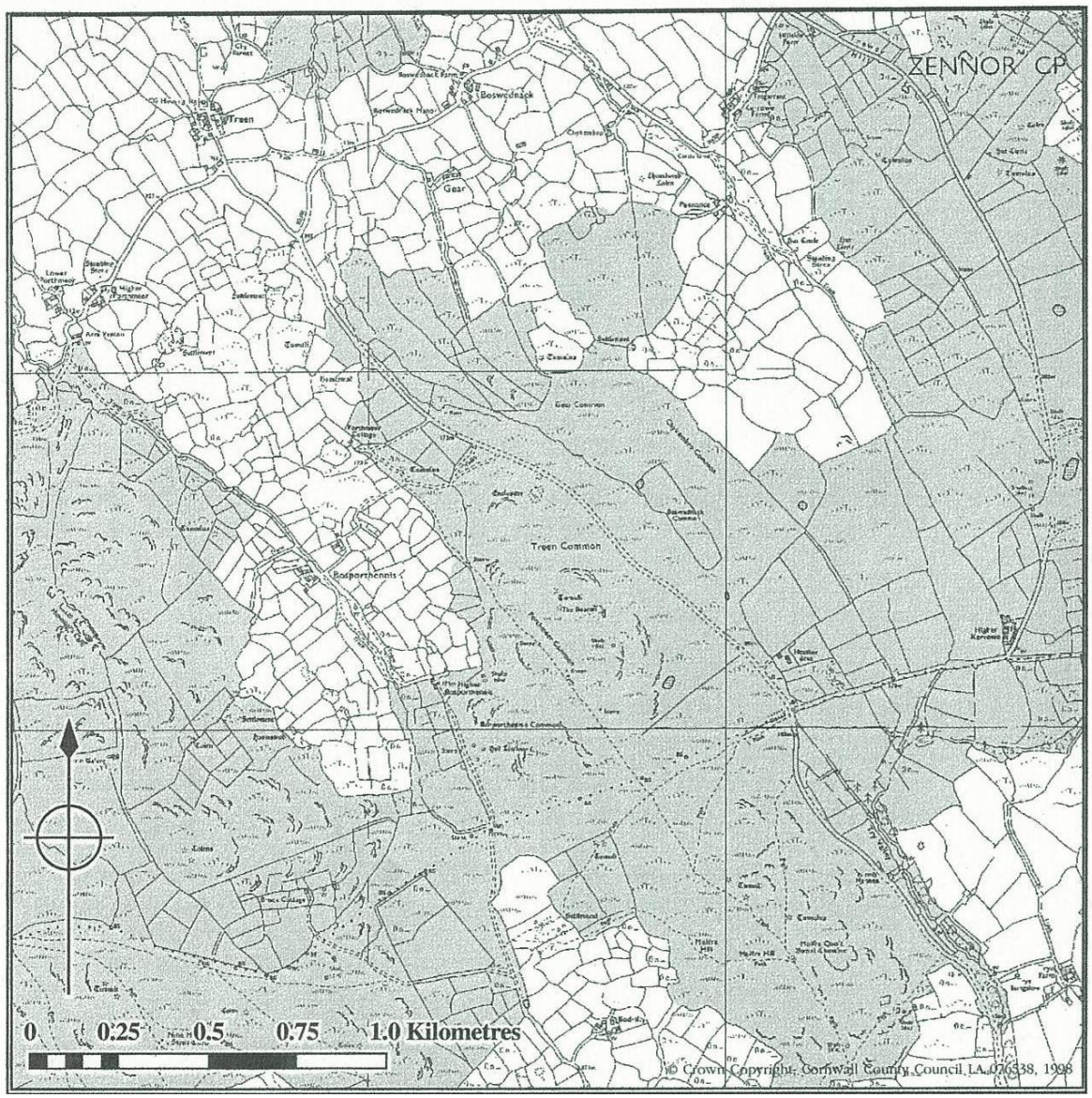


Figure 3.3 Anciently Enclosed Land patterns in West Penwith uplands, derived from prehistoric field boundaries (Source: Herring, 1998, 78, Fig 47)

The initial dates of attestation of settlement place-names appearing in their respective tables in Appendix A are enumerated as: 10th century, including names appearing in pre-Norman charters; 11th century, which includes all Domesday vills; 12th century; 13th century; 14th century; 15th century and beyond. Later place-names from the post-medieval period are included where the presence of early medieval place- name elements, field morphology or HLC type suggest that they were established during the early medieval or medieval periods.

Combinations with other place-name elements

Combinations with other elements may reflect underlying affinities between certain place-name elements and reveal possible changing preferences over time. It is as interesting to see combinations which do not commonly occur as those that do: for example, there are instances of the place-name element **tre* combining with **caer/*ker/*gear* in the name Tregear (section 2.3.3), which suggests that there was an overlapping period when both were in active use. By contrast, it is very rare to see **bod* elements combine with **caer/*ker/*gear* although they do with **dinas*, which might reflect differing timescales or perceptions of types of settlement.

Frequencies of combinations with other place-name elements may indicate vestiges of cultural associations in terms of how particular settlements were perceived in the landscape. For instance, analysis suggests that colours assigned could relate to prominent positions, either in height or on important boundaries (Pearce, 2004, 310-1). Animal elements, on the other hand, may reflect ancestral totems in some communities (Padel, 1985, 177-9). Patterns were explored east to west with a view to recognising fossilised, or formerly used, distributions in early and later practice.

Combinations between types of place-name elements have been analysed according to the following examples which further illustrate the name elements subjected to detailed analysis (Table 3.1). Generally, in Cornish, two-element names tend to be preferred over the three-element combinations which are

more prevalent in Welsh and Breton. It is hoped to shed light on the dominant patterns which are found in Cornish place-names and whether they have changed across Cornwall over time.

- *Topographical*

  Names for landscape features: elements such as **meneth* or 'hill', **hal* or 'marsh', **goon* or 'down', **ros* or 'moor', **arth* or 'headland', **nans/t* or **coombe* or 'valley', **tyr* or 'headland', **gweras* or 'ground', **maen* for 'stone'

- *Water*

  Names for watercourses: **pol* or 'pool', **fenten* or 'spring', **lyn* or 'water feature', **treath* or 'beach, landing-place'; river-names

- *Wood / Trees*

  Names for woodland: **coys* or 'wood', **gwyth* or 'trees', **kelli* or 'grove', plants, vegetation and types of trees

- *Habitative*

  Names for man-made features, both contemporary and relict: **fos* or 'dyke', **caer/*ker/*gear* or 'round', **pons/t* or 'bridge', **vounder* or 'lane', **t/dre* or 'estate', **castell* or 'castle, fort', **lys* or 'court', **cruc* or 'barrow'

- *Personal names*

  Personal names (such as *Dewy*) and anonymous persons: **manach* or 'monk', **yuf* or 'lord', **wuir* or 'sister'

- *Unknown (personal or river) names*

- *Colours*

  Colours as: **gwyn* or 'white', **du* or 'black', **glas* or 'green/blue/grey', **cough* or 'red'

- *Animals*

  Animals as: **margh* or 'horse', **bran* or 'raven', **lowarn* or 'fox'

- *Other*

  Mainly descriptive: **wartha* or 'higher', **wollas* or 'lower', **hen* or 'old', **newydd* or 'new'

We now turn to describe the various sources that have contributed to the Cornish place-name and settlement research below.

3.2 Sources for the Cornish place-name research

3.2.1 Historic Landscape Characterisation

We have reviewed above the development and content of the HLC dataset within the place-name GIS (section 2.5), and now turn to describe the other datasets incorporated as system layers which bring together historical and topographical information for Cornish settlements and their place-names. Further discussion of relevant HLC landscape types will be integrated into place-name and settlement analysis in the sections which follow.

3.2.2 GIS dataset sources: historical and geographical

The collection of datasets listed below have been assembled to bring together in GIS format a range of information sources through which to interpret Cornish place-names and settlement patterns in the landscape. Datasets have been selected to respond to the research questions set out in chapter 1 (section 1.3) and also for breadth of coverage, complementarity in content, technical specification, and their detailed description of individual attributes of landscape, both historical and geographical. Taken together, the full collection of datasets is intended to triangulate available data and support the 'correlation with a range of independent sources' (Herring, 2007, 21) required for academic rigour.

Historical dataset sources used

Cornwall Historical Environment Record (Cornwall HER)

The Cornwall HER dataset (referred to in this thesis as 'Cornish place-name dataset', included on disc as Appendix B with this thesis) is an extract from the much more extensive (55523 records of heritage assets as of 2012 (Tapper, 2012)) Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly Sites and

Monuments Record (SMR; now the Historic Buildings, Sites and Monuments Record or HBSMR), initially compiled at 1:10560 scale from OS archaeological records, Cornwall Archaeological Society parish checklists, publications, site investigations and historic landscape surveys. The Cornwall HER data extract in Excel spreadsheet format includes settlements and extant structures recorded in the early medieval and medieval period throughout Cornwall, georeferenced using National Grid Reference (NGR) *x* and *y* coordinates to enable GIS functionality, and displaying in the GIS as a point based feature class. Coverage of these periods is generally considered good (Tapper, 2012, 36). The dataset contains the following fields: Ordnance Survey (OS) grid reference in eastings and northings, sites and monuments identification for any associated archaeological remains, monument type description, period, form of evidence, and hyperlinks for each site to the Historic England Heritage Gateway portal to interrogate fuller versions of individual records.

Crucially, the Cornwall HER also contains the earliest attested place-name form of each of the 5075 early medieval and medieval settlements in the dataset, later expanded to 5138 for the purposes of this thesis and to include HER settlement types such as Churches that had not been available within the original extract. The corpus of Cornish place-names initially collected in an unpublished manuscript for the EPNS by Gover (Padel, 1985, ix; section 2.2.2) was compiled with further material from Henderson and Picken by Oliver Padel, and published as the EPNS volume *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (Padel, 1985).

The combined research by Cornish place-name scholars into the earliest attested name forms for medieval settlements was then married up with OS six-figure national grid references for identified individual settlement locations by Historic England archaeologist Ann Preston-Jones. Preston-Jones transferred the results on to an index card system (Figure 2.4) and plotted them on to a dye-line map overlay. It is these place-name data, now known as the *Index of Cornish Place-Names*, that were incorporated

into the Cornwall Historic Environment Record, georeferenced to facilitate location analysis, and eventually digitised within the Cornwall Council GIS system based on the Cornwall HER.

Whilst the underlying dataset includes summary information on the names of places under which settlements are first recorded, it does not break down derivations into name-elements to enable filtering and mapping of settlements in the landscape; the place-name research in this thesis has extended this capability. Unlike more recent site types in the Cornwall HER, however, medieval settlements are point-based, which may not prove an exact fit with the larger land units (Turner, 2006b, 17) to which place-names often refer. Settlements are plotted to 'arbitrary centres' as determined from features on available maps, usually tithe or historic OS series. A recent review (Tapper, 2012) for English Heritage (now Historic England) notes that it is up to the individual judgment of the relevant HER officer as to how the components of a complex site are recorded, and 'the extent of medieval settlements identified through place-name records cannot always be confidently defined' (Tapper, 2012, 63). Analysis of the original sites of settlements recorded in place-names must therefore be treated with caution and as an indicator, rather than a precise reflection, of location.

Historical map data for Cornwall

Ordnance Survey 1st Series historical mapping data to reconstruct past patterns in the Cornish landscape were downloaded via the University of Exeter Library portal through the Historic Digimap service, comprising six-inch to the mile (1:10560 scale) map sheets of the OS 1st Series 1840-90. Data were downloaded in tile form, each of a grid size of 8km x 8km. Detail is shown of settlements and hamlets in the 19th century; ancient monuments; field boundaries; roads and trackways; waterways; landscape contours and features. The maps illustrate an earlier layer of settlement morphology in relation to the overall landscape context prior to 20th century housing infill and industrial development. Compared with modern day Ordnance Survey maps, historical maps show what appears

to be a relatively little-changed landscape from late medieval times that retains traditional patterns of land use and habitation.

Rippon (2007b, 5) notes that 'past-oriented' research requires the 'earliest comprehensive large-scale mapping' available. These help to substantiate comparisons between the present day rural landscape and its inherited character, relatively undisturbed by intensive mechanisation and centralised planning policies. Although the 19th century map shows much that we assume to be unchanged, however, in many parts of the Cornish countryside there are areas where mining and railway activity already appear. In the absence of direct evidence of the features of the early medieval landscape, some extrapolation and triangulation will always be needed.

Historical UK parish boundaries (Kain and Oliver)

Kain and Oliver's (2001) historical parish boundaries for England prior to 1850 were downloaded in shapefile form from the Arts and Humanities Data Service via the EDINA portal at the University of Edinburgh. The resource was compiled on a base layer of 1:63360 scale tithe maps. Boundaries roughly equate to 1851 census parishes, representing subdivisions of early ecclesiastical parishes which were mainly formed by the 13th century, and remained unchanged up to the 19th century when they were 'rationalised' by mid-Victorian Parliamentary Acts. Evidence for boundaries was compiled from census maps, early Ordnance Survey maps, tithe and estate maps (Pickles, 2002) at varying scales.

The older established administrative subdivisions incorporated in this resource were noted by the authors (Kain and Oliver, 2001) to contain 'local area-based data' from between the 14th century to the 19th century, noting little available evidence to suggest creation of new parishes or subdivision of existing ones after 1500 AD. As such, the resource augments the OS 1st Series layer above by showing how earlier administrative boundaries related to 19th century settlement patterns. Whilst these offer a useful picture of a relatively stable local structure

during the later and post medieval period, the early medieval was probably a time of more upheaval as the traditional Cornish administrative arrangements were superseded by Anglo-Saxon governance (Todd, 1987, 275; Thomas, 1964, 72). The extent to which local systems were harmonised with that of the early English overlords can be inferred for parts of Cornwall by charter bounds from the 10th century (Hooke, 1994) and Domesday Book (Thorn and Thorn, 1979), both of which are incorporated into the analysis below.

Geographical dataset sources used

Joint Character Areas for Cornwall

Joint Character Area shapefile data at 1:25000 scale from English Heritage (now Historic England) and the Countryside Agency were imported into the GIS via Natural England's MAGIC portal. Data cover 159 UK Joint Character Areas (JCAs) as 'basic units of cohesive countryside character' which guide strategies for countryside planning and management. The layer contains outlines of the seven distinctive JCAs for Cornwall and Scilly which include generic and key landscape characteristics: topography, woodland cover, boundary type, agriculture and habitats, settlement patterns, historic and coastal features.

Whilst the layer provides useful details of the character of mainly upland areas in Cornwall, it covers modern landscape assessments and confirms more detailed information in geological and historical GIS data. An analytical report (Langanke, 2007, 5) noted that the methodology behind the mapping was inconsistent due to variations in interpretation of Landscape Character Assessment guidance around the UK. Detailed mapping can also vary sharply at local level (Langanke, 2007, 7) due to availability of in depth surveys of a given area. The dataset was therefore used only occasionally for display purposes only.

OS Landform PROFILE data

Contour and relief data were downloaded through the OS Landform PROFILE Service, a height contour digital mapping environment (Ordnance Survey, 2012; replaced from 2014 onwards by a more detailed digital terrain model (OS Terrain 5)). Landform PROFILE contour data at 1:10000 scale are depicted as a series of points linked by a continuous line. Data cover coastline, contours, air and spot heights, mean high water and spring tides, showing detailed topography of hilltops, saddles, river valleys and crossings.

PROFILE mapping data are based on a 1987 Ordnance Survey recontouring programme using photogrammetry, augmented where necessary by ground survey. Contour values are recorded in 5m vertical intervals and 10m vertical intervals in some uplands, with contours omitted in some very steep slopes. National Grid Reference coordinates are used at a resolution of 1cm on the ground. Some details are implied: waterways do not feature explicitly in the data.

British Geological Survey (BGS) bedrock geology data

BGS bedrock (formerly ‘solid’) and superficial (formerly ‘drift’) geological data for Cornwall were initially downloaded from Geology Digimap at 1:10000 scale, which enabled selection of geology layers for landscape analysis purposes rather than displaying all the solid geology features available. For surface features, less detailed bedrock data at 1:25000 scale were also incorporated into the GIS indicating soil types and the broader geological context. Data displayed include the three main geological classes of igneous, metamorphic and sedimentary rock (Smith *et al*, 2013, 5). As the bedrock is overlain by superficial deposits, where necessary data has been interpolated from borehole records or surface exposures elsewhere. At local level it should therefore be treated as a generalisation (Smith *et al*, 2013, 31) of the prevailing rock type rather than as site-specific.

The geology of Cornwall is dominated by a ‘spine’ of major granite batholiths (Young, 2015, 8), with lesser granitic intrusions in western and eastern Cornwall near the Devon border. The granite outcrops are surrounded by extensive areas of metamorphic rock which contains mineralised zones (see Introduction, section 1.4). The Lizard has the most complex combinations of intruded rock types and the oldest Pre-Cambrian geology. Most of the Cornish bedrock consists of Upper, Middle and Lower Devonian beds (or *killas*) which are characterised by clays, shale, slates, siltstones and sandstones. The complex geology has not deterred mixed land use from ancient times throughout Cornwall (Caseldine, 1999, 32), shown by prehistoric field patterns to have included agriculture as well as pastoral activities (Herring, 2011a, 166). Geological data offer companion detail to the contours as they cover the underlying physical detail of the landscape and give clues as to the type of activities it may have supported.

BGS soils data

The BGS provided licensed access to the National Soil Parent Material (NSPM) dataset at 1:50000 scale which was incorporated into the GIS. The dataset complements the geological map dataset and addresses a perceived shortfall with geological mapping display (Lawley and Smith, 2008, 3) of recent deposits at near-surface. It describes the sub-soil properties of the parent material (uppermost geology deposits) with simplified classifications of lithological properties, including a range of texture information, colour, structure, mineralogy, lithology, carbonate content and genetic origin.

Whilst present day soils data gives an indication of the distribution of soil types, these do not necessarily reflect favourable locations for settlement in the early medieval period. The soil types that the geology gave rise to in their unimproved state are generally poor at Grade 3 or higher, according to modern Agricultural Land Classification (Straker, 2011, 179; Young, 2007, 18; 2015, 9) (Figure 7.2). The highest granite uplands and parts of the Lizard have peat soils whilst elsewhere brown earth soils are

the predominant cover; a clayey loam associated with the Devonian *killas* becomes wetter clay in the northeast. Although better quality arable land is found in southeast Cornwall around a few major river estuaries, medieval farming developments in Cornwall such as the introduction of strip fields were not dependent on soil type or geology (Turner, 2006c, 4; Herring, 2006, 44-88). During the 8th century pollen records (Fyfe, 2006, 15) from lowland Cornwall suggest more heathland at lower levels, increases in cereal pollen, good quality grazing and no woodland clearance.

Office for National Statistics (ONS) administrative national boundaries

The Office for National Statistics provided the OS BoundaryLine dataset of administrative and electoral digital vector boundaries of England, Scotland and Wales (Ordnance Survey, 2017). BoundaryLine was originally digitised from Ordnance Survey's boundary record sheets at 1:10000 scale (or in some cases 1:10560 scale) based on generalised Landplan digital mapping for countries in Great Britain. National Grid coordinates are presented at a resolution of 0.1m which mirrors the source data.

Major rivers

The Environment Agency provided a shapefile of 1:10000 spatial polyline data of designated major watercourses in Cornwall. Designated main rivers listed in the dataset are usually larger streams and rivers, also including occasional smaller watercourses that were nevertheless of some importance. Names of major watercourses are included in the dataset. Major rivers data present a useful picture of the waterways that were likely to have been widely known and of strategic value during the medieval period, although vulnerable to the effects of industrial processes as well as changing hydrological conditions in recent centuries (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 70).

Minor rivers

The OS OpenData portal provided a small scale vector shapefile of *Strategi* data at 1:250000 scale containing details of minor rivers, canals, lakes and reservoirs, sea and coast, of which the more recent features were excluded from analysis (Ordnance Survey, 2004). Minor river names are not accessible within the dataset. Gelling and Cole (2000, 2) assert that, whilst major rivers gave their names to settlements close by, minor rivers are 'too humble to give rise to settlement-names'. Like major rivers, modern day minor watercourses are likely to have changed somewhat since the medieval period in terms of flow strength, direction and channel depth. Within the Cornish landscape under review they provide definition for valley contours, and offer clues as to why settlements were located where they were during the medieval period.

Minor watercourses may not have been as important a component of infrastructure in the early medieval period as major rivers, but nevertheless they could well have played a role beyond that of domestic consumption alongside animal husbandry and agriculture. Although minor river names are less prevalent in the landscape, fords and other crossing-places (Semple, 2013, 73) merited their own place-names (Cole, 2010, 41-52; Gelling and Cole, 2000, 65), and minor rivers are well evidenced (although not named) as pre-Conquest charter boundaries in Cornwall (eg Hooke, 1994, 49).

3.2.3 Linguistic and place-name sources (print)

As well as electronic information and dataset sources, a range of printed materials have been indispensable to the PhD research. The main sourcebook has been Oliver Padel's *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (1985), which has not only acted as a constant companion for analyses of place-names for this thesis, but has also served as the primary tool for Cornwall County and Historic England archaeologists when interpreting place-names within the Cornwall HER at the core of the GIS. The forms of names Padel used in *Cornish Place-Name Elements* are rooted in Middle Cornish rather than the Old Cornish of the early

medieval period, which has given rise to some conjecture when interpreting the earliest attested forms in Old Cornish of place-name elements (Padel, 1985, xii). To compensate for an attenuation of linguistic connections with Welsh and Breton after the early medieval period, Padel investigated the common features of Brittonic languages presented in Kenneth Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953), still an invaluable source of scholarship for its insights into the early development of the Brittonic languages Cornish, Welsh and Breton.

Another useful reference work has been Rivet and Smith's *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (1979), also based on Jackson, which has confirmed the use of very early forms of Brittonic place-name elements from classical sources. Thorn and Thorn's *Domesday Book Cornwall* (1979) and Della Hooke's *Pre-Conquest Charter Bounds of Devon and Cornwall* (1994) have each drawn on Padel's scholarship for early medieval Cornish place-name interpretations and provided contemporary evidence for their use. The *South West Historical Atlas* (Kain and Ravenshill, 1999) has given important historical and geographical background information, whilst the collection of *Cornish Archaeology* journals, together with Cornwall Archaeological Unit publications (eg Dudley, 2011; Herring *et al*, 2016; Preston-Jones and Rose, 1986; Rose, 2011), charted important developments in Cornish landscape archaeology over the past fifty years alongside deepening insights into medieval settlement archaeology in early Cornwall.

3.2.4 GIS development

The development of the GIS used in this thesis has enhanced the mapping of the Cornish place-names already incorporated in the Cornwall HER with additional landscape detail. GIS layers of the historical and geographical datasets described above were identified and downloaded to indicate topographical criteria for early settlements and their place-names. A 1:10000 scale was selected for the GIS for several reasons: it is one of the scales at which the original Cornish HLC survey was plotted, and most closely replicates the OS 1st Series historical map scales at 1:10560. It is also the largest map scale at which:

- The range of datasets from various sources imported into the GIS are available
- The limited computer processing power of the development machine (laptop) can function
- The most appropriate balance of overview and landscape detail at local level can be viewed in context.

The Cornwall HER dataset in Excel format is sufficiently versatile to support the incorporation of additional data fields as well as new records, of which 63 were inserted to make a total of 5138 records for analysis. Additions were made to import into the dataset selected place-names and other types of medieval sites such as Churches which had not been available within the Early Medieval and Medieval Settlement extracts. Alongside the fresh layers integrated within the place-name GIS itself, new spreadsheet fields were added to the underlying Excel data file (included as Appendix B, on disc) to denote:

- Selected place-name elements for further analysis
- Settlement status as Domesday vill
- Hundreds in which place-names and settlements were recorded
- Centuries in which place-names and settlements were first recorded
- Detailed commentary, giving derivations of place-names from the combined individual Cornish place-name elements and year first attested.

The new fields were designed to make it possible to search for each parameter separately. Once all fields were added to the dataset, each record of place-name occurrence was individually analysed and details expanded as above.

The GIS was also able to accommodate freshly derived layers. The Kain and Oliver shapefile data covering 1851 AD parish boundaries were reconstituted into the nine medieval Cornish hundreds by grouping their constituent parishes together. Parish affiliations with hundreds were verified using *The Parishes of England* for Cornwall, and map boundaries confirmed through comparison with

maps appearing in Padel's *Cornish Place-Name Elements* as well as Thorn and Thorn's *Domesday Book Cornwall*. Hundreds were then used as the spatial background context for analysis, and wider trends covering eastern, mid and western Cornwall built up from patterns observed in each hundred.

Locations of documented place-names were based on distributions identified in the earliest detailed maps used as a GIS layer, the Ordnance Survey (OS) 1st Series six-inch (1:10560) sheet of 1881. Place-names included in the Cornwall HER dataset were represented by ten- and eleven-figure Universal Transverse Mercator eastings and northings, with some less precise grid references extrapolated where approximate locations are known. Indicative locations of Domesday vills (Thorn and Thorn, 1979) are designated by four-figure National Grid references. Medieval hundred boundaries were compiled from their constituent ecclesiastical parishes (Kain and Oliver, 2000) and harmonised with those in Padel (1985, 351) and Thorn and Thorn (1979).

Finally, it should be noted that, although the GIS system has been used as a vehicle to bring together selected datasets and provide illustrations for this thesis, it has not been used to conduct detailed analytical operations such as calculation of heights of settlements or to correlate spatial patterns through advanced routines. These have been measured separately through reference to contour heights for each place-name and by using the measuring tool in ArcGIS to identify distances between settlements.

3.3 Conventions used in this thesis

Most of the habitative and topographical place-name elements reviewed in this dissertation do not occur in simplex, or uncombined, form. Exceptions are **hendre*, **havos*, **kelli*, **gear*, **coys*, and **fenten*, although of these only **hendre* appears frequently in simplex form. The place-name convention is to refer to elements whose earliest form is unknown, or does not occur in uncombined form, with the use of an asterisk (*) before the element. This convention will be adopted here to denote place-name elements throughout the

thesis and thereby distinguish them from names of types of monuments such as *lann* or 'enclosure'. We will also occasionally refer to place-name elements in plural by simply adding an *-s* to an asterisked form. Place-name elements on their own relate to settlements which bear those elements.

Both place-name elements and their sounds will be denoted in *italic*. Translations of place-name elements will be denoted by inverted commas ('x'). Ancient names of places such as *Belerion*, or Land's End, will be depicted in *italics*, whilst medieval names of places will appear as normal names without inverted commas. Printed sources referred to in the text will be shown in *italic*s except for Domesday.

We will generally refer to Cornish, Welsh and Breton place-names as Brittonic, rather than Celtic: Brittonic relates to the P-Celtic family of languages, whilst Celtic relates to both P-Celtic and Q-Celtic, or Goidelic (Irish, Scots and Manx; see Introduction, section 1.6). Where research has covered Celtic peoples or languages more generally it will be described as such.

Names for specific geological formations will be cited with capital letters, including areas of land and topographical features such as Bodmin Moor. Names for rivers will be cited with a capitalised river name followed by a lower case waterway. HLC types will be capitalised and described according to the labels and definitions which were assigned in 1994 (Table 2.2, Appendix A; eg 'Settlement: 20C' will appear as '20thC Settlement'). Dates throughout the medieval period up to 1500 AD will be designated with 'AD'.

Abbreviations to the initials of a term will be used after the first full reference. Terminology that has been abbreviated in this way appears in the Abbreviations section. The place-name dataset underpinning the thesis, based on an extract from the Cornwall HER, will be referred to as the 'Cornish place-name dataset'.

Tabular material in Appendix A is presented with hundreds enumerated moving from eastern to western Cornwall, rather than in alphabetical order. The decision was taken to do this to ensure that patterns are grouped together

according to similarities in in distribution in eastern, mid and western Cornwall, making them easier to detect. All tables appear only in Appendix A and are numbered consecutively according to the chapter and the order in which they appear.

It was decided with some regret that place-names in the Isles of Scilly would not be included in this dissertation. Of the full corpus of 5138 place-names only ten were drawn from the Islands. Due to their sparseness and the very different landscape context, they have not found a place in the research. It is hoped to return to them for more detailed study in future.

We now move on to analyse Cornish lower status habitative place-names.

4 HABITATIVE PLACE-NAMES

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will consider habitative place-name elements which refer to features of the built environment in the landscape, both those occupied in the medieval period and relict features such as Iron Age/Romano-British rounds. The development of habitative name types will be reviewed, together with how they are distinguished from other types of place-name. Place-name elements for investigation include both lower and higher status habitative names, and will be analysed to determine position in the landscape; height above sea level; proximity to rivers or bodies of water; dispersion and intensity of settlement; Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) type; dates of first recording; and combinations with other place-name elements. In this way we will explore what habitative place-name elements can tell us about distribution of early medieval settlements and their links with specific place-name elements across Cornwall.

4.2 What are habitative place-names?

Experts agree that habitative and topographical names refer to distinctive naming practices that may have appeared at different stages of their settlement histories (eg Cameron, 1969, 27, 37; Dodgson, 1966, 5; Gelling, 1978, xii). Scholars note differences between place-name practices in the mainly Old English-speaking areas of Britain and in those parts of the British Isles which originally spoke Celtic languages, which for the purposes of this thesis will mainly refer to the P-Celtic or Brittonic languages of Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, and parts of northern England, differentiated from the Q-Celtic or Goidelic languages of Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man (Koch *et al*, 2007, 6-7).

Referring mainly to Old English place-names, the pioneering place-name scholar Kenneth Cameron (1969, 27) defined habitative place-names as those denoting ‘inhabited places, homesteads, farms, enclosures, villages…In names of this type, the second element describes the kind of habitation, while the first may be a descriptive word, a personal name, or the name of a tribe or a group of people’. Whilst the word order of [defining/qualifying element + habitative

noun] that Cameron refers to is prevalent in place-names in most of England, he also identifies a contrasting practice in the mainly western areas of Britain which were Brittonic speaking (Cameron, 1969, 40-1), and more likely to feature a type of place-name called an '"inversion compound" … in which the defining/qualifying element follows'. Cameron (1969, 37) also contends that habitative place-names were not much used from the earliest times in Brittonic-speaking areas: 'Comparatively few Celtic place-names were *in origin* [my italics] the names of habitations. The vast majority are river-names and names of natural features, some of which were transferred to later settlements nearby'. The Celtic place-name scholars Coates and Breeze concur that habitative place-names were rare during the pre-Anglo-Saxon period when there was a Brittonic-speaking population in Britain, and extend the discussion to cover personal names: 'only rather late, apparently, around the time of the first written records of Britain, were names created which explicitly expressed a relationship between a person and a place, where a person's name was enshrined in the name of a place and not lost on his death or departure' (Coates and Breeze, 2000, 4-5).

Cameron's research was in the vanguard of revisionist *vs* traditional thinking amongst scholars of mainly English place-names, which eventually concluded that habitative place-names tended to be later than topographical ones. In her seminal work *Signposts of the Past*, Margaret Gelling (1978, 107, 118) reflects on the 'traditional' chronology of English place-name studies, which asserted that habitative types of settlement names were earlier than topographical types. For Gelling, habitative names are those which included the word for a settlement, whilst topographical names describe 'the physical setting of a place without mentioning buildings' (Gelling, 1978, 118). Gelling's and Cole's more recent research charts these important developments in understanding amongst Old English place-name scholars: 'in the second half of the 1960s…a number of studies disputed earlier beliefs in the chronological sequence of place-name types'. Definitions of habitative names have also changed, and now refer to names which have 'as their main component (the "generic") a word for a farm, manor-house, village or town', with the emphasis on 'buildings which had been constructed there' (Gelling and Cole, 2000, xii).

Turning to Brittonic names, Gelling (1978, 123) observes that evidence from the Roman period suggests that non-Latin settlement-names in Britain were nearly all of the topographical type: ‘in some areas they are regularly used for the main settlement in large conglomerate estates, within which there may be a number of less important settlements with habitative names’. Indications for later use of habitative names also include those which point to social or administrative arrangements (Gelling, 1978, 125). In these views Gelling echoes the opinion of Rivet and Smith (1979, 20-2), who consider that names recorded in Romano-British times which refer to both ‘technical’ activities and human habitation belong in a later class.

Over time, we can therefore see a movement away from considering habitative place-name elements in the narrow sense of inhabited dwelling-houses, towards a wider recognition that they denote more general types of buildings which are not necessarily inhabited (Fox, 1996, 63). This redefinition also includes within habitative types those buildings which were constructed for different purposes, such as for specific high status uses whether religious or secular – or for lower status uses, and not necessarily for human habitation (Dyer, 1996, 31). Such settlements may have been used on a temporary or intermittent, rather than permanent, basis, depending on their function. We will examine each type in more detail below.

When looking at habitative place-names, it is important to be clear whether we are referring to dwellings or settlements that were likely to have been utilised at the time of naming, or had been deserted and were therefore named retrospectively (see Discussion, section 7.2.4). Abandoned settlements, whether high or low status, may have attracted their own individual terminology, as we will see. In medieval as in modern landscapes, there were many examples of past monuments which may have retained a distinctive place or folk-memory for the local population, although they may not have been actively used at the time. Semple (2013, 24) argues that in the post-Roman period, local populations may have sought to associate themselves with monuments as a means of claiming control of a landscape or its resources, for instance by clustering small primary barrow burials around larger prehistoric burial mounds, as in Sussex. In the case of Old English place-names, Cameron (1969, 63)

considers that most of the common habitative elements were ‘in constant use’ throughout the early medieval period, and that place-names whenever recorded could have been given at any time. Gelling and Cole make a similar point for topographical place-name elements ‘in the earliest decades of English speech’ which, however, are not necessarily of an early date; indeed, they consider evidence concerning the earliest English place-names as ‘circumstantial’ (Gelling and Cole, 2000, xix-xx).

Gelling (1978, 143) presents a typically problematic example with the Old English element **bury,* referring to a **burh* or ‘defended place’, which might refer to an Iron Age hill-fort as well as a medieval manor house (Draper, 2004, 132-3). Clearly the element was in use during the medieval period for it to be adapted at some stage to indicate later settlement. Gelling concludes that if a name in **bury* refers to a hill rather than to a settlement, it is ‘virtually certain to contain the element in the archaeological sense’, which also tends to be the case for a village at the foot of a hill. In Cornwall, examples of such high status sites include hill forts and cliff castles dating from the Iron Age which have attracted names in **dinas* (Padel, 1985, 84-5; section 5.2.1), and for which nearby hamlets are likely to have been named. Place-name elements which have been interpreted as indicating originally Iron Age settlements (Padel, 1985, 50-3), some more substantial or fortified, include **ker* for rounds, with variant forms in **car*, **gear* or **caer.* These are considered later in this chapter.

Whenever they were named, detailed excavation is needed to assess if, how and when individual ancient monuments may have been either reused or settled nearby by medieval peoples. Elsewhere in Britain, signs of reoccupation have recently been recognised for high status sites (Semple, 2013, 94). Crewe (2008, 6) notes that, in England, settlement and burial evidence shows that ‘monument reuse occurred from the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period, and…took on a more restricted, élite role in the late sixth and seventh centuries’. Evidence has been found for settlements established in proximity to Romano-British sites, such as at Yeavering (Semple, 2013, 96), where construction of a hall was found to be in alignment with earlier features. Speaking of hill forts, Semple contends that ‘continuing occupation of a site or its hinterlands, or…reverence and knowledge of the place’ is now ‘well accepted’ in western and northern

Britain in the post-Roman period, and that the reuse of monuments as foci for settlements continued into the 7th and 8th centuries (Semple, 2013, 97). A Cornish example occurs at St Buryan, where Iron Age pottery was discovered in the churchyard – thought to be sited on an Iron Age *lann* – during a watching brief for a road improvement scheme (Preston-Jones, 1987, 158).

In Cornwall, many questions remain regarding such ancient sites as rounds, to which the habitative place-name elements in **ker*, **caer*, **gear* are thought to refer (Padel, 1985, 51). Limited excavation has shown some occupation from the late Iron Age and Romano-British periods (Turner, 2006b, 72-4) into the early medieval, such as at Trethurgy (see case study). The comparatively late recording of Cornish place-names makes it impossible to state definitively when place-names were first applied, whether the names refer to monuments or dwelling places, what their occupation status may have been, and if locations may have shifted over time. Saying this, early linguistic forms may give a partial clue, and we will consider these in more detail in the sections which follow. In relation to **ker* or its variants **caer* and **gear*, Padel (1985, 51) highlights a potential mismatch between the rounds and nearby place-names, which have a different word order to Common Brittonic languages in the early medieval period: 'To explain this anomaly, one could suppose that the names in "*car*" were all given after the monuments to which they had referred had become obsolete…that in place-names the element always denoted an antiquity, not a living settlement'. This uncertain chronology also affects higher status names such as **dinas* for hill forts and **lys* for ancient administrative centres, and for which we cannot assume continuing use or (re)occupation during the medieval period. Dating evidence remains problematical for all the place-name elements under consideration that were either created or named in medieval times, regardless of what type of habitation or topographical feature they may refer to.

4.3 Lower status habitative place-names

4.3.1 Introduction

We turn first to lower status habitative place-names, those which are found in many, if not all areas, of Cornwall both lowlands and uplands. These

settlements are assumed to represent the habitations of most Cornish-speaking peoples in the medieval period, and whose distribution should illustrate developing settlement patterns over a long period. Each element carries its own distinctive footprint in the Cornish landscape and offers clues as to how habitations in relation to landscape may have been perceived during this period.

We look first at **tre* place-names, the most ubiquitous of all Cornish elements dating from the early medieval period and equally common in both eastern and western Cornwall. **Tre* elements are thought to reflect a 'typical' lowland distribution of Cornish settlements which favour the better quality agricultural land (Herring, 2016, 195-6). The period of their coinage, however, remains uncertain: Padel (1985, 223-4) places their naming at any time between the 5th and 11th centuries and notes that they may refer to 'already-existing settlements', which can also imply place-name replacements.

We then consider the place-name elements **hendre* and **havos*, **chy, *caer/*ker/*gear, *bod* and their variants. Although these are not as well known as the iconic **tre*, **pol* and **pen*, they are generally applied to lower-status medieval settlements. Geographically speaking, to an extent the elements reflect complementary distributions in the landscape: settlements named in **hendre* and **havos* are slightly more prevalent in eastern Cornwall, whilst **chy* settlements can be found mainly in mid and western Cornwall beyond the natural boundary formed by the Camel and Fowey rivers. The larger share of **caer/*ker/*gear*-named settlements also appear in western Cornwall, although they may have undergone some renaming in the eastern part of the Duchy.

**Bod*-named settlements, on the other hand, are distributed throughout Cornwall, but with a major concentration in Penwith in the far west (39% of all **bod*-names included in the dataset for this thesis). Along with contrasting geographical distributions, each type of settlement is found in local topographical positions across Cornwall: **caer/*ker/*gear* and **tre* on higher ground, the latter also on mid slope; **hendre* and **havos* around the edges of rough pasture or downland; **chy* both on higher and lower ground; and **bod* tending to occupy lower-lying and mid slope settings. The landscape contexts for all the above place-name elements will be explored in more depth in the

following sections, which also include case studies for each element (Figure 4.1).

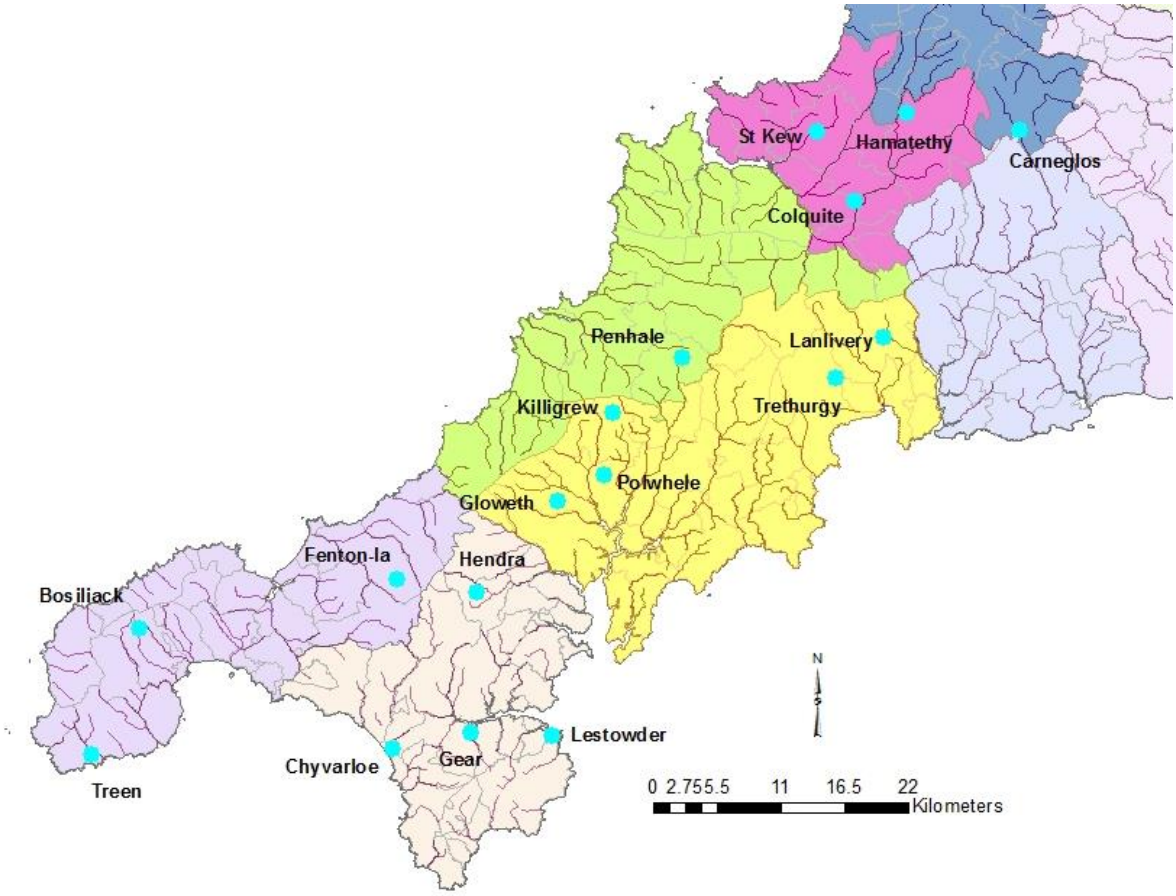


Figure 4.1 Locations of Cornish place-name case studies (Source: author's database)

The medieval time horizons for when place-names were applied to Cornish dwellings are likely to have overlapped, rather than be discrete. **Hendre* names are examples of forms which reference (with the addition of the element **hen*, for 'old') the **tre* settlements that are considered the classic Cornish place-name element, and are thought to link with **havos* settlements. Their complementary landscape settings have been linked to the ancient practice of transhumance, or seasonal pasturing of animals, particularly on the high moorlands of eastern Cornwall (Herring *et al*, 2011a, 265). By contrast, the majority of **chy* name elements have been recorded in more recent centuries, and show shifts in linguistic forms since their initial appearance as **ty* elements in the historical record prior to Domesday (eg Tywarnhayle; Hooke, 1994, 28-33). **Caer/*ker/*gear* names, as we have seen above, are likely to refer to

settlements close to prehistoric rounds, which may have been reoccupied in early medieval times as with the Domesday settlement Gear on the Lizard peninsula. **Bod* names are different again, as they bear a name element for 'habitation' which has been found in the oldest histories of all Brittonic-speaking peoples, including the ancient Gaulish language (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 273). The various landscape contexts in which **bod* elements appear suggest a very long usage, during which time the settlements they refer to appear to have undergone considerable changes in terms of status and relative position alongside other habitative place-names.

The following criteria will be analysed across all place-name elements in both text and tabular form. They have been selected to show the topographical and geographical contexts for settlements and their place-names together with their preferred combinations with other elements. The research aims to illustrate typical landscape positions for place-name elements linked with Cornish medieval settlements.

1. Topographical position in the landscape
2. Elevation by contour height
3. Proximity to waterways
4. Dispersion and intensity of settlement patterns
5. HLC types
6. Dates of first recording
7. Names in combination with other elements

4.3.2 **Tre* place-name elements

Introduction

**Tre* name types comprise the most common place-name element in Cornwall and represent over a quarter of the entire corpus of place-names covered in this study: 1365 (27%) of the full dataset of 5138 early medieval and medieval settlements. **Tre* is traditionally considered to be the quintessential Cornish habitative place-name element (Herring, 2016, 195-6) and is thought to represent the most favourable land, as shown by its widespread use to denote

medieval agricultural estates (Padel, 1985, 223). The combination of **tre* or similar elements with topographical and other types also provides important data on place-name formation in the medieval period, and will be assessed more fully in the following chapters. We also need to bear in mind that many **tre* settlements will have disappeared, shifted locations or possibly been renamed since their medieval foundations, and so the present-day record is likely to be incomplete.

Padel gives the meaning of **tre* as deriving from the feminine element *tref* for 'estate' or 'farmstead', denoting an agricultural settlement (Padel, 1985, 223). **Tre* has Welsh and Breton counterparts in **tre* and **trev* respectively which confirms its original usage in the Common Brittonic period before the languages diverged, with a wider distribution in Cornwall and West Wales than elsewhere. Padel asserts that **tre* names could have been coined at any time between the 5th and 11th centuries, based on the usual name-phrase form of Cornish place-names from the 5th century onwards in which a qualifying element follows the generic, in this case **tre* (Padel, 1985, 224-5). According to Padel, its very limited distribution in Devon in areas where place-names are almost wholly English suggests that **tre* had entered the Cornish and Devon place-name lexicons prior to the 7th century, after which time English place-names superseded Brittonic names in Devon (Padel, 1985, 225; 1999, 88). In addition Padel notes examples of two anomalous practices: very late application of **tre* elements (14th century and later) to earlier simplex (eg single element) names both Cornish and English, and substitution of **tre* elements by others, which he refers to as 'false *tre*s' (Padel, 1985, 228) – again explored further in the landscape-based analysis below. Hoskins and Finberg consider that late examples of **tre* in Devon and eastern Cornwall may represent the Middle English **atter* or **atte*, for 'at the' (Hoskins and Finberg, 1952, 122).

Padel proposes that **tre* names may well be relics of 'the native system of land-tenure which preceded the manorial system current under the Anglo-Saxons and Normans', based on long established **tre* names which appear in Anglo-Saxon charters (Padel, 1985, 224-5). He cites Thomas' speculation that **tre* names may have replaced the Iron Age rounds named in **caer/*ker/*gear* early in the post-Roman period (Thomas, 1966, 97). Based on the place-name

research in this chapter which compares landscape distributions of **tre* names with **caer/*ker/*gear* names, both these proposals have merit – although, as we shall see, there are more **tre* place-names in Domesday (Thorn and Thorn, 1979) than in pre-Norman charter bounds (Hooke, 1994).

Scholars have proposed that **tre* settlements were generally established as a part of a reorganised local economic pattern during the early medieval period, at a time when Cornwall had embraced Christianity and retained trading and cultural links with Wales and Brittany, but was gradually coming under Anglo-Saxon hegemony (Herring, 2006, 74; Herring *et al*, 2011a, 266; Herring, 2016, 197; Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 66). By the time Saxon overlordship was complete in the 10th century, established settlements that may have originally been named in **tre* would have been integrated within the formal English system in the period leading up to Domesday.

Domesday and the **tre* place-names it includes are only an incomplete record of the many smaller estates and settlements which continued to exist under the radar of the Norman Conquest. In the centuries of the medieval period which followed, the relationship between **tre* settlements changed as estates were broken up into smaller farmsteads; it is debatable whether this would be considered classical settlement shift, where one location replaces another nearby. Many single estates at their first recording were now divided into two, denoted topographically by 'higher' or 'lower', or by size or status as 'great' or 'little'. Each term was applied relatively late – not before the 13th century – and would have been themselves translations respectively from the Cornish **wartha* and **wollas*, **veor* and **byghan*.

Overarching questions to be addressed below are as follows:

1. Do **tre* names represent a later stage in medieval settlement development?
2. For how long were **tre* names applied to settlements?
3. Can **tre* names provide a relative chronology relevant to other place-name elements?

The reader is directed to the appropriate tables in Appendix A noted in the text for more detail.

Landscape position

As one moves east to west across Cornwall it is evident that **tre* settlements predominantly favour valley positions (Table 4.1, Appendix A), where settings vary according to the topography of the Cornish landscape. The majority are located midway down valley sides, although some lie outside the valleys in the higher ground of watersheds between them. **Tre* settlements are generally found widely scattered across medieval farmland, but mostly in a zone from slopes of valleys to the edges of uplands, with subtle differences in location across Cornwall depending on local topographies.

The landscape positions of **tre* settlements across Cornwall share features in common, whether they are sited at break of slope or midway down valley sides; there are fewer examples of base of hillside locations. In general, landscape settings for **tre* settlements are not substantially different from those for other medieval place-name elements. Of these, where similarities are highlighted with **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements it is possible that these indicate shared preferences overall for site positions, as other commentators attest (Herring, 2016, 196; Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 56).

Elevation

Locations for **tre* settlements across Cornwall reflect the local topography and mostly appear at elevations above 100m in the higher ground of eastern Cornwall (Figure 4.2 and Table 4.2, Appendix A), with 94% of **tre* settlements above the 100m contour to the north of Bodmin Moor. West of these areas there is a noticeable decline in elevation, with low-lying mid Cornwall showing the most **tre* settlements well under the 100m contour. **Tre* settlements established on the edges of upland throughout Cornwall may represent later expansion onto the higher ground. Relative heights of **tre* settlements within the local topography, and the access to resources provided by the immediate

environment, are more important in their siting than absolute heights above sea level.

Proximity to waterways

**Tre* settlements are sited in proximity to both major and minor watercourses throughout Cornwall (Table 4.3, Appendix A), which underlines the importance of access to water resources for the early agricultural estates denoted by **tre* place-names. Analysis of their locations confirms its significance in even the less riverine areas of Cornwall: nearly three-quarters (72%) of all **tre* settlements are within 1km of rivers, and at least 93% within 2km. Major rivers and their tributaries figure prominently in the distribution of most **tre* place-names across Cornwall.

In far eastern Cornwall, alongside the **tre* settlements in the upper valleys and tributaries of the Lynher, Kensey and Inny rivers, it is instructive to note the complementary distribution of **tūn* place-names which cluster along the lower reaches of the major river valleys of the Lynher and Tamar and the landscape in between. In several cases **tre* settlements are situated upstream of **tūn* settlements along the same river valleys (Figure 4.3); clusters of **tūn* names outnumber **tre* settlements in southeastern and northeastern areas along the Devon border. It is possible that in these areas **tūn* names may have replaced **tre* names over the period when the English were gaining control of the border lands (see Figure 2.6a for overall distribution of English place-name elements in Cornwall) up to the early 9th century (section 2.2.3).

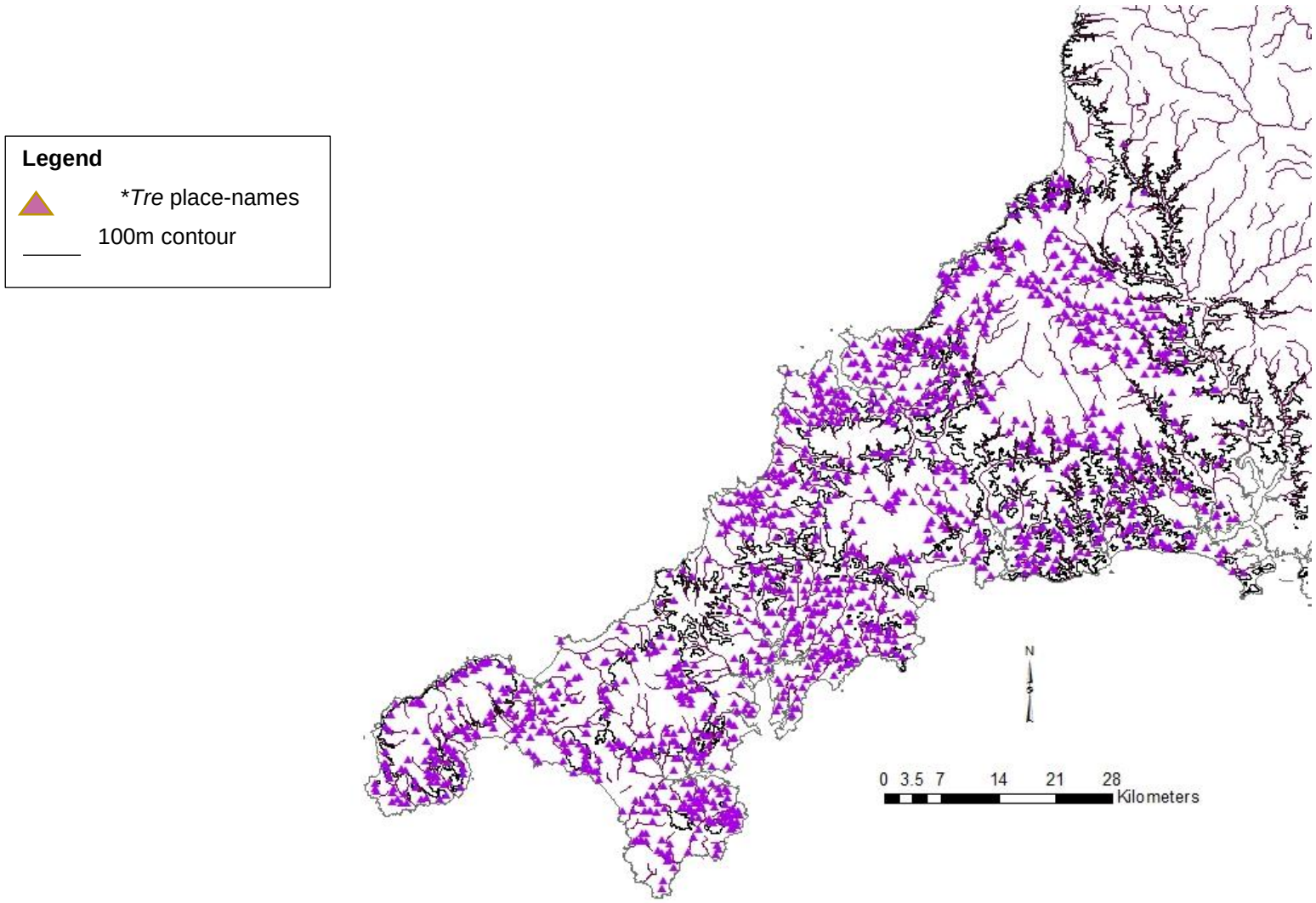


Figure 4.2 *Tre *place-names in relation to the 100m contour across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Settlements named after rivers are seen in neighbouring Devon, both with **tūn* names and without (Hoskins and Finberg, 1952, 303); examples include Kenton, Kennford and Kenn along the eponymous river Kenn. There is much less evidence for rivers to be included in Cornish place-names, unless minor river names might appear as 'unknown' in combination. Exceptions occur with very few major river names as with the river Fowey, which gave its name to *Fawintone* hundred in Domesday Book (from *Fawi* as the river-name and **tūn*, later West Wivelshire; Henderson *et al*, 1935, 28; section 1.5).

Overall, out of 152 **tūn* place-names in the dataset, 34 or 22% were recorded in Domesday, with over three-quarters of these to the east of the Camel-Fowey rivers, and others in western Cornwall denoting head manors as hundred names themselves. The element continued in use throughout the rest of the medieval period, with 27% recorded in the 12th and 13th centuries and 34% in the 14th century alone, of which one-quarter were Newtons.

Dispersion and intensity

Generally, along the length of Cornwall, **tre* settlements tend to avoid the highest ground of the exposed granite uplands, particularly where there is a dearth of rivers, and the central spine of downland that runs between them. In eastern Cornwall they are found encircling Bodmin Moor, with a small handful of late-recorded **tūn* names in tributary valleys on the south-facing lower slopes. Some gaps in all types of settlements occur, however, where a network of river valleys runs off the western slopes of Bodmin Moor, to the east of the Camel estuary along the northern coastal valleys, and on lower ground between the branches of the river Camel.

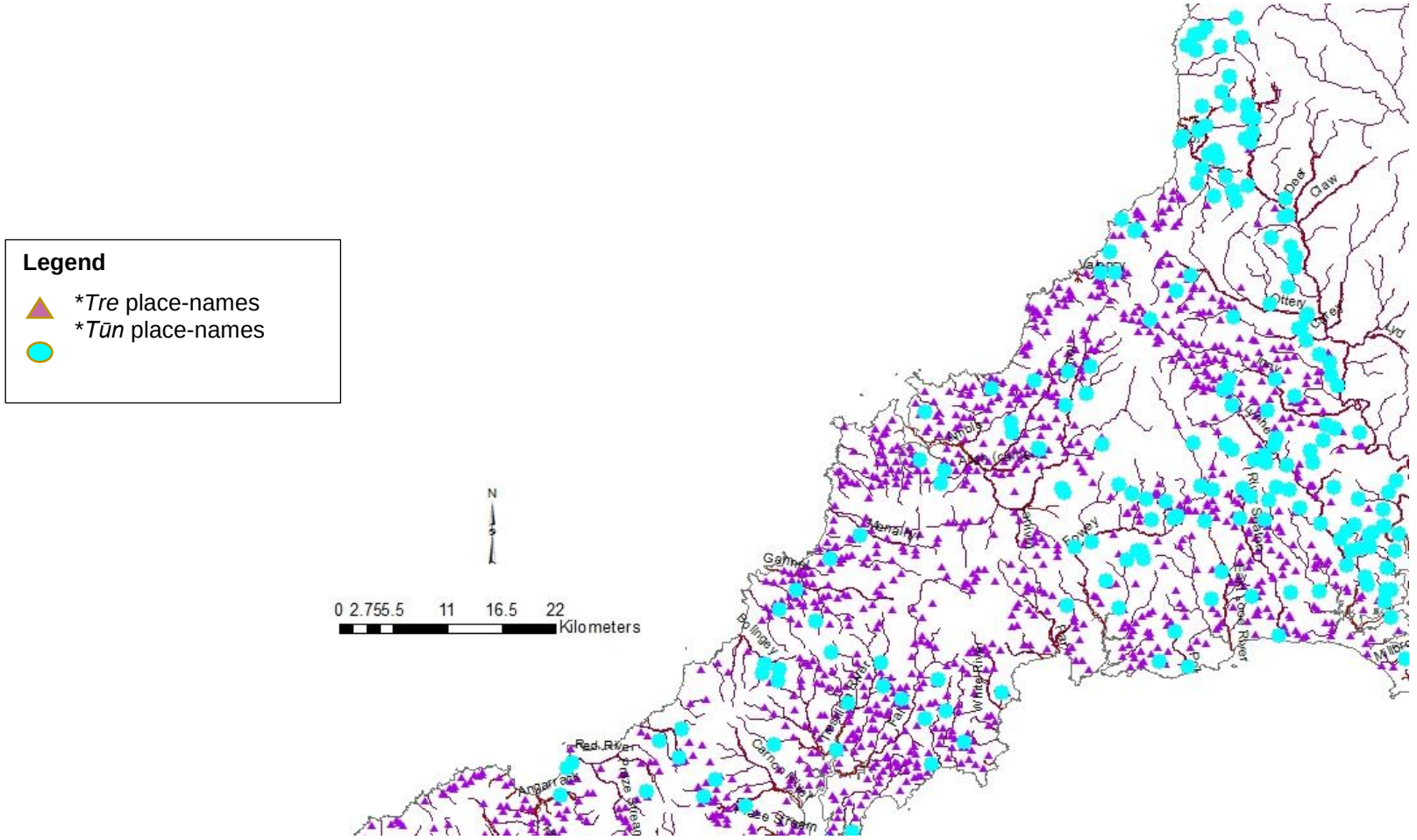


Figure 4.3 *Tre *and* *tūn *place-names showing complementary distribution along major rivers in eastern and mid Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

In mid Cornwall, the central downland is devoid of **tre* settlements although they cluster along the lower reaches of coastal valleys on the north coast. To the south, gaps in all habitations including **tre* settlements are evident on higher ground beyond the heads of river valleys, whilst others have probably been lost due to the degradation of the landscape caused by quarrying of the St Austell granites. A large share of **tre* settlements cluster in the western half of mid Cornwall in the inland tributaries of the Fal river and on the south coast.

Further to the west, in the southern half of the Lizard peninsula **tre* settlements avoid the substantial plateaux of upland rough ground, too boggy and poorly drained to support agricultural activities. As noted above, **tre* place-names on the Lizard are heavily concentrated on the eastern side in St Keverne parish, where they appear to be associated with emergent secular estates following the break-up of monastic lands. **Tre* place-names also are not much present on the Carnmenellis granite massif itself, heavily mineralised and one of the highest outcrops in Cornwall, although they can be found around the edges of the moorland and along the heads of the tributary valleys of the Helford river. **Tre* settlements in Penwith likewise avoid the higher moorland and have been established off the southern slopes of the moors in head of valley locations which cut deep into the interior. As in eastern Cornwall, the cluster of **tre* settlements either side of the Hayle river valley may reflect trading stages along the river, as they are linked to the river by individual access lanes.

Turning to the distances between **tre* settlements, the general settlement pattern is dispersed but shows settlement nucleation in a hamlet morphology (Herring, 2016, 193). Spacings between farmsteads within relatively short distances vary from less than 0.5km to well over 1km (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 56; Turner, 2006b, 78). On the north coast in eastern Cornwall, distributions become tighter and more regular: a ‘typical’ distance of 0.5km to 1km is the dominant pattern between **tre* settlements here, between the northern edge of Bodmin Moor and the sea (Figure 3.2).

In mid Cornwall, the intensity of **tre* settlements declines at the head of the Fal river estuary, but picks up again to its northeast and on the Roseland peninsula before becoming more dispersed again towards St Austell in the east. Where clusters of **tre* settlements appear these are at distances of around 0.5km from each other and remain nucleated in character, expanding up to between 0.5km and 1km towards the north coast. These spacings may suggest a regular pattern (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 56).

Further west, in areas where **tre* settlements are at their densest, there again appear to be similar distances between nucleated settlements in hamlet forms: **tre* settlements in St Keverne parish are dispersed at around 0.5km from each other. Even closer together, near the south coast in Sithney parish examples of discrete **tre* settlements exist, each with their own nucleus, which are separated from each other by less than 300m. Essentially no more than two fields apart, these spacings suggest origins as a single settlement which later subdivided. Closely spaced **tre* settlements continue in the lower contours of West Penwith, dispersed at regular intervals of about 1km. Settlement types occur as typical nucleated hamlets, with clusters containing farms with associated cottages and outbuildings.

Throughout Cornwall, in the areas where **tre* settlements remain there is therefore the appearance of a 'standard' pattern of spacing, where distances of between 0.5km and 1km seem to be the norm. It is possible that resource sharing was in effect built into the establishment of the **tre* settlement 'system' (Herring, 2006, 74), when enclosed rounds gave way to unenclosed settlements with shared access to surrounding land (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 56-63). Herring *et al* (2011a, 266) have asserted that the early medieval hamlets, or *tref*s, typically contained a mix of about 125 acres of land including rough pasture, which could have supported groups of between four and five households.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

When assessing HLC types, especially in relation to **tre* place-names, it is important not to use a circular argument that implies cause and effect: that the

naming in **tre* is *characteristic* of Medieval Farmland, or vice versa. Generally, **tre* settlements do appear to show a strong association with Medieval Farmland (Table 4.2, Appendix A), but this is to be expected; their presence was used as a determining factor to characterise Medieval Farmland in the earliest 1994 Cornwall HLC. Subsequent characterisation studies (eg Young, 2015) have broken down the Medieval Farmland characterisation into a range of distinct subtypes, but these are not covered in depth in this thesis.

Despite this overall context, more local variations in patterns remain. In eastern Cornwall close to the Devon border there is a complementary distribution with **tūn* names (Figure 4.4), whilst in the far west Penwith divides sharply into two HLC types. To the west, in what is today West Penwith, the largest share of **tre* names is established in medieval farmland initially classed as Prehistoric Farmland in the 1994 HLC; although it continued to be farmed throughout the medieval period and indeed to the present day, this type has been characterised as having prehistoric origins. By contrast, land that was originally characterised as Medieval Farmland predominates as the main **tre* settlement type to the east of the narrowest part of the peninsula, straddling either side of the Hayle river valley and Mount's Bay.

In eastern Cornwall, it seems that almost everywhere the medieval character of the Medieval Farmland has been largely retained, probably for long after the period when **tre* place-names represented fresh settlements. By contrast, **tre* settlements in mid and western Cornwall show more evidence of later enclosure, which suggests that there has been greater reorganisation of the landscape since medieval times. Far western Penwith is markedly different, not only with fewer settlements named in **tre* – which, as we shall see, is likely to relate to local preference in place-naming – but whose HLC types may suggest a pattern of landscape use traceable back to the prehistoric period.

Dates of first recording

Assessing the actual dates of **tre* settlements across Cornwall based on their first recording is notoriously difficult. The earliest instances of **tre* appear in pre-Domesday charter bounds and show use of the element since early medieval

times; the element continued to be recorded for the first time up to and beyond the 15th century (Table 4.2, Appendix A). Dates of first recording, however, do not confirm for how long settlements may have existed before their names were formally recognised. Patterns that appear across Cornwall may be due as much to local efforts to record settlements in certain parishes rather than to any general drive to develop or name newly established **tre* settlements. We also need to bear in mind that many settlements will have been lost to history, some will have moved, and others will have had their names changed to (or from) **tre* – possibly for local reasons that have long disappeared. Some late renamed examples can be identified and will be looked at when we consider combinations with **tre* names below.

Generally, **tre* settlements reflect a similar pattern to other dates for first attestation of names in Cornwall, where the earliest names recorded were almost everywhere followed by a dearth of recording in the 12th century which picked up again in the 13th century. The general expansion of population as shown by associated settlements in the 14th century is also well evidenced (Herring *et al*, 2011b, 288), as most of Cornwall shows the greatest share of fresh recordings in this century. By the 15th century, with less pressure on land resources, numbers of new **tre* settlements declined substantially.

**Tre* settlements comprise 29% of Domesday vills, of which the majority are in eastern Cornwall and the smallest number in the far west (Thorn and Thorn, 1979). This distribution is characteristic of a general decline in Domesday vills from east to west, which may reflect more active recording nearer to Devon by English overlords post-Conquest; more distant areas might not have come under close scrutiny. Compared with Domesday vills, only eleven **tre*-named settlements are recorded in the Cornish place-name dataset within the 53 locations listed in pre-Domesday charters, all from southerly areas of Cornwall (Figure 4.4). A process of estate fragmentation on the Lizard peninsula is illustrated by three 10th century estates (Traboe, Trethewey and Trevallack), where additional **tre* settlements (Trenance and Trembraze) appear by Domesday (Hooke, 1994, 51). In this area, the Meneage (or 'monkish land') on the eastern side of the Lizard, land which had belonged to the religious house at St Keverne from an early date was deliberately broken up by the reigning

monarchs and granted to secular landholders in the 10th century (Hooke, 1999, 99-101; Pearce, 2004, 291).

Although we are looking mainly at higher status settlements in both sources, we can see that there is a marked difference between the few **tre* names appearing in pre-Norman charter bounds from the 10th century and the large increase appearing in the Domesday Book. We may speculate that – although **tre* settlements may have rapidly become more important over the intervening century – it is possible that there was a substantial influx of new agricultural estates named in **tre* set up between the 10th century and 11th century which were considered high status at their time of establishment, and represented larger holdings that had been broken up.

In the century following Domesday eastern and mid Cornwall showed unusually high numbers of initial **tre* recordings, followed in the 13th century by a much bigger corpus of **tre* names across Cornwall. This trend may reflect population expansion into fresh settlements as well as a renewed impetus to set names down (see Discussion, section 7.2.1). It is interesting too to survey the later dates of 26 **tre* names (Table 4.6) which specifically relate to new settlements (as variants of **tre* or 'estate' + **neweth* or 'new'), and are in the lowlands of western Cornwall: all but two date from the 13th century or later, and half from the 14th century.

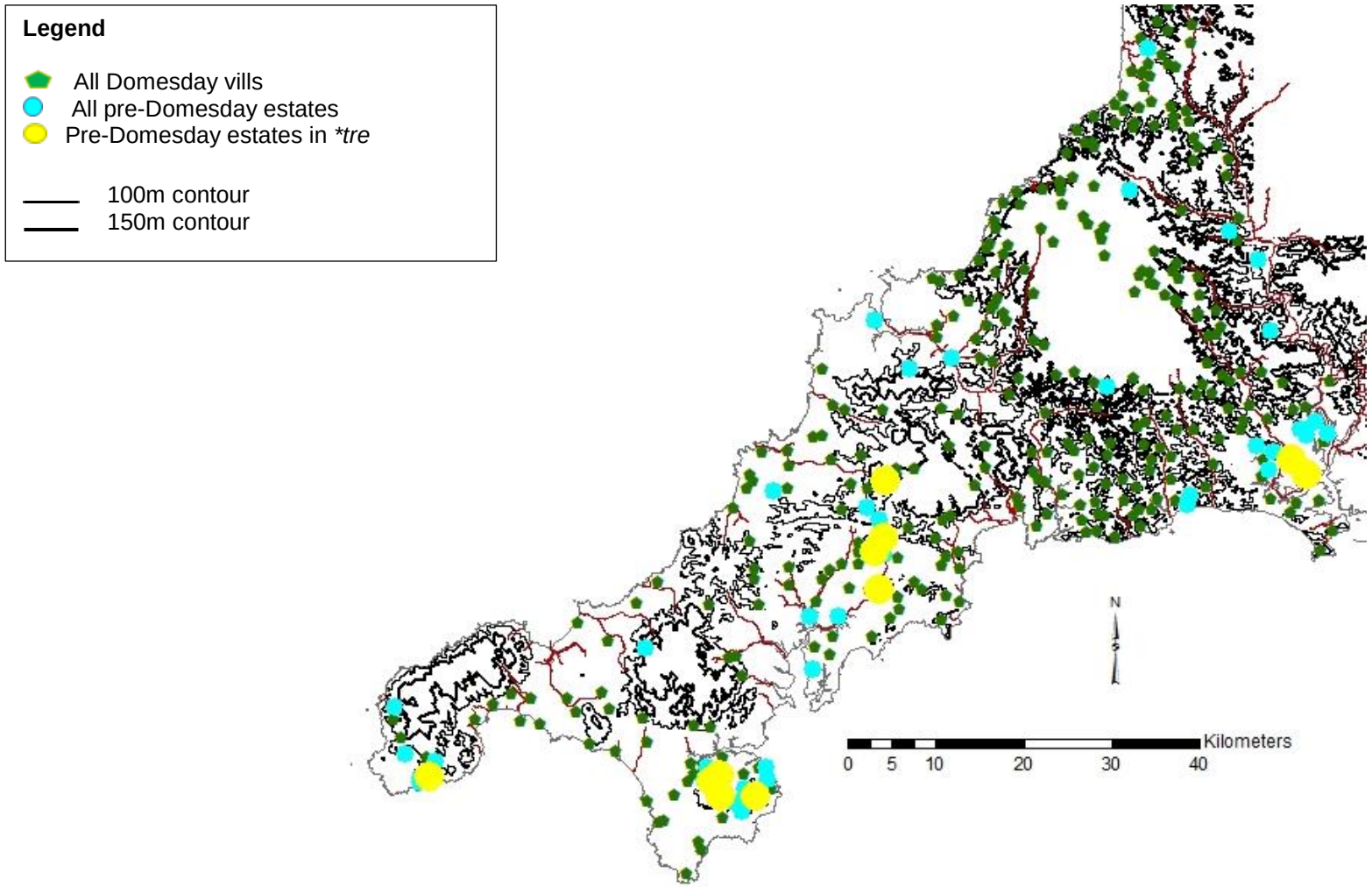


Figure 4.4 *Pre-Domesday* *tre *place-names against all pre-Domesday place-names and Domesday vills (Source: author's database)*

Combinations with other place-name elements

According to Cameron (1969) and Gelling and Cole (2000), topographical place-name elements form the earliest type to be named. If so, it would be expected that the naming practices in those easternmost areas of Cornwall which lost the Cornish language earliest are most likely to use topographical elements in combination with **tre* (Table 4.4, Appendix A). Indeed this does appear to be the case in these areas: the combined classes of topographical elements including water and wood/trees far outnumber habitative. Other parts of eastern Cornwall show similar percentages of topographical and other names and a higher share of habitative names, except for Lesnewth which was established as a hundred relatively late and shows the highest percentage of descriptive 'other' names.

We might also expect the obverse to be true: namely, that those westernmost parts of Cornwall where Cornish died out latest are likely to have the lowest number of all types of topographical names, as there would have been much more time for personal or habitative elements to be adopted. Whilst the far west does have the lowest number of topographical elements in combination with **tre*, these still comprise almost one third of all elements. However, other parts of western Cornwall have a very low proportion of habitative name elements but the highest percentages of 'other' types of name elements, which may suggest a local shift towards descriptive naming practices. Padel (1985, 229-230) suggests that personal names may account for at least some of the unknown attributions for **tre* in Kerrier, and indeed this may also be the case elsewhere.

What can we infer from this mixed picture? It seems that topographical and habitative name elements cannot be taken as having a complementary distribution. Where descriptive elements refer to components of paired settlements such as 'higher', 'lower', 'great', 'little' and 'new', these represent relatively late designations to originally single settlements which were later subdivided. Mainly in eastern Cornwall, we see numerous examples of settlements which appear to have been renamed (Figure 4.5 and Table 4.5, Appendix A) to **tre* from their first recording with other place-name forms, and

also where **tre* has been used to record settlements at a comparatively late date, often from earlier English names. Finally, many of the names in eastern Cornwall that have had **tre* affixed have become hybrid by so doing: in other words, they were assigned to simplex topographical English place-name elements such as ‘hill’, ‘ford’, or ‘leigh’ for field.

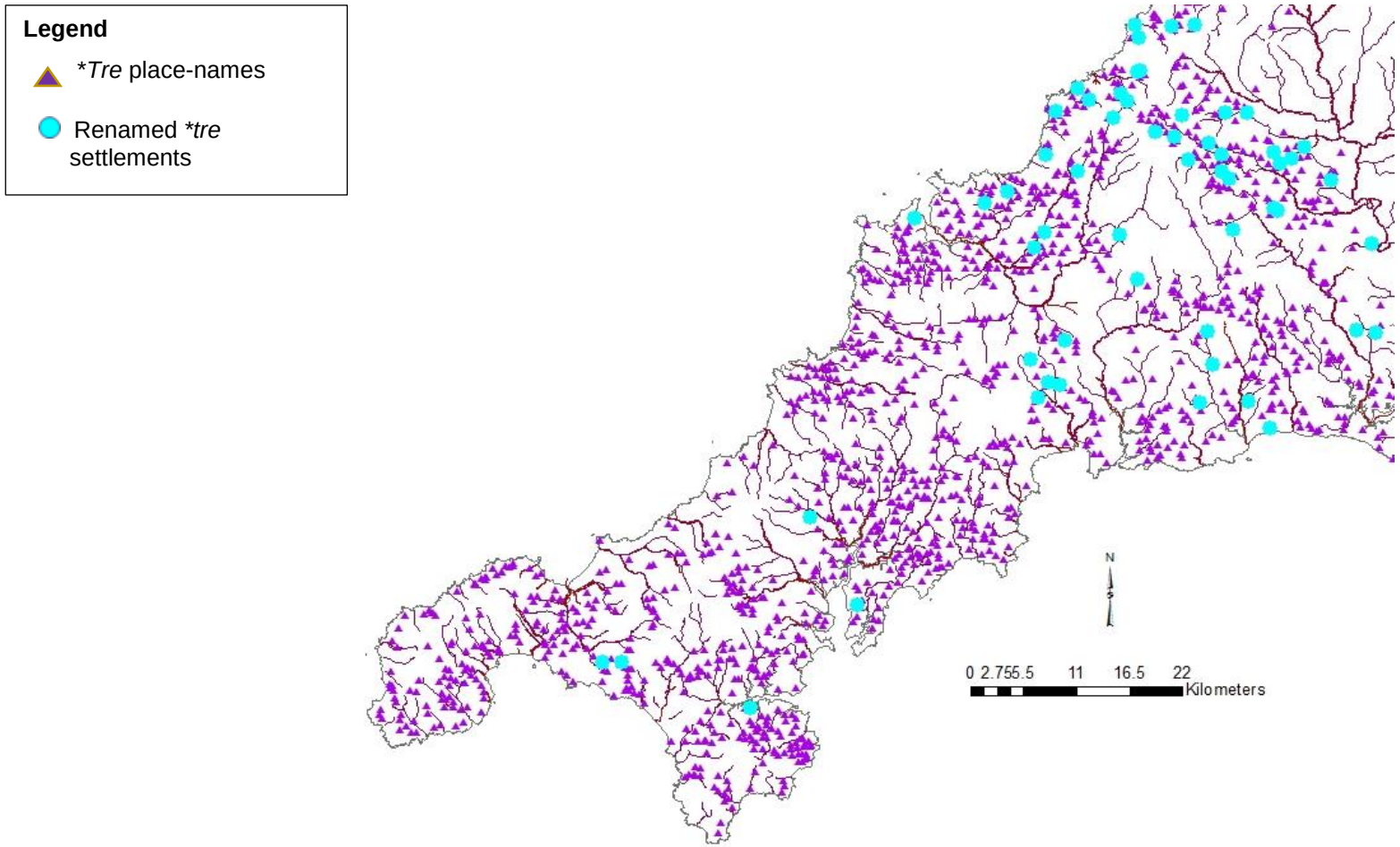


Figure 4.5 Locations of settlements renamed with *tre *across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Case study: Trethurgy

Trethurgy (Figures 4.6-4.10) derives from **tre* combined with **doferghi*, for 'otter', and was first recorded as *Tredheuerghi* around 1200 AD. Padel (1985, 224) suggests that the latest time when most **tre* names were originally formed is likely to have been around 1100 AD, as attested by combinations with Brittonic personal names. **Tre*, or *tref*, refers to an early medieval agricultural estate, as distinguished from individual dwelling-houses. It is often associated with a 'radical overhaul' of field systems that include strip field patterns at 'hamlet level' (Herring, 2011a, 168; Herring *et al*, 2011a, 267), which researchers consider may have had their origins in the 8th century.

Close to Trethurgy village (Figures 4.6 and 4.7), Trethurgy Round (Figures 4.8 and 4.9) is one of the most completely excavated Late Iron Age/Romano-British roundhouse sites in Cornwall. Enclosed by a univallate bank and ditch, Trethurgy Round appeared as an irregular oval located on a gentle east-facing slope at 167m about 4km inland from St Austell Bay. It was investigated by Quinnell (as Miles) in 1973 and found to have contained five houses (Miles, 1973, 25) during several centuries of occupation, with excavation evidence including Romano-British ceramics (Williams, 1987) and coins. Built in the mid-2nd century (Quinnell, 2004); occupation continued until at least the first half of the 6th century (Miles and Miles, 1973, 28; Todd, 1987, 225), as dated by imported Mediterranean pottery.

The medieval settlement of Trethurgy to which the place-name refers is located 0.33km southeast of Trethurgy Round. The settlement itself today lies in the HLC type 20thC Settlement, whilst the round is in Medieval Farmland. Trethurgy village is located at a height of 160m in the middle of a gentle south-facing hillslope, on the eastern side of a narrow valley opposite to Trethurgy Round on the western side (Figure 4.10). Below both sites the land falls away to the southeast to the edge of a platform before descending more steeply towards St Austell Bay. The medieval core of the settlement appears to lie at the old crossroads of the village, with strip fields evident on the eastern side, according

to the OS 1st Series map (Figure 4.8). The map also shows industrial activity to the south to be present by the late 19th century with mines and quarries evident nearby. Although the medieval settlement lies at a relatively high absolute elevation, its mid slope south-facing setting offers a sheltered location a short distance away from an established Romano-British enclosure, close enough to the coast to benefit from overseas trade.

Figure 4.6 Modern day Trethurgy village (Source: Aerial Digimap)

Figure 4.7 Trethurgy Farm, on the eastern edge of Trethurgy village, with St Austell Bay in the distance (Source: author)

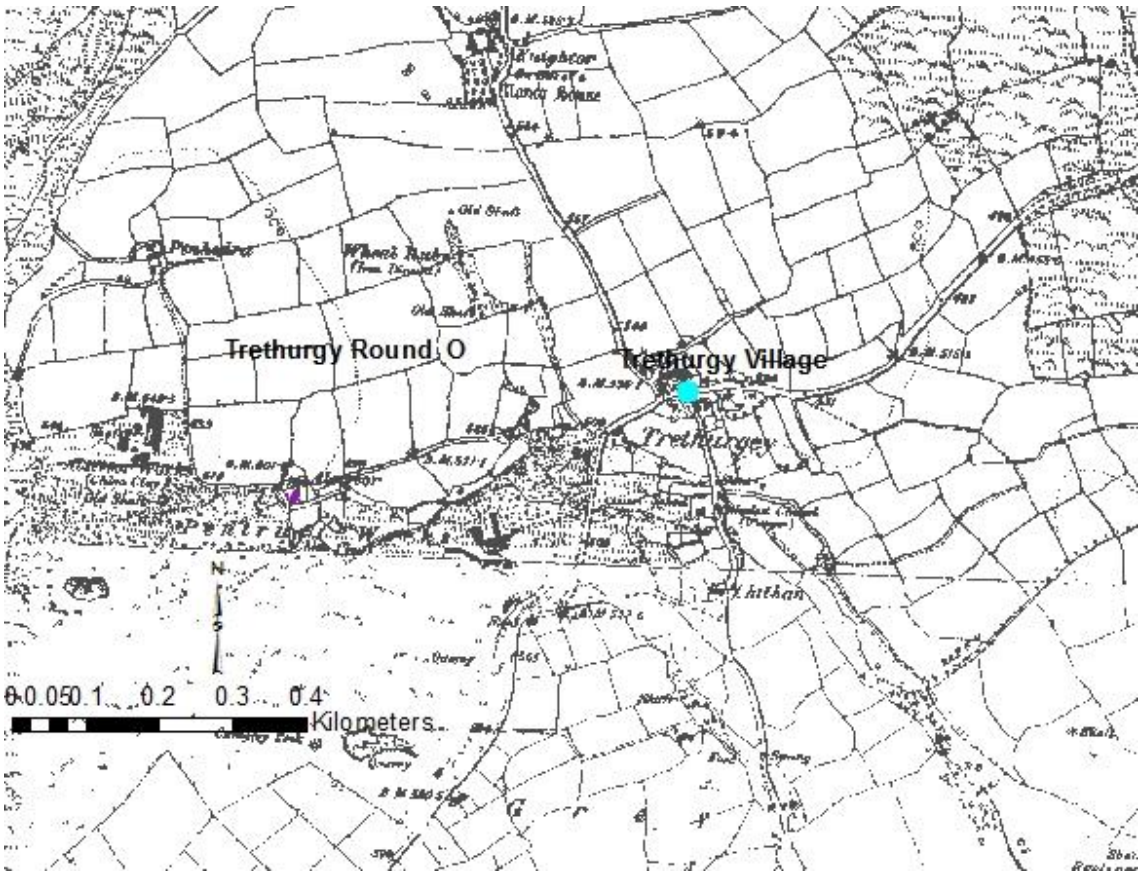


Figure 4.8 Trethurgy: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

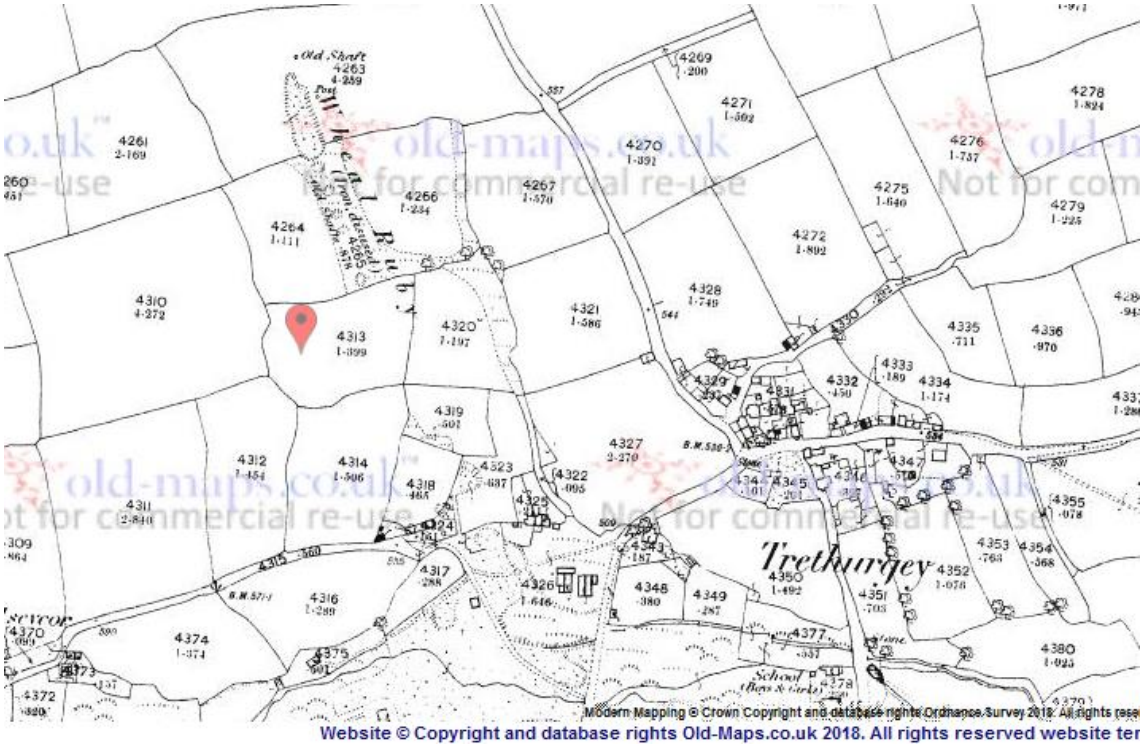


Figure 4.9 Location of Trethurgy Round (shown by red marker) in relation to Trethurgy village (Source: Old Maps)

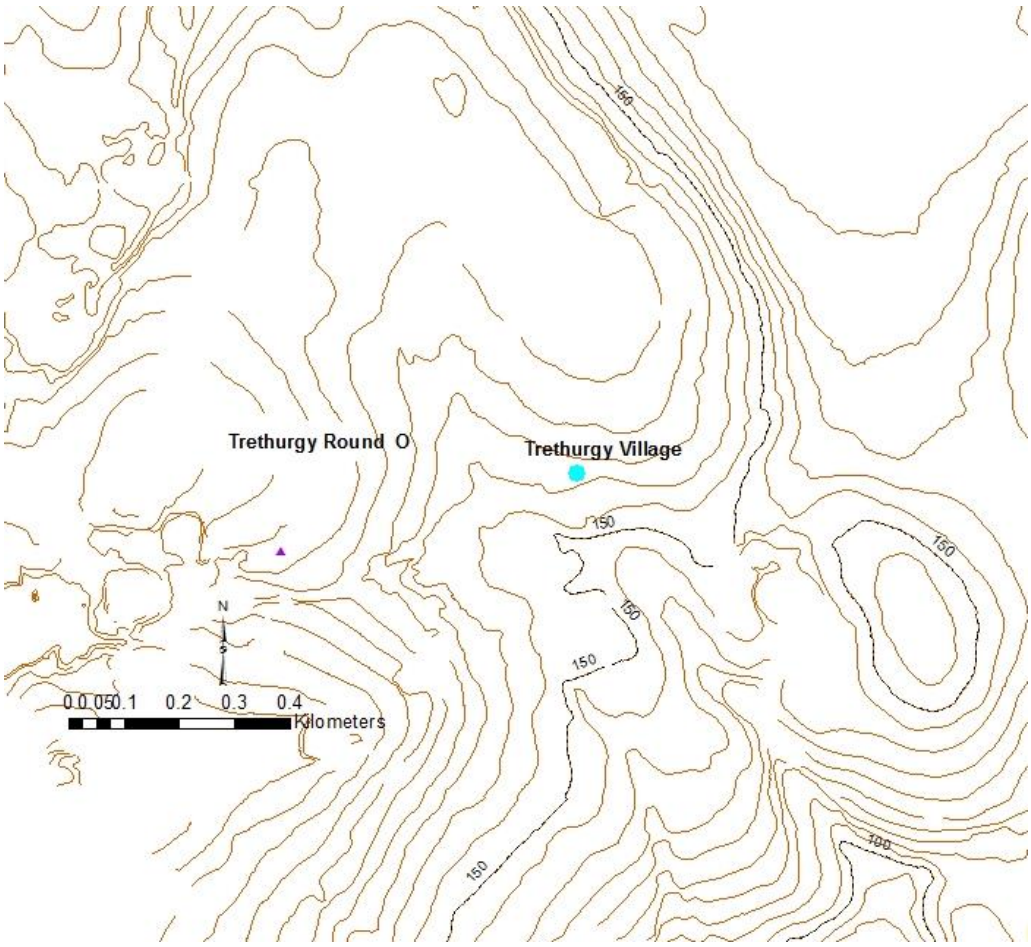


Figure 4.10 Landscape contours around Trethurgy medieval settlement (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

Medieval settlements named in **tre* appear in all areas of Cornwall in a distribution that reflects the local topography, both in their position in the landscape and in their relative elevation. As agricultural settlements, they comprise small-scale economic units within a dispersed settlement pattern where localised access to resources was paramount. Evidence from the earliest written records suggest that farmsteads named in **tre* flourished in the period between the pre-Norman charters and Domesday. Although their recorded locations in Domesday are biased towards eastern Cornwall, in likelihood there were many more **tre* settlements established by this time which were not substantial enough to appear in official sources. In eastern Cornwall also, a complementary distribution with the **tūn* place-name element may indicate that both elements referred to a similar type of agricultural estate, differentiated by cultural terms suggesting distinctive populations or allegiances.

In parts of Cornwall where comparatively dense clusters of **tre* place-name elements appear to have survived since the medieval period, analysis shows a relatively regular pattern of distances between settlements. Researchers have speculated that in some areas a relatively standardised spacing between holdings of 0.5km to 1km may have been the norm, which reduced still further once the agricultural estates were broken up into smaller units during the medieval period. Descriptive place-name elements which differentiate paired settlements with the same common terms confirm origins as a single holding.

The ubiquity and longevity of **tre* names across Cornwall suggests a stable and settled landholding arrangement throughout the medieval period. Farming estates and later smaller farmsteads were situated to access resources to support a mixed pastoral and agricultural context. The dispersed pattern reflects a landscape where emerging market towns were few and far between during the medieval period, with no important population centres. This pattern essentially continues to the present day in Cornwall in the rural landscape of tiny hamlets outside the scattered townscape.

And so, to answer the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter:

1. **Tre* names are likely to have been initially assigned in the early medieval period, but it is not possible to establish a definitive timescale when they would have been conferred. Rapid development of settlements and/or naming practice, however, may be inferred by the two centuries between the numerous Domesday entries and the relatively few in pre-Norman charter bounds, which also coincides with the introduction of Anglo-Saxon overlordship

2. **Tre* names enjoyed a long period of currency in Cornwall from before Domesday into the later medieval period, when they experienced a resurgence. Their importance as a standard for naming practice is attested by continuing use of the place-name element in a ‘revived’ form as late as the 15th century, even when and where Cornish had fallen out of use

3. Despite their ubiquity across Cornwall, uncertainties in their own recording timeline both general and specific make it difficult to utilise **tre* names to provide definitive chronologies. Linguistic factors such as presence or absence of mutations are themselves subject to too many local variations in orthography and dialect to support unequivocal interpretations.

4.3.3 **Hendre* place-name elements

Introduction

We have already encountered **hendre* as a likely sub-class of **tre* settlements which makes use of an older word order common to Brittonic languages, where the adjective preceded the noun in the construction **hen-dre*, from **hen* for 'old' and **tre*, mutated to **dre*, for 'settlement'. In the medieval period the term referred to home farms of manorial estates, as well as winter pastures in upland and lowland areas where transhumance, or mixed pastoral and arable farming, was practiced (Herring, 2011c, 39; Herring *et al*, 2011a, 263-6). As the earliest recording of settlements with **hendre* names occurs not before the 12th century, the widespread presence of **hendre* across Cornwall implies use of an archaic form modelled on older **tre* settlements. It has been linked to **havos* names, also referring to seasonal settlements, which we will consider separately below (see Discussion, section 7.2.2).

**Hendre* has undergone changes in meaning over time and appears in both medieval Welsh and Cornish, suggesting a Common Brittonic practice (Padel, 1985, 128-9). Padel posits that its earliest meaning may have been as the 'original' or 'ancient' homestead of a farming estate which later shifted to refer to a 'winter farmstead' in both languages. In the Welsh language, Glanville-Jones (1985, 155-7) translates **tref* from the old Welsh lawbooks as meaning 'vill', 'township' or 'hamlet', and **hendref* as a 'parental homestead' which could act as a focus for the 'accommodation of heirs' who wished to settle nearby – indeed a 'home farm' in its purist sense. A Welsh commentator (Lias, 1994, 34) asserts that **hendref* in Welsh should be considered as a simplex, rather than a combined, term in that it refers to a specific place-type or function (as with Welsh **laeth-dy*, or **lletty*, for 'dairy'; see the Cornish equivalent **laity* below, section 4.3.5 and Discussion, section 7.2.2).

Herring (2009, 47; 2011c, 39) perceives a geographical relationship in the respective locations of **hendre* and **havos* settlements (Figure 4.11) which reflects seasonal movements of animals between summer and winter pastures.

Herring considers that transhumance must have been very early – possibly dating back as far as the second millennium BC – and was still active in Wales and Cornwall at least until 'the later seventh century when the westward expansion of Wessex separated the two countries' (Herring, 2009, 47), although it may have ceased by 1000 AD (Herring *et al*, 2011a, 263).

The following sections show evidence of differential use of **hendre* to mean variously 'old settlement', 'home farm' or 'winter farmstead' across Cornwall. The research below compares **hendre*s with **tre* settlements to investigate differences between them in terms of geographical and topographical distributions and settings, dates of recording, and combinations with other terms where these exist. In the following section, we will review the distributions of eleven **havos* names and explore the proposed spatial relationship with **hendre* name-elements.

Landscape position

With the relatively small sample of 54 **hendre* settlements which have come down to us in the present day, it is difficult to draw general conclusions as to what may well have been a much larger group in early medieval times. Even with such a small sample, in most cases there is a clear preference for locations midway down hillslopes especially in eastern and mid Cornwall, which as we shall see are also the main areas where extant **havos* settlements can be found (Figure 4.11; Table 4.7, Appendix A); in mid and far western Cornwall both **hendre* and **tre* settlements show greater overall similarities on the edge of higher ground.

We may therefore infer that in western Cornwall **hendre* settlements perhaps reflect usages or naming conventions distinct from those further east. These differences may suggest a geographical divide, even allowing for the small sample remaining in western Cornwall. Whilst this is likely to reflect the more rugged topography in eastern Cornwall, there may also be a tendency for locations of western **hendre* settlements to mirror those of **tre* settlements within a similar landscape context.

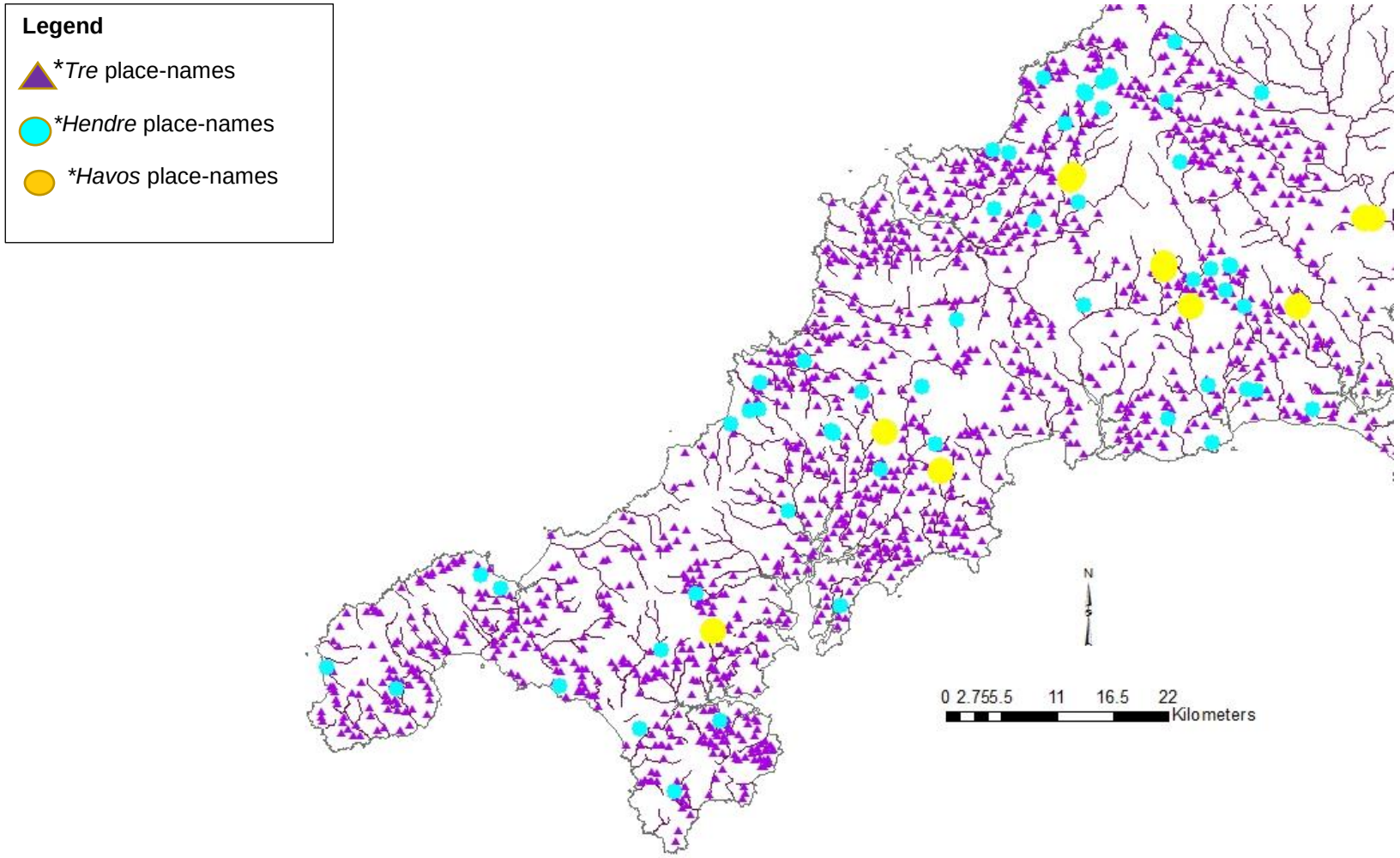


Figure 4.11 Comparative distributions, *hendre, *havos *and* *tre *place-names (Source: author's database)*

Elevation

The landscape heights of **hendre* settlements reflect the overall Cornish topography (Figure 4.12; Table 4.8, Appendix A) and the characteristic decline of elevation from eastern to western Cornwall. They therefore range between sites of above 250m at the highest elevations on the edge of Bodmin Moor to levels of under 100m in lower-lying mid Cornwall. In western Cornwall elevations of **hendre* settlements are more mixed, and there is no evident correlation between height of settlement and date first recorded, as with **tre* settlements.

Although the sample size of **hendre*s is relatively small (56 overall), in eastern Cornwall there are marked differences in their elevation (Figure 4.12) compared to those west of the Camel and Fowey rivers. On the western side **hendre* settlements are not only lower-lying, but distributions are much closer to those of **tre* settlements. This would seem to imply in the west a closer identification between the two types of settlement, whereas in the east **hendre*s are more distinctive compared with **tre*s. As with landscape position, we also see an east-mid-west divide with elevation of **hendre* settlements. They tend to be sited on higher ground in topographically higher eastern Cornwall and lie at much lower levels in mid and western Cornwall (see Discussion, section 7.2.2).

Proximity to waterways

As a putative home farm, we would expect early medieval **hendre* settlements like **tre*s to have been sited close to waterways. Indeed, even with the small sample, the closeness of **hendre*s to water resources does resemble locations of **tre* settlements (Table 4.9, Appendix A). Only three of the extant settlements fall outside this range: of those, two are close to the coast, and one was recorded very late.

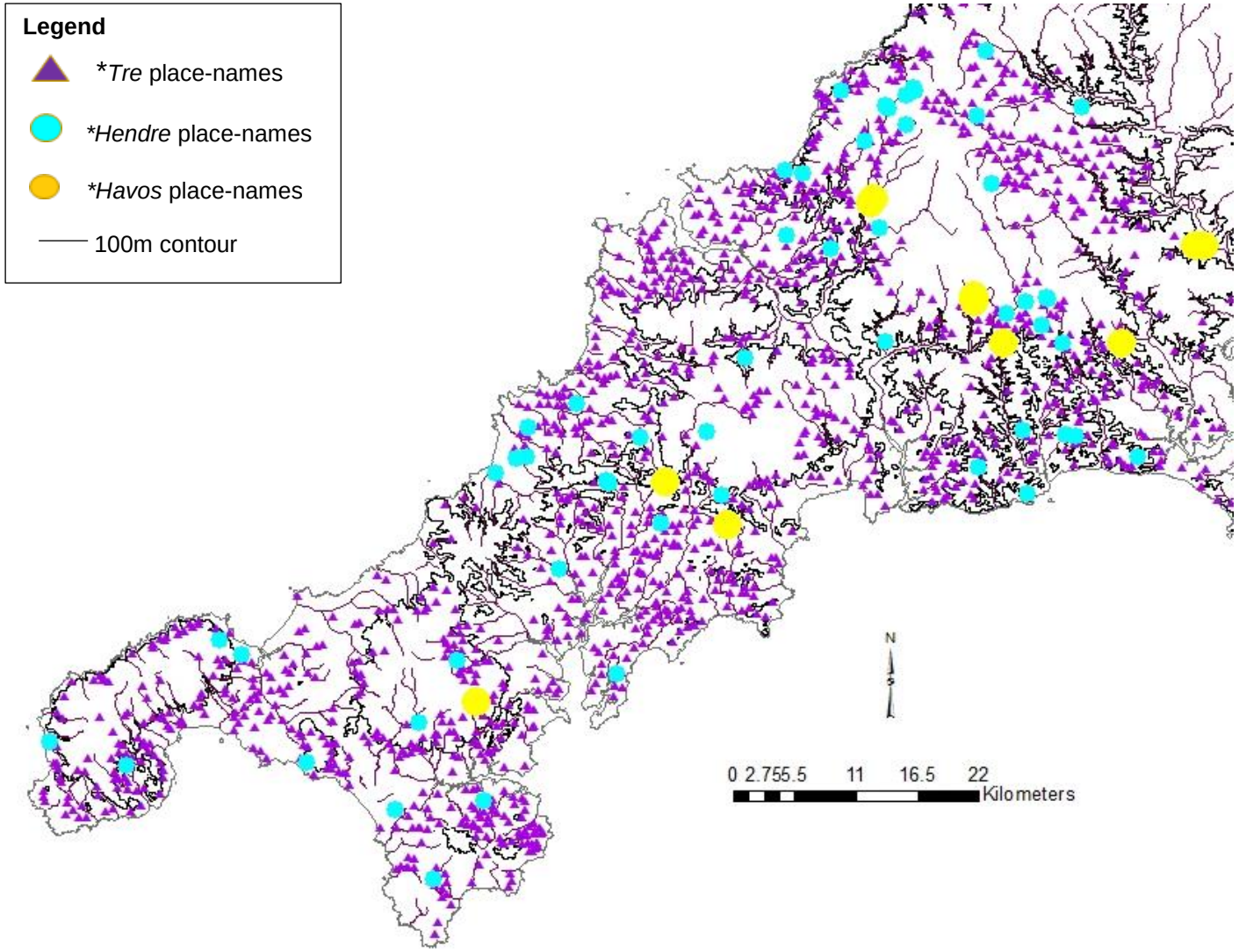


Figure 4.12 *Hendre, *havos *and* *tre *place-names in relation to 100m contour (Source: author's database)*

Dispersion and intensity

We have already seen that **hendre* names are slightly more numerous in eastern than western Cornwall, despite western Cornwall being slightly larger in area. There are 30 **hendre* settlements between the Tamar and Camel-Fowey river valleys and 24 in mid and western Cornwall. Typical patterns are denoted by rings of **hendre* settlements, around Bodmin Moor in eastern Cornwall; and encircling a **havos* settlement (Figure 4.13) in mid Cornwall on the western edge of Hensbarrow, taking in the downlands forming the common hundredal boundary. This location is also close to the 'old road' (Hooke, 1994, 31) of the A30 and medieval fairs at Penhale (from **pen* or 'end' + **hal* or 'downland'; Padel, 2011, 76) (see case study, section 6.2.1). Further west, two **hendre* settlements lie at the edge of the Carnmenellis granite near a **havos* settlement, and another three **hendre*s mark the edges of the Penwith granite uplands in the far west.

It is noticeable that where apparent patterns exist these tend to straddle across the medieval hundred boundaries. Some commentators suggest that this may represent a system of resource sharing linked to the hundreds' foundation. Herring observes that – whilst the hundred boundaries formalised in later medieval times 'mostly followed natural features' – they tended to cut across larger areas of the rough ground resource in such a way as to share them equitably between hundreds (Herring, 2011c, 39). He notes elsewhere that 'Bodmin Moor is so neatly subdivided by four of the eastern hundreds … that it seems certain that each had interests in the upland' (Herring, 1996, 41).

When looking at distances between settlements, we need to bear in mind that many may no longer be extant and so those remaining probably present an incomplete picture. Comparable with elsewhere in Britain, 'many **hendre* settlements are 4-5 kilometres from rough grazing' (Herring *et al,* 2011a, 266), although in lowland Cornwall some are over 10km away. Nevertheless, in eastern Cornwall a grouping of **hendre*s in eastern Cornwall on the southern edge of Bodmin Moor all show spacings of between 2km and 2.5km, whilst another grouping nearer the coast is dispersed at an average distance of 3.8km

and 5km. Beyond this point distances widen for dispersed **hendre* settlements around the central cluster to between 6km and 7.2km, with an outlier at 11km.

In the lowlands of mid Cornwall distances between **hendre* settlements increase (Herring *et al*, 2011a, 266); near the north coast they widen to between 4.8km and 6km, but also include a paired settlement of less than 1km separation from a neighbour of 2.2km. To the south **hendre*s are more dispersed at between 5.7km and 9km with a pair of settlements at 0.36km, which echoes pairs of **hendre*s in eastern Cornwall. The westernmost **hendre* settlements are more dispersed again with no extant pairs: typical distances range from 6.6km and 12.8km, with those on either side of the Carnmenellis granite just over a 7.1km distance from each other. In the far west **hendre*s again lie at opposite sides of the granite, at distances of just under 14km to nearly 18km. With the small sample size, varying distances and possibility that some settlements may no longer be extant, these patterns should be treated with caution.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

Over two-thirds of **hendre* settlements throughout Cornwall tend to lie in the Medieval Farmland HLC type (Table 4.8, Appendix A), which is broadly similar to overall proportions for **tre* settlements. To the north of Bodmin Moor there are three **hendre* settlements on the slopes of the highest moorland, which may well represent later medieval population expansion onto upland pastures. In mid Cornwall **hendre* settlements lie at lower levels and appear to be comparatively late intakes from extensive downlands, whilst the few in the far west are in farmland with prehistoric antecedents but which continued in use during the medieval period. Patterns suggest general similarities of **hendre* settlements to **tre* settlement HLC types across Cornwall, with hints of late expansion onto moorland in eastern Cornwall and a continuation of **tre* settlement patterning in the west.

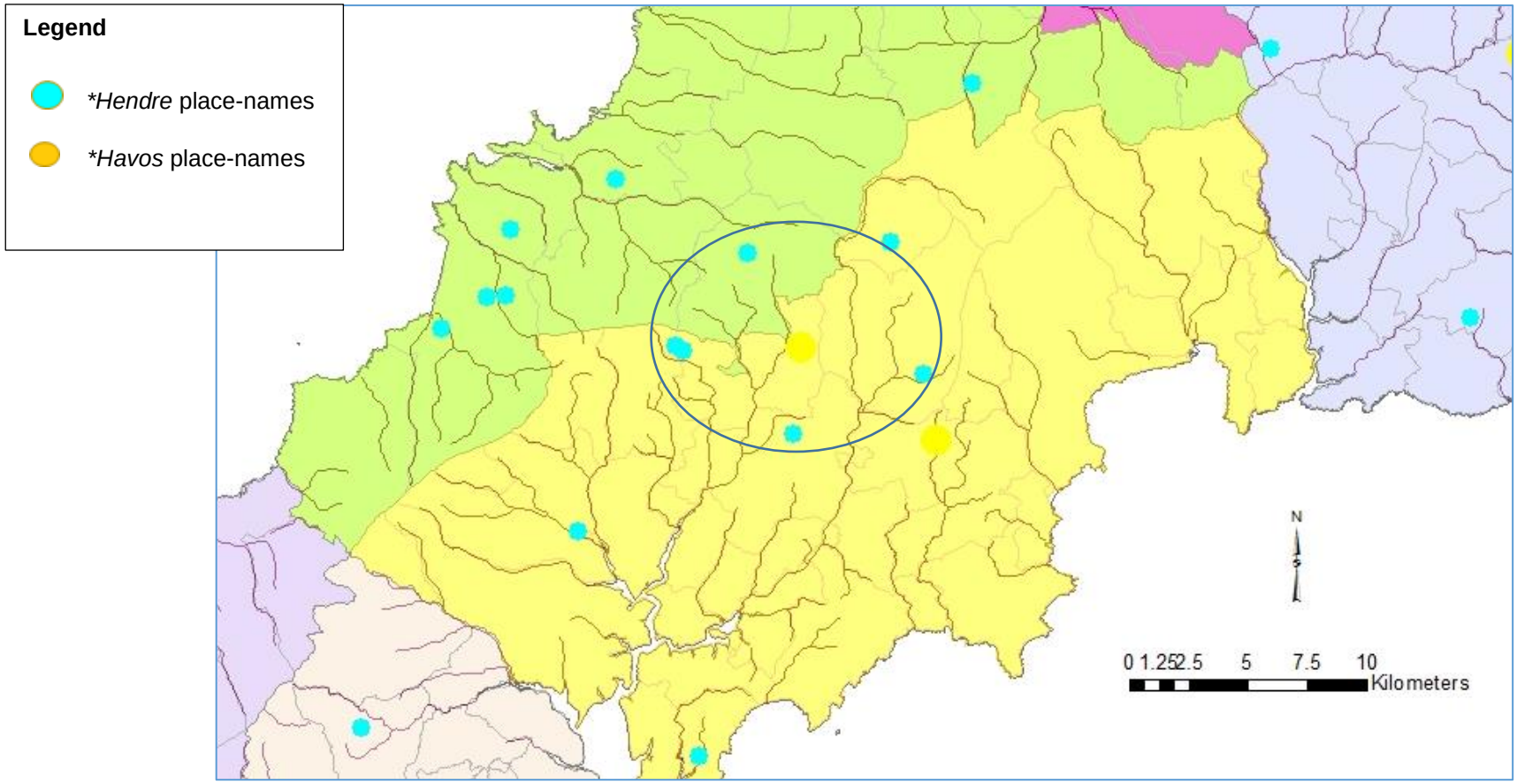


Figure 4.13 *A ring of* *hendre *settlements encircling a single* *havos *settlement in mid Cornwall, straddling the central downland that forms the border between Pydar and Powder hundreds. The important market at Summercourt, or* Langchepyng*, is under a kilometre from the northwesternmost* *hendre *in the ring (Source: author's database)*

Dates of first recording

Compared to other place-name elements, although we are looking at a small sample, there are no **hendre* settlements in the Domesday Book. The earliest **hendre* recorded dates from the 12th century in western Cornwall (Table 4.8, Appendix A), with most first attested from the 13th century everywhere except for far eastern Cornwall. Just over half of **hendre*s are first recorded in the 14th century across Cornwall with the most recent examples from the 15th century or later in eastern Cornwall. **Tre* settlements, by contrast, generally show an earlier distribution, with almost half recorded from the 13th century or earlier, but even so 51% are recorded from the 14th century or later.

We therefore see a universally late recording for **hendre* settlements, which suggests that they were not high status or that the name genuinely came into use quite late. They may have attracted generic designations to mark farmsteads where older names had been lost. In eastern Cornwall, where the Cornish language died out earliest, there is a sense that **hendre* sites were viewed as a type of functional settlement, perhaps many years after they had made a major contribution to the local economy.

Combinations with other place-name elements

**Hendre* as a place-name element occurs either singly (or 'simplex'), as in the common form Hendra, or less frequently in combination with other elements. As will be seen elsewhere in this thesis and below, **hen*, or 'old', may combine as a prefix with other habitative elements, with counterparts in Welsh and also in Breton (Padel, 1985, 128). Throughout Cornwall (Table 4.10, Appendix A) the majority of **hendre* names appear as simplex, which may suggest a generic form to denote a special status or function. Where combinations do occur they tend to be topographical. Several examples of combinations with personal names in eastern Cornwall suggests that, if ownership had been held in common, that had broken down by the time of recording. This pattern suggests that, during the later medieval period when place-names were recorded, the original sense of **hendre* as a specific type of cooperative settlement within the commons context of transhumance had been lost.

Case study: Hendra, Stithians

The place-name ‘Hendra’ in Stithians (Figures 4.14-4.17) was first recorded in 1302 and refers to a winter, or original, agricultural holding. The medieval settlement of Hendra shows multi-period activity within a landscape of rolling hills and valleys to the north of the Kennall river. A 2016 archaeological excavation (Cotswold Archaeology, 2017) was undertaken in advance of a proposed housing development. Within 1km there are four putative Iron Age rounds identified from field-names and a 4th century coin hoard discovered.

Hendra lies in the Medieval Farmland HLC type. Evidence for later occupation includes a medieval or post-medieval field-system, hollow-way, and quarry pit, with ditches that might show settlement enclosure nearby and a possible post-built structure (Cotswold Archaeology, 2017, 6). The medieval settlement of Hendra lies 250m southwest of the development site at a height of just under 150m, midway down a sloping southeasterly facing hillside between the branches of two streams, about 0.5km to the north and nearly 1km to the south. A *lann* has been found at Stithians church and a total of sixteen medieval settlements recorded in the site vicinity, whose place-names mainly date from the 13th and 14th centuries and with modern-day counterparts. Field boundaries from associated medieval field systems survive as hedges and crop marks. The landscape context of Hendra appears to be that of a typically medieval agricultural landscape.

Figure 4.14 Hendra, Stithians (Source: Aerial Digimap)

Figure 4.15 Hendra landscape context (Source: author)

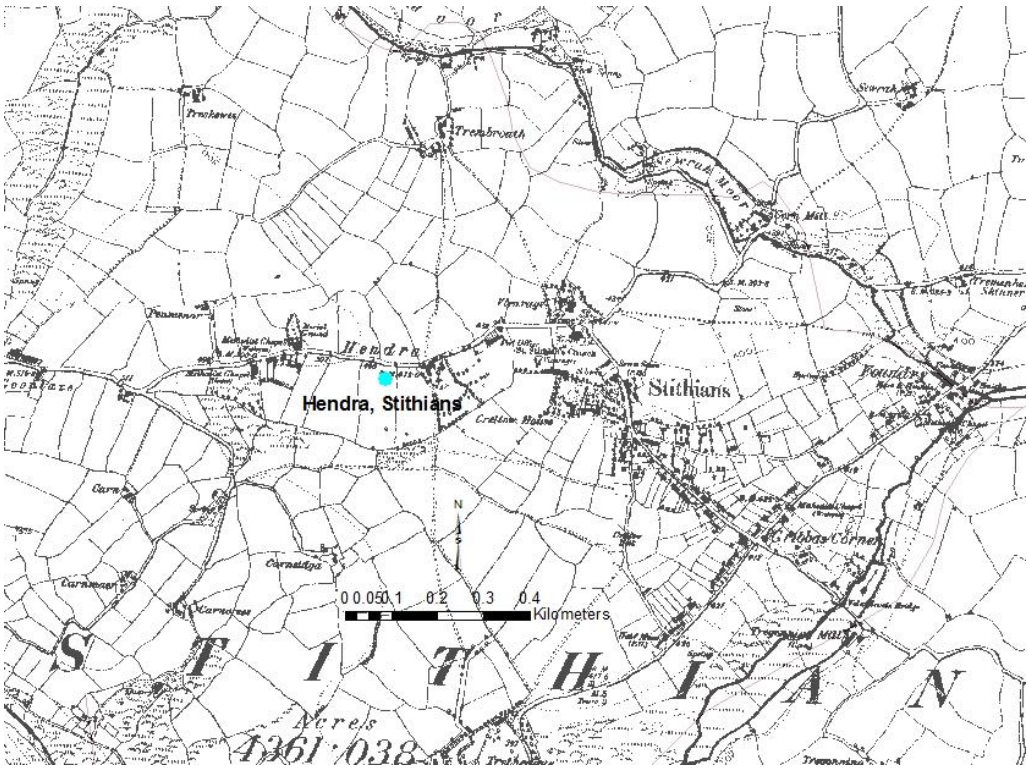


Figure 4.16 Hendra: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

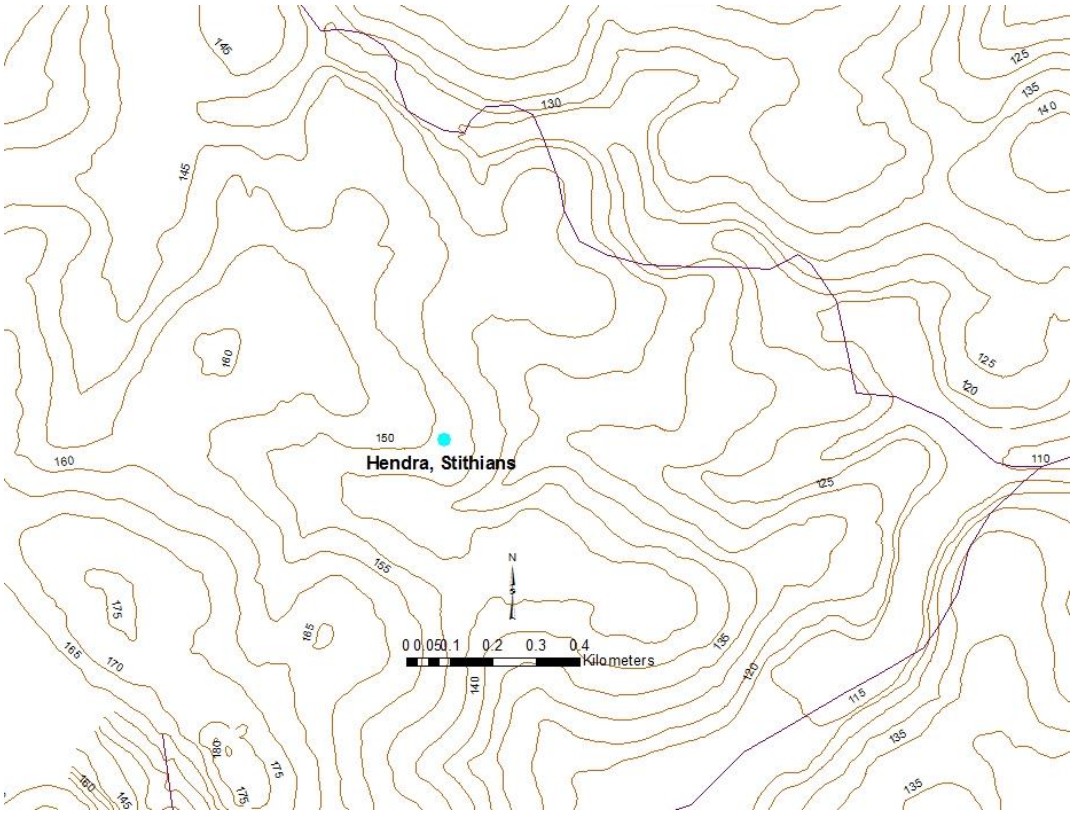


Figure 4.17 Landscape contours around Hendra (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

**Hendre* place-names appear to illustrate a topographical divide between eastern, middle and western Cornwall, in which the more rugged uplands of eastern Cornwall functioned as a distinct and cooperative economic entity until well into the medieval period. Whilst traces of this system may also be found in lower-lying mid Cornwall, **hendre* settlements in western Cornwall have more in common with **tre* settlements in their landscape position and HLC type. Late recordings overall suggest that **hendre* settlements were not high status. In western Cornwall **hendre* settlements may have referred to older settlements named in **tre*, rather than a home farm within a transhumance system as in eastern Cornwall.

4.3.4 **Havos* place-name elements

The place-name **haf-vos* or **havos* means 'summer dwelling', from **haf* for 'summer' and **bod* or *bos* for 'dwelling', with mutation of its initial sound to /*v*/. By the end of the period when Cornish was spoken **havos* had become **hewas* in mid Cornwall and western Cornwall, where it was used to refer to 'rough pasture' as late as the 17th century (Padel, 1985, 127), and not necessarily located on high ground (Herring *et al*, 2011a, 265; see Discussion, section 7.2.2). The analogous place-names **hafod*, **havoty* and **lluest* were used for Welsh farms in upland pastures (see Figure 4.41), with a complementary distribution between **havoty* in north Wales and **lluest* in mid Wales; the term **hafodydd* were originally large areas of seasonal pasturing and not the dwellings themselves (Davies, 1980, 1-41).

Compared with **hendre* settlements, the extant sample size for **havos* is tiny indeed: there are only eleven which have come down to us in the present day which are mainly in eastern Cornwall. Their distribution in the landscape is considered by commentators to be linked to **hendre* types and other settlements, although they are not always in close proximity (Figure 4.18). Herring (2011c, 39) cites an example of the **havos* settlement Hammett lying some 18km north of its coupled settlement (Lamellyon), but part of the same

manor and tithing. Whilst they are thought to have been established as seasonal dwellings, unlike **hendre* settlements a few had attained the status of manor independently by the time of Domesday Book (Padel, 2011, 82-3). We may speculate as to how many more **havos* places may have existed in early medieval times which were, as their name suggests, temporary in nature only.

Landscape position

**Havos* place-names can be found in uplands, rough ground, and lower-lying downland, even marsh (Herring, 2009, 47) – marginal locations which are seasonally utilised. With a mixed distribution, not much can be learned from the topographical placement of **havos* settlements across Cornwall: whilst their position matches **hendre* settlements in some areas, they are distinct in others. Further, positions of **havos* settlements may vary from base of hillslope to edge of high ground (Table 4.11, Appendix A), which does not point towards a consistent picture of desirable summer pastures. The sample of **havos* settlements is too small and sporadic to generalise findings, perhaps partly due to the temporary and seasonal nature of the dwellings denoted. Names assigned to landscape positions are more likely to be down to local factors than an overarching naming protocol.

Elevation

Despite their small sample, **havos* names can generally be found at heights of over 100m (Table 4.12, Appendix A), except for two examples on the Devon border. They do not reflect the overall contours of the Duchy but appear to be situated in relation to other settlements, and to an extent mirror the prevailing local elevation of **hendre* settlements. Thus, both **hendre* and **havos* settlements lying above the 100m contour in mid Cornwall (Figures 4.12 and 4.18) are particularly striking, considering its generally low-lying nature. Western Cornwall, with fewer **hendre* place-names, has only one extant **havos* settlement, which nevertheless lies on a similar 150m contour to the **hendre* settlements.

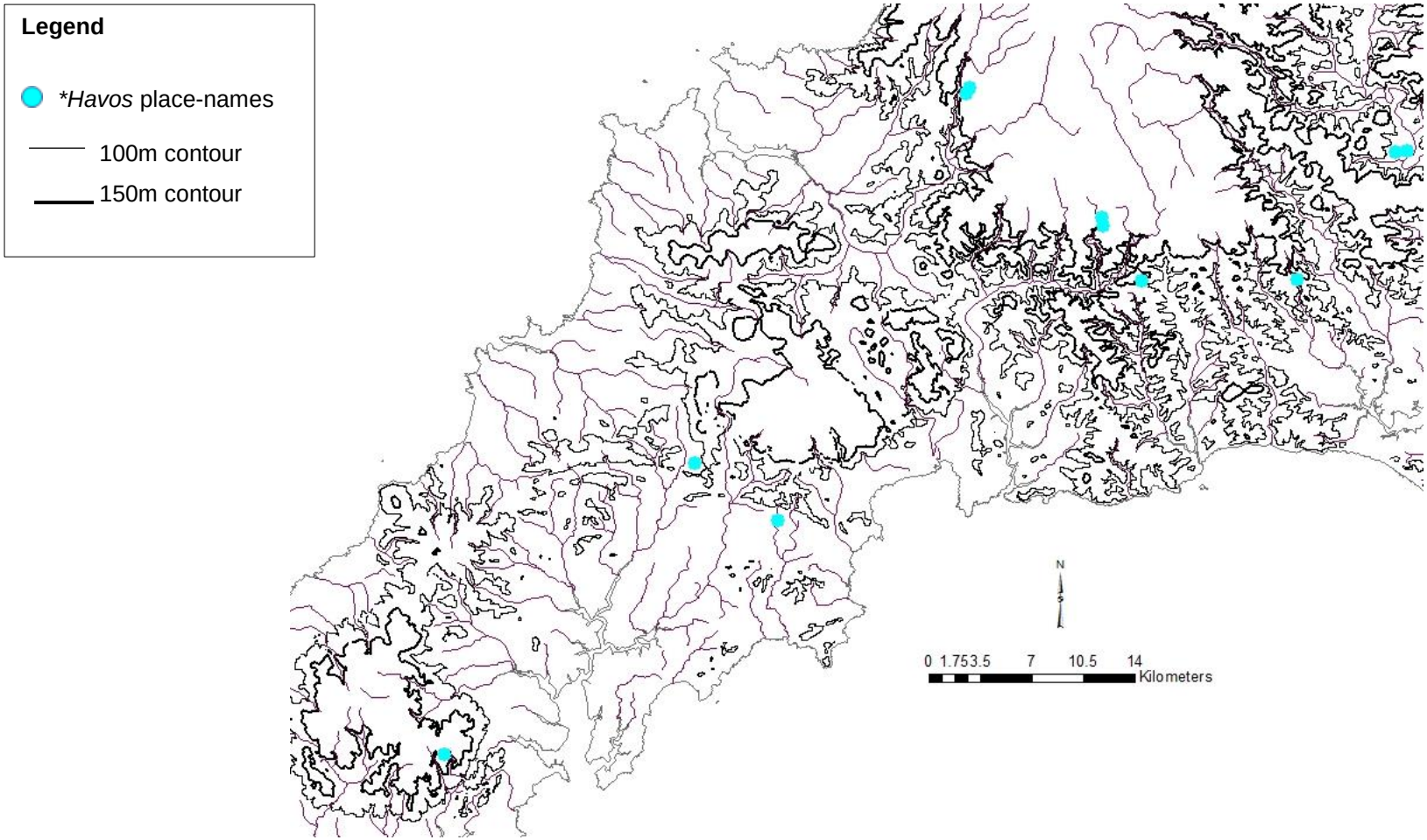


*Figure 4.18 Locations of *havos place-names against the 100m and 150m contours around the edges of uplands (Source: author's database)*

Proximity to waterways

As with **hendre*s, closeness to rivers and watercourses (Table 4.13, Appendix A) should be a major factor in the siting of summer pastures, particularly at some distance from their home farms. Indeed, this does prove to be the case: all **havos* settlements lie within 2km of rivers, and 91% within 1km. The importance of access to waterways for what were originally summer pastures is demonstrated by the dependence of **havos* settlements on nearby rivers, however minor.

Dispersion and intensity

**Havos* settlements lie mainly in eastern Cornwall, where most broadly outline the edges of Bodmin Moor, apart from its northern extent: only three are found to the west of the Camel-Fowey river valleys, where many more **havos* settlements may have been lost. Of the **havos* names which have come down to us today in eastern Cornwall six of the extant eleven comprise paired settlements, one pair separated by 0.8km and the other two by less than 0.5km. Each pair is named in relation to each other, and records show that they were initially single settlements.

Elsewhere greater dispersion is evident, although **havos* names appear to maintain a relationship with **hendre* clusters. Two **havos* settlements lie at 5.3km from a cluster of **hendre*s on the southern edge of Bodmin Moor; in mid Cornwall, two **havos* settlements lie at 2.6km and 3.5km respectively from a circular cluster of six **hendre*s, with one **havos* settlement in the centre of the circle and one just outside it. The single **havos* settlement in western Cornwall is located on the Carnmenellis granite at 4.1km and 5.6km respectively from two **hendre* settlements on the northeastern and southwestern edges of the upland. Herring (1986; 2011c, 39) notes that distances between the 'home farms' and 'seasonal settlements' involved in transhumance practices could range between half a mile up to ten miles. The surviving sample of **havos* settlements in eastern and mid Cornwall may show that they occupied a key

position in a spatial relationship with **hendre* settlements which ensured their survival beyond medieval times.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

As with **hendre*s, almost all the **havos* settlements are located in the Medieval Farmland HLC type (Table 4.12, Appendix A). We surmise from the HLC types of **havos* settlements that they had already formed an integral part of the farming landscape at the time Medieval Farmland was introduced.

Dates of first recording

In eastern Cornwall the first attested dates for **havos* settlements (Table 4.12, Appendix A) are earlier than for **hendre*s and include two Domesday vills. Padel (1985, 127) suggests that these settlements 'represent an expansion of farming settlement…before the later 11th century' (see Discussion, section 7.2.1). Most **havos* settlements was recorded in the 13th century, with only two in the 14th century; this contrasts with **hendre*s which are more like **tre* settlements, where the greatest number was recorded in the 14th century. Although they are thought to have been originally temporary dwellings (see Discussion, section 7.2.2), it is interesting that not only are **havos* settlements recorded earlier than **hendre*s, but also appear in Domesday. The survival of **havos* settlements in eastern Cornwall suggests that the practice of transhumance to which they relate remained active in the economic landscape for a long period.

Combinations with other place-name elements

**Havos* place-names show some linguistic variation across Cornwall which betokens both early introduction and long use. In eastern Cornwall **havos* place-names derive from the ancient Brittonic form with a nasal /*v*/ which was represented in Anglo-Saxon orthography as /*m*/ (Jackson, 1953, 486-490). Almost all the eleven **havos* names remain in simplex forms, but there is one which possibly occurs in combination with other Cornish elements (Hamatethy, where the final **ty* for 'house' appears to have undergone mutation; see case study below), and three in which English elements denoting topographical

position (eg ‘Higher’ and ‘Lower’) have been affixed later, including two Hampt place-names in the Tamar river valley.

In mid western Cornwall **havos* medieval settlements appear in the form **hewas*, a linguistic development from **havos* in those areas of Cornwall where the Cornish language was spoken late. Padel (1985, 272) refers to the recorded use in Penwith of the dialect term **hewas* to denote ‘rough pasture’ in two field names in Sancreed parish. Like **hendre* settlements **havos* types appear as simplex, but also show archaic linguistic features in eastern Cornwall where the Cornish language disappeared earliest. In western Cornwall, where they survived, **havos* settlements have continued to evidence changes in linguistic form which illustrate a long history.

Case study: Hamatethy

The Domesday vill of Hamatethy (Figures 4.19-4.22) contains the place-name element **havos* which refers to 'shielings' or summer pastures, temporary seasonal settlements that with **hendre*s or 'home farms' were an element of the ancient pastoral practice of transhumance (Herring *et al*, 2011a, 263, 265). Herring considers that transhumance probably originated in Cornwall sometime in the 2nd millennium BC and continued up to the 1st millennium AD. Padel postulates the derivation of **havos* from a Common Brittonic **haf* or 'summer' with the mutated **vod* or 'dwelling' and its similarity to the Welsh *hendref* (Padel, 1985, 127, 129).

The manor of Hamatethy is one of two named in **havos* in the Domesday Book, both in eastern Cornwall (Herring, 2012, 90). It was one of the most extensive landholdings on Bodmin Moor in the medieval period, with a Domesday pasturage of five leagues by two (Thorn and Thorn, 1979, 5,3,22; Johnson and Rose, 1994, 77). By King Edward's reign in 1066 AD it had become permanently occupied as the centre of a large estate (Herring, 2012, 90), including its own chapel which was licenced in the 12th century (Maclean, 1876, 355, 366). Johnson and Rose consider that this represents a process of colonisation or expansion onto the higher ground at some stage before the Norman Conquest (1994, 79; see Discussion, section 7.2.2).

Hamatethy lies in the Plantations and Scrub HLC type in a prominent position at 200m just above the steeply sloping western edge of Bodmin Moor. It overlooks the Camel river valley to the west at 0.8km distance, which at this point forms the western boundary of St Breward parish and Trigg hundred. The nearest **hendre*-named settlement is Hantergantick across relatively level high ground almost 3km to the south on the De Lank river, at the southern edge of St Breward. Hamatethy's proximity to one of the major waterways of the medieval period may be linked to its importance in Domesday, whilst its good access to a **hendre* settlement does suggest that they were part of a coordinated pasturing system during the medieval period.

Figure 4.19 Hamatethy (Source: Aerial Digimap)

Figure 4.20 Hamatethy upland landscape (Source: author)

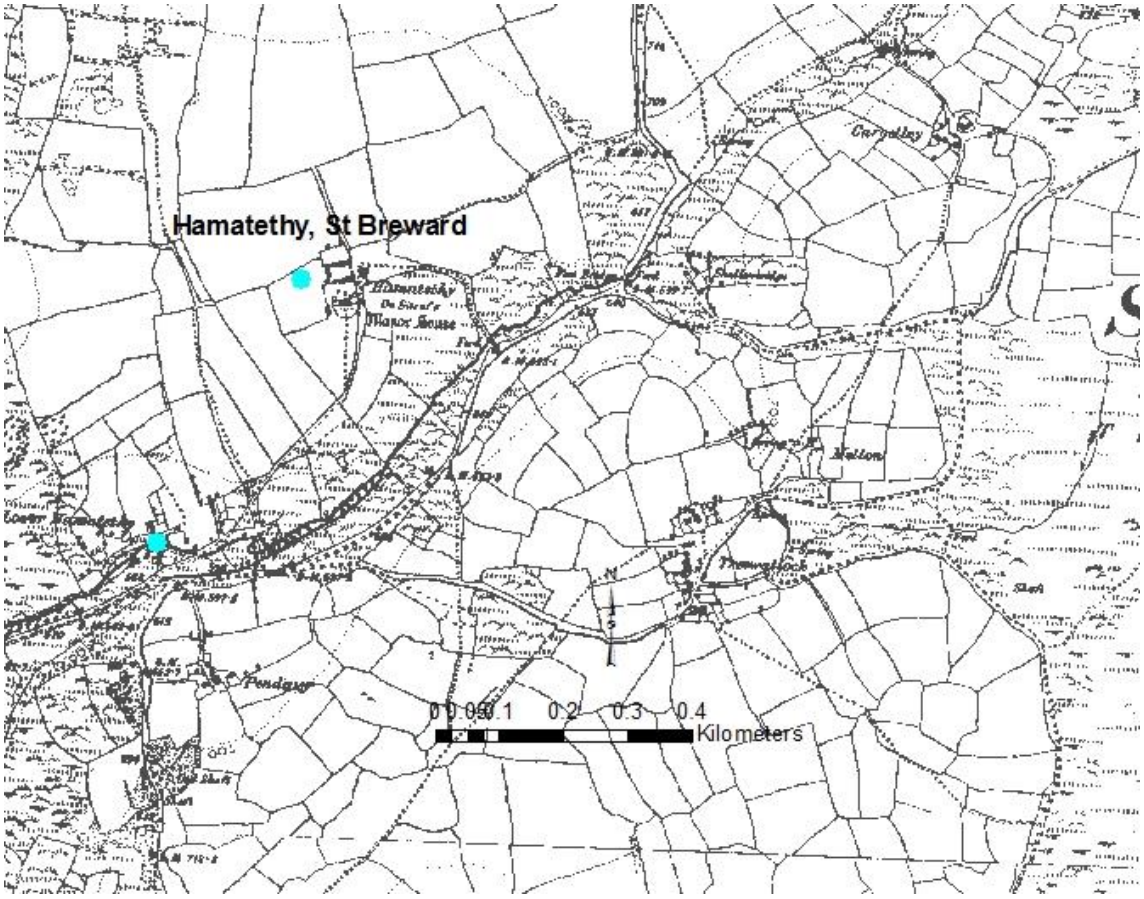


Figure 4.21 Hamatethy: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

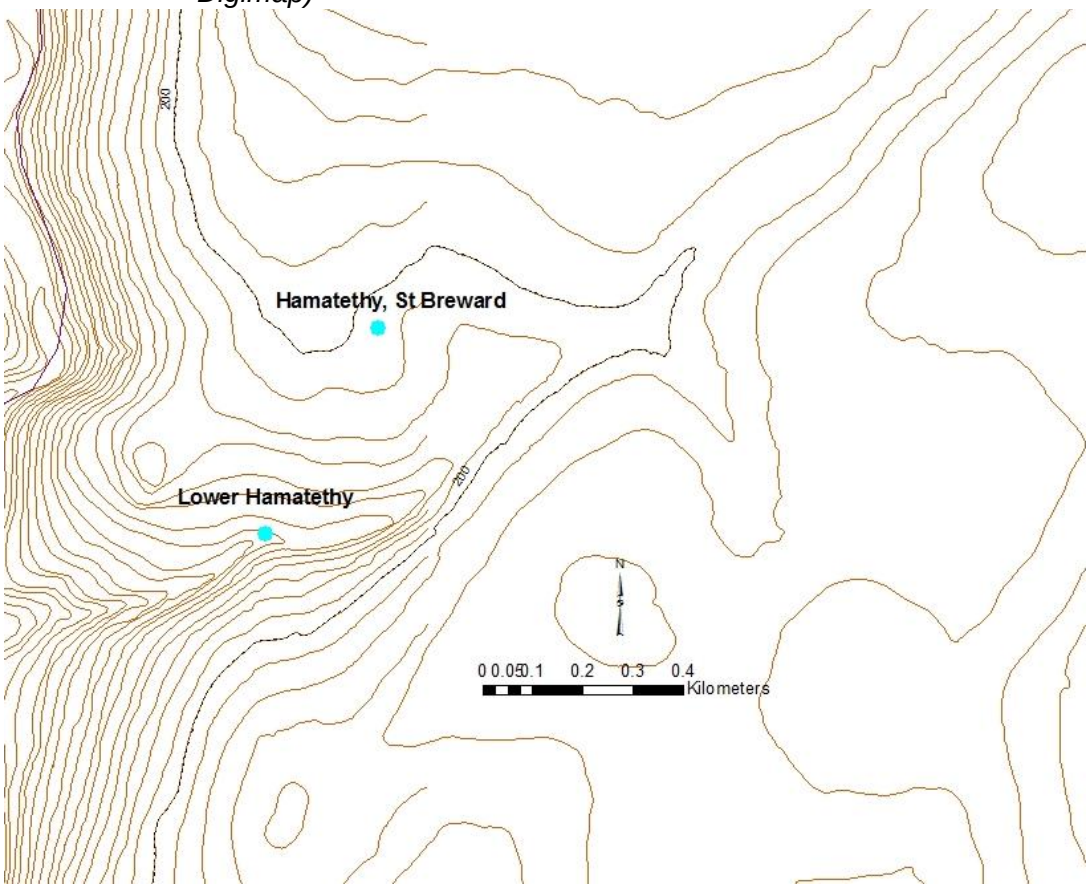


Figure 4.22 Landscape contours around Hamatethy (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

Despite varying distances in between, scholars have confirmed a relationship between **hendre* and **havos* place-names, particularly in eastern Cornwall, which relates to the ancient practice of transhumance in upland areas of western Britain. As with **hendre* settlements, the simplex form of the place-name **havos* indicates some age. Dates of first recording indicate that, unlike **hendre* settlements, in eastern Cornwall some settlements named in **havos* had attained sufficient importance by Domesday to have developed beyond early origins as temporary dwellings.

In western Cornwall the few settlements named in **havos* are associated with smaller areas of rough ground than on Bodmin Moor and are not recorded before the 13th century, by which point they would also have become permanent. Examples of field-names in **hewas* – a later variant of **havos* – are also present in mid Cornwall (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 129) and across several parishes in West Penwith, recorded from the 17th century (Pool, 1990, 65). Although we do not discuss field-names in detail in this thesis, these suggest some local remnants of seasonal pasturing within individual holdings.

4.3.5 **Chy* family place-name elements

Introduction

The place-name element **chy* is habitative and refers to individual dwellings which are not high status. It is thought to represent a cottage or 'humble dwelling' and is the Cornish equivalent of the Old English **cot* or 'cottage', according to Padel (1985, 78; 2007, 221). Figure 4.23 below shows the complementary distribution of **chy* with **cot*, mostly in northeast Cornwall in combination with Old English personal names. Only a few examples of **chy* place-names occur to the east of the Camel-Fowey river valleys (Figure 4.24), suggesting that they entered the lexicon of Cornish place-names at a time when Cornish had ceased to be spoken in eastern Cornwall. Padel considers the element **chy* to be late in the timeline of Cornish place-name elements (Padel, 1985, 78-9), and as such benefits from combined forms which are 'readily

comprehensible', compared to other habitative elements. In contrast to **hendre* and **havos*, **chy* tends not to appear in the medieval period as a simplex, or uncombined, form, which does suggest later origins. It continues to be conferred on dwelling-houses in Cornwall today and is used in modern Ordnance Survey maps of Cornwall to denote individual houses of some antiquity.

**Chy* has been subject to several sound-shifts whilst settling into its later forms. Variants of **chy* may have undergone lenition or mutation of their initial sound, depending on where they appear in a place-name. The oldest form **ti* or **ty*, for 'house', occurs in both initial and final positions in several Domesday vills, with the combinations in final position which show the oldest ancient Brittonic [descriptive/qualifier + generic] construction (Jackson, 1953, 225-7). Padel (1985, 79) notes that in some compound forms 'where the first element ended in *-n*' the palatalisation that characterises the shift to **chy* did not occur, and final forms ending in **dy* and sometimes **sy* exist.

In common with other place-name elements such as **bod*, mainly in western areas which retained the Cornish language longest, **chy* has developed further to appear in mutated form as the palatalised **jy*. In later Cornish the definite article *-an-* has been added in medial position to link place-name elements such as **chy* with another (generally unmutated) noun in a [*chy* + *an* + generic] construction, an innovation which Padel (1985, 78) dates to the 13th and 14th centuries.

We may postulate the following timeline in development of **chy* and its variants, for which confirmation via dating analysis will be sought below:

**ty* > **dy* > **chy* > **jy*

We will be aiming to identify shifts in settlement patterns through the proposed medieval naming developments above, during which period early farming estates (**tre* settlements) may well have been broken up and given way to individual dwellings (**chy* homesteads).

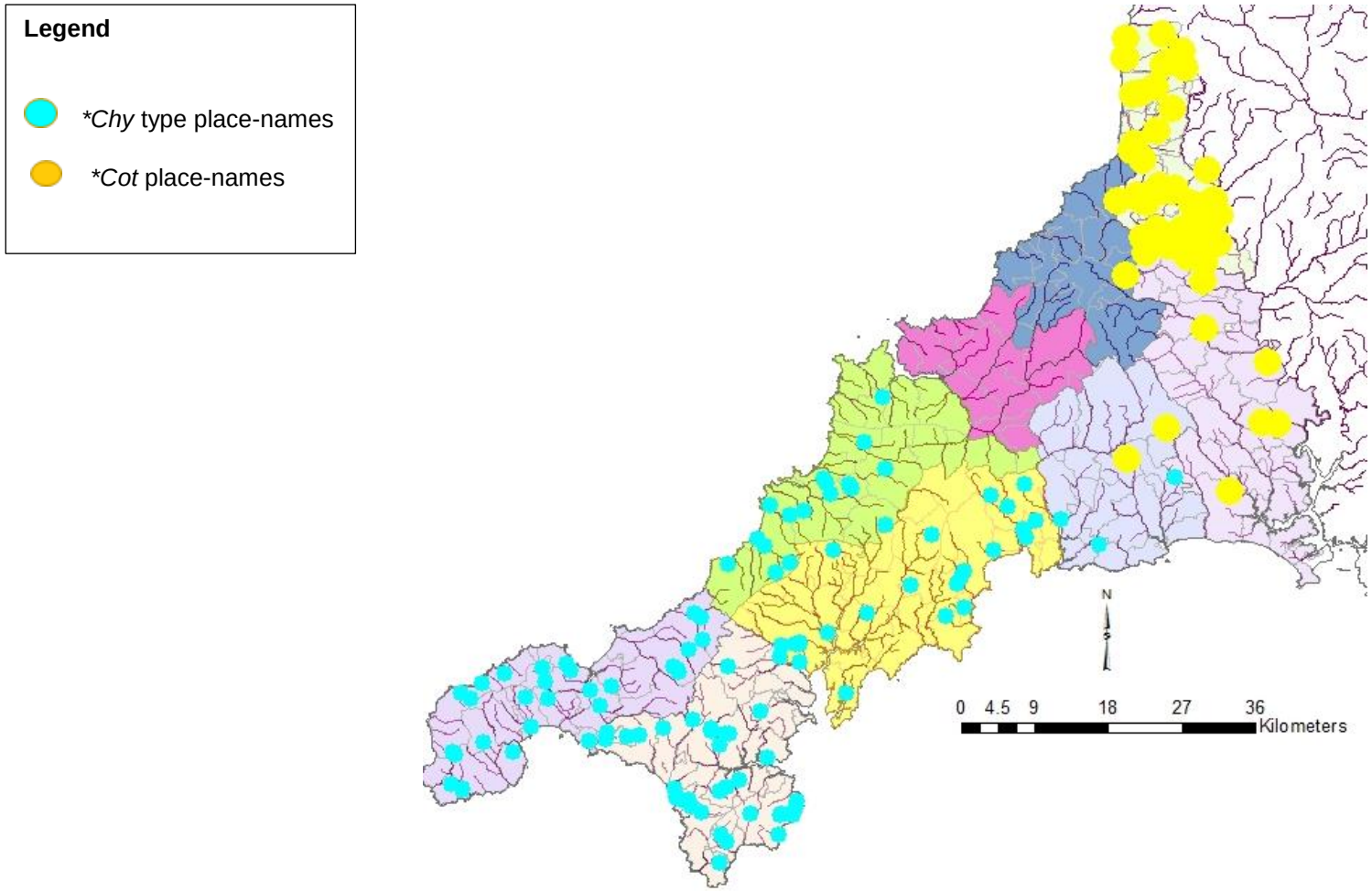


Figure 4.23 *Chy *type and* *cot *place-names across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

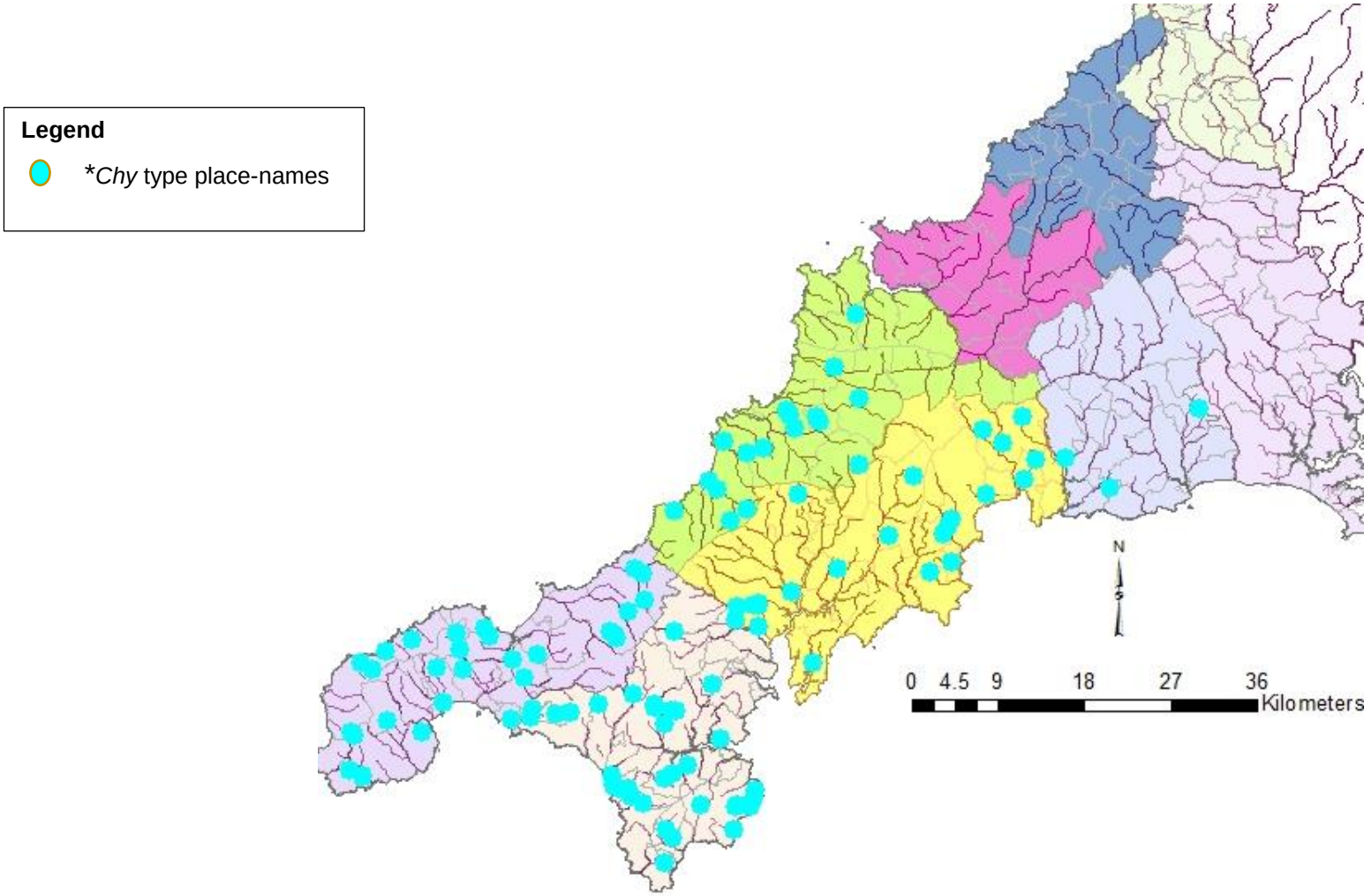


Figure 4.24 Distribution of *chy *type place-names across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Where **chy* in its various forms occurs in final position it combines with other elements to indicate specific functions. Therefore we may find constructions such as (hyphens inserted): **kun-jy* for 'kennel' ('dog-house'), **lai-ty* for 'dairy' (with Welsh analogues **laeth-dy* or **lletty*, for 'milk-house'), **hen-sy* for 'old house' and **men-dy* for 'stone house'. These examples show a continuing late use for the element **chy* in generic place-name forms, although they reflect a fossilised Brittonic word-order by using prefixes for qualifying elements, rather than suffixes (Jackson, 1953, 225-7). Comparisons with the similar construction of **hendre* are helpful here also. The suffix **jy* is sufficiently broad in its combinations of elements to act as a marker of functional names.

Padel (1985, 79) finds the 'near-total absence' of **ty* in place-names in eastern Cornwall to be 'surprising…It is unlikely that *ti* was not used during the period when Cornish was spoken there', which he dates to the 12th century in eastern Cornwall. As well as the Domesday examples, he refers to a 10th century source in the *Life of King Alfred* (Stevenson, 1904) to confirm that the element **ti* was already in use by this date; it appears also in a 10th century charter bound of King Edgar in the name Tywarnhayle (S.684, 960 AD). Padel (1985, 78) proposes that **ty* may have interchanged with **tre* in some later cases in eastern Cornwall; there are also examples of Domesday manors with the initial element **tu* in mid and western Cornwall where this may have happened.

Overall the Cornish place-name dataset of early medieval and medieval settlements comprises 108 **chy* family place-name elements in the following frequencies: 69 (64%) **chy* names, 17 (16%) **ty* names, 8 (7%) **dy* names and 14 (13%) **jy* names, making 108 in total of all **chy* variants. We will review below the several forms of **chy* and how they are distributed across the Cornish landscape (Figure 4.24) and compare them where relevant with **tre* settlements. We consider that **tre* settlements are the more useful comparator with the **chy* family of names, as they were the more likely predecessors of **chy* across Cornwall and form the larger sample of Cornish place-names. In the analyses of place-name elements which follow it should be noted that the classification of **chy* types is based on the form in which it was first recorded.

Thus, if a **chy* name first appears as **chy* it is classed as such. If it first appears as **ty* and is later recorded as **chy*, it is analysed as a **ty* form.

Landscape position

The three examples of **chy* family place-names to the east of the Camel-Fowey river valleys show no discernible pattern in their positions. In mid and western Cornwall (Table 4.14, Appendix A) where the greatest distribution lies, the landscape positions of most **chy* forms mirror those of their **tre* settlements with a mixture of edge of higher ground and mid slope positions. As with **tre* settlements, **chy* family elements generally follow the topography of the Cornish landscape (Table 4.14, Appendix A).

Elevation

As with **tre* settlements, **chy* forms tend to be sited below 100m in both mid and western Cornwall (Table 4.15, Appendix A) although a few examples above these levels also occur. In the far west, Penwith diverges from the trend with the majority of **chy* and **jy* settlements located at between 100m and 150m.

Proximity to waterways

The overall percentage of **chy* settlements within 2km of rivers is very close to that of **tre* settlements (Table 4.16, Appendix A), with slightly fewer located within 1km. Where **chy* settlements in Kerrier in western Cornwall are not as close, this apparent anomaly can be explained by a more coastal distribution here along both the eastern and western coasts of the Lizard peninsula.

Dispersion and intensity

In northern mid and the eastern part of southern mid Cornwall **chy* settlements tend to occupy upper river valleys and their tributaries, with a few straddling the downland that divides Pydar and Powder hundreds. Western Cornwall shows what appear to be several distinct groupings of **chy* settlements on the southern edge of the Carnmenellis granite and the east and west coasts of the Lizard peninsula (Figure 4.25). In the far west, **chy* settlements become more

diffuse and run parallel to the north coast slightly inland, with several more in the upper reaches of the south-flowing river valleys.

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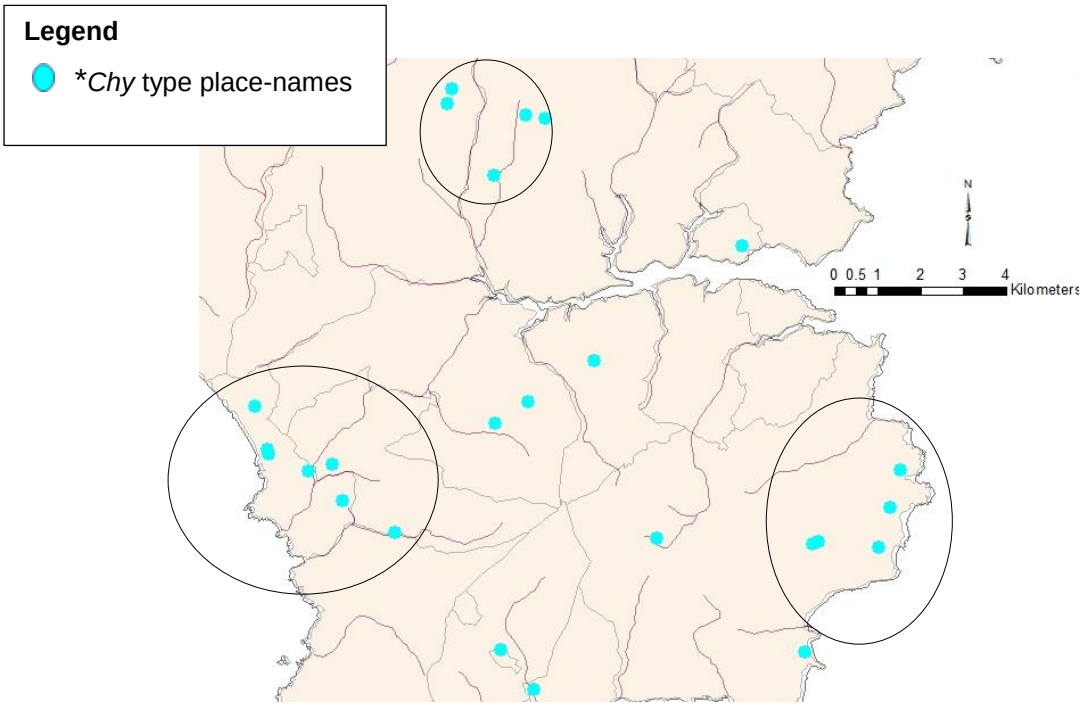


Figure 4.25 Apparent groupings of *chy *place-names, Kerrier, western Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

In mid Cornwall **chy* settlements are relatively evenly spaced at between 2.3km and 4.5km with some tighter clusters in the river valleys, and three late settlements at between 0.1km and 0.5km. On the Lizard peninsula, **chy* settlements lie at regular intervals of about 1km, with very close pairs of between about 0.1km (Figure 4.25) and less than 0.5km from each other. **Chy* settlements between the Carnmenellis granite and the north coast are spaced between about 2km and 3km, with a relatively late trio of settlements at about 0.5km apart. Further to the west, distances between settlements remain between 1.5km and 3km and widen slightly in the far west.

Several factors confirm a late introduction of **chy* settlements. The distribution pattern of **chy* family names shows fairly regular configurations which gives a sense of a planned landscape. **Chy* names appear to closely mirror the edges of **tre* settlements at slightly higher contours, suggesting an expansion of **tre*s

into more elevated locations. In western Cornwall especially **chy* settlements appear to be sited in areas of late medieval/early modern mining and minerals-based activities, running between mineralised zones on the edges of the Carnmenellis and Tregonning granites. Historical maps confirm the presence of routeways linking old mining and quarry sites and **chy* settlements, and aerial surveys have detected several examples of undated trackways in the area. Finally, the numerous paired settlements which include **chy* names confirm that they were conferred during a period when earlier larger holdings were subject to subdivision.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

The majority of **chy* family names lie in the Medieval Farmland HLC type (Table 4.15, Appendix A). In the far west there are more diverse HLC types which range from farmland with prehistoric antecedents through to modern HLC types overlying earlier settlement, including presumed colonisation onto Upland Rough Ground which would have undergone later enclosure. HLC types tell us that in fact **chy* settlements were not that late, as they mainly formed part of the medieval enclosure landscape in mid and western Cornwall.

Dates of first recording

It is noticeable that initial dates of recording of **chy* family settlements (Table 4.15, Appendix A) differ between mid and western Cornwall. In mid Cornwall six settlements are attested prior to the 13th century, with two Domesday vills named in **ty* including the head manor of Powder hundred, Tybesta; another, Tywarnhayle, was originally recorded in Anglo-Saxon charters by 960 AD (S.684; Hooke, 1994, 30). Initial **ty* also first appears in western Cornwall in later centuries and subsequently shifted to initial **chy*; there are also later examples of **ty* in final position in combined forms such as *laity*. **Dy* tends to occur earlier than **jy* in final position in a similar distribution with analogous combined forms.

Nearly three quarters of **chy* settlements were first attested in the 14th century or later and there are hints of a shift to higher ground over time, with an apparent 14th century expansion onto higher ground. Despite a predilection for

lower lying **tre* settlements, by contrast the later **chy* names in Penwith tend to be more elevated from the outset.

**Chy* settlements are useful in that most of their changing forms provide a built-in chronology. We may assume from two high-status examples of **chy* in Domesday that these carried **ty* names originally. Later forms may indicate the predominant landscape positions used for new habitations at the time.

Combinations with other place-name elements

There are several general trends to be observed across the classes of **chy* names and their combinations which appear in most places (Table 4.17, Appendix A). First, the small surviving sample of three settlements in eastern Cornwall suggests that the naming practice of assigning **chy* names to habitations was adopted fairly late and at a time when use of the Cornish language had largely disappeared from this area. Two of the examples reflect generic combined forms which had likely entered dialectal use by the time of recording and probably would not have been dependent on language fluency, whilst the third was renamed as a **tre* settlement at a later date.

Across mid and western Cornwall **chy* forms tend to predominate over other variants, although northern mid Cornwall is an exception with a greater number of **ty* than **chy* elements in their earliest recording. The patterns of combined elements are mainly topographical although instances of habitative and plant-related elements also occur. Southern mid Cornwall has a more diverse range of combinations with plant-names more prevalent than topographical elements.

In western Cornwall combinations of **chy* with topographical elements are the most common. Personal and habitative elements are found in combination with **chy* and **ty* forms, and **jy* variants with habitative elements. In the far west **chy*-named settlements are even more prevalent and over half occur with topographical elements. This suggests a persistence of topographical naming practice. By contrast, all three **ty* forms occur with habitative elements, which in this case relate specifically to functional use.

Case study: Chyvarloe

Chyvarloe (Figures 4.26-4.29) was first recorded in 1235 AD when it was spelt as 'Tywarlo', and is a literal translation of **ty* for 'house', **war* for 'upon' and **loe* for 'pool' or 'water'. It is therefore an unusual example of a three-element place-name in Cornish, which are more often found in Welsh and Breton. Its original form **ty* in initial position also appears relatively late as a 13th century variant, being more usually found in this position in Domesday vills in mid Cornwall. An historic environment study of the Loe river valley (Johns and Craze, 2004, 20) considers that most of the place-names of the eleven recorded medieval settlements are topographical names which relate to the valley. The place-name element **loe*, or 'pool', is taken to indicate a later medieval date for the settlements' names, as local records note that Loe Bar had blocked off the estuary to form Loe Pool by 1301 AD (Johns and Craze, 2004, 29).

The Historic Environment Record shows multi-period sites at Chyvarloe (Johns and Craze, 2004, 13-7) which include a medieval hamlet containing four listed buildings, and an unclassified lane of possible medieval origin that connects Chyvarloe to Loe Bar (Johns and Craze, 2004, 17). The eleven medieval settlements that comprise the Penrose Estate area, including Chyvarloe, occupy hilltop, hillslope and valley locations with an average spacing of 0.5km between. Most are surrounded by fossilised subdivided or open strips.

The settlement of Chyvarloe is situated in Medieval Farmland at a height of 55m at the head of a short valley, on the edge of a level plateau overlooking Mount's Bay. The settlement is 0.5km from the Carminowe Creek arm of Loe Pool and 0.6km from the sea. Field boundaries to the north and south of Chyvarloe are considered to derive from strip enclosure of a medieval open field system (Johns and Craze, 2004, 20). Narrow cultivation ridges were probably made by a mixture of spade digging and oxen ploughing (Johns and Craze, 2004, 29). Clearly good access to the coast would have been an advantage for Chyvarloe, particularly if it had already been established in conjunction with the formation of Loe Bar as its position at one end of the bar may suggest.

Figure 4.26 Chyvarloe (Source: Aerial Roam)

Figure 4.27 Chyvarloe settlement today (Source: author)

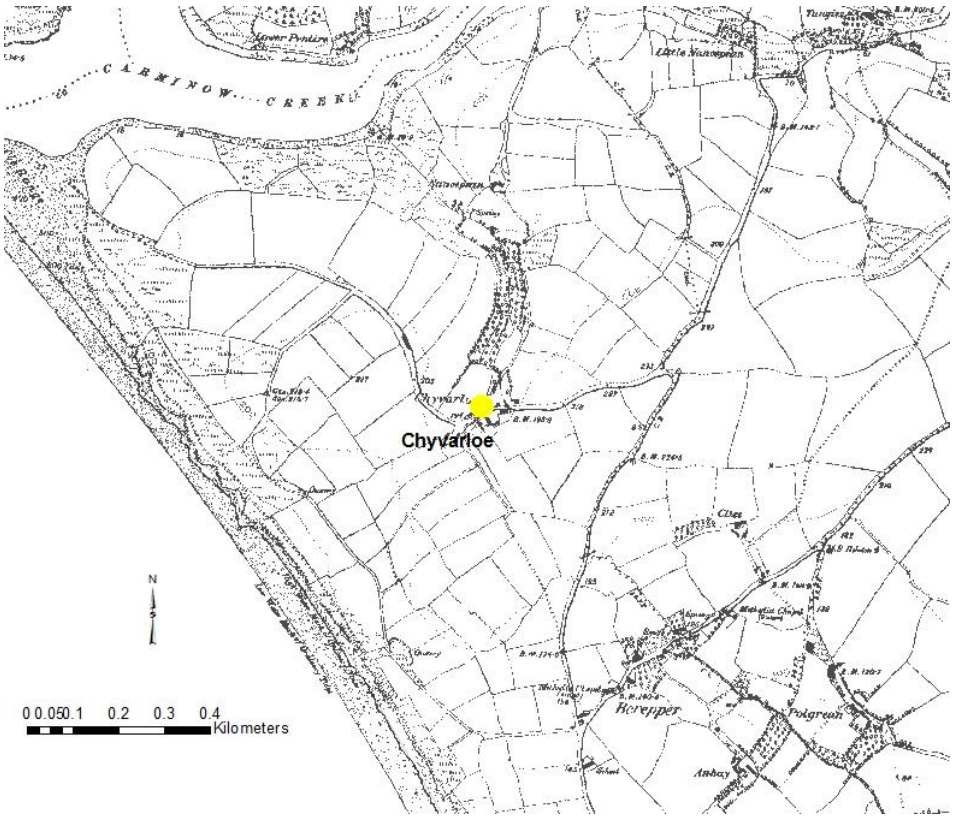


Figure 4.28 Chyvarloe: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

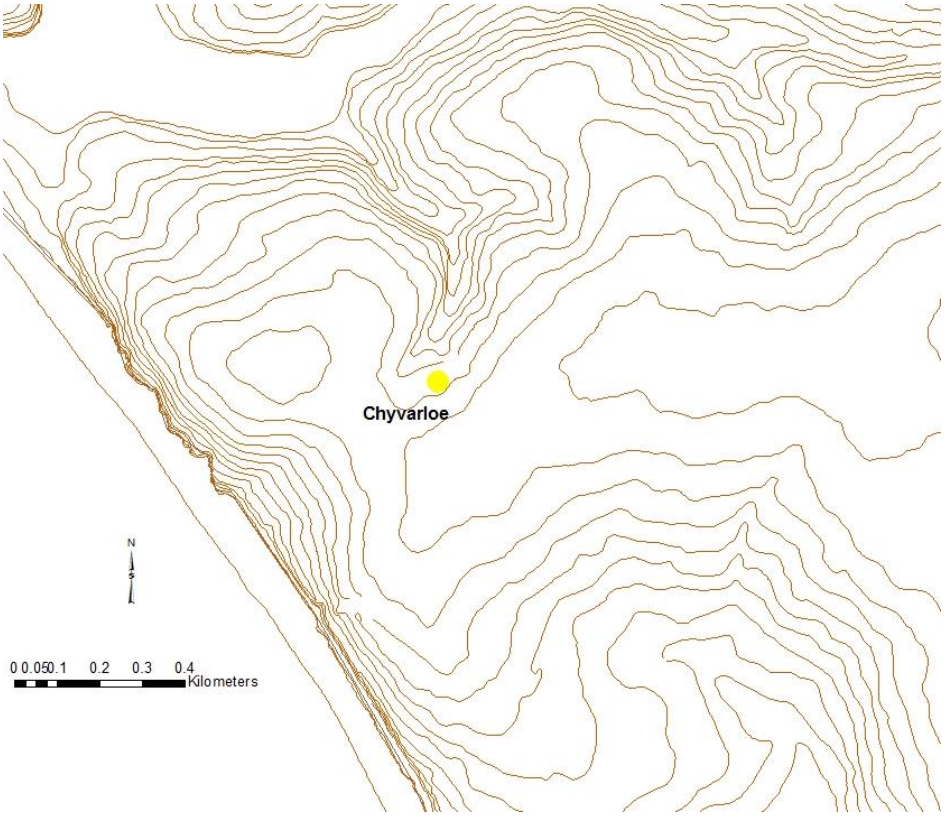


Figure 4.29 Landscape contours around Chyvarloe, under 100m (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

The distribution of **chy* type place-name elements in mainly western Cornwall provides good evidence for linguistic changes in the later stages of spoken Cornish. As seen from their appearance in the Domesday Book mainly in mid Cornwall, early settlements named in **ty* and **chy* were of higher status than later examples. Landscape positions and dates of first recording suggest that the **chy* place-name may have been used to indicate fresh expansion onto higher ground on the fringes of **tre* settlements (see Discussion, section 7.2.1), perhaps at a time when the older agricultural estates were being broken up into individual holdings. The term was certainly in use later than **tre* place-names and also refers to buildings with some economic function which did not act as habitations.

4.3.6 **Caer/*ker/*gear* place-name elements

Introduction

There are 169 examples of the place-name elements **caer/*ker/*gear* that denote medieval settlements within the Cornish place-name dataset (Figure 4.30). In this thesis we will treat them as variants of a single form, and can refer to settlements near distinctive types of ancient monument. These can take diverse forms, including imposing hill forts named in **caer*, translated as 'castle' (Padel, 1985, 50); those in **gear*, which can relate to large enclosures or 'camps', as they have been known; or the more humble **ker* types, or 'rounds', also in the **car* form, which are considered to represent the lower-status habitations common in Cornwall from the Iron Age and Romano-British periods (Nowakowski, 2011, 251). The diverse variants of the **caer/*ker/*gear* place-name elements are used to refer to monuments that would have formed part of the later Iron Age and Romano-British landscapes, whose earlier histories were marked by the names of nearby settlements. Linguistically, the terms appear to reflect a developmental sequence over time, with later mutation or lenition affecting the **gear* element. The forms do not explicitly link to a timeline of monuments but rather appear to indicate a range of status.

The element **caer* occurs across the Brittonic languages as **cair* (Jackson, 1953, 362), which in early medieval Wales may refer to Roman camps, British fortifications, high status castles or cities (Padel, 1985, 50): the term is used synonymously with *civitates* in Nennius' 9th century *Historia Brittonum* (Jackson, 1938, 55). In early medieval Brittany, the **ker* form is the usual term for 'homestead' or 'village' (Coates and Breeze, 2000, 150), still with a widespread distribution today in central west Brittany (Priziac, 2000). According to Padel (1985, 50-4), **caer* and its variants carry a similar meaning in Cornwall also, which appears to confirm their currency at the time of the major migrations between Cornwall to Brittany in the late 6th century (Jackson, 1953, 12-30).

The most numerous name element **ker* (or **car*) occurs throughout Cornwall and is thought to refer to multi-period 'rounds', a modern term to denote 'univallate curvilinear hill-slope enclosures' (Padel, 1985, 51). Todd (1987, 224) considers that there are likely to be over 1500 examples, which lie mainly on hillslopes or valley sides at between 75m and 120m and show 'no marked relationship' with hill forts. Scholars (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 55-56) measure their typical distances to be between 0.5km and 1km from each other, like early medieval settlements. Rounds have been identified across the Iron Age, Romano-British and early medieval periods (Thomas, 1986, 64), with excavated sites dated between the 4th century BC to the 6th century AD (see Discussion, section 7.2.3). They may take a range of shapes (Turner, 2006b, 72); excavations suggest that some older examples may have been abandoned in the 2nd century AD alongside establishment of newer ones. A probable distribution of rounds throughout lowland Cornwall has been identified through cropmark analysis and numerical modelling (Young, 2015, 27). Rounds are classed as settlement enclosures, in effect acting as predecessors of the larger, unenclosed early medieval estate settlements named in **tre*. The wide distribution shared by both types of settlement generally suggests a lower status as homesteads.

The 'typically' late Brittonic word order (Padel, 1985, 51) of [generic + descriptive/qualifier] present in **caer/*ker/*gear* names suggests that they are not as early as the rounds themselves, but instead may have been used to denote a habitation type as late as the 7th century. Clearly the monuments

substantially predate the settlement names which have come down to us in the present day, which may have undergone several stages of renaming. Trevisker (ApSimon and Greenfield, 1972) and Trethurgy (Quinnell, 2004, 243-4; see case study, section 4.3.2) are two examples of excavated rounds named in **tre* which may well have originally borne **caer/*ker/*gear* place-names, the latter occupied up to the 6th century (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 56). Inclusion of both name types in one site is illustrated by the well-known Crane Godrevy (**caer/*ker/*gear* or 'round' + *bran* or 'crow' + *godref* or 'homestead'; Thomas, 1969, 84-8), a sequence of 10th-11th century settlement structures set within a late Iron Age/Romano-British round. Indeed, renaming of settlements from **caer/*ker/*gear* to **tre* is suggested by similar landscape positions, which we will continue to explore below.

Landscape position

Topographically speaking, whilst hillslope locations seem to be generally favoured by **caer/*ker/*gear* named sites across Cornwall, local landscape contexts are somewhat mixed (Table 4.18, Appendix A). Although the setting of **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements generally appears to respect hillslopes (Preston-Jones, 1994, 82) and be situated in relation to them, landscape positions reflect the overall contours of the Duchy which decline from east to west. Thus, with the fewer **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements in eastern Cornwall, those located in more rugged landscape appear just off the edge of higher ground, but around the edges of elevated Bodmin Moor are found in mid slope positions along with those either side of the Camel estuary. Once into mid and western Cornwall, with a greater share of **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements, edge of higher ground landscape positions again predominate despite the gentler topography. A few mid slope settings can be found here also, and these again increase in far western Cornwall with inland and coastal settlements alike.

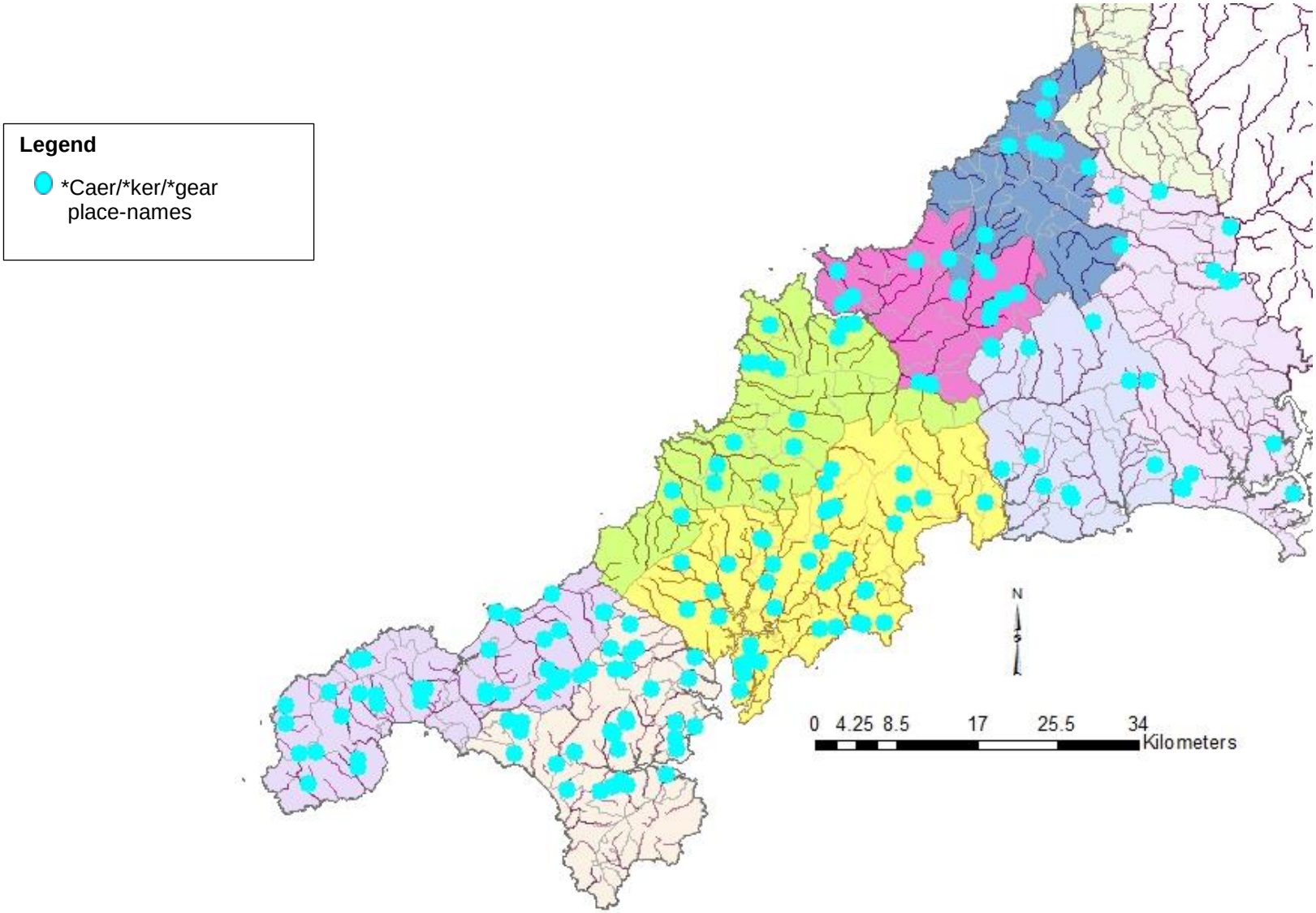


Figure 4.30 *Caer/*ker/*gear *place-name elements across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

It is tempting to consider that this patterning represents the characteristics of **caer/*ker/*gear* place-names but, as with other early medieval settlements, extant sites probably do not represent the full extent of the original distribution patterns and those in lowland contexts may have been lost or renamed. Although many settlements named in **caer/*ker/*gear* do appear in hillslope locations, others may have undergone renaming either in these or in other landscape settings.

Elevation

There are differences in elevations of **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements across the regions of Cornwall (Table 4.19, Appendix A), which also applies to their relationship with **tre* settlements. Generally, in eastern Cornwall, over 60% of all **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements lie at contours above 100m. In mid Cornwall, as might be expected from the declining topography, the trend is reversed and about 70% of all **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements are under the 100m contour level. To the west, however, just over half of **caer/*ker/*gear* named settlements are below 100m, whilst in the far west over two-thirds are above this elevation.

It is noticeable that in eastern Cornwall contour heights of **caer/*ker/*gear* and **tre* settlements are nearly the same when plotted with similar landscape positions, except for a cluster of **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements on the northern edge of Bodmin Moor which is considerably higher than **tre* settlements midway down hillslopes. On the north coast of mid Cornwall and in western Cornwall, however, when compared with **tre* settlements, there are greater numbers of settlements named in **caer/*ker/*gear* above 100m which are only partly explained by relative differences in elevation above sea level east to west. It is possible that in western areas the names of more **caer/*ker/*gear* settlement names indicating original round sites have been retained, rather than be renamed in **tre*.

Proximity to waterways

Considering the early nature of the settlements, it is evident that those with **caer/*ker/*gear* place-names show a similar distribution near watercourses to

other elements of this period (Table 4.20, Appendix A). Although 95% of all **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements lie within 2km of waterways and 70% within 1km, these are lower percentages than for **tre* settlements and may reflect a more upland distribution. Most of the extant settlements in eastern Cornwall trace the major river valleys such as the Tamar and Seaton and some demarcate the eastern hundred boundaries; those along minor river valleys, like **tre* names, are often found far inland. In western Cornwall the distribution follows the general diminution of scale of waterways further west, but it is notable that all **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements in Penwith are within 2km of rivers. It may of course be argued that many examples of this type of settlement that were more distant from watercourses have not survived in the intervening period.

Dispersion and intensity

We have noted above that, generally speaking, the percentage of **caer/*ker/*gear* named settlements rises west of the Camel-Fowey river valleys: of the total of 169 **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements, 48 or 28% are in eastern Cornwall whilst 121 or 72% lie in western Cornwall. In the east, clusters of **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements appear on the north coast and around the Camel estuary. In western Cornwall **caer/*ker/*gear* named settlements are virtually absent from the southern half of the Lizard peninsula but form a sinuous line across its neck, while in the far west sites tend to occupy inland, rather than coastal, locations.

Most clusters of **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements across Cornwall range between 1km and 3.5km distance; they tighten and become more regular in mid Cornwall. Paired sites are also present in mid and western Cornwall: they often consist of medieval settlements with nearby extant structures marked by earthworks. Some may represent subdivided settlements designated by descriptive elements such as ‘lower’ or ‘little’, but others retain individual place-names. In the far west, the number of pairs at under 1km rises, and most **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements lie at no more than between 1km and 2km from each other. The paired settlements named in **caer/*ker/*gear* show typical spacing for late Iron Age and Romano-British rounds, for which Rose and Preston-Jones (1995, 56-7) note a density of settlement of ‘between 400 and

800m' in some cases: 'not unlike that of the early medieval settlements'. Todd (1987, 224) considers that, in west Cornwall, over 80% of rounds lie within 1.5km of each other.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

Although most **caer/*ker/*gear* settlement sites lie in HLC type Medieval Farmland (Table 4.19, Appendix A) and so preserve their medieval origins for this place-name element, there are some examples throughout Cornwall in areas since characterised by more recent development. In the far west peninsula the majority of **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements have remained in medieval farmland with prehistoric origins, although some underwent later enclosure.

Dates of first recording

It is apparent that mid and western Cornwall, with the larger share of **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements, also hosts more early first recordings of the place-name element (Table 4.19, Appendix A). Five Domesday vills are listed in mid Cornwall, three in western Cornwall and just one in eastern Cornwall. Although the sample is small, it shows that settlements with place-names of this type were not necessarily of lower status when first recorded.

Except for three 12th century examples, all other instances of **caer/*ker/*gear* date from the 13th century onwards apart from some undated settlements in mid to west Cornwall; in the far west, none are recorded earlier than this. This pattern of initial attestation shows a surprising longevity, with continuing fresh recordings after the 16th century up to as recently as the 18th century in Penwith. **Caer/*ker/*gear* settlements offer a good example of the noticeable time lag affecting first recordings in Cornwall as well as the persistence of Cornish names, as their use in eastern Cornwall would have probably declined once Cornish was no longer spoken there.

Combinations with other place-name elements

Linguistically, two relatively unusual features for place-name combinations can be readily seen with **caer/*ker/*gear* named settlements (Table 4.21, Appendix A). Throughout Cornwall there are examples in simplex or uncombined forms and, mainly in western Cornwall, the persistence of spoken Cornish causes a late mutation which changes the initial /*k*/ of **caer* or **ker* to initial /*g*/, forming **gear*. Some settlements named in **gear* may relate to previously higher status sites than those named in **ker*, and so may have ultimately derived from **caer* in the sense of 'castle' (see Gear Farm case study below). Many **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements in combination bear the element **car*, and so may reflect a later class of settlements named for rounds (Padel, 1985, 51). We may also note that the uncombined element **gear* does not only refer to settlements: there are many other examples of its use in relation to topographical features such as hills.

When in combination, the **caer/*ker/*gear* element shows more diversity than many other place-name forms. Throughout Cornwall including near the Devon border it combines with almost every other type of element. One sub-class of place-names presents an interesting case study: those named in Tregear (**tre* or 'estate' + **caer/*ker/*gear* or 'round'; Fox and Ravenhill, 1968, 40-2). The full subset in the Cornish place-name dataset covers 31 sites across Cornwall showing their association with rounds and co-location with a variety of extant structures, of which twelve appear as early medieval and medieval settlements (Table 4.22, Appendix A). As they reflect a period when **tre* estates had become the preferred habitative designation, Tregear names may illustrate a hybrid or transitional stage where names of lowland settlements in **caer/*ker/*gear* were gradually being replaced by **tre* appellations.

Case study: Gear Farm, St Martin in Meneage

Gear Farm (Figures 4.31-4.37) is a multi-period site located in the Medieval Farmland HLC type, adjoining the rampart of the impressive field enclosure to the northeast which gives the site its name. During a visit, the landowner recalled that he had also uncovered a small round whilst excavating underneath an existing farm building (Figure 4.32; Hosking, personal communication, 2015). Edwards and Kirkham (2008, 52) consider that Gear may have appeared in the Domesday Book as *Caer* (Thorn and Thorn, 1979, 5,2,33), a form of **caer/*ker/*gear* for 'round' normally reserved for larger enclosures that may also be referred to as 'castles'. Its first certain attribution, also as Caer, dates from the period 1262-6 AD. The place-name element's simplex (uncombined) form is rare and suggests some status in the landscape, as does the position of the settlement with an individual access lane at the head of the Helford river estuary.

Gear Farm attracted a 2001 Time Team excavation and fieldwalking programme in the field adjoining the modern farm (Edwards and Kirkham, 2008, 49; Figure 4.33). Finds have dated occupation of the site as far back as the Mesolithic, with additional evidence in flint, pottery and worked stone from the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age and Romano-British periods. Gear fits within a pattern of farming settlements in the area known as the Meneage, considered to date back at least as far as early medieval times, set on ridges between steep-sided wooded valleys (Edwards and Kirkham, 51-2). The surrounding landscape is also densely settled with Iron Age rounds of which at least thirty have been identified within an area 6km by 3km.

The Gear is a large univallate enclosure (Figure 4.33) up to 300m across that encloses an area of about 6ha or 15 acres, referred to by the field-name 'The Gear' in the Tithe Apportionment for St. Martin-in-Meneage. It is located at Gear Farm at a height of 65m and extends across a gentle west- and south-facing slope on the southern side of a steep-sided spur (Edwards and Kirkham, 2008, 56), between the Helford River and Mawgan Creek to the north and a deep stream valley to the west and south (Edwards and Kirkham, 2008, 51; 57). Gear

is encircled by a rampart whose outer face is up to 4m high, with a bank and internal ditch system; a hollow-way (Figure 4.34) leads up from the tidal inlet on Mawgan Creek just over 200m west of the putative entrance. The place-name of the settlement, its Domesday recording, location and imposing nature of the adjoining field (Figures 4.35 and 4.36) appear to signify a high status site which has retained its importance for millennia.

Figure 4.31 Gear Farm (Source: Aerial Roam)

Figure 4.32 Gear Farm settlement, showing building overlying small round (Source: author)

Figure 4.33 The Gear enclosure from the northwest (Source: author)

Figure 4.34 Rampart and hollow-way at northwest edge of The Gear (Source: author)

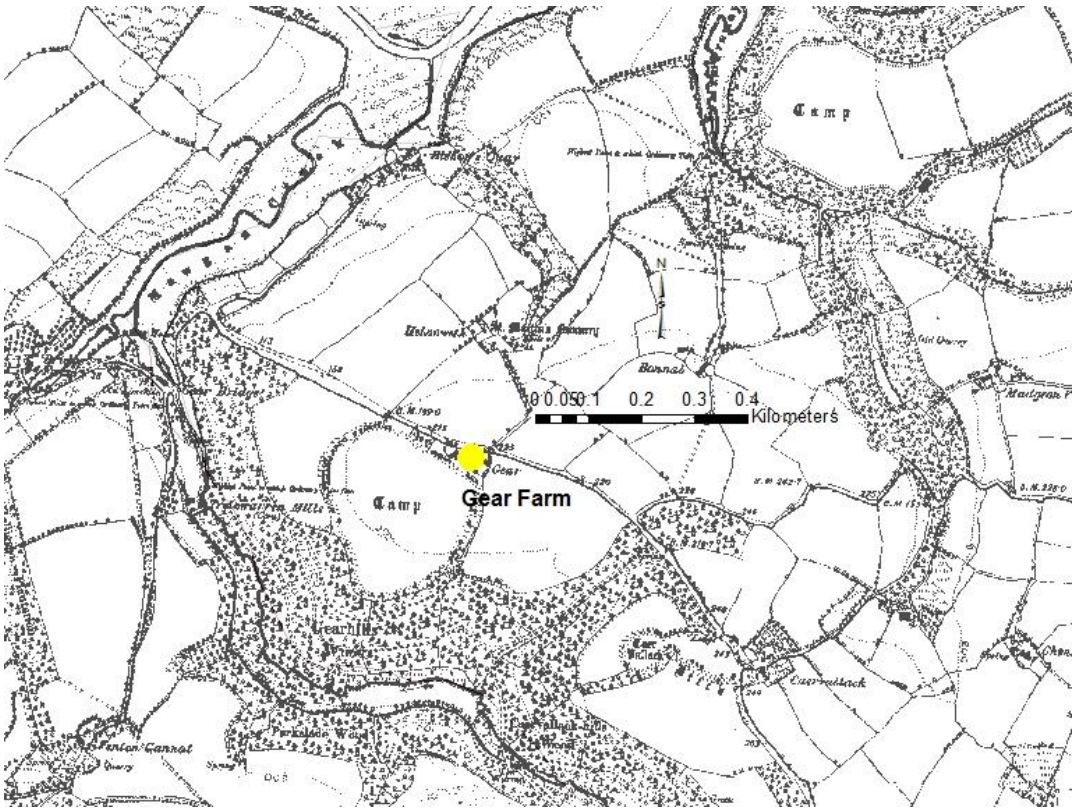


Figure 4.35 Gear Farm: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

Figure 4.36 Location of Gear Farm adjoining The Gear enclosure, named as 'Camp' (Source: www.old-maps.co.uk)

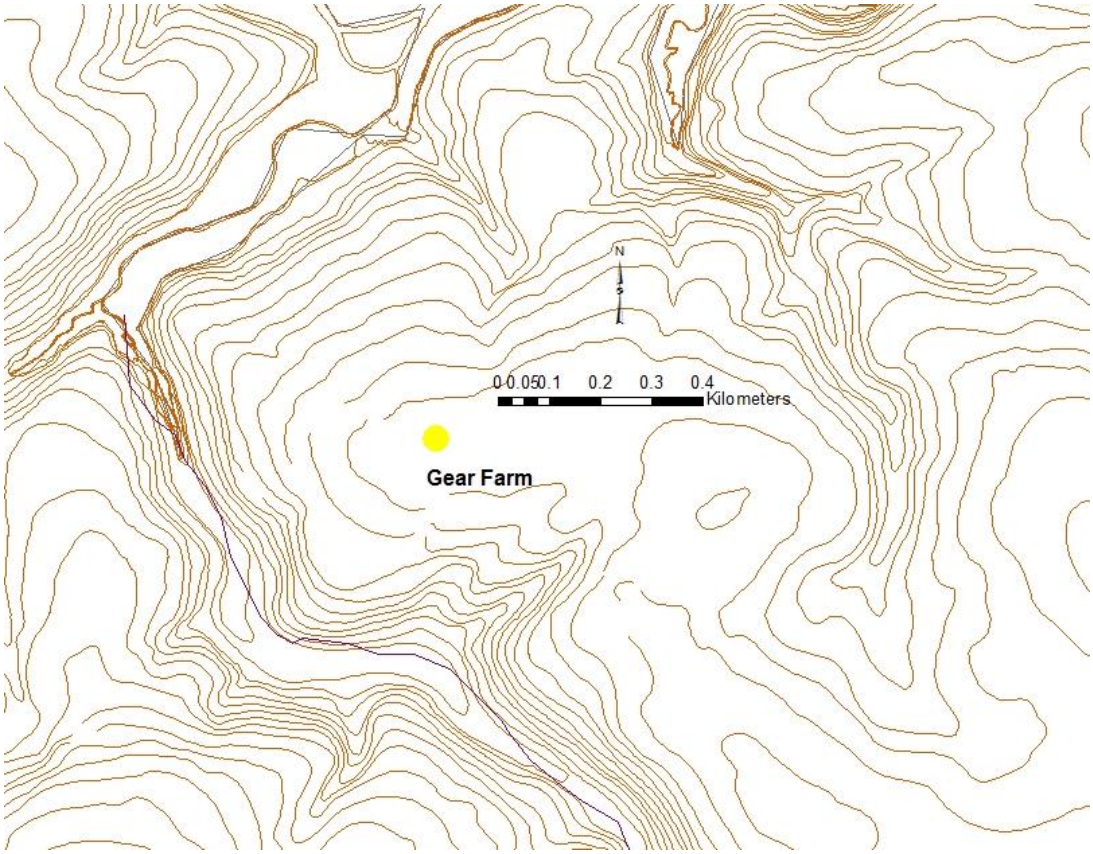


Figure 4.37 Landscape contours around Gear Farm, under 100m (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

The foregoing discussion of **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements has demonstrated how the presence of prehistoric monuments in the landscape has influenced the naming of settlement sites in the medieval period. Linguistic forms suggest that the use of these types of place-name elements would have been current at around the 7th century, perhaps shortly after their actual occupation was abandoned. Similar landscape positions and distributions to **tre* place-names show that both elements appear to reflect a 'traditional' Cornish settlement pattern between the later Romano-British and early medieval periods. This suggests 'a slight shift in the position of the settlement' (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 60) rather than a major disruption to the established landscape.

4.3.7 **Bod* place-name elements

Introduction

There are 238 settlements named in **bod* across Cornwall (Figure 4.38). Whilst they are found throughout Cornwall, there is a strong westerly bias to their distribution. The western half of Cornwall contains 174 or 73% of the total number of **bod* settlements, with the majority (92 or 39%) of the overall total in Penwith, compared to 35 (15% of the total) in Powder and 30 (13% of the total) in Kerrier.

The place-name element **bod* has been recorded in antiquity across Britain and Ireland and dates back at least as far as the Common Brittonic period. It has a wide distribution across the ancient world: Gaulish antecedents that may be related survive in the names *Botanis*, *Botcalia* and *Boteria* (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 214, 273). It occurs in the 8th century Ravenna Cosmography in the form *Botis*, identified with the island of Bute (Old Irish *Bot*, Gaelic *Bod*) in Scotland. Rivet and Smith consider that the **bod* name element is cognate with the Welsh form **bod* and the Irish **both*, meaning 'dwelling' and 'hut, bothy' respectively; the Old and Middle Breton form **bot* or 'dwelling, residence' is another variant (Padel (1985, 24). Padel contends that the element is identical with the Common Brittonic verbal noun **bos*, 'to be', and points out that examples of **bod* are 'consistent' across the three Brittonic countries during this period. He suggests that its common use 'goes back to an earlier period of unity between the various Brittonic languages' (Padel, 2007, 217).

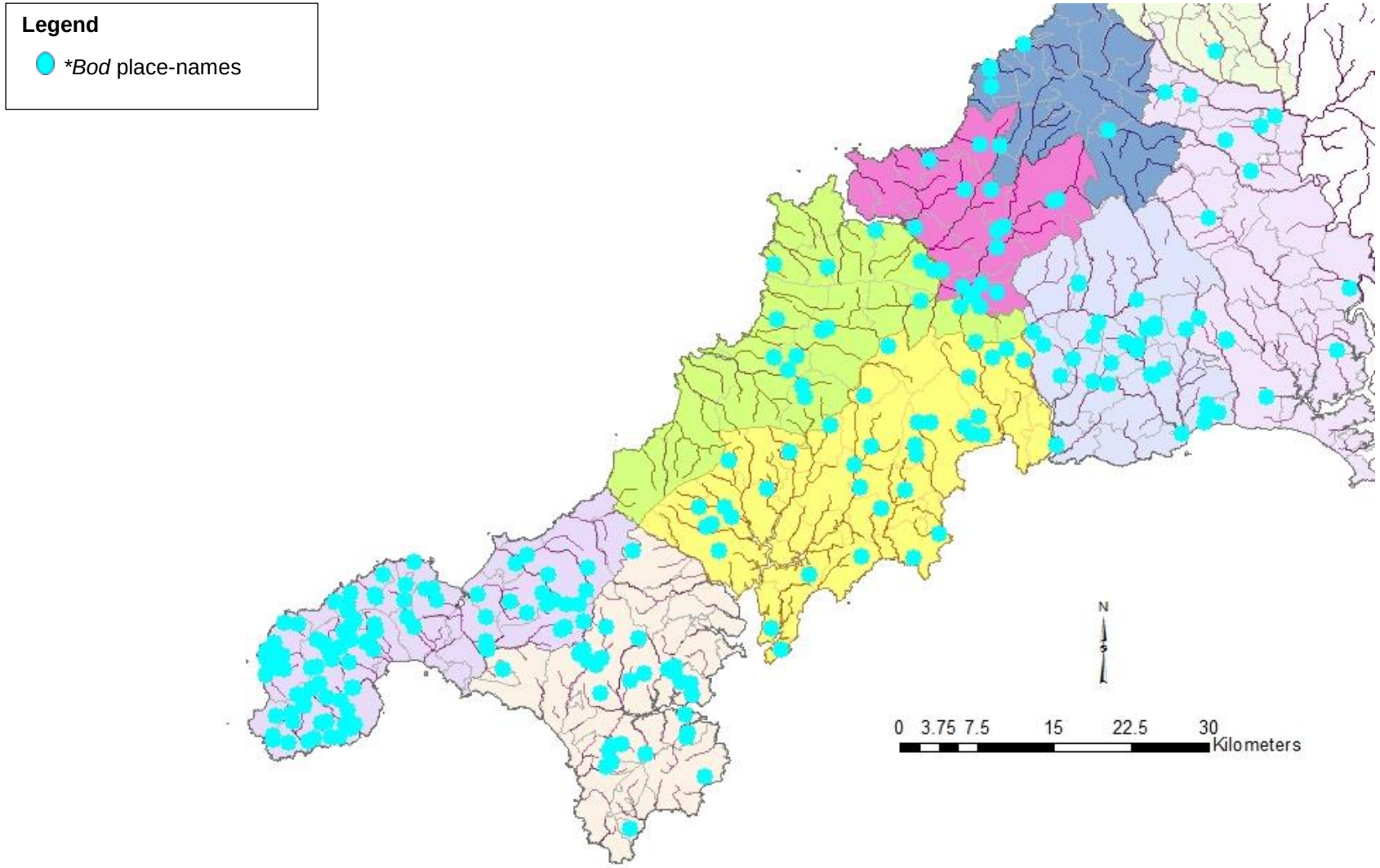


Figure 4.38 Distribution of *bod *named settlements across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Compared to the more evenly distributed **tre* names in Cornwall which Padel suggests were established at the same time, settlements named in **bod* are at their densest in western Cornwall and also northwest Wales (Padel, 1985, 24). Interrogation of the Historic Wales Gateway portal *Coflein* provided through Cadw confirms this distribution (Figure 4.39). The Welsh place-name scholar Morgan (1912) has this to say about the **bod* element in Wales:

> Bod *originally meant a lord's residence. Having fixed upon a certain spot of land, he would build a dwelling-house thereon, which was called* bod*, and the name of the builder or owner was added to distinguish it from other dwelling-houses, hence we have Bodowain, Bodedeyrn, &c. He had two residences — yr Hafod, the summer residence, and Gaeafod, the winter residence. But in course of time* bod *was used to designate any house or dwelling-place.*
>
> \- Morgan, *The Place-Names of Wales*, 1912

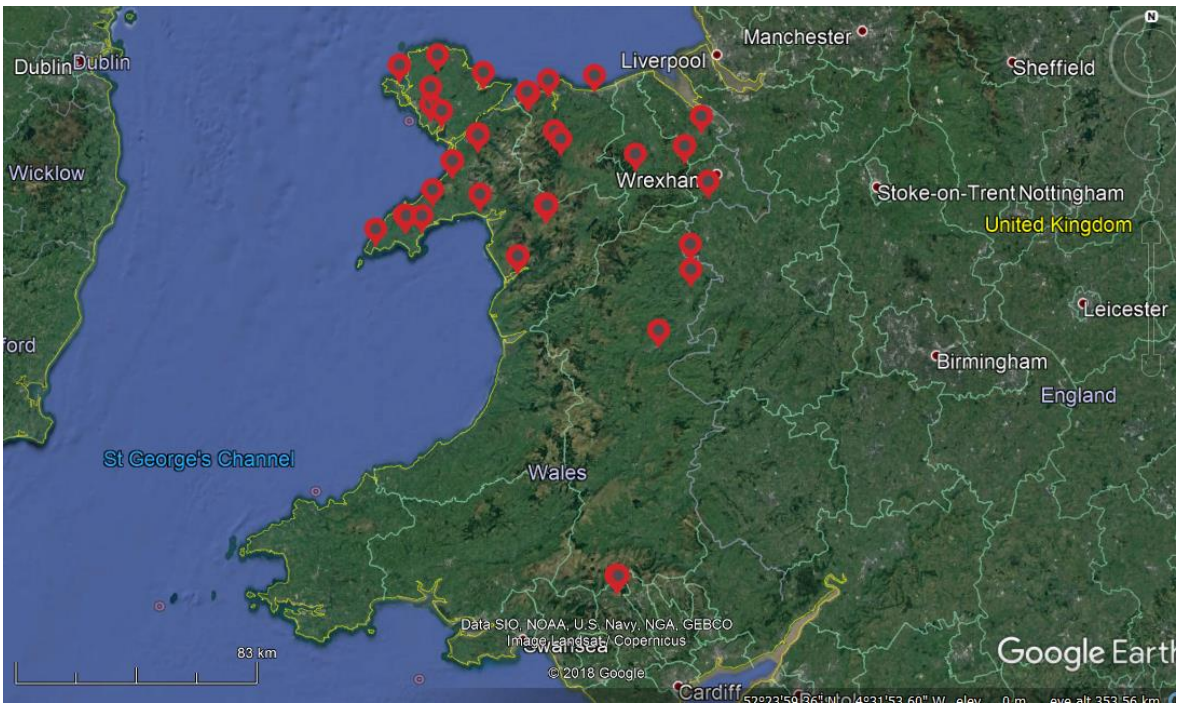


Figure 4.39 *Distribution of* *bod *place-names in Wales (Source: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales/Google Earth)*

Although **bod* like **tre* occurs in Domesday manors and pre-Domesday charters, Padel (1985, 25) notes that **bod* settlements very rarely became medieval tithings but could denote 'humbler' dwellings, compared to **tre* settlements which carry some 'legal status'. Padel (1985, 25) also asserts that **bod* tends to combine more with personal names than other elements, which likewise applies to **bot* place-names in western Brittany (Priziac, 2000); we will explore this in more depth below.

Like the **chy* family of names, **bod* also shows linguistic developments over subsequent centuries in areas where the Cornish language persisted. In eastern Cornwall, like Wales, it is most often represented in **bot* or **bod* forms, where the spellings became fossilised as the language was abandoned earliest. In mid and western Cornwall the final */d/* and */t/* transformed into final */s/* as with **coit* > **coys* for 'wood', a change which Jackson (1953, 699) dates to about 1100 AD in Cornish. Examples of both changes can also be seen in **havos* variants in eastern and mid Cornwall. A few examples of a further iteration **boj* are found in **bod* medieval settlement names in far western Cornwall only. As these changes are mainly orthographic and do not appear to denote changes in meaning, they are treated below as the single element **bod* rather than plotted separately.

According to Herring, the early medieval landscape in far western Cornwall was 'similar to that of the Romano-British period', with the implication that many **tre* and **bod* post-Roman settlements are sited 'on or close to late prehistoric and Roman-period settlements' (Herring and Kirkham, 2011, 105). Indeed, **bod* place-names are the most common designation associated with Romano-British courtyard house entries in the Cornish place-name dataset (Figure 4.40). In Cornwall, courtyard houses may represent a transitional stage in settlement morphologies in which unenclosed settlements were appearing in the landscape (Herring, 2011c, 36). Their occupation has been dated by excavation to the Romano-British period up to the 4th century AD (Quinnell, 1986, 120).

Herring (2016, 193) maintains that 'close correlation of settlements carrying [**tre*, **bod* and **caer/*ker/*gear* place-names] with the archaeological remains of

later prehistoric and Roman period settlements' may be key to unlocking what is known about early settlement patterns and land use. In the far west where courtyard houses are found, we may postulate a sequence of settlement types that runs: enclosed rounds > unenclosed courtyard settlements > unenclosed farming estates (Quinnell, 1986, 120). Quinnell (1986, 120) has pointed out that rounds are sometimes incorporated into courtyard house villages as at Chysauster and Nanjulian, which suggests that the courtyard houses are later developments.

It is not only in Cornwall that we see examples of the **bod* place-name element appearing to be associated with prehistoric settlement. Again in Wales, Figure 4.41 is drawn from a Historic Wales Gateway entry for what is thought to be an enclosed ancient village 270m west of Bod Angharad, or Bodgarad, in Caernarvonshire. The village is set within relict field boundary features: the place-name Cae Hen refers to 'old field or enclosure'. The nearby name Hafodty contains the element **hafod* and means 'summer house'.

Rose and Preston-Jones (1995, 66) suggest that there was a 'retraction' of settlement patterns at the start of the medieval period in Cornwall during which earlier Romano-British settlements shifted their positions slightly to become redesignated with **tre* place-names. They postulate that at the end of the Roman period there was a move to 'colonise' lower ground (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 60); as we shall see, the relative elevations of some settlements named in **bod* appear to confirm this trend. The following section sets out the landscape settings of **bod* place-names and draws comparisons with other habitative elements such as **tre* and **caer/*ker/*gear* (Figure 4.42).

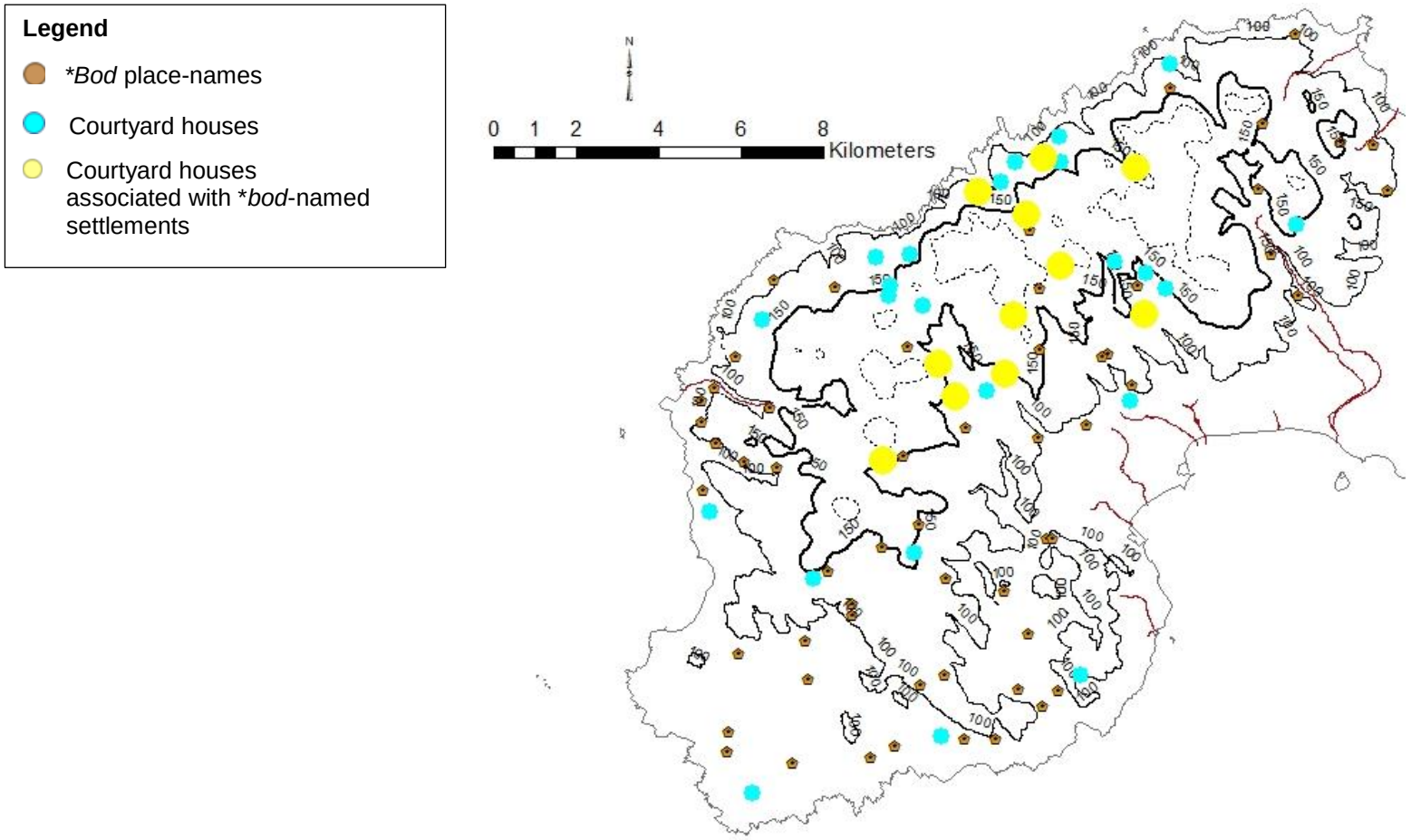


Figure 4.40 *Penwith courtyard houses alongside courtyard houses associated with* *bod-*named settlements alongside other* *bod *settlements (Source: author's database)*

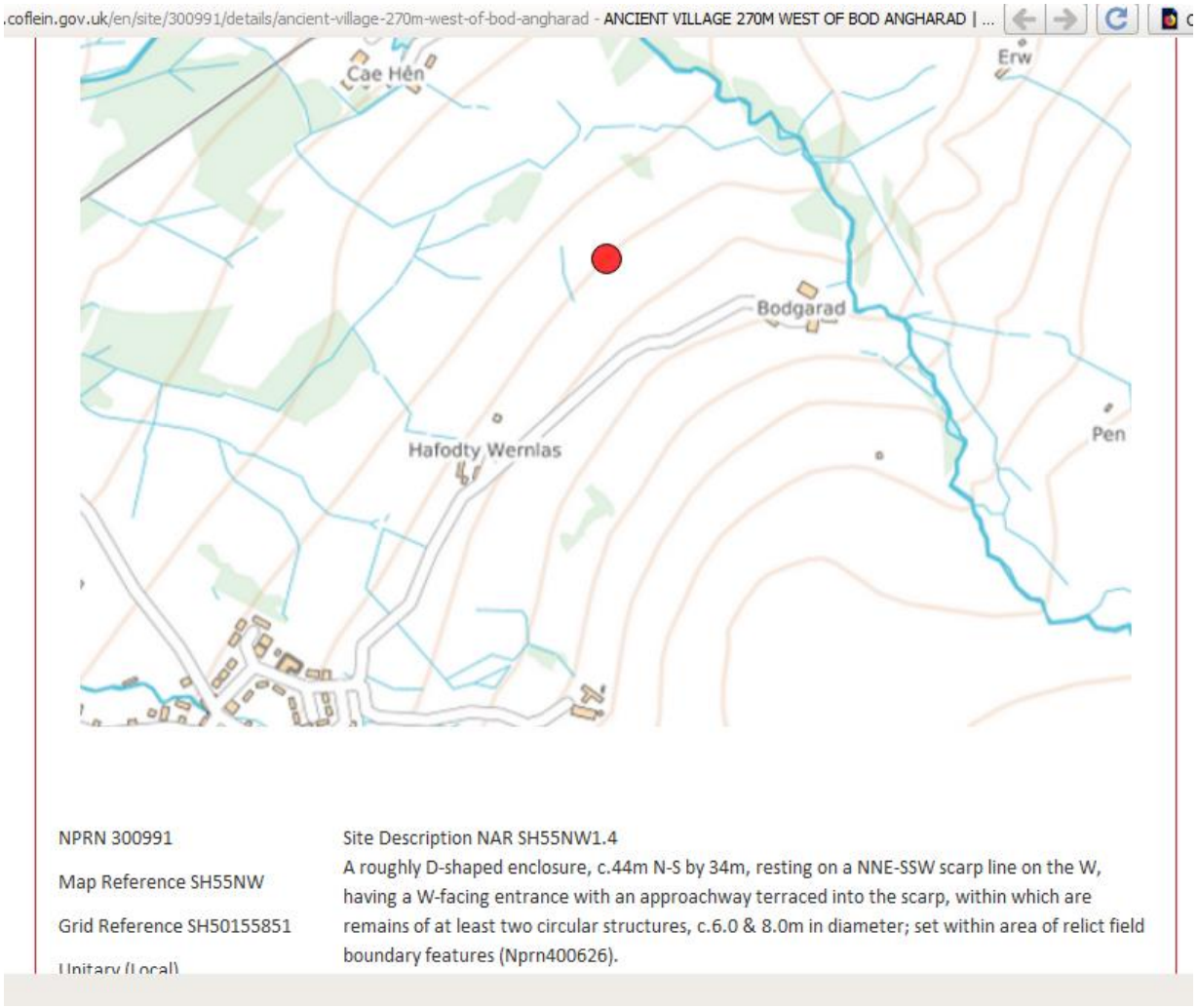


Figure 4.41 Site of ancient village associated with a *bod*-*named settlement close to a* *hafod *place-name, Caernarvonshire, Gwynedd (Source: Coflein/National Monuments Record of Wales)*

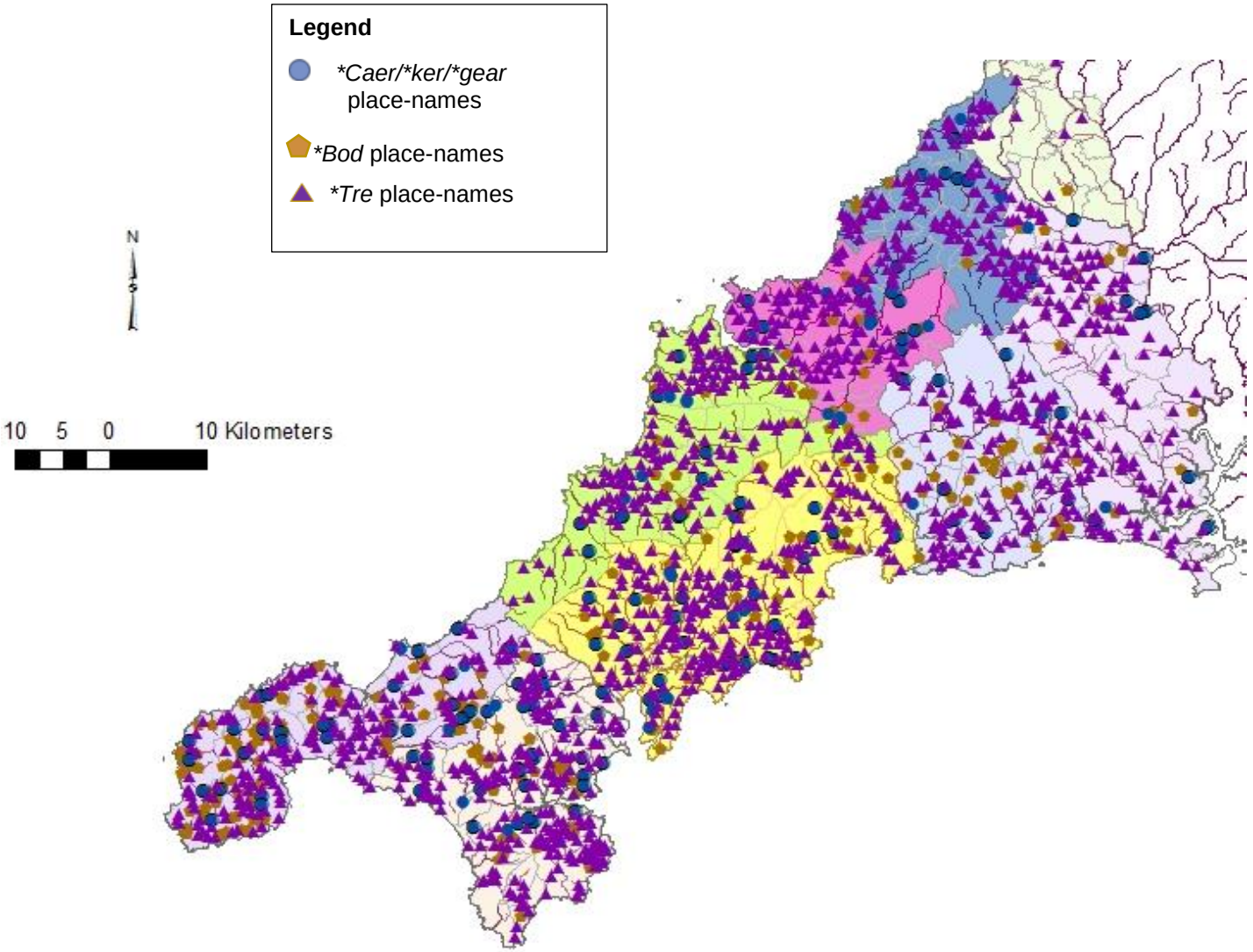


Figure 4.42 Respective distributions of *caer/*ker/*gear, *tre *and* *bod *place-names (Source: author's database)*

Landscape position

We see broad agreement in landscape position across the three types of settlement place-names of **caer/*ker/*gear*, **bod* and **tre* (Table 4.23, Appendix A). In much of Cornwall the **caer/*ker/*gear* elements that refer to medieval settlements close to prehistoric rounds are on similar sites, whether these are located at the edges of higher ground or midway down hillsides. In the Camel estuary and mid Cornwall, however, **bod* settlements may be found at the base of slope, at lower levels than the landscape settings of **caer/*ker/*gear* and **tre* settlements. In western Cornwall distributions of **bod* settlement names lie more on the edges of high ground and midway down hillslopes. Although base of slope locations for **bod* settlements reappear in the far west, just over half (51%) of Penwith's 92 settlements with **bod* place-names lie midway down hillslopes, similar to **tre* settlements; 42% are at the head of valleys.

Elevation

In the rugged terrain of far eastern Cornwall over half the **bod* settlements in are sited above the 100m contour (Table 4.24, Appendix A). In eastern and mid Cornwall both **bod* and **tre* named settlements can be found at over 100m, although **bod* settlements appear under this level either side of the Camel valley. In western Cornwall there are evident differences in the contours of **bod* and **tre* settlements, where the elevation of most **bod* settlements rises again to over 100m. In Penwith, 41% of **bod* settlements are higher than 100m and 38% lower, and another 21% of **bod* settlements higher than 150m compared with only 5% of **tre* settlements.

Looking at the elevations together with centuries in which they were attested, there is a definite trend for earlier **bod* settlements to be sited at lower elevations. Many of those recorded up to and including in the 13th century lie at contours under 100m, even in not particularly low-lying areas. This distribution is not exclusive, however: in topographically higher eastern Cornwall examples also exist of **bod* settlements recorded in Domesday at levels up to 150m,

including two Domesday vills over the 250m contour which indicate a higher status early in the medieval period. Generally, however, there are many fewer **bod* settlements sited above the 150m contour and these tend to be initially recorded later, particularly in the far west.

Proximity to waterways

Of the 238 existing **bod* settlements across Cornwall (Table 4.25, Appendix A): 97% are located within 2km of rivers, and 78% within 1km. **Bod* settlements in eastern Cornwall tend to be located near rivers, often the upper reaches of major river valleys (Figure 4.43). Close to the Camel estuary lies the most important **bod* settlement in Cornwall at Bodmin (from *bod* or 'dwelling' with *meneghy* or 'monks'), at a confluence of rivers, with the estuary and its tributaries an apparent focus. To the south further clusters appear along the Fowey river but not the Fal, with several more near the Truro river network. A ring surrounds the higher ground between the heads of the valleys of the White and Fal rivers, with another group at a high ground watershed between the heads of the valleys of the Kenwyn and Carnon rivers.

In western Cornwall **bod* settlements are found at head of river valley positions around the creeks on the eastern side of the Lizard peninsula. In the far west, with the largest share of **bod* settlements, all 92 are situated within a 2km of waterways and 88% within 1km. The Hayle river valley shows **tre* settlements in its lower reaches and **bod* settlements further inland, while on the Penwith peninsula **bod* settlements appear along river valleys running between the south and north coasts and along the minor stream valleys inland.

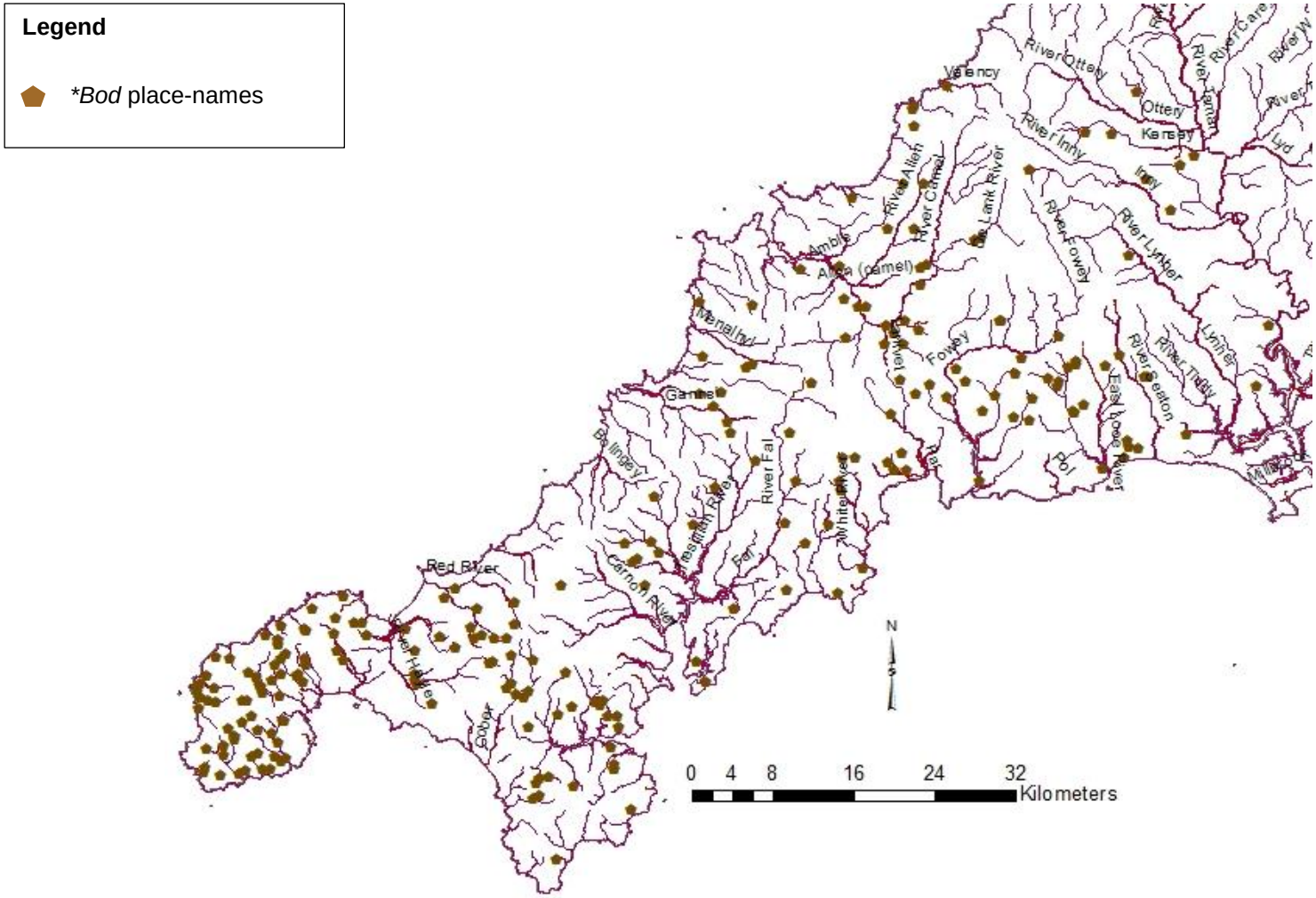


*Figure 4.43 Distribution of *bod settlements in relation to major rivers (Source: author's database)*

Dispersion and intensity

A small group of **bod* settlements appears near the Devon border, with a larger cluster to the south of Bodmin Moor (Figure 4.38); in mid Cornwall they tend to become more dispersed. In western Cornwall **bod* settlements are not uniformly distributed, but tend to cluster on the western side of the Carnmenellis granite. Once into the Penwith peninsula **bod* settlements cluster thickly throughout the interior, not only at the heads of minor stream valleys but also in the high central plateaux where few **tre* settlements appear. Two groupings of **bod* settlements are found here: at the heads of southerly rivers emptying into Mount's Bay in the south, and towards the west coast opening to the sea at Porth Nanven.

Where surviving **bod* settlements are plentiful they often occur in fairly dense groups. The relatively tight clusters to the south of Bodmin Moor range from a small 'knot' at between 0.5km to 1km to become slightly more dispersed nearer the Fowey river valley, which along with others in eastern Cornwall are mainly spaced at between 1.5km and 3km. In mid Cornwall **bod* settlements are spaced at between around 1.4km and 2.5km, with smaller groups nearby at distances of between 1km and 3km.

In some places in western Cornwall such as the Helford river network respective distances contract further and can range from 0.5km to just over 1km even for non-paired **bod* settlements. Once into the densest distribution of **bod* settlements throughout the Penwith peninsula, distances of 0.5km to 1.5km become even more regular, with many at less than 1km from each other. Rose and Preston-Jones (1995, 64) note that Penwith courtyard houses tend to be spaced at intervals of 0.45-0.8km, with 0.4km as a median distance from the nearest medieval settlement – whilst medieval settlements themselves are spaced at about 0.55km median distance.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

Many **bod* settlements are found in the HLC type Medieval Farmland (Table 4.24, Appendix A), as might be expected overall with habitative place-names, particularly in eastern Cornwall. HLC types with **bod* settlements become notably more diverse in mid and western Cornwall and to the east of the Camel estuary, where there is much more evidence of later enclosure. The most dramatic affinity of HLC type with **bod* settlement is in Penwith, where a majority of 62% occur in farmland with prehistoric origins compared with 45% of **tre* settlements. Here also we can see the fullest range of later HLC types suggesting more recent enclosure, including Upland Rough Ground.

Dates of first recording

There is an intriguingly mixed picture across Cornwall as to when **bod* settlements were initially attested (Table 4.24, Appendix A). **Bod* settlements have been first recorded everywhere up the 14th century and as late as the 19th century in the west, with undated examples in eastern and far western Cornwall. The most striking feature, however, is how early their first recording was throughout Cornwall, including examples of Domesday vills and pre-Norman charter bounds. In St Buryan parish in the far west, five **bod* settlements (one now lost) were first attested in what is considered by Sawyer (1968) to be an original charter of Athelstan (S.450, 939 AD). Almost all the 21 earliest recorded **bod* settlements from the 11th century and earlier are located either at heads of valleys or overlooking the coast, whether in eastern, mid or western Cornwall; about half of the earliest recorded **bod* settlements lie at contours of 100m or below.

Combinations with other place-name elements

**Bod* very rarely appears in a simplex (uncombined) form in Cornwall (Table 4.26, Appendix A). Combinations of **bod* names with a recognised personal name as a qualifier are rare, apart from the densest area of early medieval English settlement between the Fowey river and the Devon border. By comparison, **tre* names typically combine with known personal names to between 13% and 19% in most of Cornwall. Most elements in conjunction with

**bod* settlement are unknown, ranging from just under 25% in the far west to nearly 70% in the far east; about 43% of **bod* combinations elsewhere in western Cornwall are unknown. The comparative average percentage of unknown **tre* names across hundreds is far smaller at 12%. It is possible that this large complement of unknown combinations does include personal names in some parts of Cornwall.

Of known elements, topographical names together with those for wood, trees and plants tend to combine most frequently with **bod* settlements, more than with **tre* settlements. The eastern side of the Camel estuary shows a much larger share of habitative **bod* names than elsewhere, whilst only in western Cornwall are **bod* elements combined with water names.

Case study: Bosiliack

The earliest recorded form of the place-name Bosiliack (Figures 4.44-4.47) is Boshevlyek, which dates from 1245 AD and combines **bos* for dwelling with **hevlyek*. The second element is thought to refer to an unknown personal name; 20 (nearly 22%) of Penwith's **bos* place-names combine with unknown elements. Bosiliack lies in small 'island' of the Prehistoric Farmland HLC type within a more extensive area of Upland Rough Ground.

The medieval and post-medieval settlements of Bosiliack are located at a height of 195m midway down a southwestern facing hillside above the head of a minor river valley. The medieval settlement is located approximately 173m to the south of a courtyard house settlement at a height of 200m, which was surveyed in 1985 by the Cornwall Archaeological Unit. The courtyard house contains two oval rooms, with a platform between which may be the remains of a long room; part of the courtyard wall survives to the east. The location of the courtyard house is similar to that of other known courtyard houses on the margins of current or former rough ground (Herring and Kirkham, 2011, 105).

The area around Bosiliack is rich in prehistoric archaeology, including a roundhouse settlement at a distance of 700m from the medieval settlement on the west facing side of a shallow valley, an entrance grave 350m to the southeast of the roundhouse settlement, and field systems thought to belong to post-medieval farmsteads which contain multi-period boundaries of prehistoric, Romano-British and medieval date (Jones, 2013, 136-8). The landscape around Bosiliack appears to show a long and (probably) intermittent occupation history across millennia which includes slight dislocations in its overall settlement positions.

Figure 4.44 Bosiliack (Source: Aerial Roam)

Figure 4.45 Bosiliack landscape context (Source: author)

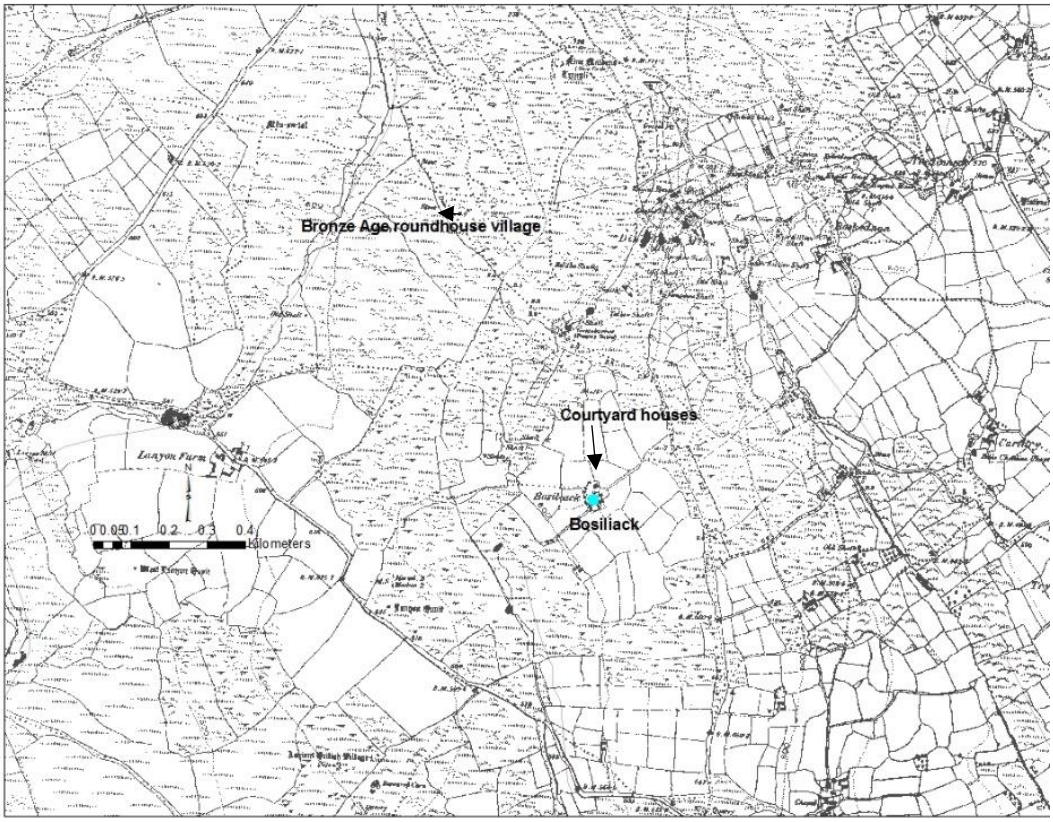


Figure 4.46 Bosiliack: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

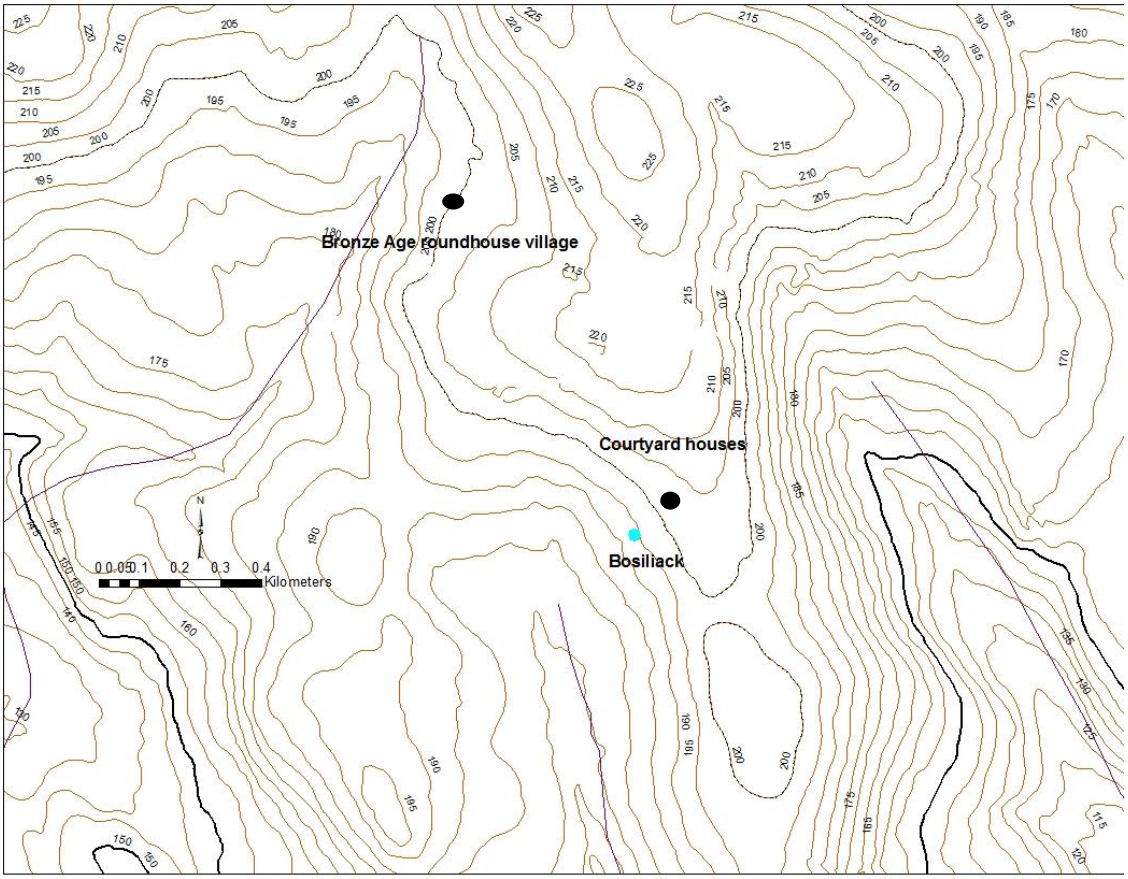


Figure 4.47 Landscape contours around Bosiliack (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

It is possible that we are seeing shifts in the relative landscape positions of **bod* settlements, depending on when they were established, that may reflect changes to their overall status (see Discussion, section 7.2.3). The oldest layer, it seems, was sited to take advantage of the more sheltered locations in lower ground. One of the strongest correlations is between head of valley positions and **bod* settlements, which suggests that access to the riverine resources thereby conferred was important.

There are intriguing similarities in the distribution of **bod* settlements across Cornwall in which almost all hundreds evidence early first attestation, with a preference for topographical elements in combination where known. The early dates of recording show higher status examples of Domesday vills named in **bod* as well as older settlements recorded in Anglo-Saxon charters. In Penwith, there are potential correlations between the distribution of Romano-British courtyard house settlements and associated **bod* place-names. Certainly, here in the far west, **bod* is the preferred designation for habitations well into the medieval period.

4.3.8 Conclusions

We have now analysed lower status habitative place-name settlements across a range of criteria, which broadly confirm their relationship to both single dwellings and agricultural estates during the early medieval period. From their distribution patterns across Cornwall it is apparent that they do indeed correspond to the type of habitation that would have been occupied by the general population. We can also see some evidence from both Domesday and changes in landscape locations that the status of several place-name elements may have altered over time. A small sample appears to have undergone name replacement at some stage during the medieval period, as shown by differing forms attested in written records as well as gaps in their distribution.

We now move on to consider in detail locations in the landscape of higher status place-names, both ecclesiastical and secular.

Cornish Place-Names in the Landscape

Volume 2 of 4

Submitted by Joanne Pye to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology
In September 2018

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature: ……..

5 HIGHER STATUS PLACE-NAMES

5.1 Introduction

In the analysis which follows we shall consider high status place-name elements from the medieval period relating to both secular and ecclesiastical sites. The former includes the elements **dinas* and **lys*, which are thought to refer to early medieval high status settlements which may have had secular roles. We shall also look at the ecclesiastical or religious place-name elements **lan*, **seynt*, **eglos* and **merther*, taken to represent the earliest period of Christianity in Cornwall (Pearce, 1978, 67-85; Preston-Jones, 1994, 71-95; Turner, 2006b).

As these are high status sites, they are fewer in number and are likely to have been established according to differing criteria than the lower status settlements reviewed above. They are more likely to occupy places in the landscape which have been selected for specific reasons, whether in prominent locations or sheltered positions. We will not therefore be monitoring their distribution in the landscape in as much detail as with lower status settlements.

5.2 Secular place-name elements

5.2.1 **Dinas* place-name elements

Introduction

The detailed analysis in this thesis of the place-name element **dinas*, denoting 'fort' (Padel, 1985, 85), covers medieval settlements located close to hill forts and cliff castles. **Dinas* sites in Cornwall reflect what were known in Latin as **dunum* or in British as **dūnon*, a sub-class of Romano-British fortification names (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 344) relating to Britain and Gaul specifically, referred to by Ptolemy as **dunium*. Jackson confirms the presence of **dinas* name-elements from the Romano-British period in the *Antonine Itinerary* and

the *Notitia Dignitatum* (1953, 225). He postulates for **dinas* a developmental sequence from Common Brittonic **duno* > British **dūno* > Primitive Welsh **din*, which he dates to before the 6th century and the final tripartite separation of Late British into Welsh, Cornish and Breton (Jackson, 1953, 319-20). Early forms of the initial element **din* appear in Tintern on the Welsh borders as well as in Tintagel, perhaps the most important castle fortification in early medieval Cornwall, for which excavations have confirmed high status occupation (Barrowman *et al*, 2007; Nowakowski and Gossip, 2017). Coates and Breeze (2000, 180) cite several examples of Welsh and Cornish **din*s (cf Padel, 1988, 187) referring to 'forts or strongholds', in this context occurring in combination with names of birds or animals.

Early defended sites which came to be named in **dinas* include hill forts (Herring, 1994, 45) and cliff castles, or promontory forts. They are thought to be 'broadly contemporary' (Kirkham, 2011, 100), possibly dating from some time during the 1st millennium BC, with rounds appearing slightly later (Nowakowski, 2016, 179); excavations show traces of use into the late Romano-British period. In each case they make use of prominent landscape features and tend to be sited 'on hilltops or at the ends of ridges…built to be seen and to impress' (Cunliffe, 2001, 337). Scholars have referred to the widespread distribution of coastal defended settlements across the Atlantic coasts of Iberia and Brittany as well as in Wales, Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly (eg Bowen, 1977, 36; Cunliffe, 2001, 337; Quinnell, 1986, 115; Wheeler and Richardson, 1957).

If some places later named in **dinas* were actively used at the same time as rounds which came to be named in **caer/*ker/*gear*, it is possible that they may represent respectively high and lower status during overlapping periods of time (Kirkham, 2011, 101). As with the rounds, it is unknown when precisely such names were applied to Cornish sites, let alone to nearby medieval settlements. Over time, hill forts and cliff castles have not only attracted the element **dinas* but also the habitative form **caer* (of the **caer/*ker/*gear* name type) or the topographical form **carn*, both of which are roughly translated as 'castle' in this context.

Cliff castles and hill forts have been interpreted as unlikely to have formed the basis for permanent settlements (Herring, 1994, 53; Kirkham, 2011, 101), and it has been suggested that they participated in networks of exchange, as at Carn Brea (Mercer, 1981, 192). Indeed, recent renewed interest in temporary sites of outdoor assembly or other 'ephemeral' functions during the early medieval period is sparking a reinterpretation of places not necessarily under permanent occupation, to which place-name evidence is contributing (Baker and Brookes, 2015, 3). Baker (2006, 163-4) points out that, in Old English-speaking areas of the UK, there are several types of place-name that may denote Brittonic-speaking populations: those pointing to Romano-British remains, including fortifications; those referring to people, institutions, settlements of status or function; and those denoting 'pre-English agricultural or landscape organisation'. In the cases of **dinas* and **lys*, we may be seeing examples of each of the first two types, and **caer/*ker/*gear* as the third type. We will return to this theme in the sections which follow (and see Discussion, section 7.2.4).

Landscape position

Overall there are 48 medieval settlements named in **dinas* in the Cornish place-name dataset across all areas of Cornwall. Many settlements with **dinas* place-names around Cornwall (Figure 5.1; Table 5.1, Appendix A) are located within steep sided valleys. **Dinas*-named settlements across eastern and mid Cornwall tend to be found at the bases of hillslopes or near the tops of hills. In western Cornwall the distribution changes to become more coastal; here **dinas* settlements tend to be found midway down or at the base of hillslopes. This distribution suggests the possibility that dependent settlements may have been established around prominent landmarks and named in relation to them.

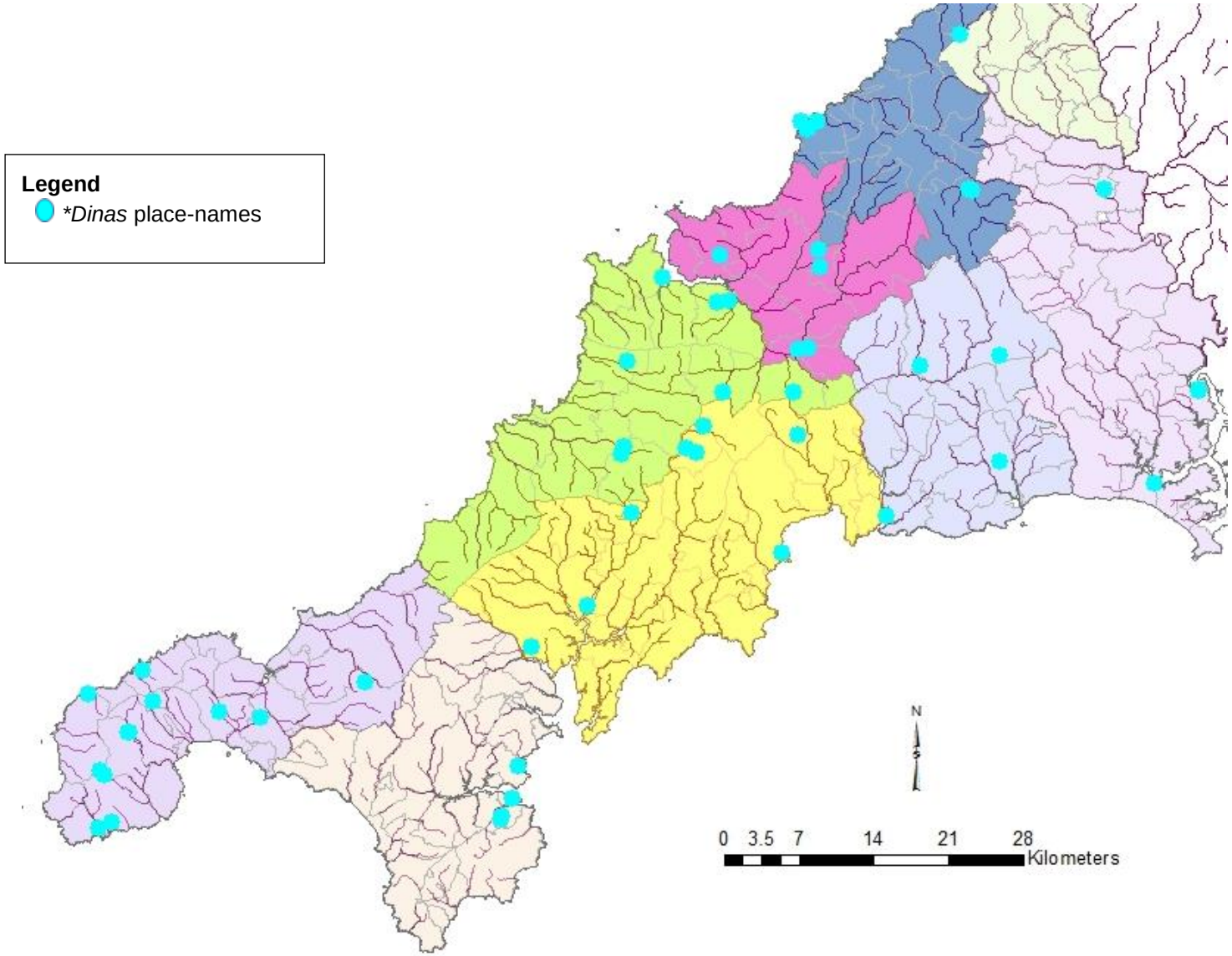


Figure 5.1 Locations of *dinas *named settlements across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Elevation

Relatively speaking, elevations of **dinas* settlements do not conform to the topography of Cornwall (Table 5.2, Appendix A). They tend to be located on lower ground in more rugged eastern Cornwall and avoid the highest contours in Lesnewth hundred. The majority of **dinas* settlements in far eastern Cornwall and to the east of the Camel estuary are sited below the 100m contour. In low-lying mid Cornwall the pattern changes and we see some **dinas* settlements above this level, mainly occupying the inland central ridge. Differences again appear in western Cornwall, where coastal **dinas* settlements under 100m give way in the far west to a range of elevations, most of which lie between 100m and 150m.

Proximity to waterways

The closeness to watercourses of **dinas* settlements is striking (Table 5.3, Appendix A), as would perhaps be expected with high status settlements. Of the 48 sites named in **dinas*, 71% are located within 1km of rivers and all but one within 2km. The strongly riverine distribution is highlighted in eastern and mid Cornwall, with four apparent pairs of **dinas* sites (Figure 5.2) at around 1km from each other close to major river valleys: the Gannel, the upper Fal network and especially the Camel estuary. Here two clusters of sites lie at the head of the estuary and at the junction of the Camel and Lanivet rivers just below Bodmin. Two further potential pairs appear in the far west on the Penwith peninsula, on the south coast and close to an inland hilltop (Figures 5.3a and 5.3b). River mouth distributions of **dinas* settlements appear at two of the most important rivers in eastern Cornwall, the Tamar and the Lynher; near the south coast close to where the Tresillian river joins the Fal river network; and above the mouth of the Carnon river.

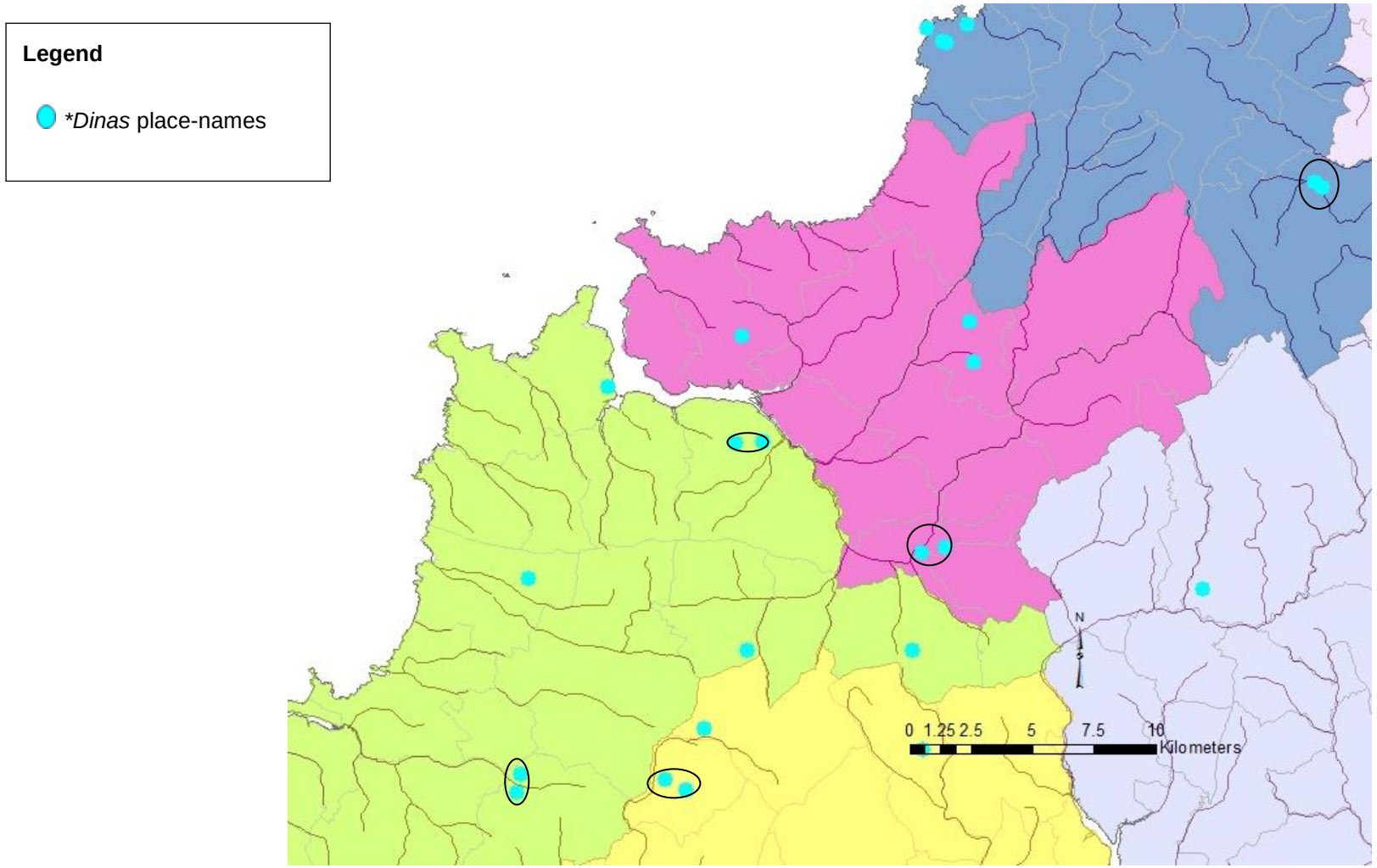


Figure 5.2 *'Clusters' of* *dinas *place-names at around 1km spacing near rivers in mid Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

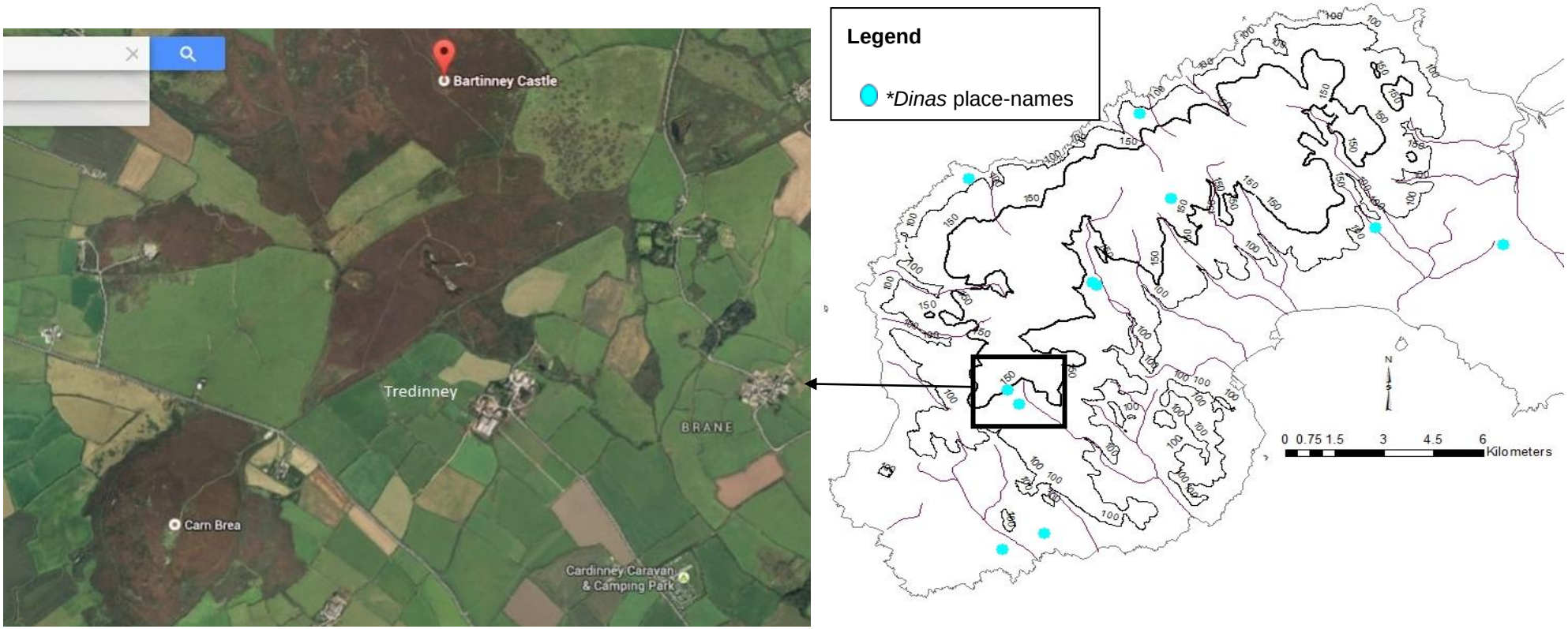
Dispersion and intensity

The siting of **dinas* named settlements across Cornwall is uneven, with nearly twice the number of settlements in western than in eastern Cornwall; some may have disappeared from the latter. The few **dinas* settlements in eastern Cornwall are widely dispersed apart from the clusters noted above. In mid Cornwall **dinas* sites become more frequent and tend to be found inland, straddling the central downland and lying along upper tributary valleys. In western Cornwall the distribution of **dinas* settlements becomes noticeably more coastal, where hill fort sites named in **dinas* seem to give way to cliff castles; on the southern coast of Kerrier, a sole cluster appears on the eastern side of the Lizard peninsula.

The greatest share of **dinas* place-names is in far western Penwith and marks important cliff castles on the north and south coasts (Herring, 1994, 40-56). An interesting case study is presented with three linked **dinas* sites inland in Penwith: Cardinney, Tredinney and Bartinney (Figures 5.3a and 5.3b), which appear to relate to and be named for the hill-fort at Bartinney Castle (**bre* or 'hill' + **dinas*), the highest hilltop (220m) in a circle of five. Two settlements with habitative place-names appear nearby: Tredinney (**tre* or 'estate' + **dinas*), whose northern edge forms the parish boundary between St Buryan and St Just parishes (Dudley, 2011, 106, Fig 100), and Cardinney, ringed by the hills and on more gently sloping ground. The latter, at a lower elevation, embodies the class of names in **car* (Padel, 1985, 51) associated with **caer/*ker/*gear* sites in the centuries after rounds were abandoned.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

The great majority of **dinas* settlements lie in the Medieval Farmland HLC type apart from those in Penwith, where they appear in farmland with prehistoric origins (Table 5.2, Appendix A). One instance each occurs in Upland and Coastal Rough Ground on the north coast.



Figures 5.3a and 5.3b Linked *dinas *names in the landscape: Bartinney, Cardinney and Tredinney (Source: Google Earth), together with map of *dinas settlements in Penwith showing location and contours (Source: author's database)*

Dates of first recording

Initial recordings from the 12th century and earlier for **dinas* settlements are well evidenced throughout the Duchy apart from three examples in eastern Cornwall (Table 5.2, Appendix A). Although this near-universally early distribution includes two pre-Norman **dinas* sites at either end of Cornwall, there are only three examples of **dinas* place-names in Domesday. The element continued to be first attested as late as the 15th century in most areas, with one very late 19th century recording on a hilltop overlooking a major waterway in western Cornwall.

Combinations with other place-names

The **dinas* place-name element combines mainly with habitative elements throughout Cornwall (Table 5.4, Appendix A). **Dinas* settlements in eastern and western Cornwall are most likely to combine with habitative elements, although a few combinations with topographical terms also appear. Mid Cornwall, by contrast, shows the most diversity; although half of its combinations are habitative, there is a smaller range of other topographical, water and personal elements as well.

Case study: Treen, St Levan

The medieval settlement of Treen, St Levan (Figures 5.4-5.8), is first recorded in 1321 when it is spelled Trethyn, from **tre* = estate and **dinas* = fort, referring to the cliff castle appearing as Treryn Dinas (Figure 5.6) on the OS 1st Series 1881 map (Figure 5.7). It lies at a height of 85m at 1.14km inland to the north west from the coastal cliff castle, just off break of slope on the edge of a rounded hilltop. Although the distance between cliff castle and settlement seems far for related sites, it does occur elsewhere in Penwith. At Treen, Zennor, the medieval settlement (first recorded as Tredyn in 1304) lies at 1.15km inland from the coastal cliff castle named as Trereen Dinas on the OS 1st Series 1881 map, midway down a hillslope at a height of 115m.

Herring considers the cliff castle at Treryn Dinas, St Levan, to be 'West Penwith's largest, most complex and possibly most important defended site' (1994, 50). The site encompasses triple ramparts, of which the central and outer ramparts demarcate two areas of level ground larger than any other Iron Age defended enclosure in Penwith (Herring, 1994, 53). It is an example of cliff castles or promontory forts in the form of 'enclosed headlands or long promontories…defined at their inland ends by substantial stone and earth banks and/or ramparts' (Nowakowski, 2016, 184).

The medieval settlement location of Treen at some distance from the Treryn Dinas cliff castle is intriguing. It suggests that, for selected high status sites – perhaps those with a coastal distribution, such as both Treens and Tintagel – there was some reason for a wider distance. It may be that the medieval settlements were deliberately sited to be more accessible to the travel infrastructure of the day, or that the space between respected a different status or intent to commemorate the monuments. Further research would be needed to investigate these suppositions but is likely not to give a definitive position.

Figure 5.4 Treen, St Levan (Source: Aerial Digimap)

Figure 5.5 Treen St. Levan settlement (Source: author)

Figure 5.6 Treryn Dinas cliff castle (Source: author)

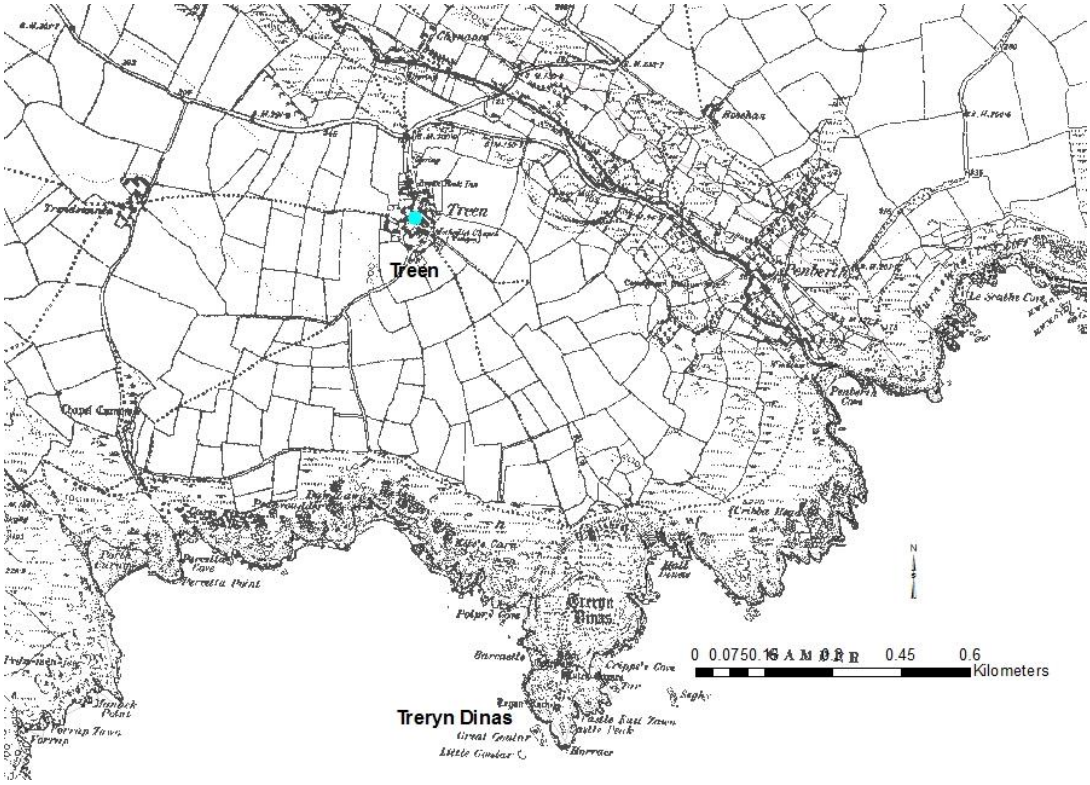


Figure 5.7 Treen, St Levan: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

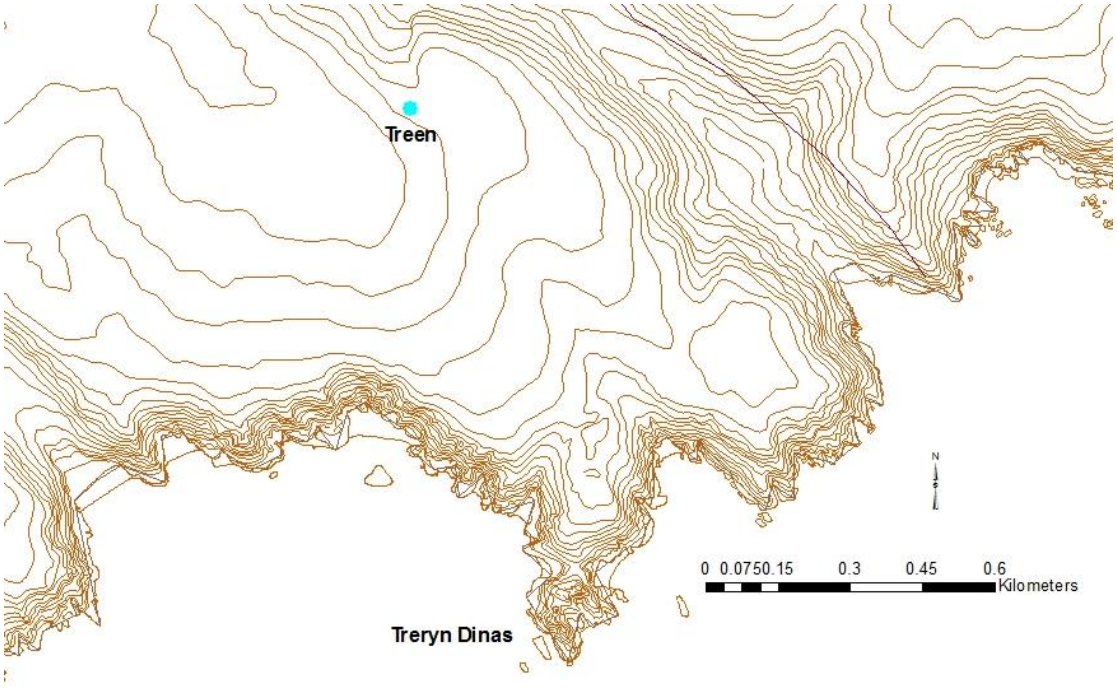


Figure 5.8 *Landscape contours around Treen, St Levan, under 100m (Source: OS Landform data)*

Summary

Whilst **dinas* place-names refer to what may be the oldest landscape features under consideration in this thesis, the settlements named in **dinas* are more likely to be medieval. It is noticeable that they are situated in a relationship to the prominent hill forts and cliff castles although they may occupy lower positions in the landscape, particularly in eastern Cornwall. In the far west **dinas* settlements become more elevated and reflect the greater variety of hill fort and cliff castle monuments there. Overall, **dinas* settlements are likely to have been named retrospectively to mark what were still prominent sites in the landscape at some stage after their active use (see Discussion, sections 7.2.4 and 7.2.5).

5.2.2 **Lys* place-name elements

Introduction

Within the Cornish place-name dataset there are 37 instances of **lys* (Figure 5.9), of which eleven are possible and not confirmed. The prevalence of the element **lys* across all the Brittonic countries implies an early general use prior to its separation into distinctive forms. Jackson traces the development of Cornish **lys* from the Common Brittonic **lisso*, or 'court', which in Welsh became **llys* and in Breton **lis* or **lez* (1953, 285). Forms include both those with the 'typical' Brittonic word order of [generic + qualifier] (Cameron, 1969, 40-1) and the reverse, as with the six names prefixed with **hen* for 'old' and **lys* for 'court', on the same model as **hendre*. Of the other examples of [qualifier] + **lys* construction not all are definitive **lys* sites, and would need to await further archaeological evidence to prove their status as such. **Lys* forms also show a tendency to interchange with **lan* in some names, as with **pen* and **pol*, which again makes interpretation not altogether straightforward.

According to Padel, **lys* refers to an ancient court or administrative centre which predates the Anglo-Saxon overlordship of Cornwall. It may also refer to '"ruins" of indeterminate date…9th and 10th century Breton charters show local chiefs each based at a *lis* [sic]' (Padel, 1985, 150). When used as a suffix, the element may refer to a manorial court and thus date to the post-Norman period (Padel, 1985, 150). More recently, Padel (personal communication, 2013) has further classified **lys* settlement place-names according to their known medieval administrative significance: *antiquarian* names, used for mostly archaeological sites without an administrative function; and *manorial* names with an administrative role (Figure 5.10; see below and Discussion, section 7.2.5).

Despite its retrospective character, today **lys* has undergone a revival and denotes Cornish ecclesiastical sites (eg Trelissick or *Lys Escop* for Bishop's Court, the residence of the Bishop of Truro), as well as secular sites both in Cornwall (eg *Lys Kernow* for County Hall, the seat of Cornwall Council) and Wales (eg *Lysoedd* for Courts of Law). Relatively speaking, compared to more distinctive sites, settlements named in **lys* have not received much recent

archaeological attention, with the exceptions of Leskernick on Bodmin Moor (Bender et al, 1995, 58-73), Lestowder on the Lizard (Tangye, 1995, 176-81) and Lescudjack near Penzance (Nowakowski, 2016, 180), all of which are unusual. The landscape contexts detailed below should therefore be regarded as tentative until more definitive knowledge about **lys* settlements as a class is forthcoming.

Landscape position

Topographical analysis (Table 5.5, Appendix A) across Cornwall shows a mixed picture of preferred locations for **lys* settlements: in eastern Cornwall, sites tend to be located either midway down hillslopes or on the edges of higher ground. Low-lying mid Cornwall unusually shows a difference in favoured locations between the north and south coasts, in which more **lys* settlements are found towards the base of northern hillslopes, whilst to the south the majority appear on the edge of higher ground. In western Cornwall more **lys* settlements are found midway down hillslopes.

Elevation

As is suggested by their topographical locations, **lys* sites are likewise mixed in their elevations (Table 5.6, Appendix A). The few **lys* sites in eastern Cornwall conform to the higher topography there, although they tend to shun the highest ground to the north of Bodmin Moor. In low-lying mid Cornwall all **lys* settlements are under 100m; in western Cornwall, several **lys* settlements on the inland moors are found over the 100m contour, whilst coastal sites are under this level.

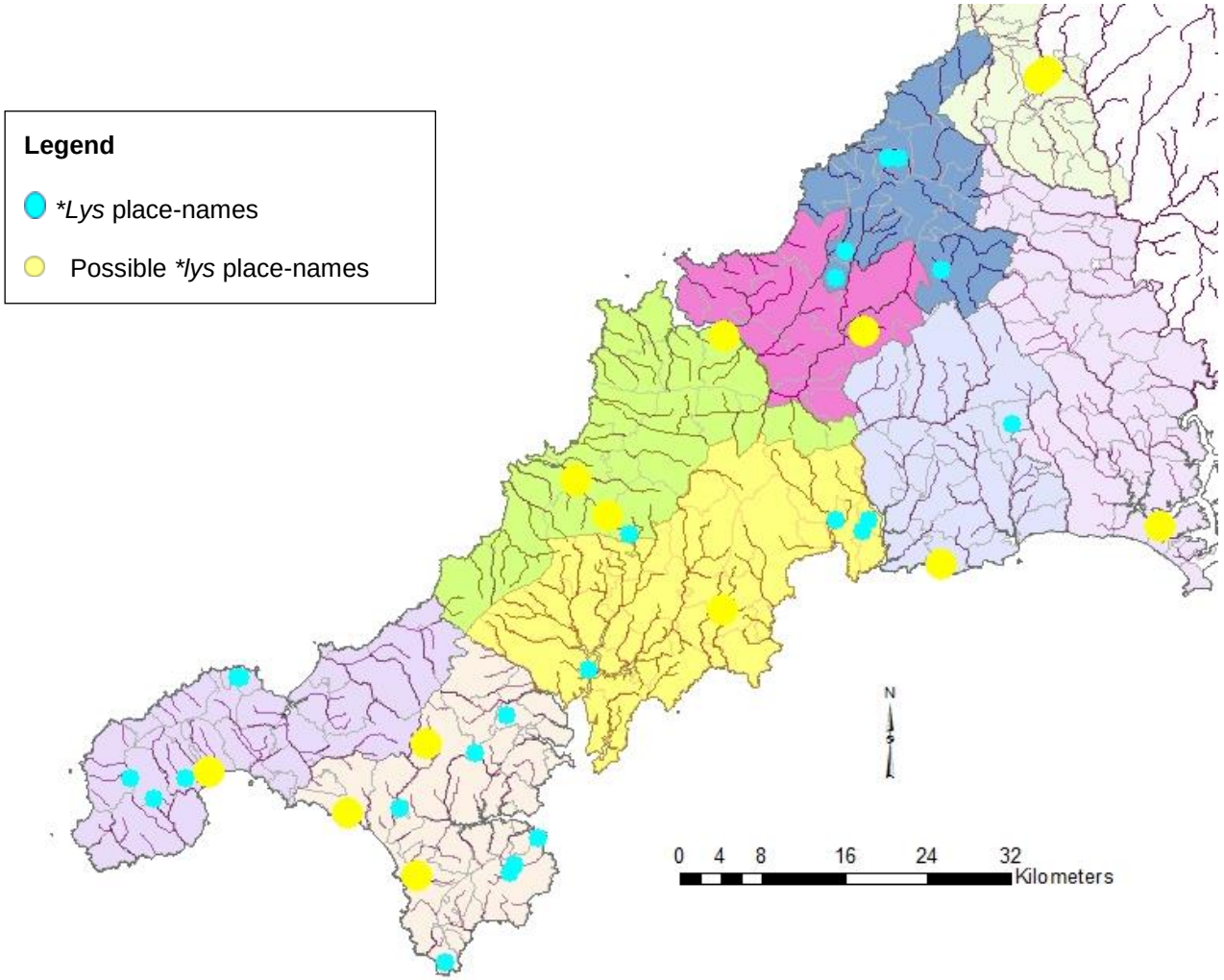


Figure 5.9 Distribution of definite and possible *lys *place-names in Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Proximity to waterways

In contrast to the lower status habitative place-names, **lys* settlements appear slightly less likely to be located close to rivers (Table 5.7, Appendix A). Whilst over two-thirds are situated within 1km of waterways – not dissimilar to other settlements – 89% overall of surviving sites lie within 2km of rivers. This percentage probably does not represent watercourse proximity for the full original corpus of **lys* place-names.

Dispersion and intensity

The extant 37 definite and possible **lys* sites in the landscape show a pronounced east-mid-west divide with relatively few in eastern Cornwall, which could reflect replacement by English place-names there following the establishment of Anglo-Saxon administrative structures. Most of these cluster in eponymous Lesnewth (originally Lisnewin: **lys* for 'court' + **neweth* for 'new') hundred and were first recorded during and after Domesday. In mid Cornwall, a small grouping appears just to the west of the Fowey river mouth, whilst on the north coast, several **lys* settlements run inland along minor streams from the Gannel river. Western Cornwall contains around half of the total number of remaining **lys* place-names, which are dispersed around the coasts of the Lizard and Penwith peninsulas as well on the inland moors.

Oliver Padel (Figure 5.10) proposes that the important manorial **lys* settlements across Cornwall may have been intended as single sites in each hundred, following the model of Breton chieftains, although he also suggests that the usage of the **lys* name in Cornwall is closer to that in Wales than in Brittany (Padel, personal communication, 2013). Padel considered the **lys* settlements in Figure 5.10 to be higher status pre-Domesday administrative centres, sited close to hundred boundaries, and distinct from 'lesser manors' as well as Padel's proposed separate class of 'antiquarian' **lys* sites (see Discussion, section 7.2.5).

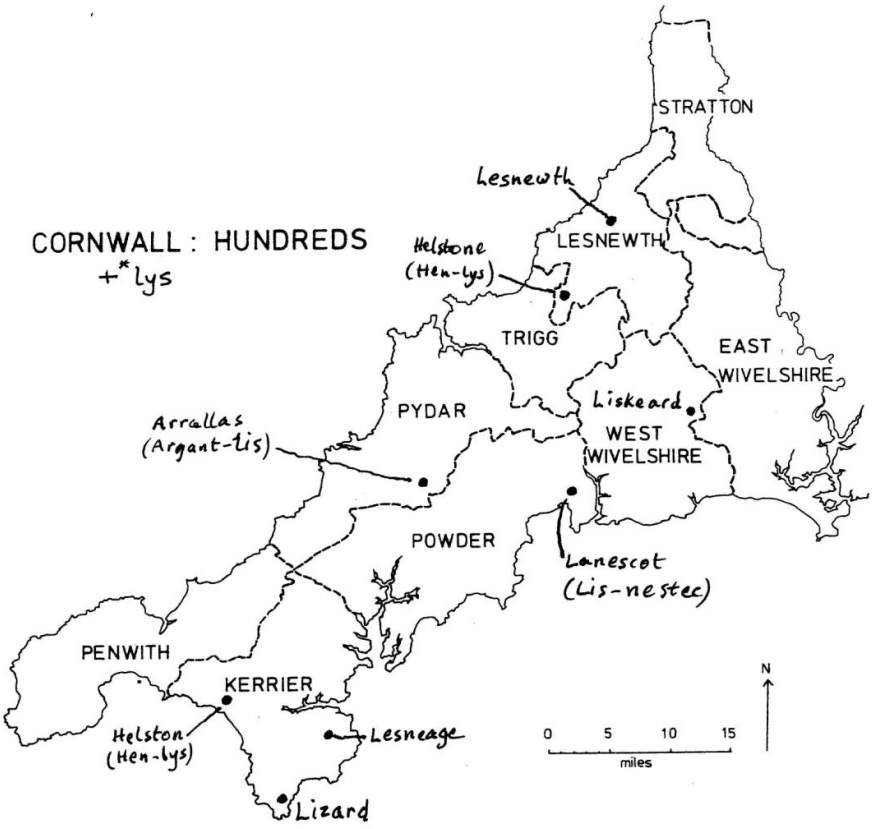


Figure 5.10 Manorial *lys *names across Cornwall (Source: Dr O Padel, personal communication, 2013)*

HLC types

The majority of **lys* settlements are in Medieval Farmland (Table 5.6, Appendix A). Two late-recorded examples in eastern and mid Cornwall lie in Upland Rough Ground and so may show medieval expansion onto higher land.

Dates of first recording

The earliest layer of **lys*-named settlements across Cornwall is recorded in Domesday (Table 5.6, Appendix A), as would be expected from high status settlements which had retained some importance. Overall seven out of 26 definite **lys*, or 27%, are Domesday vills, which is a high percentage for sites of indeterminate age. One further example on the Lizard (Lesneage) dates from the 10th century and appears in pre-Norman charter bounds (Hooke, 1994, 37-40), where in its initial form of Lesmanaoc it is thought to denote the court of the

monastic community at St Keverne (Hooke, 1994, 40). Following these early recordings there tends to be a gap almost everywhere until a further group of **lys* settlements is attested from the 13th century onwards which are likely to have been named retrospectively (Padel, 1985, 150). The element is surprisingly long-lived and continues to be initially recorded across Cornwall until the 16th century.

Combinations with other place-name elements

It is not altogether easy to identify definitively the place-name element **lys*, hence the instances of 'possible' settlements in the map above (Figure 5.9). Other candidate elements such as **les*, or 'ground', confuse interpretations, whilst – as with the element **nans*, or 'valley' – **lys* can alternate with **lan*, showing their long and intertwined history. One example is the hilltop site Lescudjack in Penwith which, although it first appears as Lanscoidek and has been attributed to the initial element **nans*, has in fact been shown to have been an important late Iron Age hill fort. It is one of the earlier (13th century) **lys* settlements to be recorded in Penwith, and may illustrate an example of overlap in naming between hill forts in **dinas* and **lys* which appear to show a complementary distribution in the far west.

**Lys* settlements do not exhibit strong tendencies to combine with habitative names (Table 5.8, Appendix A); topographical combinations are more prevalent in western Cornwall. Name combinations show more diversity in mid and western than in eastern Cornwall including with personal names, and an unusual predilection for combining with animal as well as plant names which suggests retrospective naming (Padel, 1985, 150).

Case study: Lestowder

Lestowder (Figures 5.11-5.14) was first recorded around 1400 AD, when it appeared as Lesteuder, possibly deriving from **lys* for 'court' and a personal name Teuder. Henderson (1917, 19) considered the name to refer to the court of a Cornish King Teudar, believed to have lived in the 6th century, whose residence at Lestowder was mentioned in the 16th century miracle play *The Life of St Meriasek of Camborne*. If this is a personal dedication, it would be one of only two out of 37 possible **lys* place-names to carry names of individuals. Tangye (1995, 180) noted that the late recording of this name could reflect a later medieval attribution to a legendary King Teudar, or conversely that the place-name had given rise to the legend.

The medieval settlement of Lestowder lies at a height of 40m in HLC type Medieval Farmland and was a modern-day farm of 140 acres in 1995 (Tangye, 1995, 176), at the northeastern corner of St Keverne parish. The settlement is located midway down a gentle hillslope below a summit which rises to the northwest at 55m. It sits on the west side of a north facing valley with a stream which drops sharply towards the sea at Lestowder Cliffs. A landing place was identified at Caermenow Cove below the cliffs in the shelter of Nare Point, which may suggest a trading relationship with Gillan Creek to the north (Tangye, 1995, 179-80).

Although Lestowder was known to earlier scholars (Henderson, 1934, 13-25), it was not until 1994 that fieldwork (Tangye, 1995, 177) identified an extensive bivallate round with a large central enclosure adjoining the present farmhouse to the south. The remains of outer defences exist on the western side as a field hedge, with hedges rather than banks defining most of the enclosure together with some traces of a ditch. Tangye (1995, 179-80) considers that Lestowder cannot be classed as a typical round due to its appearance as a defended site, which he attributes to Iron Age origins. It is intriguing that the areas covered by 10th century pre-Norman charter boundary clauses for adjoining estates at Lesneage and Pennare appear not to cover Lestowder (Hooke, 1994, 37-40).

A chapel dedicated to St John the Baptist was licenced at Lestowder in 1403 AD: a field-name of The Hospital was found to contain graves, and may mark the chapel site (Henderson, 1955-60; 274). Another field-name, Park Nevas, may possibly contain the place-name element **neved*, for shrine. At the head of the next valley to the west is the medieval settlement Trewarnevas, at a distance of 0.6km: its name means 'estate above the shrine', and is one of only five **neved* place-names in Cornwall. Both are close to a *herepath*, or military road, running inland from Gillan Creek, which Henderson (1955-60; 270) identifies from a 10th century Anglo-Saxon charter covering Lesneage and Pennare in St Keverne parish (Hooke, 1994, 37-9). The proximity of Lestowder settlement to the sea, a landing-place, an access road and a shrine does suggest a long history and a former high status.

Figure 5.11 Lestowder (Source: Aerial Roam)

Figure 5.12 Landscape context for Lestowder (Source: author)

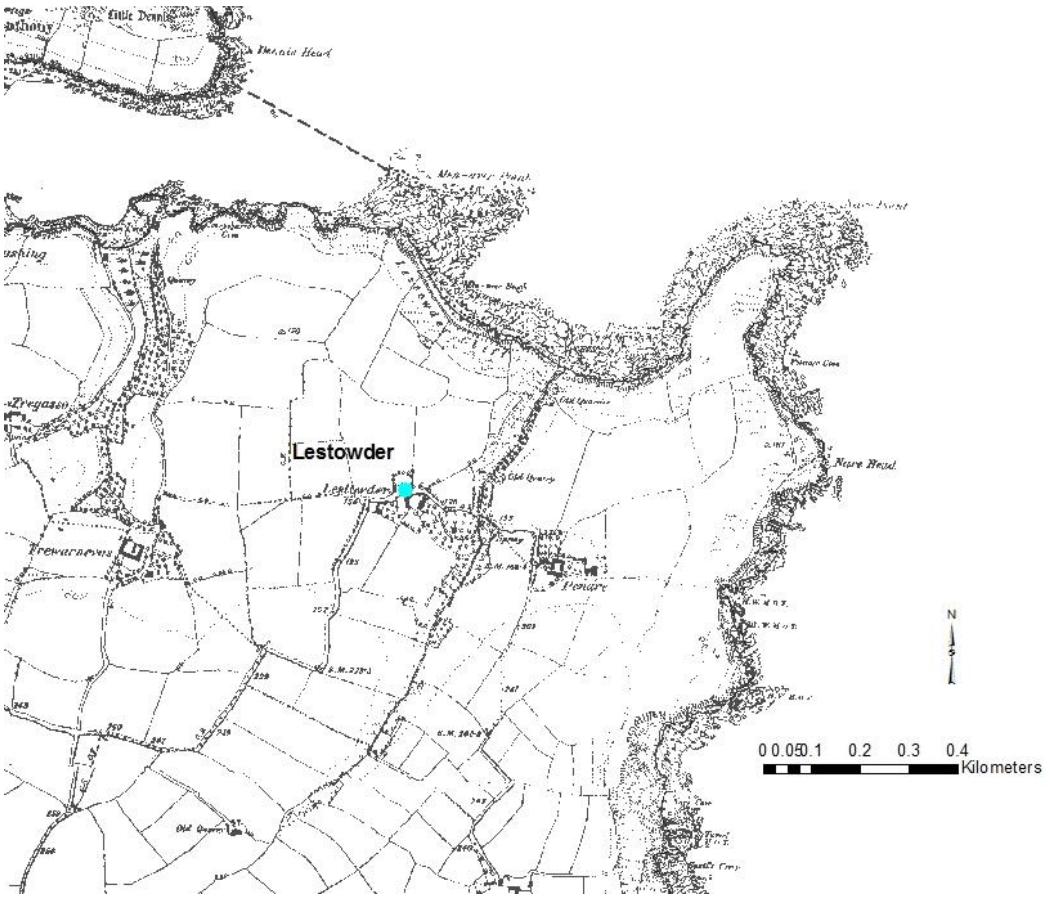


Figure 5.13 Lestowder: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

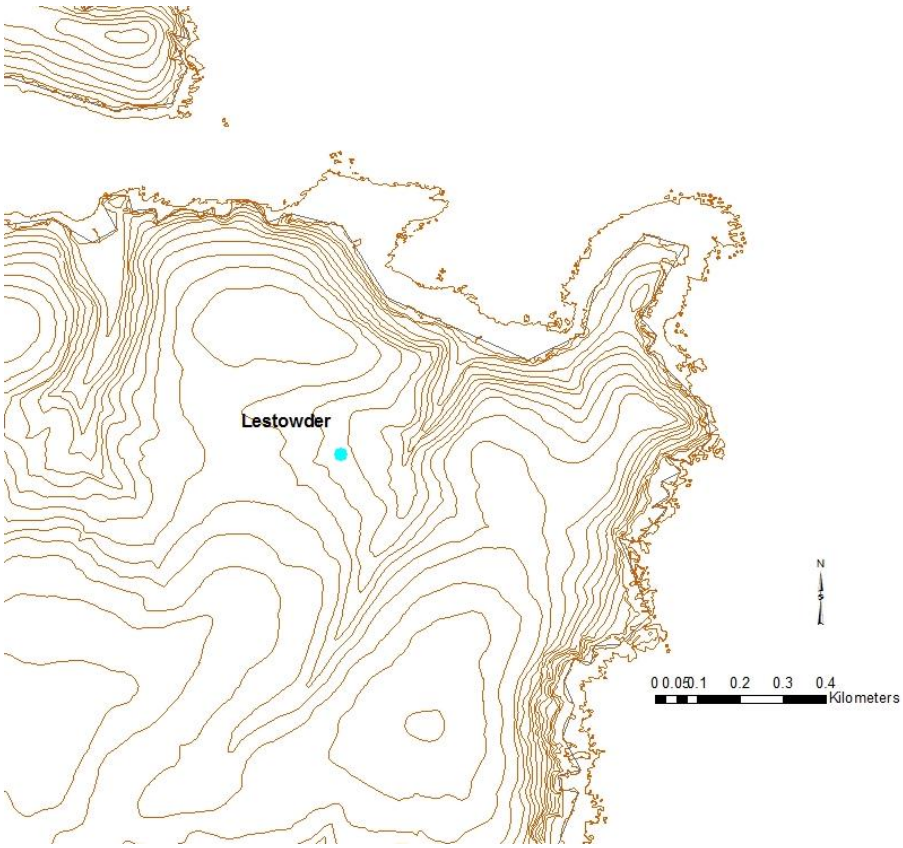


Figure 5.14 Landscape contours around Lestowder, under 100m (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

The relatively small corpus of **lys* place-names appears in similar prominent positions in the early medieval landscape as high status **dinas* settlements. Unlike other habitative name elements but as with **dinas* sites, their distribution is not based on the Cornish topography; they are also demonstrably early, as evidenced by their Common Brittonic designation. It is possible that they were meeting sites and hence not in permanent occupation. The majority of pre-Norman and Domesday examples in western Cornwall may indicate that in this area the native administrative infrastructure was retained somewhat longer than in eastern Cornwall, with its earlier Old English dominance.

5.3 Ecclesiastical place-name elements

5.3.1 Introduction

It is the view from the present research that the high status ecclesiastical place-name elements broadly refer to three distinct stages of religious settlement development in the landscape. This can be represented in the sequence of name-elements **lan* > **seynt/*merther* > **eglos*, respectively denoting sacred enclosures, individuals and buildings:

- **Lan* relates to the earliest, often curvilinear, enclosures from the prehistoric period, which in elevated positions 'may have been set up as rounds' (Preston-Jones, 1987; 1994, 87, 92), and later became associated with religious or burial practices
- **Seynt* or **merther* relates to a hermit or religious person who became linked to a sacred site or early chapel, representing a transfer of reverence from landscape to individual
- **Eglos* relates to a built structure or early church dedicated to a religious person in the period before the parish system was established, many of which went on to become less important ecclesiastical centres during the medieval period.

In this thesis this proposition will be tested across all three name elements through comparison of their landscape settings, along with the theory that settlements named in **lan* originally were related to those named in **caer/*ker/*gear* which referred to Late Iron Age/Romano-British rounds. We present the relevant data below; detailed review of the findings will be covered in chapter 7, Discussion (section 7.2.3).

5.3.2 **Lan* place-name elements

Introduction

The analysis of **lan* names below covers 103 definite or possible **lan* names in Cornwall identified as medieval settlements within the Cornish place-name dataset. The element **lan* derives from the Late Brittonic word **landa*, which assimilated to the form **lanna* (Jackson, 1953, 508), and is commonly found in place-names across the Brittonic speaking regions. It developed into the forms **llan* in Wales and **lann* in Brittany and Cornwall, later becoming **lan* in Cornish place-names. This wide distribution suggests that the element remained in use during some of the medieval period, as its variants continued to develop independently once the Brittonic languages had disaggregated.

In Cornwall, the element **lan* was applied to what were at one time considered to be early Christian cemeteries and the eventual settlements which developed around them. The distribution, landscape settings and morphologies of *lann* features at such sites (referred to here as *lann* sites to distinguish them from those named in **lan*) have been studied by landscape archaeologists (eg Pearce, 1978, 73; Preston-Jones, 1994, 71-95; Turner, 2006b, 5-10). Scholars' opinions regarding the early meaning of the **lan* element in place-names have changed over time. Whilst it was initially thought by Padel (1985, 142-3) and Thomas (1971, 85-7) to refer specifically to an 'enclosed cemetery', their views (Padel, 1988, 191; Thomas, 1986, 136) were later revised. The **lan* element came to denote an enclosure which over time acquired the meanings of monastery and cemetery (Preston-Jones, 1994, 76), which may have eventually attracted church buildings (Thomas, 1971, 49-51).

Secure identification of the **lan* element in Cornish place-names is not entirely straightforward, as in some instances it has been lost from attested earlier forms of the name. The element can alternate with **nans* or **nant* for valley, where in some cases it has transformed into **lan* as the later form (Padel, 1985, 143). The thorny issue of distinguishing between **lan* and **nans* sites is obscured by the location of most **lan*-named settlements in, or in relation to, valleys, so a valley setting is not a reliable indicator *per se* for either **lan* or

nans settlements. Nevertheless, following detailed review of the landscape positions and combined elements with possible candidates for *nans*, only a few have been removed from the overall *lan* corpus (Figure 5.15).

Padel (1985, 144) contends that the *lan* element is spread relatively evenly across the Cornish hundreds, which suggests that it went out of use at an early date and before the Cornish language was overtaken by English in eastern Cornwall. Landscape analysis, however, shows some differentiation in the distribution of *lan* named settlements across Cornwall, which we will review below.

Landscape position

There is a distinctive east-mid-west divide across Cornwall in the landscape location of their *lan* settlements (Table 5.9, Appendix), where some areas show mixed positions for their *lan* settlements although generally they are sited according to the topography. Throughout Cornwall most *lan* settlements are found midway down hillslopes, with a preference for base of hillslopes in lower-lying mid Cornwall. Further west positions again become more diverse with a slight preference for mid slope settings, and more at the base of slope in the far west.

Elevation

The elevation of *lan* settlements in eastern Cornwall is mixed (Table 5.10, Appendix A), with a slight preference for sites between 100m and 150m. It is interesting to note that in Lesnewth hundred, which had not yet emerged as an individual entity by Domesday and has the highest elevations, there are no extant *lan* settlements – although clearly the high status secular *lys* system was still active during this period. In mid and western Cornwall the elevations of *lan* settlements respect the contours of the landscape. Around 60% of sites are under 100m, although about one-third of the total are over this level and a few sites lie over 150m.

Proximity to waterways

Preston-Jones (1994, 71-95) notes that the majority (64%) of sites containing *lann*-type enclosures which developed into parish churches are near navigable water, whether above or within river valleys or overlooking the coast. In the **lan* settlement place-name analysis (Table 5.11, Appendix A), which does not necessarily include parish churches, an even greater proportion are near water: 66% are within 1km of rivers and 92% within 2km. Accessible lowland and coastal locations also feature, particularly in gentler parts of the south Cornish coast where they would be open to seafarers. Even the inland **lan* settlements tend to lie at the heads of the most important waterways, often overlooking them in prominent positions (see Discussion, section 7.2.5).

Dispersion and intensity

It is of course impossible to know how many **lan*s each hundred had originally, as many will have vanished. Nevertheless there are notable patterns to the remaining **lan* settlements in Cornwall in which both an east-mid-west and a north-south divide can be seen. To the west of the Camel-Fowey river valleys in the mid and western parts of Cornwall lie 64 or 62% of **lan* settlements, with 39 or 38% in the eastern side.

Two groupings of **lan* settlements lie close to the upper Tamar river valley and at the mouth of the Lynher (Figure 5.15). Another large cluster appears near the coast either side of the Fowey river. There are a few **lan* settlements in the Camel river valley and two unusual groupings to its west and inland, including ‘twin’, or paired, **lan* settlements at Lanherne and Lanvean either side of the lower Menalhyl river, and three **lan*s in close proximity within the Lanivet river valley.

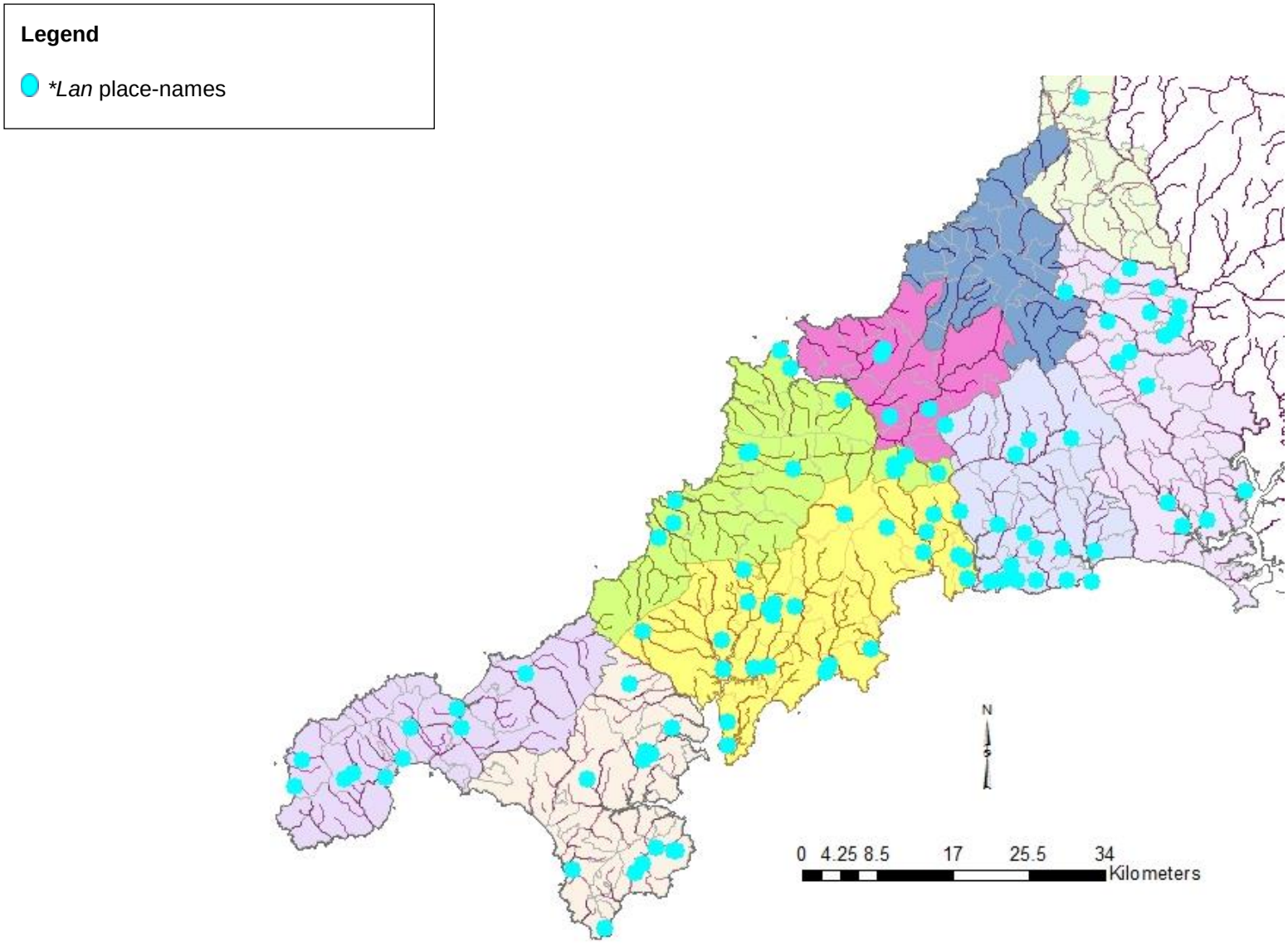


Figure 5.15 *Lan *place-names across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Most of the remaining **lan* settlements are found along the south coast and reflect the topography, with clusters inland along the upper tributaries of the Fal river valley and along the eastern and southern sides of the Lizard peninsula. Bowen (1977, 221) notes the attraction of the partially drowned tidal inlets, or *ria*s, of the Fal estuary to several 'Celtic saints' with connections to Brittany; linked to this, Breton sources note that most 'later parishes including the element Lan*(sic)*' occur along the north coast of Brittany (Galliou and Jones, 1991, 136). Beyond two **lan*-named settlements in the Hayle river estuary there are only a few in the far west on mainly coastal sites.

HLC types

HLC type patterns confirm that **lan* settlements well established in the Cornish landscape by medieval times (Table 5.10, Appendix A). Almost half (48%) of **lan* settlements lie in Medieval Farmland, particularly in eastern Cornwall. In mid and western Cornwall **lan* settlements occur in later enclosure types, which indicates that these areas of medieval character went on to undergo development and more recent population growth.

Dates of first recording

There are no apparent correlations between the century during which a **lan* settlement is first recorded and its elevation (Table 5.10, Appendix A). Very early examples of **lan* settlements prior to Domesday are found throughout Cornwall, including one from the 9th century in the far west (Lanuste, or St Just), which demonstrates their long history. **Lan* settlements in Domesday appear in every hundred, confirming not only their ubiquity throughout Cornwall but also their continuing high status everywhere up to the end of the early medieval period. Although examples of **lan* settlements recorded from before the 13th century are found across Cornwall the majority are initially attested after this period, with two examples recorded as late as the 17th century.

Combinations with other place-name elements

We notice again an east-mid-west divide when looking at the combinations of **lan* with other place-name elements (Table 5.12, Appendix A). By far the most varied combinations are in eastern Cornwall with the widest range of types represented, but even here at least one-third combine with personal names of saints or individuals. In mid and western Cornwall the percentage of non-personal combinations declines, with the exception of more 'other' types in southwestern Cornwall. Around northern mid Cornwall and especially the Camel river estuary the majority of **lan* names are found with personal saint's names.

Where other types of elements occur, these may be descriptive or also combine with generic compound terms such as **hen-lan* for 'ancient cemetery', **bow-lan* for 'cattle enclosure' and **cor-lan* for 'hedge enclosure'. These retain the older version of the Brittonic word order – the [qualifier + generic] type (Padel, 1985, xv) – which was replaced by the usual [generic + qualifier] or 'name-phrase' order by the 6th century, according to Jackson (1953, 225-7). As with **hendre* settlements, these compounds appear to denote generic terms for specific types of enclosure which were not necessarily as old as the word order suggests.

Case study: Lanlivery

The place-name Lanlivery (Figures 5.16-5.21) is thought to derive from **lan* for ‘enclosure’ and possibly the personal name Livri (Padel, 1988, 106), although the church’s dedication is to an unknown St Bryvyth. Padel (1985, 144-5) points out concentrations of **lan* names in the major river valleys of southern Cornwall, especially around the Fal, Fowey and Tamar, which includes Lanlivery; they are also well represented in the Camel valley.

The medieval settlement of Lanlivery is in the HLC type Medieval Farmland and gave its name to an extensive parish in southeast Cornwall which is thought to have lost importance since the medieval period (Rodwell, 1993, 76), when the living of the church was transferred elsewhere. Lanlivery church and churchyard have been the subject of archaeological surveys in recent years (Rodwell, 1993; Lawson-Jones, 2011). The site occupies a central place within Lanlivery village and retains the morphology of a ‘churchtown’, a small hamlet focused around its church and lands (Lawson-Jones, 2011, 4; Figure 5.19). Lanlivery sits at 149m midway down a southeast facing hillslope overlooking a broad flat valley.

Lawson-Jones (2011, 4) considers much of the original churchyard likely to have fossilised an earlier enclosure (Figures 5.17 and 5.18), and notes evidence of prehistoric occupation nearby. The churchyard has the form of a subcircular *lann* (Preston-Jones, 1994, 72; Figure 5.20), indicating an early medieval origin, and the settlement is located on a hillspur above a tributary of the Fowey river (Figure 5.21) – both positions associated with *lann*s (Preston-Jones, 1994, 78). The relatively nucleated morphology of Lanlivery churchtown is a useful reminder of how early *lann* enclosures often became the core of medieval settlements which later developed around churches.

Figure 5.16 Lanlivery (Source: Aerial Roam)

Figure 5.17 Lanlivery churchyard, with banks of subcircular lann *to the right (Source: author)*

Figure 5.18 Bank at Lanlivery lann, *with church beyond (Source: author)*

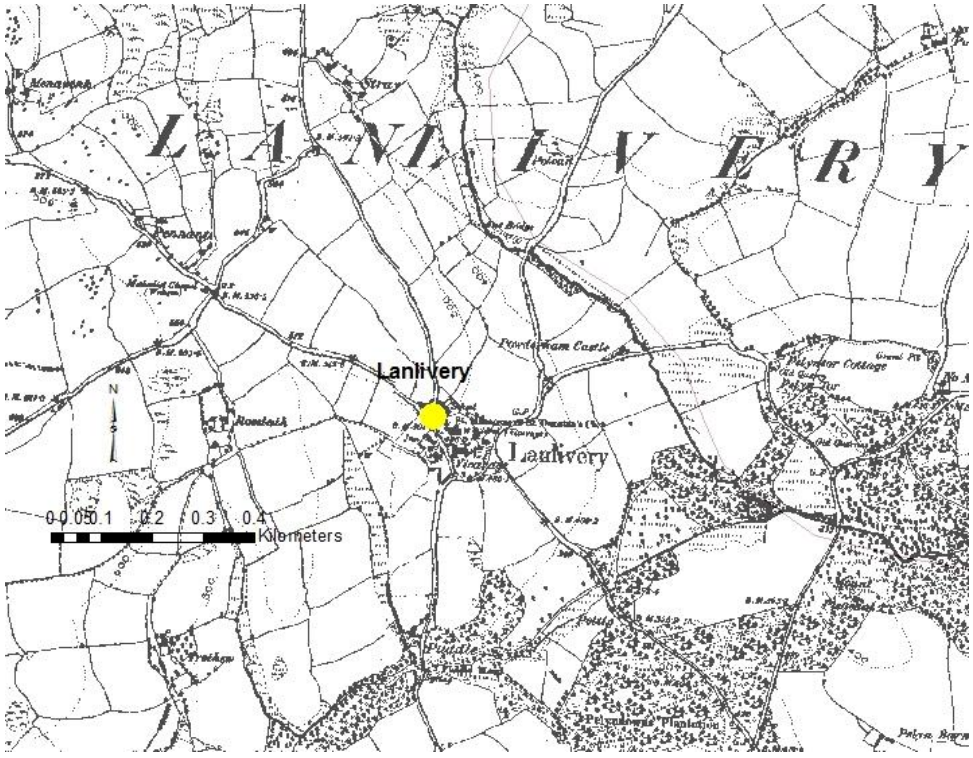


Figure 5.19 Lanlivery: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

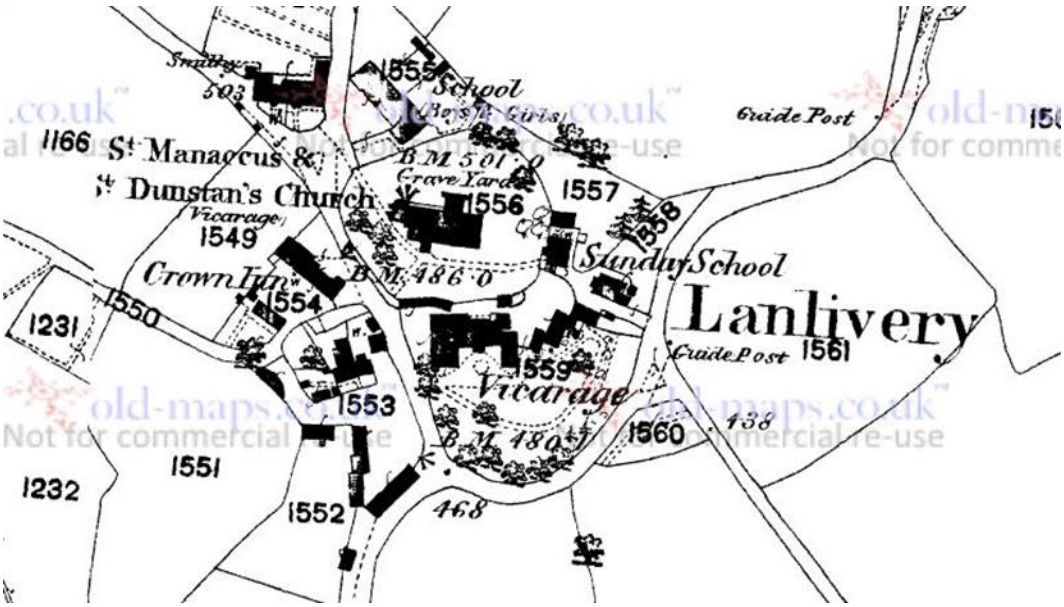


Figure 5.20 Lanlivery churchyard, with subcircular lann *marked as 'Grave Yard' (Source: http://www.old-maps.co.uk)*

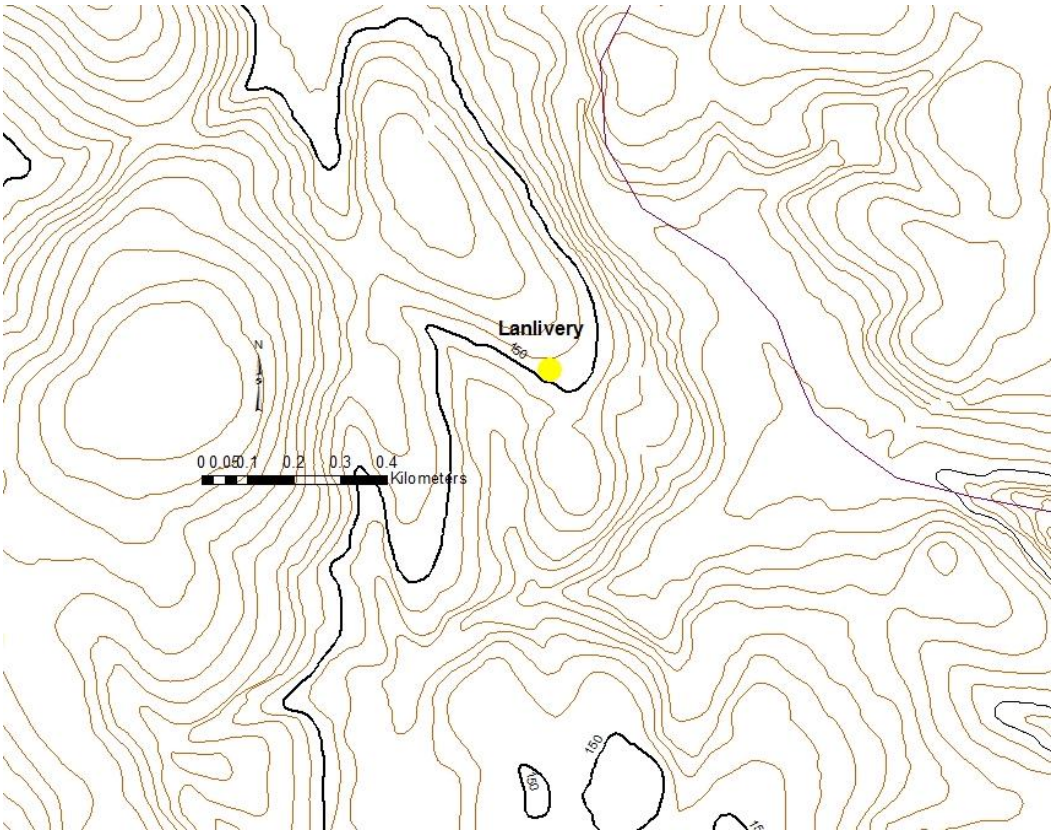


Figure 5.21 Landscape contours around Lanlivery (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

**Lan* settlements denote one of the earliest types of high status habitative settlement in Cornwall and display a distinctive distribution in the landscape, where the majority are found in the southern half of Cornwall. There is a strong affinity of **lan* settlements to coastal sites including estuaries, and for river locations including tributaries of major rivers as well as the heads of creeks. This pattern suggests a tendency for **lan* settlements to be sited on waterways which could well have been accessible from both coasts during the medieval period, open to continental Europe as well as south Wales and the Irish Sea. The preferred combinations of **lan* settlements with the names of individuals (or 'Celtic saints') with known associations with Brittany, Wales and Ireland (Preston-Jones, 1994, 87-91) appears to confirm the rationale for this distribution.

5.3.3 **Seynt* place-name elements

Introduction

In this section **seynt* and **merther* place-names (Figure 5.22) refer mainly to individuals who have become known as 'Celtic saints' in early medieval Cornwall. Jackson (1953, 3-30) considers that the 'popular movement' which turned Gaulish Armorica into Brittany probably began around 450 AD, based on linguistic evidence dating separation of the Brittonic languages: 'continued intercourse by sea between Cornwall and Brittany may have helped to preserve the unity of the Cornish and Breton varieties of South West Brittonic…until the Saxon conquest of Cornwall in the 9th century' (Jackson, 1953, 27). Giot *et al* (2003, 120) considered that, in Brittany, saints were those members of the British 'semi-monastic clergy' who had arrived in Brittany from the end of the 5th century onwards to serve communities of Britons that had migrated. Pearce (1978, 127), assessing the distribution of early Christian dedications to pre-Norman Cornish saints in church manuscripts, observed possible links to Wales around the Camel estuary and in northeastern Cornwall, whilst 'saints chiefly connected with Brittany' (Pearce, 1978, 124) appeared to cluster around the Fal and Padstow/Camel estuaries. Olson and Padel (1986, 34) analysed a 10th

century Vatican codex (*Reginensis Latinus 191*) listing 48 Brittonic saints with possible Breton or Old Cornish names; similarities between the languages at this stage obscure the actual origins of the names and their main locus of worship (Jackson, 1953, 22-30; Olson and Padel, 1986, 38). Of these, 37 are 'inter-Celtic' saints' names shared by Cornwall and Brittany with affiliations to Cornish places identifiable today (Figure 5.23).

Jackson (1953, 85) notes that Latin *nct*, as in *sanctus*, became Vulgar Latin **santus* and the Brittonic loan word **sant* in Welsh and Breton, **sans* in Cornish. Although Jackson (1953, 85) contends that '*santus* must have reached Britain through some connection with the church in Italy', he notes (Jackson, 1953, 406) that in Vulgar Latin '*nct* became *nt* in some parts of the Empire, probably in the first century'. It would seem possible therefore that the arrival of **sans* in Cornish predated the Roman church; we refer to **sans* place-names as **seynt* below. It will be apparent from the distributions also that, particularly in eastern Cornwall, **seynt* names are as likely to derive from church dedications to English saints, and therefore we might expect a different pattern in the landscape.

Within the Cornish place-name dataset, the distribution of saints' names appearing under medieval settlements shows substantial overlap between **seynt*, **lan* and **eglos.* The presence of a saint is also implied by the element **merther* or 'saint's grave' (Padel, 1985, 164), derived from the Latin **martyrium* initially attested in the 4th century (Pearce, 1978, 72), but has not been covered in detail in this study. In the analysis below, **lan* and **eglos* place-name elements have been excluded to yield a corpus of 103 unique saints' names in **seynt* and nine in **merther* (Figure 5.22). We refer here to place-name only: in many cases **seynt* settlements may have, or have had, *lann* enclosures associated with them, and perhaps earlier **lan* names which are now lost. Even where earliest records do not include the **lan* element, reviewing the morphologies of churchyards surrounding **seynt* settlements (Preston-Jones, 1994, 71-95) often reveals *lann*-type site enclosures.

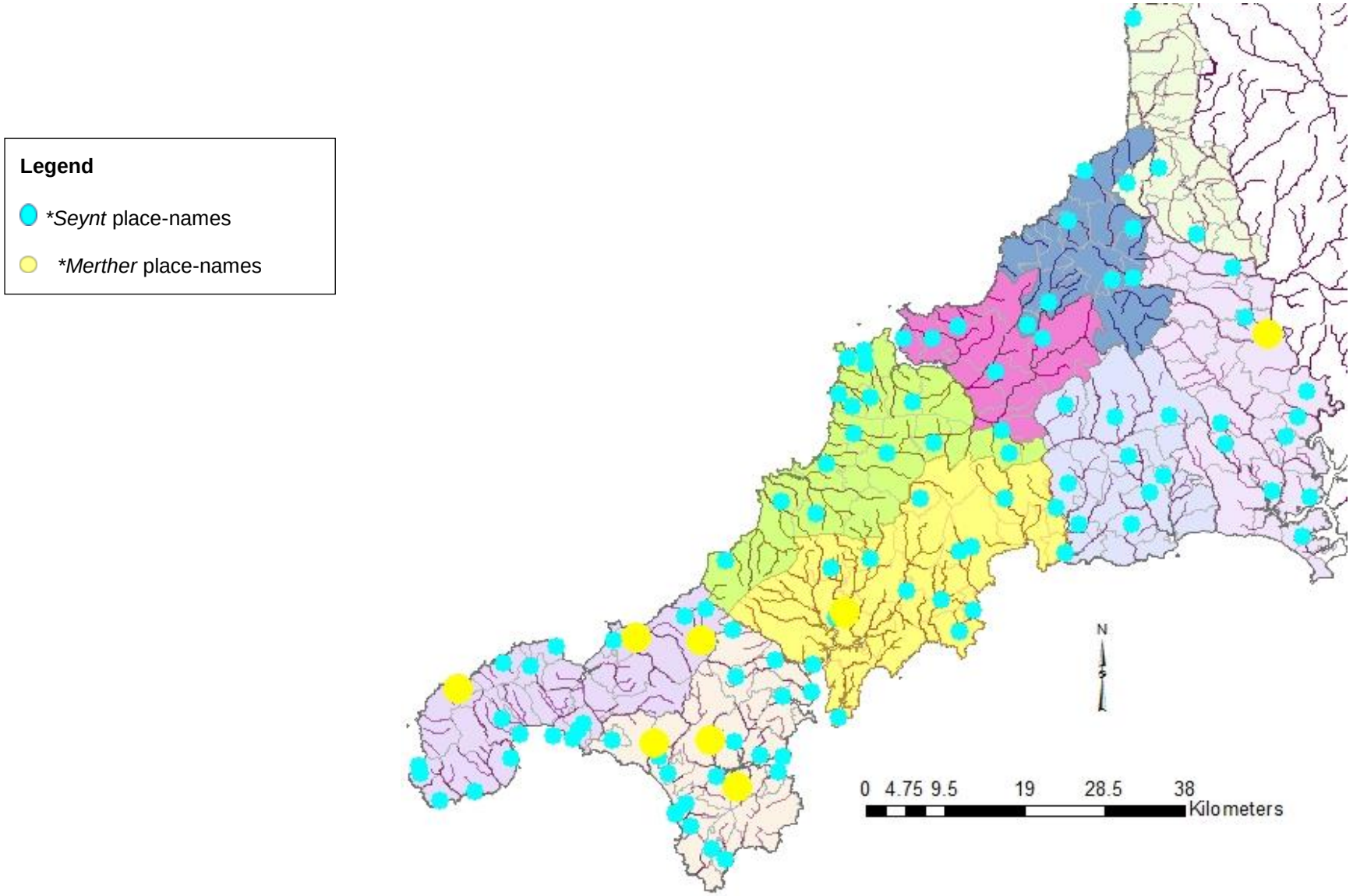


*Figure 5.22 Distribution of *seynt and* *merther *names in Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

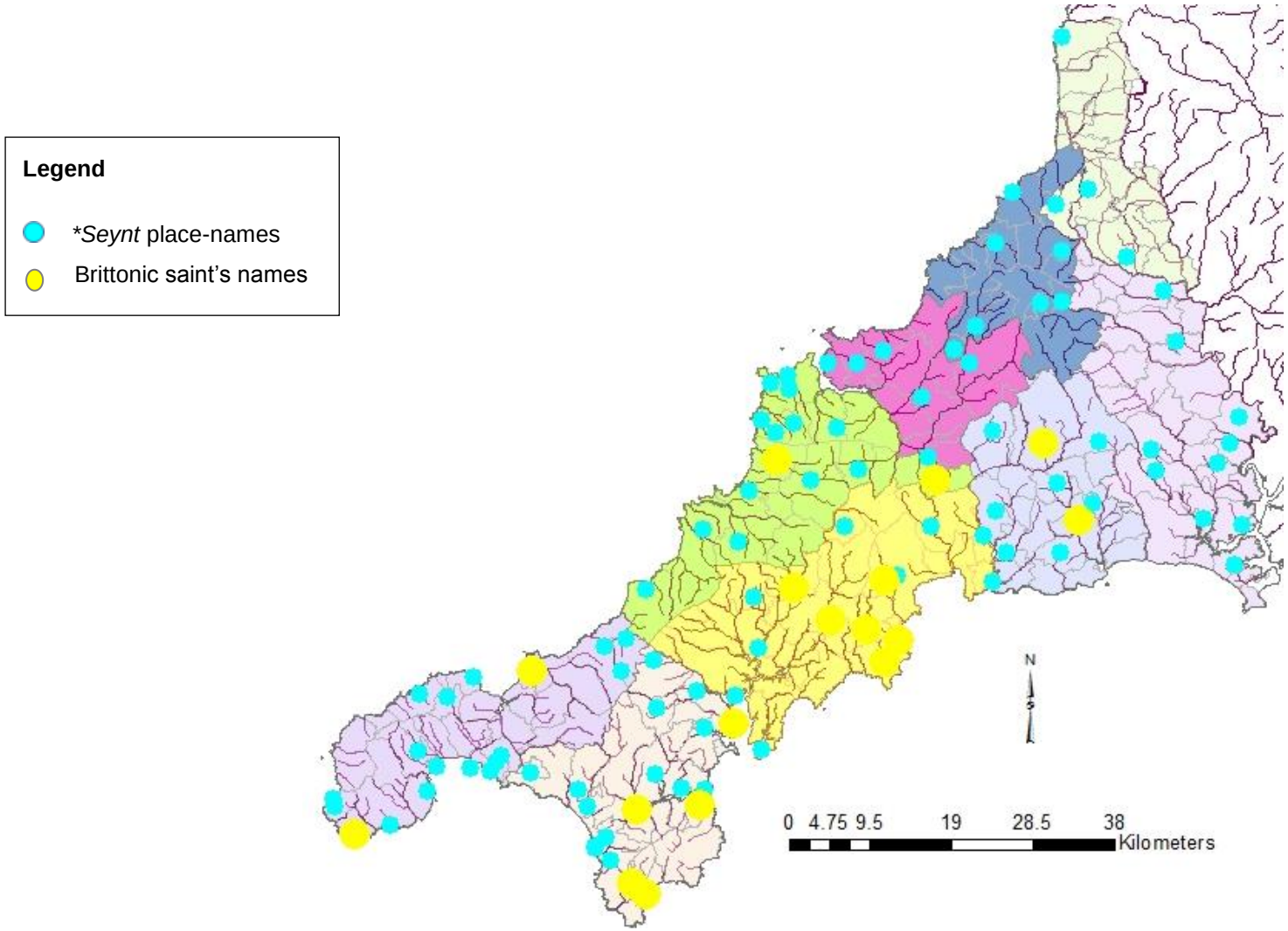


Figure 5.23 Locations of Brittonic saints in 10th century list of saints' names (cf Olson and Padel, 1986) against *seynt *place-names showing southerly distribution (Source: author's database)*

Landscape positions

Looking over their respective landscape positions (Table 5.13, Appendix A), **seynt* names occupy mixed settings that reflect the Cornish topography. In the higher ground of east and north Cornwall **seynt* settlements are more likely to be located on hilltops and at break of slope, although to the south of Bodmin Moor there are more mid slope examples. Edge of high ground positions, generally at the top of steep hillsides, dominate in eastern Cornwall as far west as the Camel-Fowey river valleys; beyond, on the north coast to the west, lower level base of hillslope settings are more common. In the rest of mid and western Cornwall **seynt* settlements favour sites midway down hillslopes, although both base of hillslope and break of slope positions are represented. Over 40% of sites with *lann*s lie in valley bottoms and close to creeks, estuaries or natural waters (Preston-Jones, 1994, 85).

Elevation

The differences in types of landscape between eastern, mid and western Cornwall are also shown in the elevation of **seynt* settlements (Table 5.14, Appendix). In the more rugged terrain of eastern Cornwall, the majority of **seynt* settlements lie at contours well over 100m, with **seynt* settlements in the highest topographies at contours over 200m. On either side of the Camel estuary the pattern changes, and in the lower-lying landscape of mid and west Cornwall over 70% of **seynt* place-names are found at levels under 100m, rising to nearly 90% in parts of western Cornwall. This patterning accords with that for **lan* settlements but is even more striking.

Proximity to waterways

Although we are looking at relatively small samples, as with other medieval settlements the great majority of **seynt* place-names are sited within 2km of watercourses (Table 5.15, Appendix A). **Seynt* place-names follow the course of the Tamar river on the Devon border, which in this area mainly include later recordings of English, rather than Cornish, saints' names. Elsewhere in eastern

Cornwall saints' names become more mixed and show a greater tendency to appear at the heads of valleys of rivers far inland, except for several coastal examples immediately to the east of the Camel estuary.

Beyond this point, to the west of the Camel-Fowey river valleys their distribution becomes coastal as well as riverine, and on the south coast **seynt* place-names remain close to inland watercourses also, particularly in the Helford river tributaries. The clear impression is that the proximity of **seynt* settlements to waterways or the coast was of some importance to their early development (see Discussion, section 7.2.5). We should note also that, although the location of **merther* settlements denoting saints' graves is much more restricted to western Cornwall, all lie within 2km of rivers (Table 5.15, Appendix A).

Dispersion and intensity

After filtering out the **lan* place-name elements from the collection of **seynt* settlements, numbers of settlements reviewed match each other and show similar distributions. As with the **lan* settlements, the majority of **seynt* settlements in Cornwall lie to the west of the Camel-Fowey river valleys with 66 or 64% of the total, compared with 37 or 36% in eastern Cornwall.
In eastern and mid Cornwall, settlements named in **seynt* are more dispersed and found in adjoining parishes around the edges of Bodmin Moor. Extant **seynt* settlements in western Cornwall show more of a coastal orientation throughout, except for the west-facing Penwith coast and the east-facing coastline of St Keverne parish (see Discussion, section 7.2.5). **Merther* attracts its own distinctive distribution in the western half of Cornwall with almost all instances to the west of the Camel-Fowey river valleys.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

**Seynt* named settlements tend to be situated in more recent HLC type designations across all of Cornwall (Table 5.14, Appendix A), which suggests continuing development of settlements at these locations beyond the medieval period. Of the overall total, 58 or 56% of the **seynt*-named settlements appear in later land types, most of which overlie Medieval Farmland.

Dates of first recording

As with **lan* settlements, **seynt* place-names are also initially recorded early, with one example attested (St Stephen by Launceston) from the 10th century on the Devon border (Table 5.14, Appendix A). Almost everywhere there are Domesday examples of **seynt* settlements, confirming their importance as ecclesiastical centres by the time of the Conquest. Interestingly, it is only in the 12th century that **seynt* settlements are first recorded on either side of the Camel estuary, despite much earlier traditions of saints' landing places here (Preston-Jones, 1994, 88; Figure 5.14). Breton sources contend that at least some place-names in Saint 'predate the 12th century' and may be a later translation from names in **lan* and **loc* (Jankulak, 2000, 78).

Combinations with other place-name elements

As would be expected by definition, virtually all instances of **seynt* names across Cornwall occur in combinations with personal names. Of the four examples which do not, there is no observable patterning.

Case study: St Kew

The original name of St Kew (Figures 5.24-5.28) was *Landochou*, from **lan* for enclosure and the personal name *Docco* or *Dochou*, the saint to whom the church was first dedicated. The earliest mention of St Kew under this name was in the 7th century *Life of St Samson of Dol*, who was said to have visited 'the monastery called Docco' (*monasterium quod Docco vocatur*; Flobert, 1997, 212; Hooke, 1994, 36) in the 5th or 6th centuries. The church (Figure 5.25) was subsequently taken into the joint patronage of St Docco and St Kew, as evidenced by a King Edgar charter (S.810, 963 AD) which granted two hides of land to Plympton minster 'with reversion to the minster of SS Dawe and Cywa (Kew)' (Sawyer, 1968). The ecclesiastical settlement was recorded as Lanhogou Seynt in 1284 AD.

St Kew medieval settlement lies at a height of 30m in HLC type Medieval Farmland on a gentle southwest-facing slope within 140m of a southwest-flowing tributary of the Amble river (Figures 5.26 and 5.28), which it joins at Chapel Amble, opening to the Camel estuary 2.7km distant. In the northeast of England, Semple and Turner (2013, 103) have noted a tendency for major monasteries to be sited close to estuaries to gain access to natural resources, sea routes, and local control over crossings and safe harbours.

The Cornwall Historic Environment Record notes the putative site for the monastery as the present settlement of St Kew. Preston-Jones (1994, 72) considered the sub-rectangular churchyard to be a probable *lann*; the churchyard had contained in the 14th century a chapel dedicated to St Kew (Henderson, 1925, 119-21), and a 7th century stone with an ogham inscription was found in the stream below the church. An archaeological investigation was conducted in 2000 during excavations of drainage trenches in St Kew churchyard which uncovered the foundations of the Church of St James the Great, rededicated in the 19th century, providing evidence for continuing high status from the 15th century onwards. Like Lanlivery, St Kew Church and adjoining inn form the nucleus of St Kew 'churchtown' and both are parish centres, showing the closely intertwined histories of **seynt* and **lan* names.

Figure 5.24 St Kew (Source: Aerial Digimap)

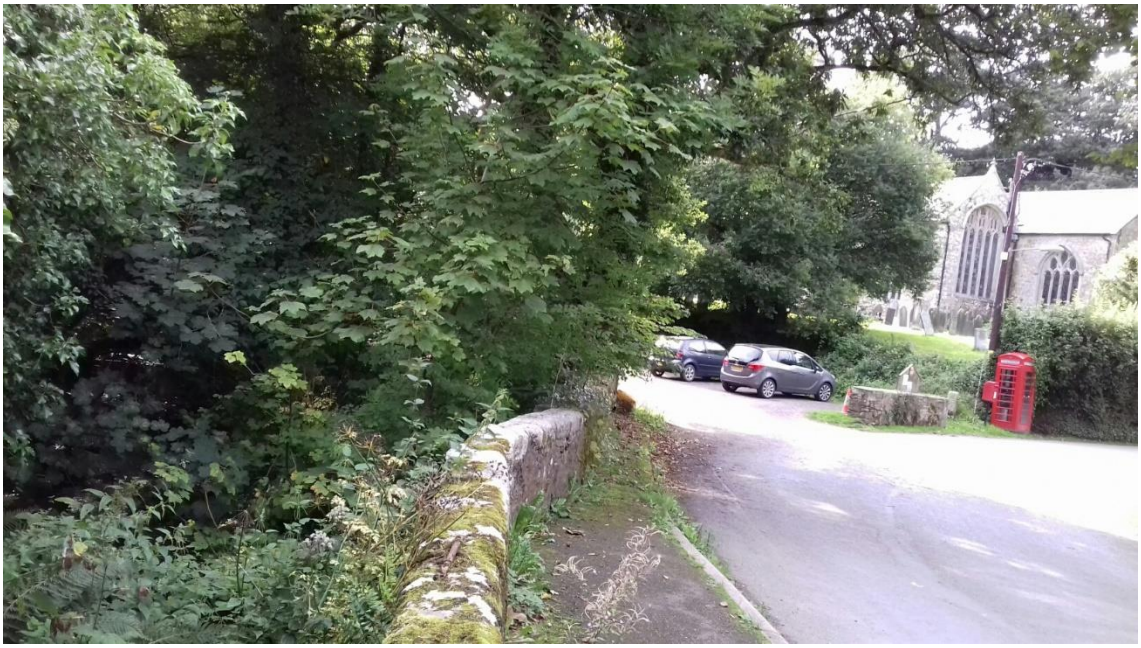


Figure 5.25 St Kew church, from nearby bridge over river Amble tributary (Source: author)

Figure 5.26 Bridge over river Amble tributary (Source: author)

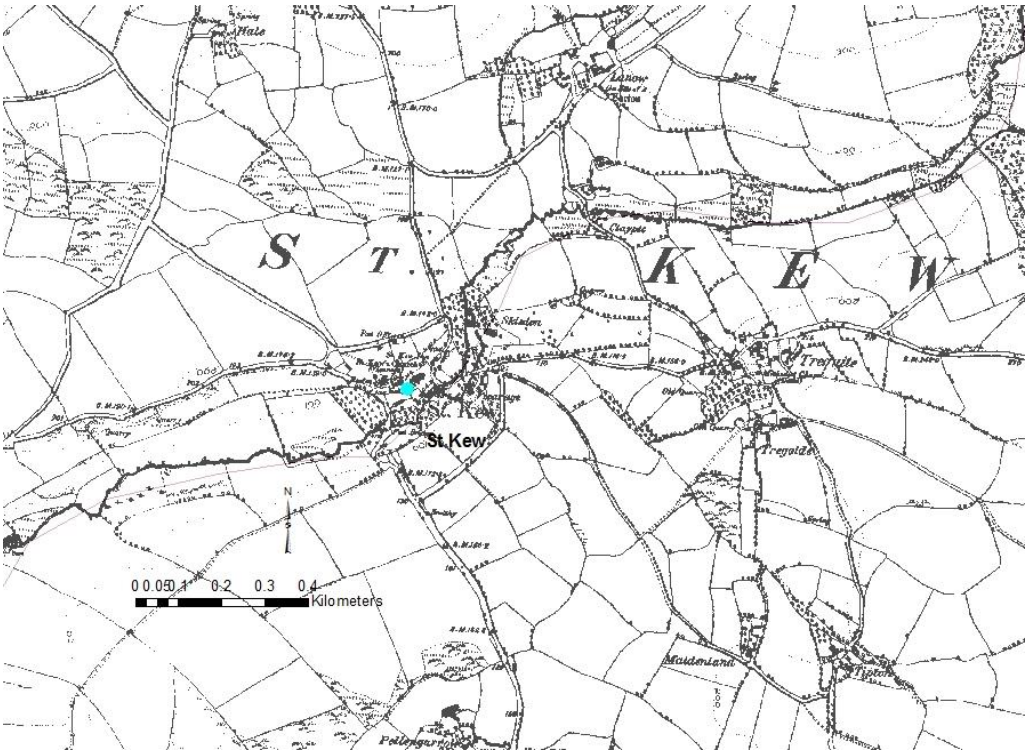


Figure 5.27 St Kew: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

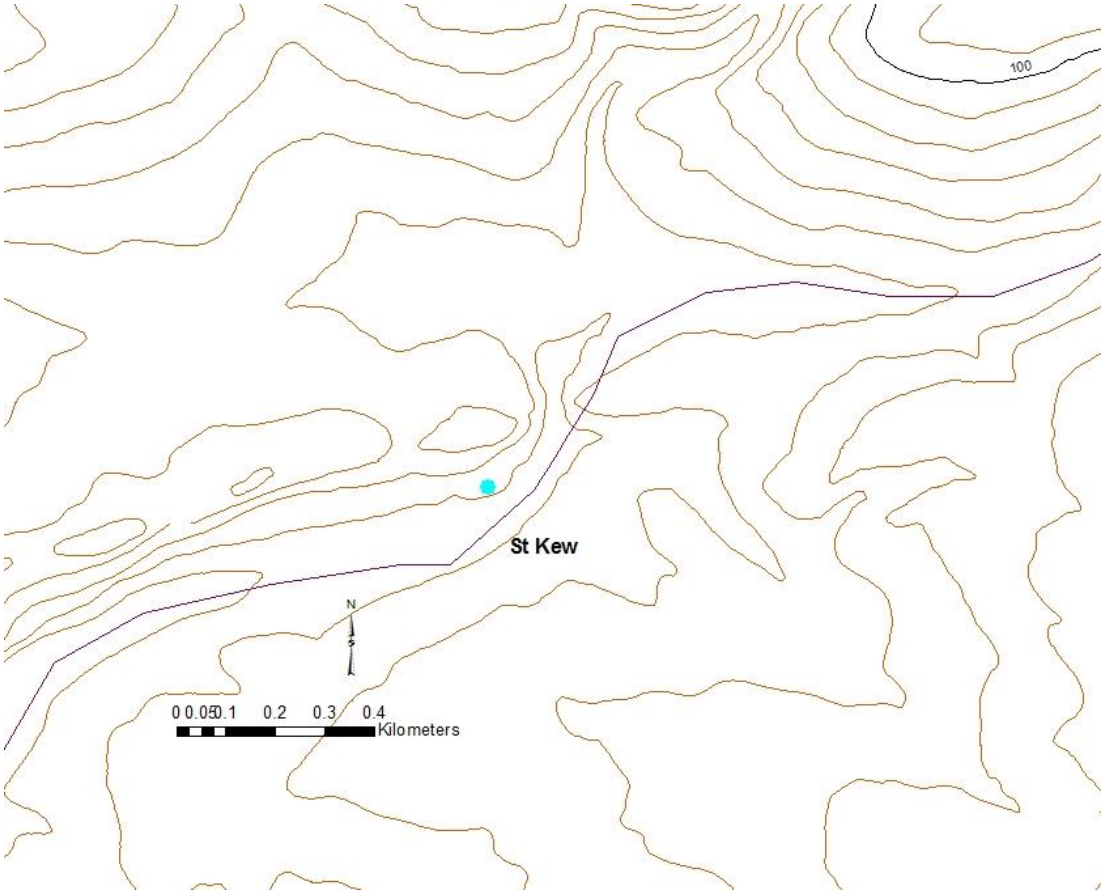


Figure 5.28 Landscape contours around St Kew (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

Comparison between landscape positions confirms the close relationship between **lan* and **seynt* place-names, which show a similar distribution across Cornwall with a greater share in the west. The elevations of **seynt* place-names reflect the Cornish topography closely and occupy more elevated sites in eastern Cornwall, but are closer to watercourses and the coast in mid and western Cornwall as with **lan*-named settlements. **Seynt* place-names are not recorded quite as early as **lan* settlements, but similarities in site morphologies and locations suggest that they may well reflect a developmental phase from settlements originally named in **lan.*

5.3.4 **Eglos* place-name elements

Introduction

The element **eglos*, like the Welsh **eglwys* < Primitive Welsh **eglēs*, derives from the Latin word **ecclesia* for church. It is therefore not originally Cornish, but dates from a time when Christianity was sufficiently well established in western Britain to have formalised its status with 'significant' buildings (Preston-Jones, 1994, 76, 92), perhaps implying 'the existence of some sort of British population-centre with organised Christian worship' (Jackson, 1953, 227). Examples of sites named in **eglos* appear throughout Cornwall including in the east (Padel, 1985, 91), where the Cornish language died out soonest. Probably most religious sites in Cornwall during the early medieval period would not have been named in **eglos*; neither the network of minsters established by 900 AD, of which some may have grown up around *lann*-type enclosures (Pearce, 1978, 106-8), nor probable pre-Norman monastic communities (Turner, 2006b, 38) attracted **eglos* names.

Padel (1985, 91) considers that **eglos* is not a true place-name element when paired with the name of a patron saint but instead refers to a church site; when combined with a topographical element, however, it attains place-name status. For the purposes of this thesis we have not made this distinction: the overall corpus of 30 **eglos* place-names in various combinations analysed below (Figure 5.29) includes those with **seynt* and topographical names. It is interesting to note that only one **eglos* settlement is also named in **lan* (Lanteglos-by-Fowey, included under **lan* settlements, section 5.3.2 above); everywhere else **eglos* and **lan* settlements show a complementary distribution. Designation by separate place-names suggests that **eglos* named settlements represented a distinctive phase of development of the ecclesiastical infrastructure during the medieval period.

Landscape position

In topographical terms **eglos* place-names throughout Cornwall show a strong preference for valley locations midway down hillslopes, although a few examples of sites on the edge of higher ground overlooking valleys are also recorded in western Cornwall (Table 5.16, Appendix A). In contrast to the coastal distribution of **lan* settlements, **eglos* sites tend to be located somewhat further inland.

Elevation

Compared to the elevations of **lan* and **seynt* settlements, there are interesting differences with **eglos* settlements (Table 5.17, Appendix A; see Discussion, section 7.2.5). We have seen that both **lan* and **seynt* place-names tend to conform to the overall topography of Cornwall, elevated above 100m in eastern Cornwall and below 100m to the west of the Camel-Fowey river valleys. With **eglos* settlements, this pattern is not as marked and shows a preference for more elevated locations: although the few in eastern Cornwall tend to lie above 100m, so do almost half the **eglos* sites in western Cornwall.

Proximity to waterways

Along with **merther* settlements sampled above, **eglos* settlements show the strongest tendency across place-name elements to be located close to watercourses (Table 5.18, Appendix A): every example lies within 2km. Although a few **eglos* names are coastal, most are not located directly on the coast but are nearby; inland examples tend to be sited at the heads of tributaries.

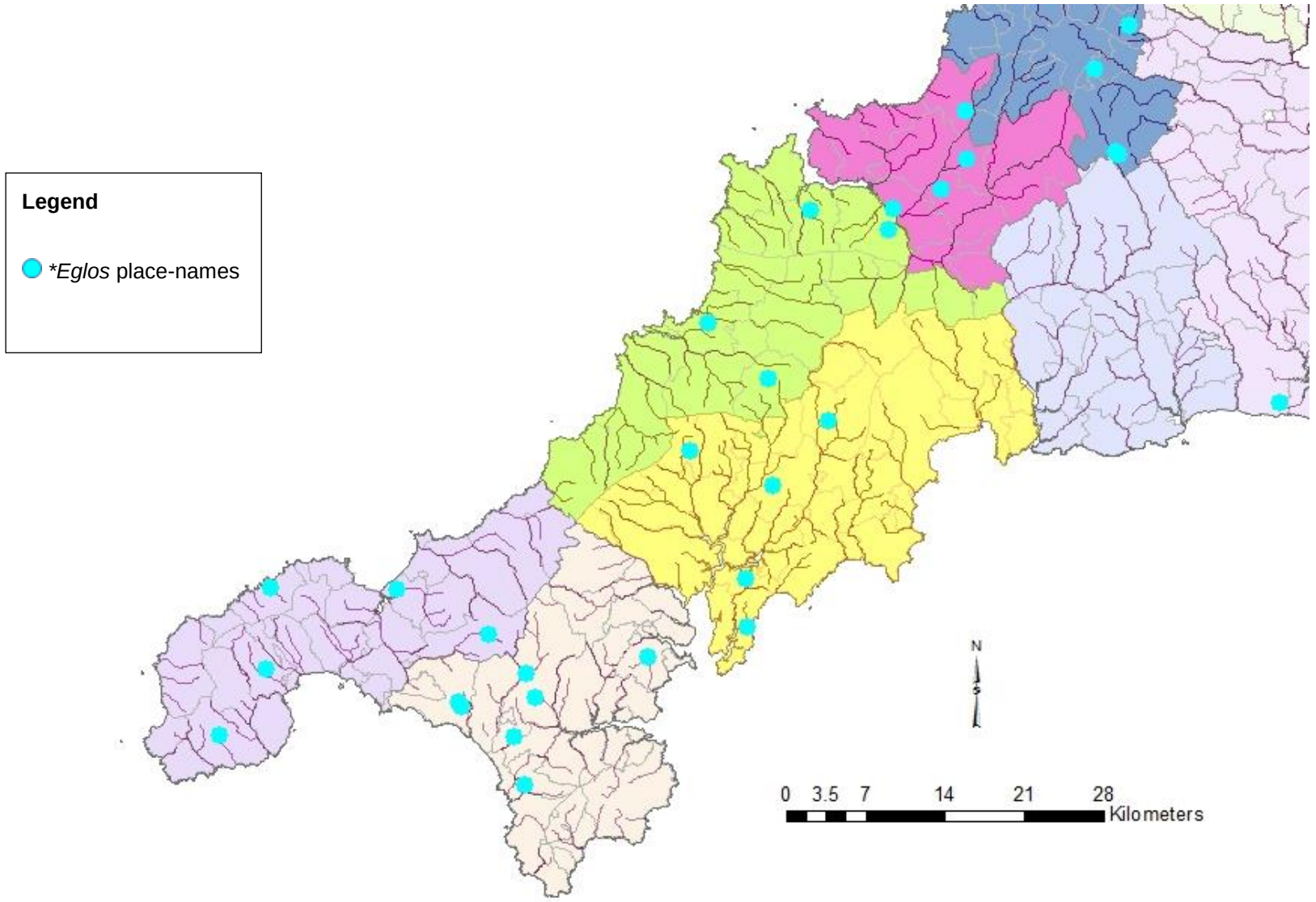


Figure 5.29 Distribution of *eglos *names across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Dispersion and intensity

As with the **lan* and **seynt* names reviewed above, the majority of **eglos* names lie to the west of the Camel-Fowey river valleys, comprising two-thirds of the overall number. **Eglos* names appear to be regularly dispersed in the western half of mid Cornwall; a loose cluster appears on the western side of the Lizard peninsula, with a few scattered across Penwith's inland parishes.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

HLC locations for the majority of **eglos* settlements lie in Medieval Farmland (Table 5.17, Appendix A). In western Cornwall and just to the east of the Camel-Fowey river valleys later types appear which overlie the medieval pattern, reflecting land use development over the intervening centuries.

Dates of first recording

Compared with **lan* and **seynt* settlements, the first recordings of **eglos* are slightly later (Table 5.17, Appendix A), attested from the 12th century across most of Cornwall and everywhere represented from the 13th century onwards. Most of the topographical element combinations have been recorded later than those with saints' names.

Combinations with other place-name elements

The majority (57%) of **eglos* settlements are not named in combination with saints' names (Table 5.19, Appendix A): six combine with the **tre* habitative element and the rest appear with topographical elements of which no one type predominates.

Case study: Carneglos

Carneglos (Figures 5.30-5.34) is derived from **carn* for 'rock-pile' and **eglos* for 'church', incorporating references both to Carneglos Tor and the 12th century Chapel of St Luke's established on the opposite side of the valley (Johnson and Rose, 1994, 79). The name was first recorded in 1327 AD and a settlement with medieval origins recorded in 1813, although eventually demolished by 1985. About half (49%, 17 out of 35) the **eglos* place-name elements in the dataset combine with topographical elements rather than saints' personal names: ten (59%) lie at elevations of over 100m, with overall ten examples to the west of the Camel-Fowey line and seven to the east.

The medieval settlement of Carneglos in Altarnun parish occupies the most isolated position of the place-name elements included in the case studies. The settlement lies 0.68km to the west of Carneglos Tor at the base of its steep lower western slopes on the eastern side of the Fowey river valley, at an elevation of 240m. It sits in a small area of HLC type Medieval Farmland surrounded by Upland Rough Ground. Carneglos is close to a surveyed area of three Bronze Age smallholdings (Johnson and Rose, 1984, 189) with accreted curvilinear field systems of a few hectares each (Johnson and Rose, 1994, 59). Some areas also show later medieval plough furrows, and a deserted longhouse settlement is nearby with the remains of three medieval longhouses represented (Johnson and Rose, 1984, 189).

The Bodmin Moor survey (Johnson and Rose, 1994, 79) considers that population expansion into this part of the upper Fowey river valley may have taken place by the 12th century, but that an absence of place-names in **tre* and **bod* could indicate that these had already passed out of naming practice by the 11th century. The survey (Johnson and Rose, 1994, 79) suggests that charting the changing place-names here from Cornish to English can offer clues as to colonisation patterns (see Discussion, section 7.2.1), although combinations of topographical elements may refer to survivals as well as spoken language. In the case of Carneglos, its position appears to show an outpost of medieval settlement which was nevertheless able to retain a foothold in marginal ground.

Its name suggests that the farm represented a survival of earlier occupation rather than fresh settlement onto Bodmin Moor.

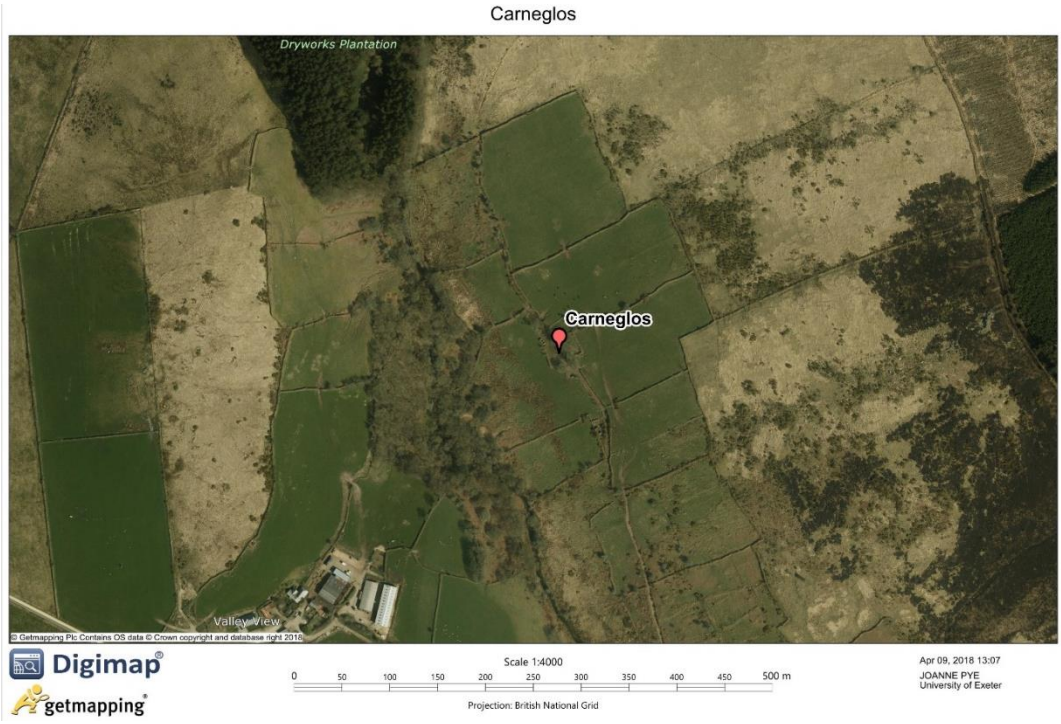


Figure 5.30 Carneglos (Source: Aerial Roam)

Figure 5.31 Ruined cottage, Carneglos (Source: author)

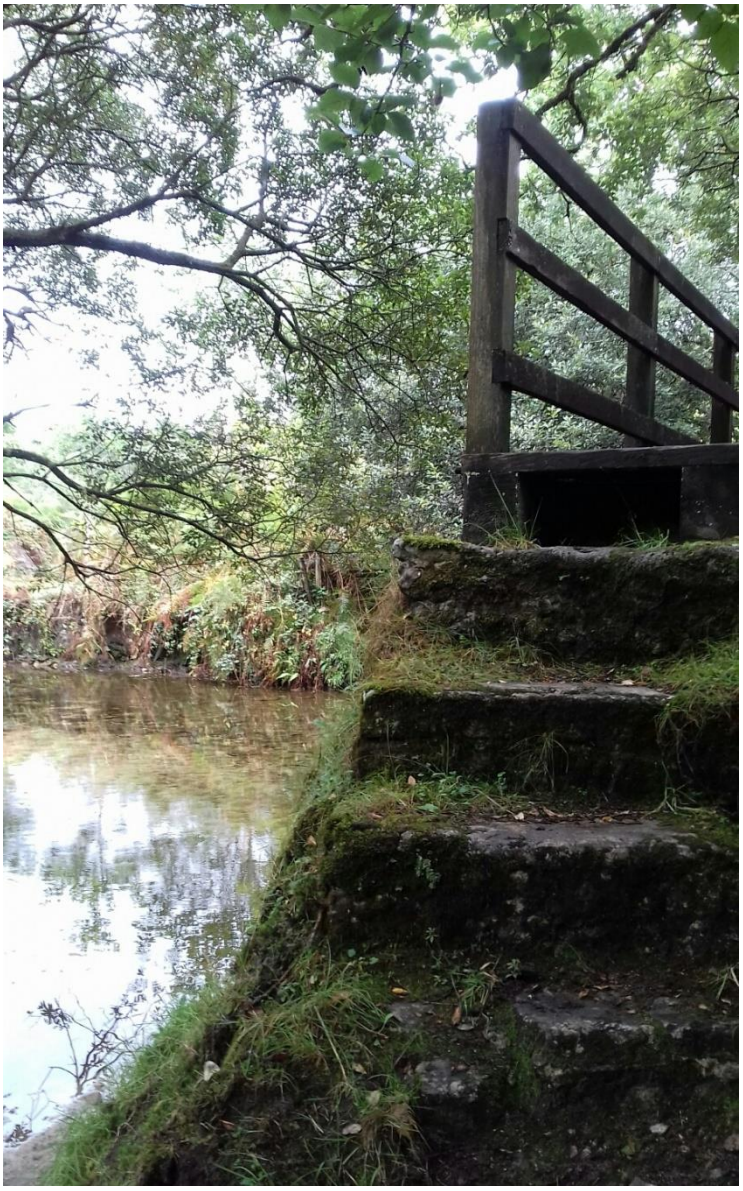


Figure 5.32 Bridge over river Fowey, Carneglos (Source: author)

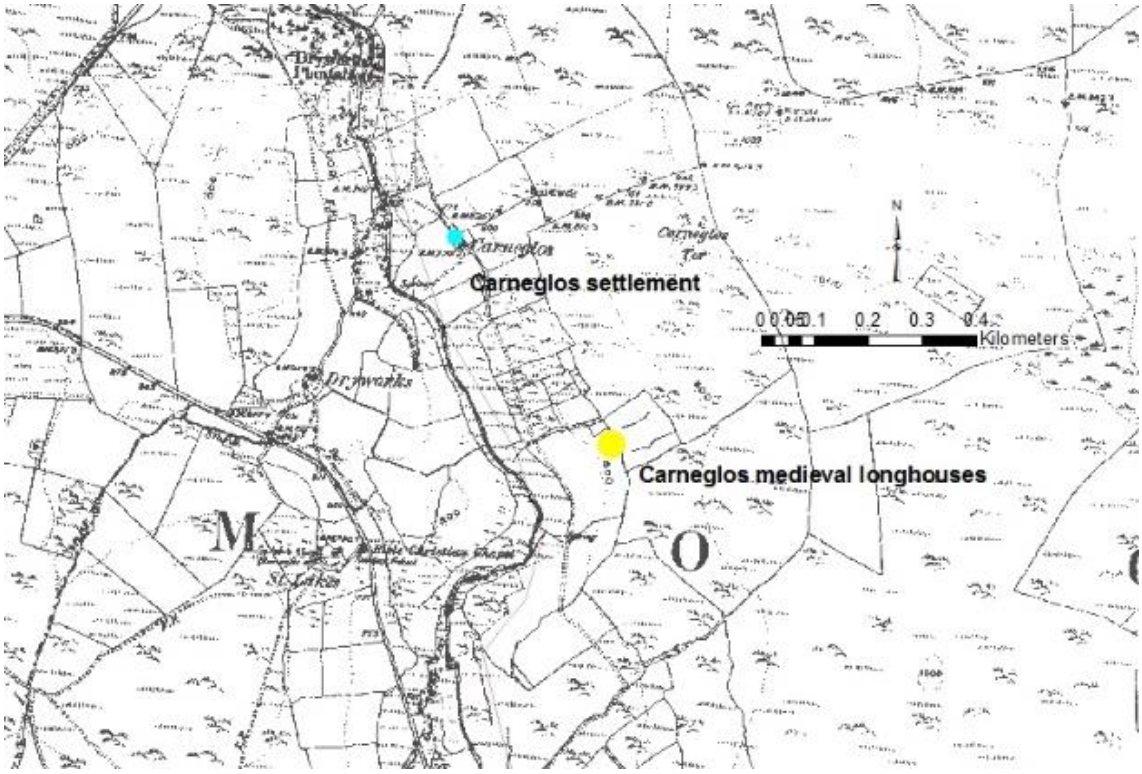


Figure 5.33 Carneglos: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

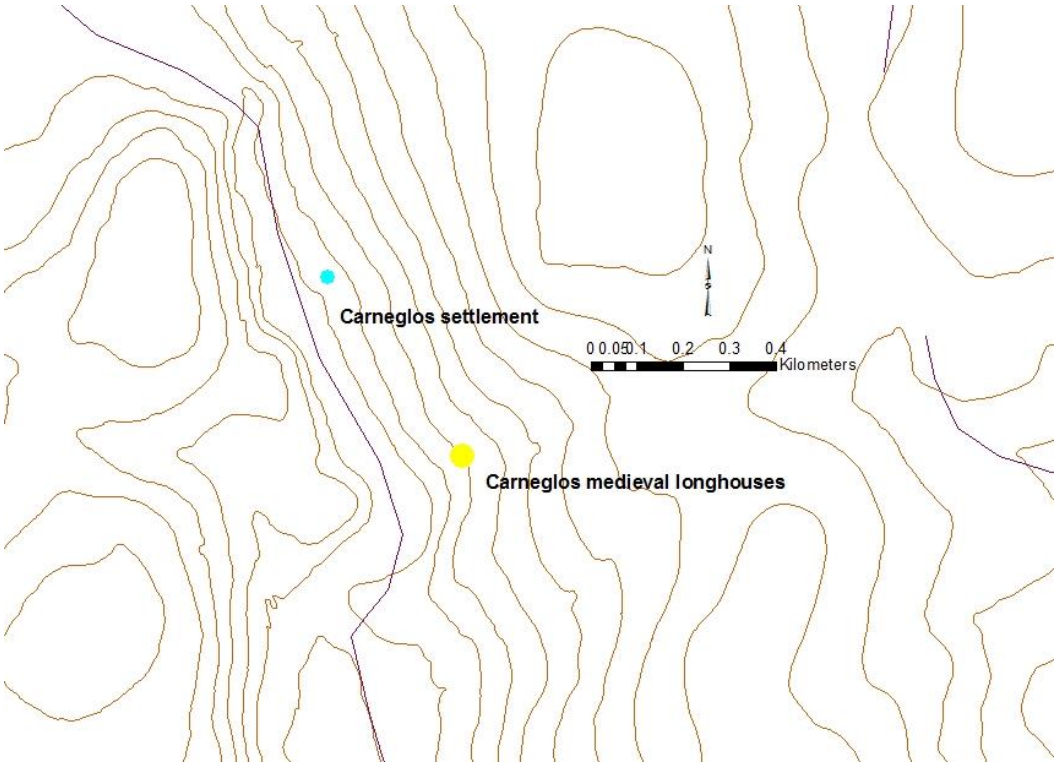


Figure 5.34 Landscape contours around Carneglos, showing site of three medieval longhouses at 260m close to medieval settlement at 230m (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

Settlements with **eglos* place-names in Cornwall continue to show a concentration in the western half of the Duchy, in a similar pattern to **lan* and **seynt* place-names. Unlike them, however, they are recorded later and tend to appear further inland and at a higher overall elevation, although they continue to show a preference for sites near rivers. Combinations with other place-name elements do not reference the names of individuals as strongly as with **lan* and **seynt* place-names. Instead topographical elements are present, which harkens back to earlier naming practice and less important ecclesiastical establishments that did not develop into churchtowns.

5.4 Conclusions

We have reviewed above the landscape distributions of higher status habitative place-names, covering settlements of various origins and roles in the medieval period, some of which may have referenced more ancient sites. We have seen that they generally occupy distinctive locations compared to lower status habitative settlements, appearing to be sited at lower contours in the landscape and in more sheltered positions. There are indications also with secular place-names they may not have been occupied throughout the year, as with permanent habitations.

Place-names of both secular and religious sites have clearly been recorded at comparatively early dates, suggesting a continuing importance or memory of ancient status. Higher status religious place-names also appear to show a continuity of use that links the oldest enclosures used for sacred purposes with strongly coastal and riverine locations. Those sites that retained their status as ecclesiastical centres benefited from good access to water resources and a developing infrastructure, which may have helped them to become established as emerging population centres by the medieval period.

Having now considered a variety of habitative place-names of lower and higher status, we turn our attention in chapter 6 to topographical place-names across Cornwall.

6 TOPOGRAPHICAL PLACE-NAMES

6.1 Introduction

Topographical place-names are those which refer to the natural landscape and environment. According to the EPNS, these are based on 'the observation of local topography and archaeological and other remains and sites' (Smith, 1956, xxvi). The EPNS also reflects on the relationship between habitative and topographical place-names, where the latter represent 'those which were originally topographical but came to be the names of habitation sites' and subsequently underwent expansion as settlements developed. As we will see below, topographical place-names in Cornwall are more likely to recombine with each other than with habitative place-names, to produce forms which relate to specific features of the landscape.

Until the late 20th century, compared to habitative place-names which refer to the built environment, the study of topographical place-names by Anglo-Saxon place-name scholars attracted less research. In recent conference proceedings published by the EPNS (Carroll and Parsons, 2013), Cullen (2013, 161) notes that the 'topic of landscape terminology receives scant attention' in the EPNS' introductory volume (Mawer and Stenton, 1924), meriting only a single paragraph under the subheading *Importance of Topography*. To some considerable extent this may be due to the EPNS' own earlier research on the habitative place-names of Anglo-Saxon and Norse settlements, recorded throughout the chronicled history of the British Isles in the period from the mid-5th century.

Fortunately, over the ninety years since the inception of the EPNS, place-name studies have broadened to become more inclusive and embrace what are known as the 'Celtic' languages of the British Isles. Place-names relating to major topographical features – an ancient tradition already practiced in Roman times (Hooke, 1998, 12) – are attested by numerous place-names dating from the Roman period (Rivet and Smith, 1979). In their place-name study of Roman

Britain, Rivet and Smith (1979, 20-2) identify the following categories of Celtic place-names, with the most ancient first: water, geographical features, animals, divinities, 'technical' (eg agriculture and industry) and human habitations, the latest reflected in names for Roman population centres post-invasion and subject to Latin influence. By the 1960s, Cameron (1969, 37) noted that 'comparatively few Celtic names were in origin the names of habitations'. More recently, Coates and Breeze (2000, 1) assert that 'geographical features have …been referred to by expressions that evolved into proper names' since Britain was first inhabited, and that 'the earliest interpretable names of inhabited places in Britain are often topographical expressions…rare in early Celtic times were place-names…explicitly habitative' (Coates and Breeze, 2000, 4). Baker (2006, 189) considers that 'distribution of a place-name element may owe more to the topography of a region than to the chronology of settlement'. From a specifically Cornish perspective, Padel (1985, xv) points out a 'total lack of certain habitative elements common to all the Brittonic languages' in attested Romano-British place-names, which he concedes 'may not be fully representative of British naming habits'.

It was Gelling's (1984) detailed research into place-names in the landscape which 'was the first study to be made of the type of settlement-name which has been labelled "topographical"' relating to Anglo-Saxon place-names (Gelling and Cole, 2000, xii-xiii). In the 1960s scholars began to dispute the previously established thinking on the chronological order of place-name types, and accept that topographical settlement names were more likely to have preceded habitative name types during the early Anglo-Saxon period. Certainly the Cornish place-name elements extensively surveyed by Padel (1985) contain many topographical entries, although as Middle Cornish source material drawn from medieval Cornish literature they are likely to be not contemporary with the naming of early medieval Cornish settlements.

In the chapter which follows we consider the distribution of a small sample only of Cornish topographical place-name elements. Elements have been selected mainly from a reasonably sized corpus that may also provide new information about settlements in the early medieval Cornish landscape. Therefore common elements such as **nans* for 'valley', **carn* for 'rock-pile' and **porth* for 'beach'

have not been included in the present study, as the landscape features they refer to are in most cases still evident and would give no additional insights.

The topographical place-name elements listed below have been chosen for ubiquity, relatively long use, and comparability with similar names and features in the other Brittonic languages of Welsh and Breton. In the list below all elements are displayed with asterisks (*) as a standard feature, following established linguistic practice to denote forms which do not appear on their own without combination.

- Contours and boundaries:
  - **pen* = ‘head of’, ‘end’ or ‘high’, as elevation or status
- Water features:
  - **pol* = ‘stream’, ‘water course’ or ‘body of water’
  - **fenten* = ‘spring’
- Trees and woodland:
  - **coys* = ‘wood’ or ‘woodland’
  - **kelli* = ‘grove’
  - **gwyth* = ‘trees’

As with the habitative place-names, each element is analysed to compare:

- landscape position
- elevation
- proximity to water features
- dispersion and intensity
- historic landscape characterisation type
- dates of first recording
- combinations with other elements.

6.2 Topographical name elements

6.2.1 **Pen* place-name elements

Introduction

**Pen* is considered the most numerous of the topographical type of place-name in Cornwall, as suggested by the folk-rhyme ‘By Tre, Pol, and Pen / You shall know the Cornishmen’ (Carew, 1953, 126). There are 279 medieval **pen* settlements in the Cornish place-name dataset. Scholars ascribe a range of contexts to place-names containing **pen*, including topographical, denoting natural features in dominant positions in the landscape such as coastal headlands or ridges; cultural, indicating high status habitations or sites; and administrative, reflecting boundaries at the margins of land ownership, use or types of land. It is likely that these meanings underwent some drift, evolving and expanding over time. We will trace the differing contexts in the analysis below and use the form **pen* for this element.

Various commentators agree that the Brittonic element **pen* has a long and distinguished history. Latin sources confirm that the element **pen* has been applied to settlements since Romano-British times and that it is widely distributed throughout Europe. Rivet and Smith (1979, 436) record the ancient use of **pen* in the 3rd to 4th century *Antonine Itinerary* to denote high places throughout continental Europe and the Mediterranean, citing examples of names in Switzerland and France as well as the British Isles. They speculate that early spellings may indicate that ‘the name was adopted from British not earlier than the late third century’. Both Rivet and Smith (1979, 437) and Jackson (1953, 228) attest to the early use of **pen* in the Romano-British name *Pennocrucium*, derived from **Penn-grug*, ‘chief ridge’, and identified as a Roman fort close to modern-day Penkridge, Staffordshire. Whilst Rivet and Smith emphasise the ‘chief’ meaning of the older, common **penno* form in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, Jackson (1953, 228) points out the shared Brittonic meaning of **pen(n)* to mean ‘head’, ‘end’ or ‘hill’. According to Jackson (1953, 226) the widespread distribution of the element **pen* demonstrates its early origins: ‘place-names of this sort … must have become prominent by the

time of the Breton emigrations [in the 5th to 6th century], since they are as common in Brittany as in Wales and Cornwall'. Coates and Breeze (2000, 273) however do not necessarily class **pen* as British throughout England, as in some areas the element may refer to the Old English **penn*, meaning 'pen(fold)'. For the purposes of the Coates and Breeze (2000, 273) analysis, **pen* can be safely considered British 'where it cooccurs(*sic*) with a Brythonic element'.

Following Jackson in relation to Cornish, Padel (1985, 177) notes that the place-name element **pen* is well known across the Brittonic languages, both as a noun – where it means variously 'head, top, end; promontory' - or as an adjective, where it refers to 'chief' (as in 'highest'), or 'end'. Saying this, experts debate its meaning: Padel (1985, 177) finds 'no clear instances' of **pen* being used to denote 'hill' in Cornish; Coates and Breeze (2000, 273) suggest that 'the hills in question were called "head"', whilst Gelling and Cole (2000, 211) consider that **pen* 'in some names in England refers to a high promontory-type ridge'. With these uncertainties and long timeline we might expect to see **pen* found everywhere in Cornwall, including those areas which lost Cornish earliest. Here, its meanings would have 'fossilised' and remained unchanged, whilst where the language remained usages would have continued to develop. Indeed, throughout Cornwall (Figure 6.1) **pen* is used predominantly as a topographical term which relates to prominent places in the landscape.

Landscape position

From the records of the Roman period, the earliest period when **pen* names were used may have overlapped with an active phase for the Romano-British settlements which came to be named in **caer/*ker/*gear.* If so, there could be spatial relationships between the two elements. Detailed analysis of the landscape positions of **pen* settlements (Table 6.1, Appendix A) appears to suggest this might be the case, even in eastern Cornwall where there are generally fewer **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements. The majority of **pen*s here occupy more prominent positions on the edge of high ground compared with **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements; closest to the Devon border, two of the three surviving **pen* settlements are sited on hilltops (see Discussion, section 7.2.6).

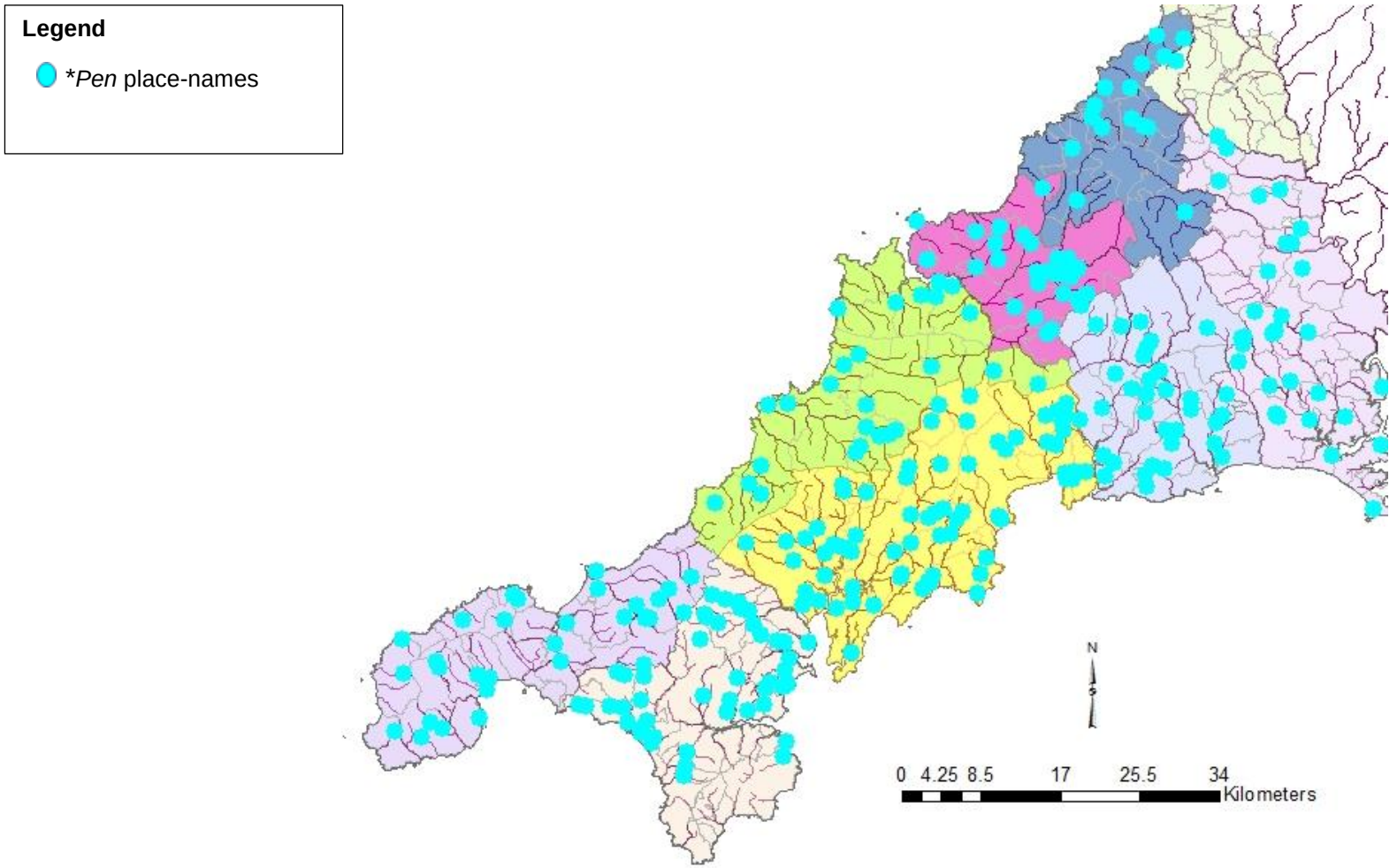


Figure 6.1 The distribution of *pen *settlements across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Edge of high ground locations continue to dominate in mid and western Cornwall, and to a slightly lesser extent either side of the Camel estuary. Here and in much of the rest of Cornwall there are similarities with **caer/*ker/*gear* positions. To the north of Bodmin Moor, with the highest topography in Cornwall, both **caer/*ker/*gear* and **pen* settlements are mainly found midway down hillslopes; Penwith's **pen* settlements do also, contrasting with its **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements which tend to lie high on hillsides.

Elevation

Elevation once again relates to the Cornish topography (Table 6.2, Appendix A): in eastern Cornwall, almost all the **pen* settlements lie at higher contours regardless of when recorded. By contrast, in mid and western Cornwall, there are much fewer examples of **pen* settlements at high levels. In far western Penwith, with its high inland plateau of granite moorland, the percentage of **pen* settlements above the 100m contour is somewhat closer to those in the east during all centuries of recording.

Proximity to waterways

Nearly all **pen* settlements across Cornwall are as close to major rivers as most habitative named **tre* or **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements (Table 6.3, Appendix A), and in some areas nearer. This effect is especially noticeable in mid Cornwall and in the far west, where all **pen* settlements are located within 2km of waterways; and, in every case, there are more **pen* settlements located within a 1km distance from rivers than other place-names.

A distinct sub-class of 63 **pen* settlements may also refer to 'head', whether as heads of creek or river valleys or settlements on headlands. One striking instance of **pen* used as 'head' in mid Cornwall is the name Pentivale, with its earliest form attested as Penfunte-Fala or 'springhead of the river Fal' in the 13th century (Figure 6.2). It occupies a prominent position at 210m elevation at the head of the Fal river valley, and unusually for Cornish place-names includes a river-name. It may have held some importance in the medieval period, and if so

**pen* in this context could well cover all three meanings: ‘head’, ‘high-status’, and ‘high’ topographically.

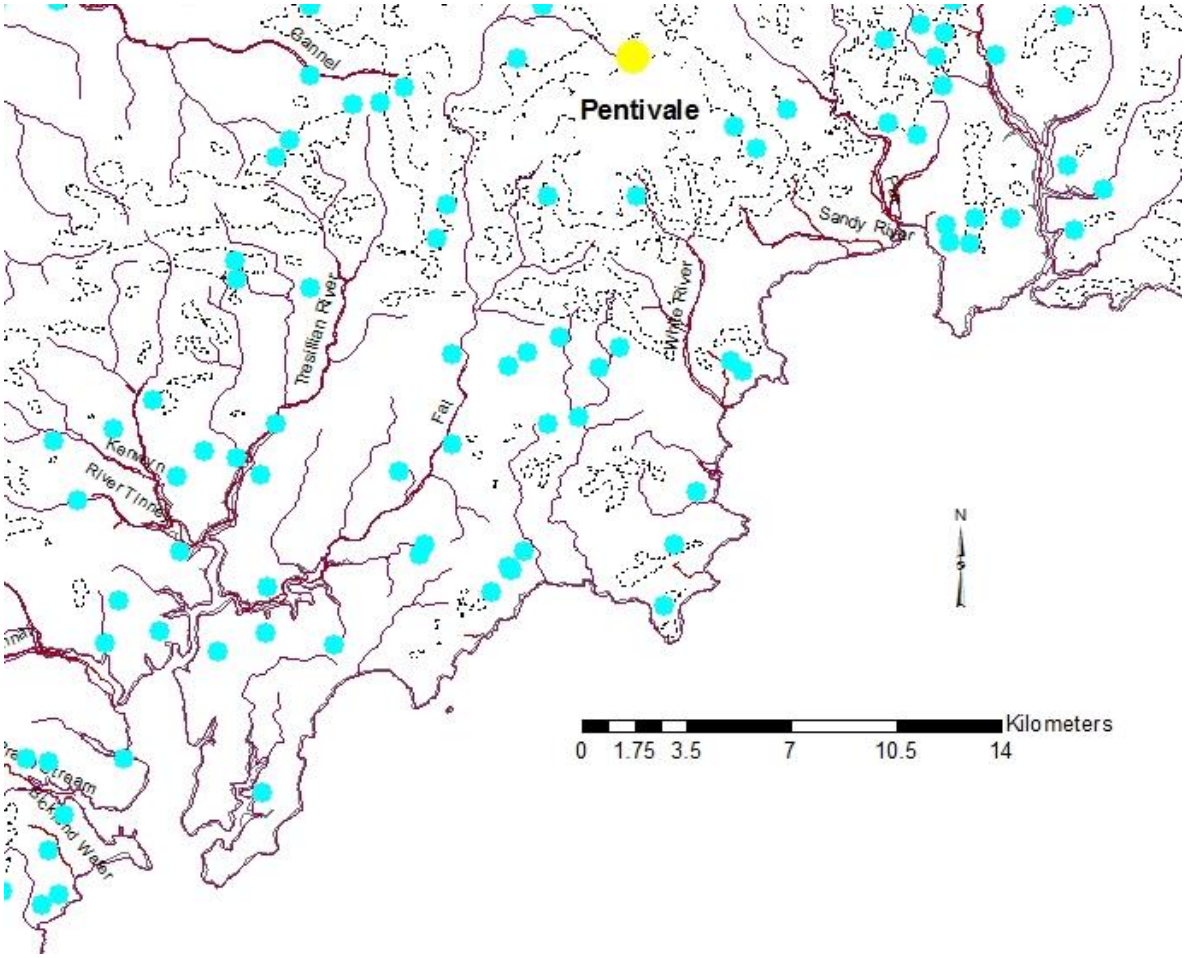


Figure 6.2 *Pentivale, ‘the springhead of the Fal’, in relation to the Fal river and its estuary (Source: author’s database)*

The strongly riverine distribution of **pen* settlements is not perhaps surprising considering that the names also relate to **pol* settlements denoting water. As we shall see below, in some cases the distinctiveness of the respective elements has become blurred over time. Where **pen* refers to high status settlements, proximity to major waterways could well be reflected in more desirable locations such as the heads of inland creeks. We will look in more detail at the distribution of the combined form **penpol*, or ‘creek-head’, under **pol* settlements below.

Dispersion and intensity

**Pen* settlements are well attested from across Cornwall (Figure 6.1), which confirms from the early recording that they date from a period when Cornish was universally spoken. Padel (1985, 179) points out that 'a word **penna* seems to appear consistently in the early forms of some names, all in East Cornwall' which may relate to the common Brittonic **penno* form noted by Rivet and Smith (1979, 436).

In eastern Cornwall **pen*s cluster along the north coast from the areas with most Old English names near the Devon border as far as the inland river valleys to the east of the Camel estuary, and between the Fowey and Seaton rivers to the south. Most **pen* settlements are found in southern mid and western Cornwall, where again coastal and river valleys are favoured locations. They do not appear in the relatively low-lying southern half of the Lizard peninsula, however, and are scarce in the elevated interior of Penwith.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

In eastern and northern mid Cornwall a large majority of the historic landscape types for **pen* settlement are characterised as Medieval Farmland (Table 6.2, Appendix A). HLC types become more diverse further west and show greater numbers of more recent settlement types overlying Medieval Farmland, with more in the far west in farmland with prehistoric origins alongside other types.

Dates of first recording

Examples of first dates of recording of **pen* settlements (Table 6.2, Appendix A) from the 11th century, including as Domesday vills, occur almost everywhere, and no later than the 12th century; earlier **pen* settlements from the 10th century appear in pre-Norman charter bounds in less elevated parts of southern Cornwall. This pattern may suggest that settlements in these areas may have retained a sense of **pen* as 'high status'. In low-lying mid Cornwall most have been recorded in the later centuries, by which time a meaning of 'high ground' may have been lost.

Combinations with other place-name elements

Considering its ubiquity and use in association with high places, it is perhaps surprising that **pen* does not occur as a simplex element on its own to denote 'hill' in Cornwall. The sense of 'hill' is instead filled by the elements **brea*, **bren*, **carn* and **tor*, the latter two used to denote 'rocky hilltop' in western and eastern Cornwall respectively. Elsewhere in England the Brittonic element **pen* however does appear in its simplex form alongside the English element 'hill', referring to such prominent places as Pendle Hill (Coates and Breeze, 2000, 273) in Lancashire ('a distinctive hill rising to 1831ft'; Watts, 2004, 465) and Pen Hill in Somerset (1001ft), which overlooks the Somerset levels on the edge of the scarp of the Mendip hills.

In Cornish place-names **pen* combines freely with many topographical elements for land-types or landscape features (Table 6.4, Appendix A), which in some cases form generic names in their own right, as well as with other types of elements. Padel (1985, 178-9) lists qualifiers with individual entries relating to high ground (**penarth*), land forms (**pentyr* or 'headland'), valleys (**pennans*), plants (**penheligan* or 'willow tree'), woodland (**pencoys*, **penkelli*), water features (**penpol*, **penfenten*), animals (**penmarth* or 'horse', which Padel considers 'metaphorical' (1985, 177)), man-made features (**penfos* or 'ditch') and landscape types (**penhal* or **penros* for 'moor', 'marsh' or 'rough ground'; Padel, 2011, 78-83). The name-phrase construction of **pen* as the first element is replicated throughout the Brittonic languages in common names for 'end' or 'top of the wood' (Padel, 1985, xv), appearing in the Welsh **pencoed*, Breton **penhoat*, and a variety of Cornish forms which trace the development of the language. The form Penquite, for instance, is used exclusively in the east of Cornwall where it mirrors the original diphthong and final dental stop of the Welsh, but as one moves westwards progressively later variants occur with a long vowel and final sibilant, such as Pencoose, or with a retained diphthong, as in Pencoys.

Combinations of **pen* with topographical elements are clearly in the majority across Cornwall (Table 6.4, Appendix A). Padel found no instances of **pen*

being used together with personal names, nor as the second generic element of a name (1985, 177). Most areas also combine **pen* elements with those for colour, animals, personal, habitative, other and unknown elements, with the greatest diversity across types in eastern Cornwall. Interestingly for an element of such long use, there are typically very few examples (well under 10% almost everywhere) where the combining element with **pen* is unknown, and in some places there are no unknown combinations.

There is a small sub-class of '*pen* as *pol*' names, along with their mirror image - '*pol* as *pen*' names - which are noted below under **pol* (Figure 6.10). These are place-names which originally were recorded with **pen* attributions but later appeared with **pol* attributions instead, and the reverse. They may represent a later stage in the Cornish language where the distinctions between **pol* and **pen* were breaking down, or alternatively that their associations with water were subsequently deemed to make **pol* the more precise element for naming purposes.

Case study: Penhale

Penhale (Figures 6.3-6.7) in Pydar hundred was first recorded in 1327 AD and spelt 'Penhal'; the name denotes 'the end of the moor or rough ground', from **pen* as 'head or end of' and **hal* for 'rough ground'. The name was well known in pre-Norman charter bounds, appearing in a 960 AD land grant (Hooke, 1994, 28; S.684) at Tywarnhayle, Pydar, and in another (Hooke, 1994, 41-4; S.770) from 969 AD at Lamorran, Powder, where it appears three times at the edges of the estate. The form Penhale is well represented in Cornish place-names: there are nineteen medieval settlements in this name in the Cornish place-name dataset, dating mainly from the 13th and 14th centuries. The place-name is especially prevalent in low-lying Powder hundred in mid Cornwall, where most examples mark the edges of higher ground around the 100m contour.

The medieval settlement of Penhale Farm (Figure 6.5) is located in the HLC type Medieval Farmland. It lies at a height of 100m at the base of the western side of a steep west-facing hillslope rising to 200m, at the edge of gently undulating land to the west (Figure 6.7). The settlement is 0.54km to the northeast of the head of a valley and the source of a tributary of the Tresillian river. Penhale occupies a prominent position on the historic routeway which became the A30 and gave its name to nearby Penhale Fair, also known as *Langchepyng*, the 'long market', which was first mentioned in 1234 AD (Padel, 2011, 76). It has also given its name to nearby Penhale Moor and Penhale Round, the former confirming its position on the edge of rough ground.

A programme of archaeological surveys in the early 1990s at Penhale Moor (Linford, 1994) and Penhale Round (CAU, 1994; Payne, 2011) was conducted in advance of planned improvements to the A30 trunk road. Penhale Farm is located between the two surveyed sites at a distance of 0.19km from Penhale Moor and 0.27km from Penhale Round. Geophysical investigations (Payne, 2011, 7) confirmed the presence of multiple ditches around a later prehistoric enclosed settlement together with associated settlement and field systems in the wider landscape. Later Iron Age/Romano-British pottery dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries were also found, together with a Roman coin (CAU, 1994, 106), after which the site was abandoned. We may assume from Penhale's position

on the ‘ancient routeway’ (Herring and Hooke, 1993, 70), of which a fragment apparently survived until the A30 improvements, as well as the eponymous medieval fair, that Penhale was a place of some importance during the medieval period. It retains a key position on the A30 to this day.

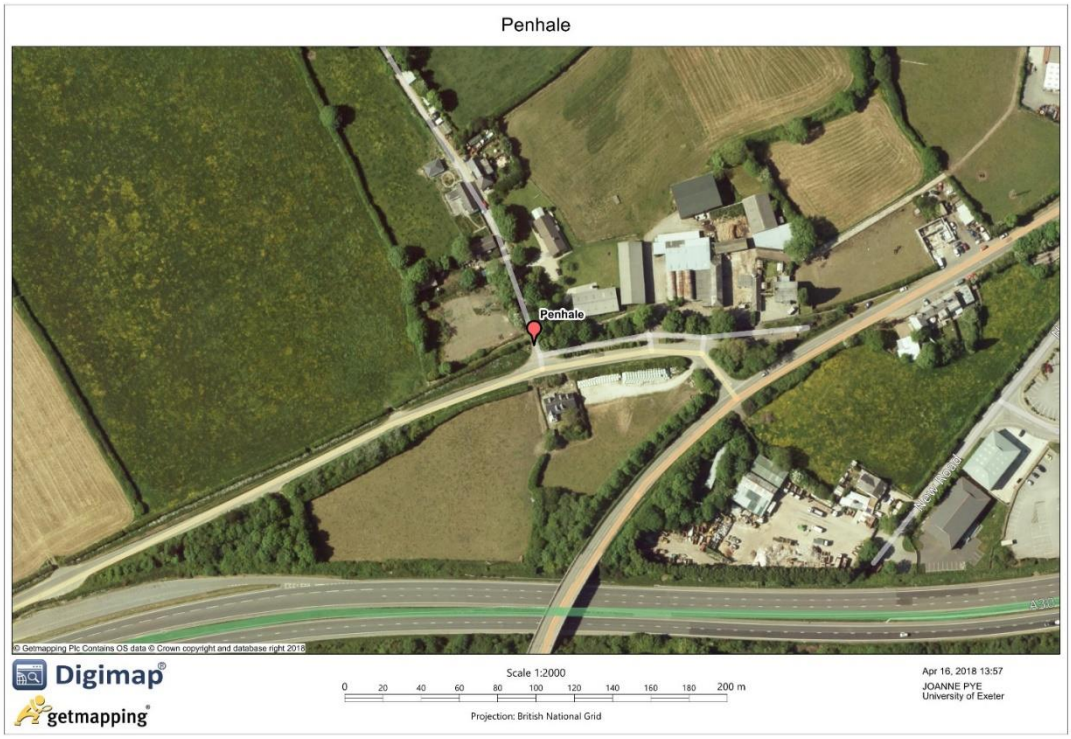


Figure 6.3 Penhale (Source: Aerial Digimap)

Figure 6.4 Landscape around Penhale (Source: author)

Figure 6.5 Penhale Farm (Source: author)

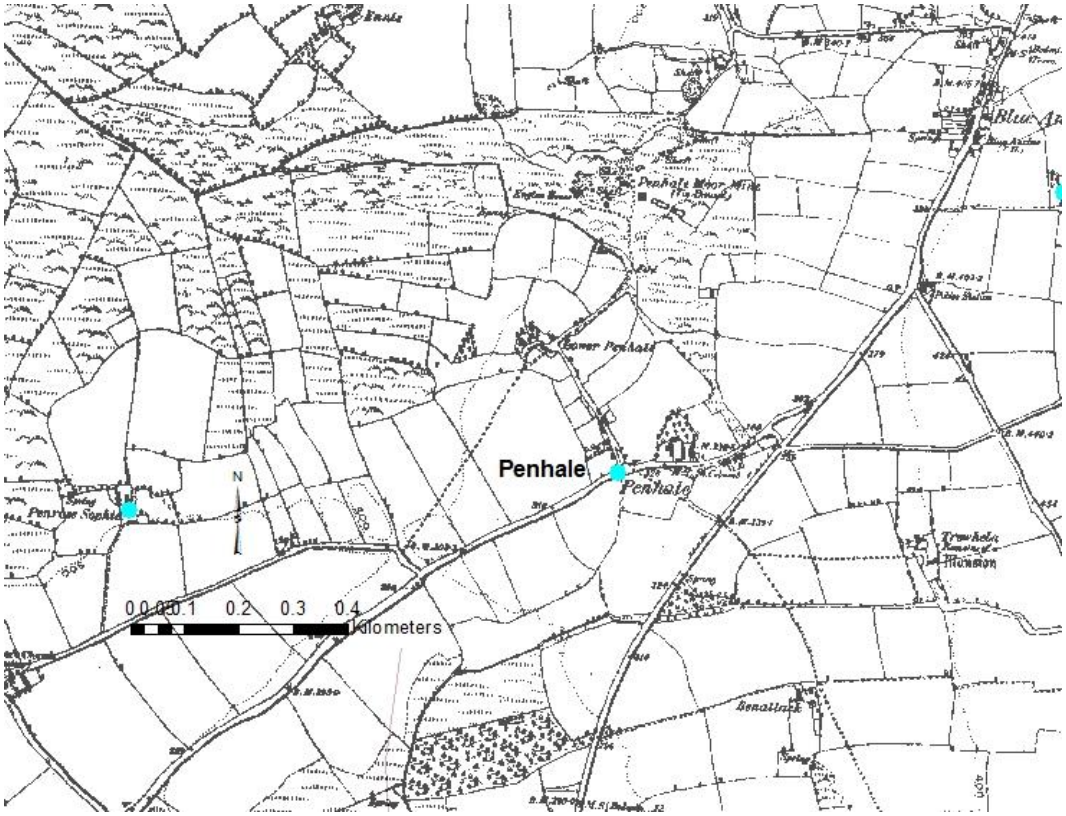


Figure 6.6 Penhale: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

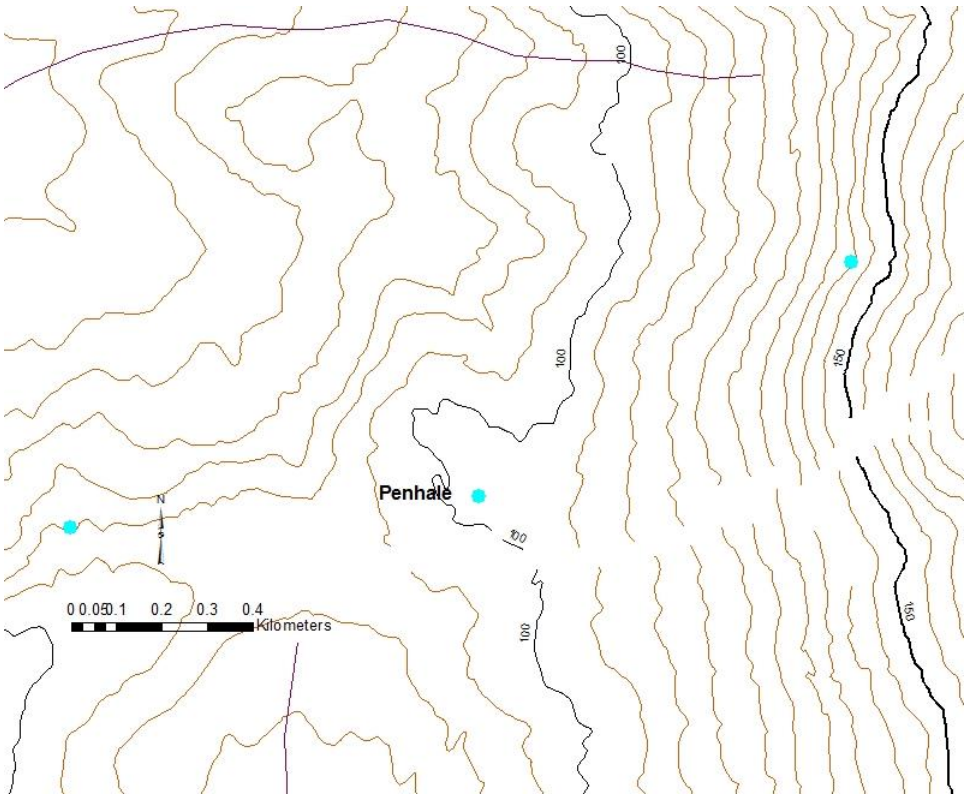


Figure 6.7 Landscape contours around Penhale (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

As in Wales and Brittany, **pen* settlement names in Cornwall represent one of the earliest examples of Brittonic name-elements and are also amongst the most widespread and longest in use, across a range of diverse contexts. **Pen* names demonstrate how topographical name types differ from habitative place-names, as they reflect landscape features much more closely and tend to combine with other topographical elements. The versatility of **pen* names can be inferred from their landscape distribution which may relate to elevation, top or end of a feature, or settlement status, which also agrees with shared usages in other Brittonic lands. Towards the end of the period during which **pen* names were recorded, there are suggestions that the distinctions in meaning between **pen* and **pol* elements were breaking down.

6.2.2 **Pol* place-name elements

Introduction

In the Cornish place-name dataset the element **pol* appears 123 times (Figure 6.8), and so are less numerous than the **pen* names with which they are often linked. Nevertheless, **pol* like **pen* has long roots extending back into Common Brittonic, with examples appearing in Welsh, Cornish and Breton. **Pol* in Cornish is compared by Padel (1985, 187) with the Welsh **pwll* and Breton **poull*, both meaning 'pit, pool'. In Cornish **pol* may refer to one of several water-features and could variously indicate 'pit, pool, stream; cove, creek', so it may refer to an inland body of water, a flowing stream, or a coastal setting (see Discussion, section 7.2.6).

Consultation of a Breton place-name dictionary for central west Brittany (Priziac, 2000) confirms a large number of **pen* and some **poul* elements in broadly similar respective proportions as in Cornwall. Although many are combined with topographical elements recognisable from Cornish place-names, there are examples both with Breton **pen* and the local Breton element **poul* of personal names in combination, unlike Cornish **pen* or **pol*. These may occur as direct linkages with personal names or as triple-barreled names, in which an individual's name was linked to an earlier dual-element topographical form.

**Pol* is not the only element to represent water in Cornish: other examples include **loe*, which has given its name to Looe amongst other places (for example, Chyvarloe; section 4.3.5), and **lyn*, both acting as a similar generic term for a range of water features. The element **fenten* has a specific reference to springs which we shall look at below (sections 6.2.3 and 7.2.6). Padel (1985, 188) notes that in some places **pol* has replaced the earlier **porth*, for 'cove', with a reverse replacement of **pol* by **porth* in some parts of western Cornwall; an occasional interchange occurs between **pen* and **pol* in eastern and mid Cornwall.

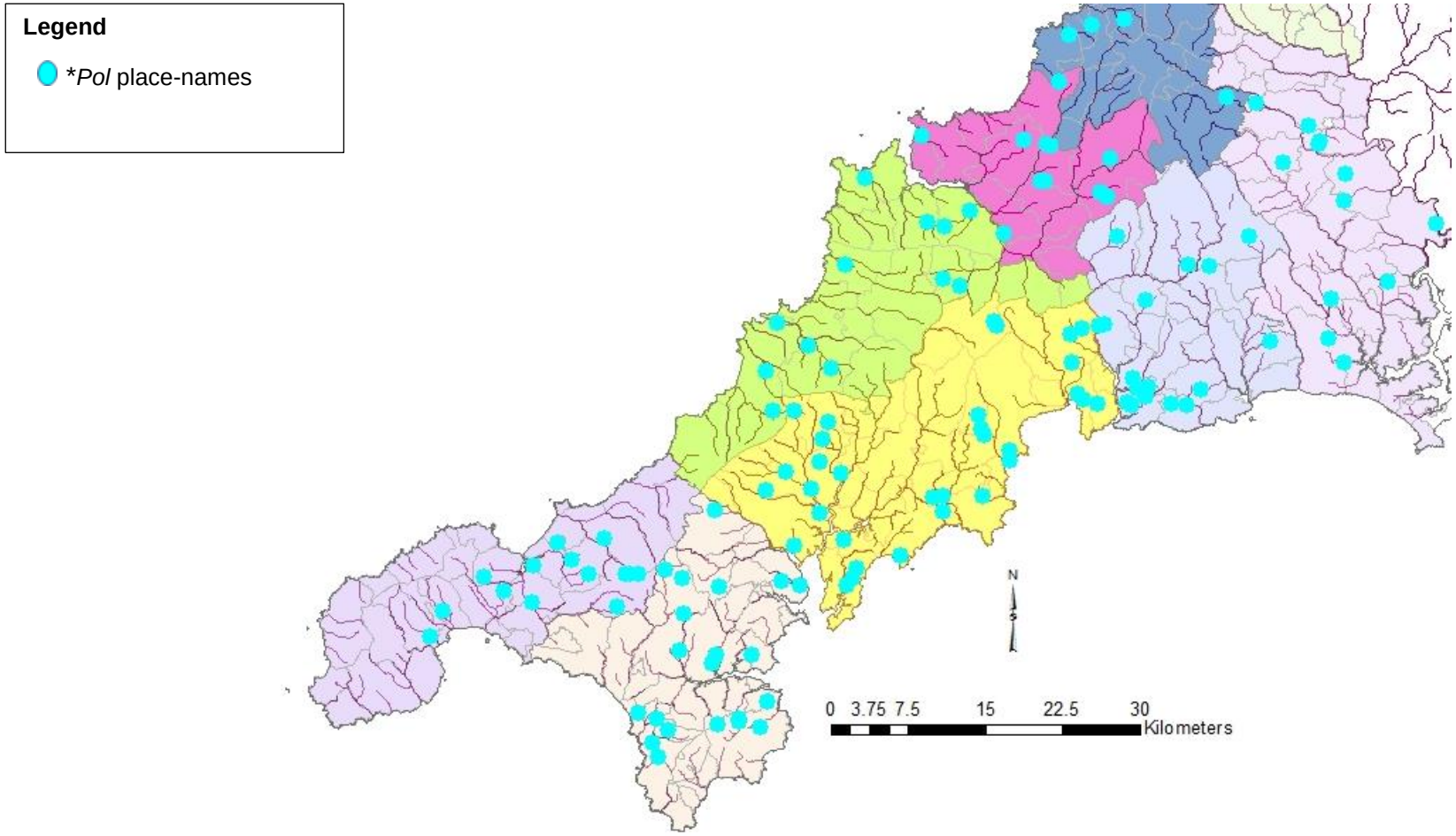


Figure 6.8 The distribution of *pol *names in Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Landscape position

The relative positions in the landscape of **pol* elements have been analysed (Table 6.5, Appendix A) and compared with **pen* and **tre* elements. Should **pol* and **pen* elements be contemporary, we might expect them to show complementary positions: for example, compared with **pen* settlements sitting at the edges of high ground, we might see **pol* settlements lower in the landscape with a strong association with watercourses and valleys. Across Cornwall, in relation to **pen* settlements, this does seem to be the case with **pol* elements, which tend to be found midway down hillslopes or at their base. In most parts of Cornwall, they appear at head of valley positions associated with major rivers.

In lower-lying mid Cornwall base of hillslope positions for **pol* settlements predominate, but to the west and south these become more mixed in their positions on hillslopes. In the far west **pol*s occupy sites midway down hillslopes and to a lesser extent base of slope, with no higher ground settlements at all.

Elevation

Like many place-name elements, **pol* settlements (Table 6.6, Appendix A) conform to the landscape. In more rugged eastern Cornwall, over half of the **pol* settlements are found at contours over 100m, with nearly half below 100m in the lower terrain to the west and south of Bodmin Moor. In lowland Cornwall, the large majority of **pol* settlements are located under 100m, ranging from 64% of **pol*s in the far west to 92% on the northern coast of mid Cornwall, including over three-quarters of **pol*s in southerly mid and western Cornwall.

Proximity to waterways

With the water association in their name, we would expect to see a closer affinity between **pol* settlements and waterways, which is also the case with

**pen* elements. There is indeed an association between **pol* names and major and minor river valleys across Cornwall, with **pol* settlements almost everywhere nearer to watercourses than **pen* settlements (Table 6.7, Appendix A). Interestingly, along the southern coast in eastern Cornwall **pen*s, not **pol*s, follow the courses of the important Fowey and East and West Looe rivers, which contain the element **loe* rather than **pol.*

It appears that both **pen* and **pol* elements demarcate the routes of major rivers across Cornwall. It may be that **pol* settlements are more likely to be found along minor river valleys than **pen*s, whilst that the latter as higher status settlements are positioned more strategically within the riverine infrastructure.

Dispersion and intensity

Comparing numbers of **pol* with **pen* settlements across Cornwall (Figures 6.1 and 6.8), a ratio of around 1:2 respectively recurs in all the hundreds which contain **pol* settlements. Southerly mid Cornwall, which is strongly riverine, shows the largest complement of both. Whilst **pol*s generally prefer river valleys, they also appear along coastal areas especially in southern Cornwall, where inland valley sites are also evident. A cluster appears on the west coast of the Lizard peninsula; more lie along inland stream valleys on its east coast. Most in Penwith are found to the east of the Hayle river.

We consider below (Figure 6.9) the place-name **penpol*, combining both **pen* and **pol* elements to denote ‘creek-head’. There are fourteen surviving examples in the dataset of variant forms including Penpell, Penpol and Penpoll, of which most are found in the southern half of Cornwall. In areas of eastern Cornwall the **pol* form qualifier may also appear as ‘pill’, which approximates more closely to the Welsh form **pil* or **pyl* and suggests a Common Brittonic origin.

The number of Penpol named settlements on major rivers of Cornwall is striking (Figure 6.9). They have also been recorded early and include two Domesday vills, indicating important sites. Penpol settlements are located not only at their heads of the river valleys, but also on their sides. It is possible that they indicate

what may have been navigable waterways up to that point in the medieval period; commentators (eg Henderson *et al*, 1935, 109) note the silting up of estuaries and inlets on the south coast of Cornwall since the late 18th century, including the rivers Fal, Fowey, Par, Pentewan and Porthluney.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

The majority of **pol* settlements (Table 6.6, Appendix A) in Cornwall tend to be located in Medieval Farmland, including Penwith. To the east of the Camel estuary and in southern mid Cornwall a few are found in other settlement types, with the widest range in western Cornwall.

Dates of first recording

Compared with **pen* settlements dates of the first recording of **pol* settlements are similar, with early dates of the 11th century or before in most areas with **pol* names (Table 6.6, Appendix A). Domesday vills named in **pol* are again evidenced almost everywhere in eastern and mid Cornwall, with a few examples of 10th century **pol* settlements in mid and western Cornwall. In the highest ground and the far west they are recorded somewhat later. The relatively good match of the overall pattern suggests that **pen*s and **pol*s were established in approximately the same periods.

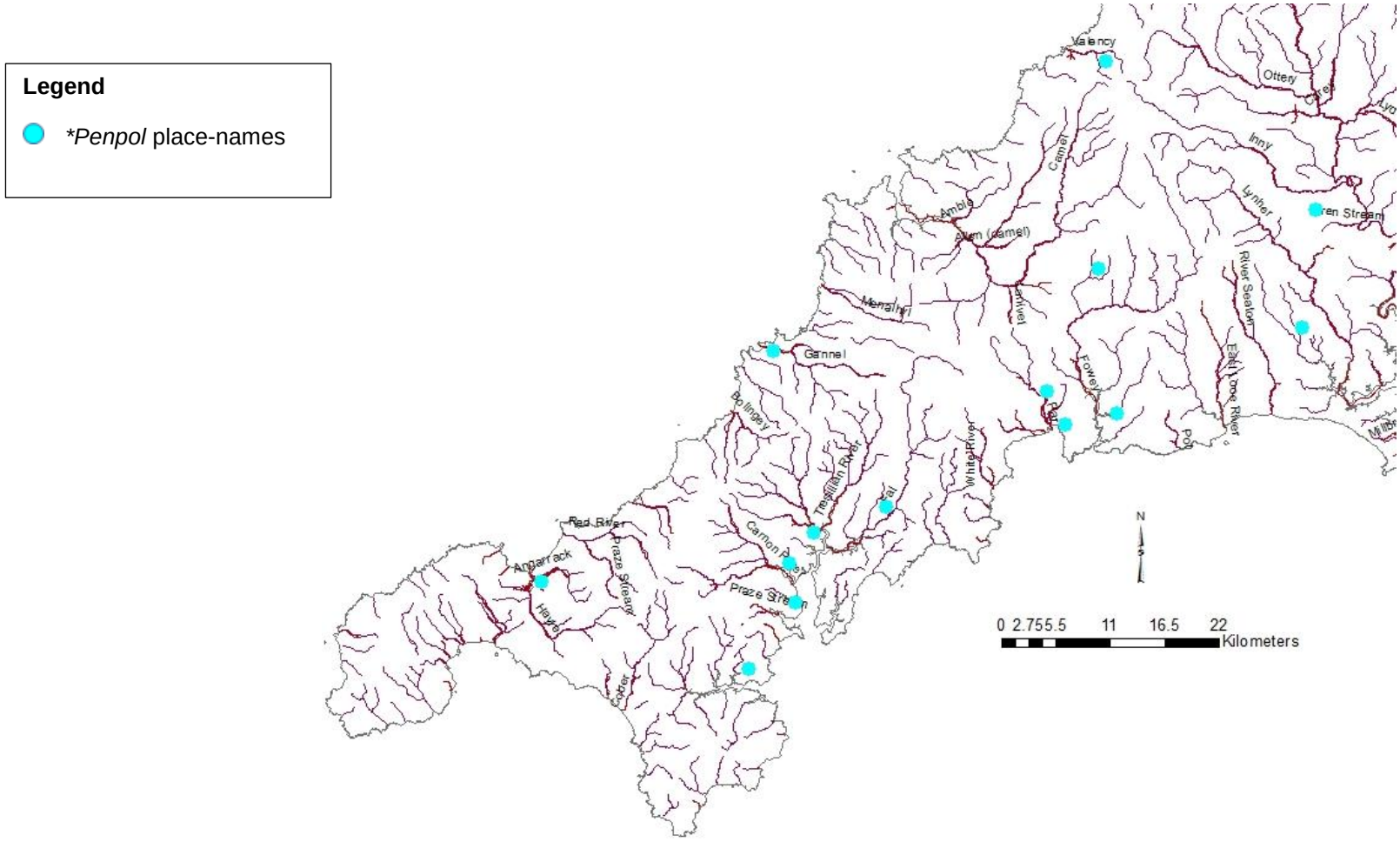


Figure 6.9 Penpol place-names on major river valleys in Cornwall (Source: author's database)

Combinations with other elements

Combinations of other elements with **pol* names also show a distinctive pattern compared with **pen* elements (Table 6.8, Appendix A). The greatest number of combinations of **pol*s with other water elements occurs in eastern Cornwall, where the latter makes up nearly 30% of the corpus. Most other types of name-elements combine widely with **pol* across Cornwall, with topographical elements well represented. Wood and plant names with **pol* elements mainly occur in western Cornwall with the highest percentage in Penwith. Here and in parts of eastern Cornwall, combined percentages of over 50% for wood, topographical and water-names with **pol* occur.

We see examples of **pol* with animal names almost everywhere and especially in western Cornwall. Colour elements are well represented with **pol* at around 30% of names in mid Cornwall, especially **du* for 'black' and **glas* for 'blue/green/grey'. About one quarter combine with habitative names in northern and eastern Cornwall, whilst several **pol* names relate to individual names in the far west. In some cases, **pen* names have become interchanged with **pol* names into a '**pen*-as-*pol*' sub-class (Figure 6.10), which illustrates the close relationship between the two elements. This interchange appears throughout Cornwall and does not seem to be linked to either lateness of recording nor dialectal usage.

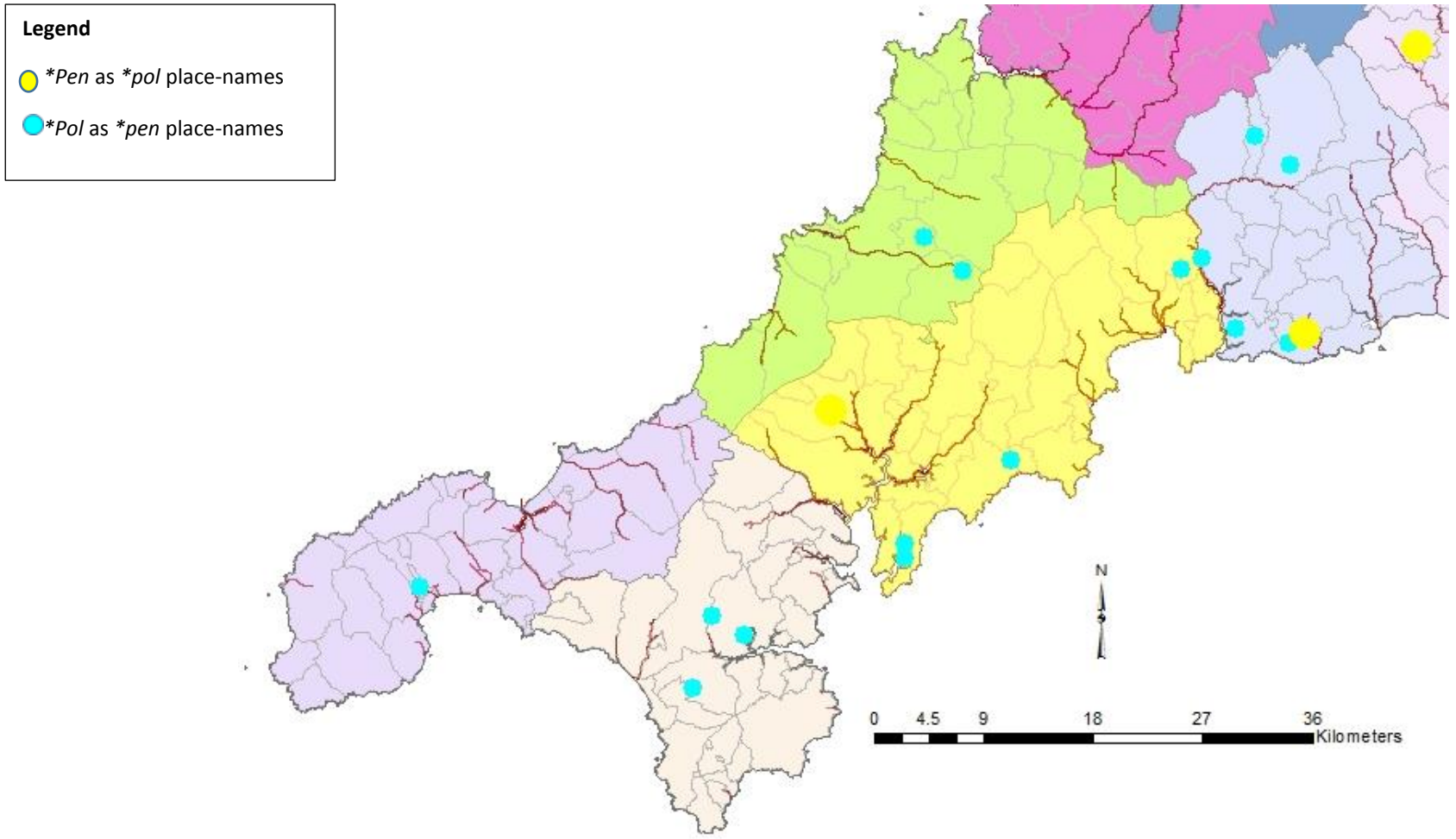


Figure 6.10 *Pen *and* *pen *as* *pol' *elements across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Case study: Polwhele

The place-name Polwhele (Figures 6.11-6.15) is made up of **pol* for 'watercourse' and **hwilen* for 'beetle' and was first recorded in 1278 AD. Polwhele is located at 90m just below break of slope at the head of a narrow valley on the eastern side of a steep-sided rounded hilltop at 110m (Figure 6.15). Polwhele House overlooks a tributary of the Tresillian river at 1.1km with the Allen river at 1.5km distance to the west. Polwhele lies in the Ornamental HLC type, surrounded by Medieval Farmland.

Present-day Polwhele House (Figure 6.13) has a 16th century core (Morris and Wapshott, 2014, 35) and was originally part of Polwhele Manor. The manor's medieval history is the subject of speculation: according to Burke (1833, 425), Polwhele Manor was listed in Domesday as *Polhel*, and had been occupied during the reign of Edward the Confessor; the vill, however, does not appear in the Phillimore edition of Domesday Cornwall. The Cornish historian Reverend Richard Polwhele, who had provided details of his family's estate from a family deed dated 1140 AD (1826, 3), maintained that a Polwhele Castle had been in existence at the Norman Conquest, after which time the manor had been passed to the Count of Mortain. He mentions a field-name of *Edles* or *Ethedles* that was taken to denote 'Ethelred's *lys*', as with the nearby village of Edless (now Idless; Edelet in Domesday): 'once the property of Polwhele, as was all the intermediate highland' (Polwhele, 1826, 1-2).

Archaeological surveys of land within the Manor of Polwhele have been conducted by South West Archaeology (Morris and Wapshott, 2014) and Exeter Archaeology (Manning, 2001). Exeter Archaeology recorded four ditches representing potential pre medieval field boundaries within a modern field approximately 0.2km southwest of Polwhele House (Exeter Archaeology, 2006, 196). Polwhele House is situated in an elevated position between two major watercourses, which may have conferred an advantage for resource access during the medieval period.

Figure 6.11 Polwhele (Source: Aerial Digimap)

Figure 6.12 Landscape around Polwhele (Source: author)

Figure 6.13 Polwhele House (Source: author)

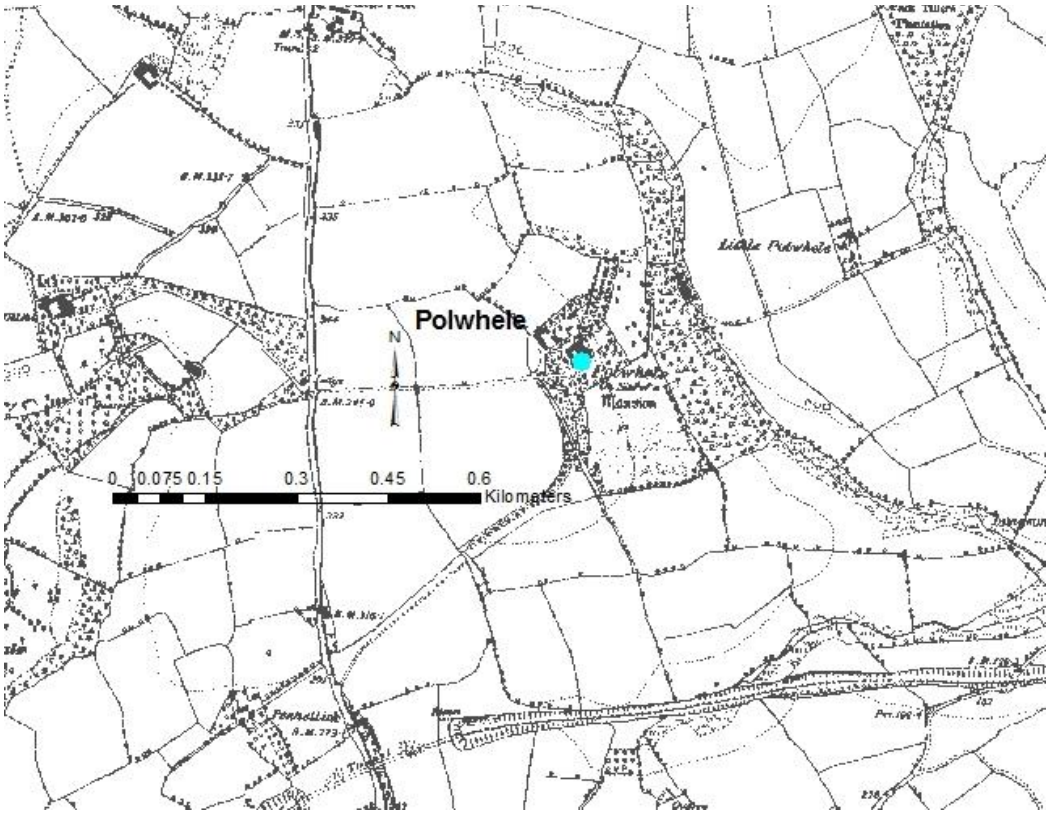


Figure 6.14 Polwhele: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

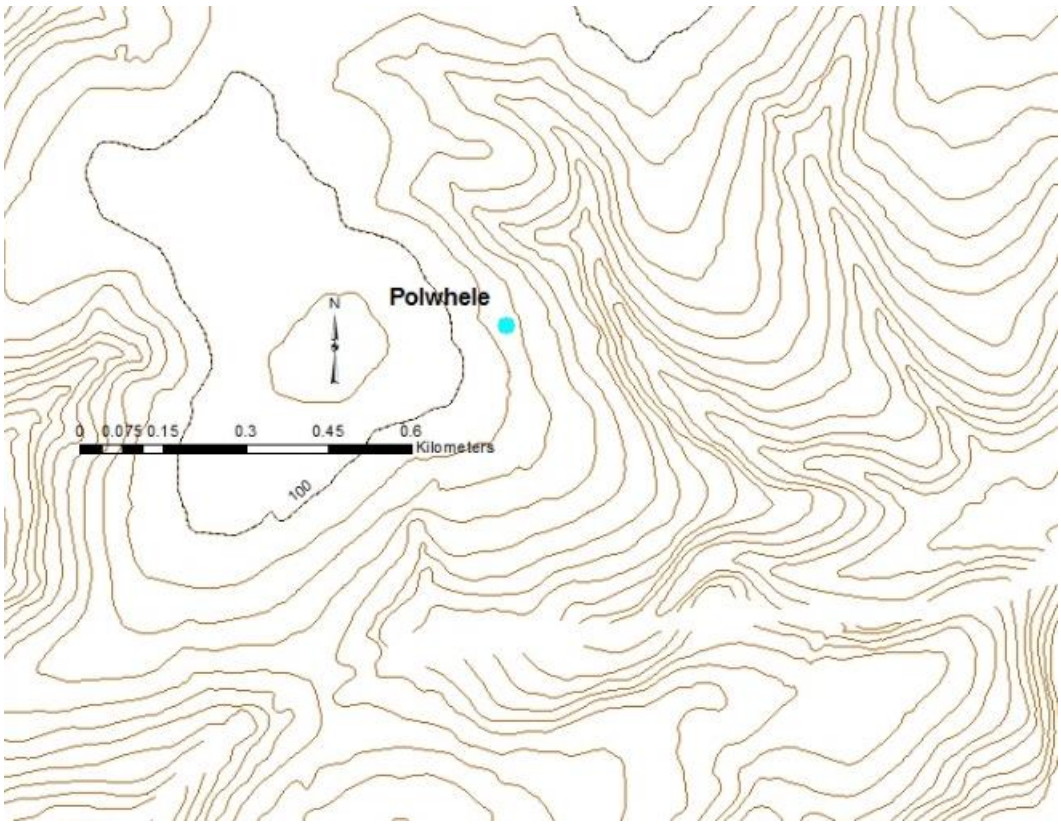


Figure 6.15 Landscape contours around Polwhele (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

**Pol* settlements tend to appear midway and towards the base of hillslopes, a complementary landscape position compared with the more prominently sited **pen* names. **Pol* names also show an association with water in their head of valley positions and locations on minor watercourses. They have been recorded for as long as **pen* settlements and were also important in the medieval period, as demonstrated by pre-Norman charters and Domesday vills. A relationship with **pen* names is suggested by their complementary positions in the landscape and on watercourses, the interchange of one element for another, and their combination to denote specific features such as heads of creeks – often landing places of major waterways.

6.2.3 **Fenten* place-name elements

Introduction

There are 57 examples of the place-name element **fenten* in the Cornish place-name dataset. The element **fenten*, meaning 'spring', was borrowed from the Latin **fontana* into the Brittonic languages (Jackson, 1953, 308) where it underwent a series of sound changes. By the period of Middle Welsh (mid 12th to 14th centuries; Lias, 1994, 14) it had lost its medial /*nt*/ to become /*nn*/, but the element retained the older form in both the Old Cornish **funten* and the Old Breton **funton*. It is thought to have been separately borrowed into Anglo-Saxon as **funta* (Gelling, 1978, 83; Jackson, 1953, 676) and occurs in such names as Fontmell Magna in Dorset (Coates and Breeze, 2000, 115); it does not appear amongst the Latin > Brittonic > Old English elements listed by Coates and Breeze (2000, 272-3).

Padel (1985, 97) contends that **fenten* denotes a natural spring rather than a man-made well, although 'it can include a built superstructure' where it relates to a holy well dedicated to Cornish saints. Baker (2006, 173-4) considers that the **funta* name element, imported from Latin into Old English-speaking areas in southern Britain, may have denoted a well with a specific function or type of structure around it. As we shall see, personal name combinations with saints' names represent a distinct sub-class of **fenten*s, although they are by no means the only type of pairing. Padel (1985, 195) also observes that built wells can be referred to by the element **puth*, pronounced 'peeth' in Cornish dialect. Dialect examples of 'peeth' can be found along the coast in southern Cornwall in the Meneage on the Lizard and in St Hilary, close to St Michael's Mount.

Variants of **fenten* appear across Cornwall (Figure 6.16) and may range from **fenter* (mainly in eastern Cornwall) to **venton* (Padel, 1985, 97) throughout, the latter showing the mutation of /*f*/ to /*v*/ which occurred in Brittonic and the later stages of Cornish language development. The differing forms however do not follow strictly geographical lines and occur everywhere in Cornwall. **Venton* is seen both in initial and final position and frequently in combination with **pen*

and **pol*. Both **fenten* and **venton* can also be found as simplex terms without combining with other elements.

Landscape position

Landscape analysis (Table 6.9, Appendix A) shows that most **fenten* place-names are in more mixed positions than **pol*s, which is consistent with their referring to springs rather than more substantial watercourses. Springs may rise at any point in the landscape, including at watersheds on the highest ground between two valleys. With the varying topography and geology of Cornwall there are no standardised points where springs issue from the hillside, and the location of **fenten*s does not necessarily follow the shape of the landscape.

In eastern Cornwall there are fewer **fenten* place-names and their distribution is uneven, but ranges from midway down hillsides to hilltops on the southern slopes of Bodmin Moor. Positions of **fenten* elements resemble **tre* settlements in mid and western Cornwall and tend towards the edge of higher ground and mid slope. In the far west **fenten* settlements are found at the base of hillslopes, rather than the mid slope as with **pol*s and **tre* settlements.

Elevation

Whilst **fenten* settlements (Table 6.10, Appendix A) may not mirror exactly the more elevated parts of Cornwall, the contour levels of **fenten* settlements gradually reduce as we progress westward. In eastern hundreds nearly all **fenten*s are found above the 100m contour but in mid and western Cornwall the pattern is reversed, with more than three-quarters of **fenten*s below the 100m contour.

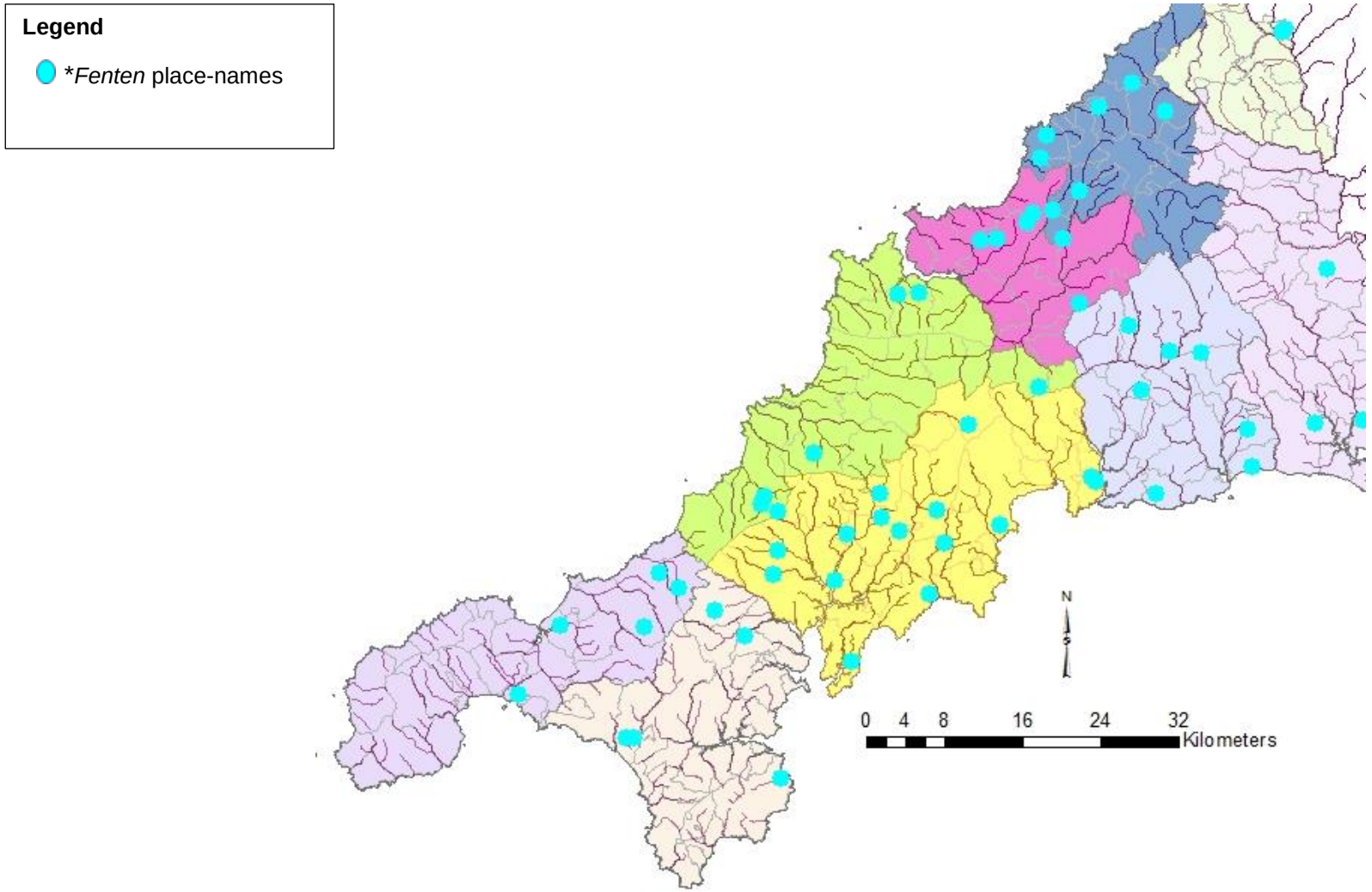


Figure 6.16 *Fenten *place-names in Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Proximity to waterways

As with **pol* settlements, by their intrinsic nature **fenten*s should be sited very near water. This is the case (Table 6.11, Appendix A): almost everywhere **fenten* settlements are found within 2km of waterways, and closer than **pol* settlements in most parts of Cornwall. Although many lie close to important waterways, they do not necessarily mark their source.

Distribution and intensity

The **fenten* place-name element is well distributed throughout Cornwall with almost half in eastern Cornwall. As with **pol*s, the greatest number of **fenten*s lie in southerly mid Cornwall, which confirms its riverine nature. **Fenten* settlements are found inland near the heads of the river valleys in eastern Cornwall and either side of the inland downs in mid Cornwall. The fewer **fenten* settlements in the far west tend to be associated with major coastal rivers rather than inland locations, and there are none on the Penwith peninsula (see Discussion, section 7.2.6).

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

Almost all **fenten* settlements lie in Medieval Farmland (Table 6.10, Appendix A), with a few in mid Cornwall in areas characterised by later enclosure. With a general absence from Domesday records, there is also a sense that, unlike some **pen*s and **pol*s, these were not high status settlements.

Dates of first recording

**Fenten* settlements (Table 6.10, Appendix A) are recorded later than **pol* or **pen* settlements in all areas, with only one Domesday vill in mid Cornwall and a single 12th century example. All those remaining are recorded from the 13th century or later. Despite this unusually late distribution, it is likely that the **fenten* place-names were recorded at a time when the settlements themselves had been long established in the landscape. Head of spring locations would

have been locally important to secure water supplies for settlement siting well before the medieval period.

Combinations with other elements

The majority of **fenten* settlements across Cornwall combine with topographical name elements of which roughly half are water-elements (Table 6.12, Appendix A), everywhere except Penwith. The widest range of combination types occurs where most **fentens* are found in mid and north Cornwall, where we see wood- and colour-elements; animal names appear also.

Habitative and personal name combinations are mainly in eastern Cornwall, except for a group of specific saints' names in mid Cornwall. The saints referred to also have Breton connections, as confirmed by the 10th century Vatican codex of saints' names common to both Cornwall and Brittany (Olson and Padel, 1986). Despite an apparent association with spring-heads, there are only three examples of **fenten* in relation to specific river-names across Cornwall.

Case study: Fenton-Ia

Close to a natural spring and near the head of a valley, Fenton-Ia chapel (Figures 6.17-6.21) displays similar features to the medieval settlement sites named in **fenton* in the place-name dataset. Despite the chapel's medieval history and 1429 AD licence, the place-name Fenton-Ia was not recorded with the form 'Ventonear' until 1700; it was more recently referred to as Fenton-Er (Henderson, 1955-60, 67). The St Ia chapel complex was visited by Borlase in the mid-1700s (Thomas, 1967b, 78-9) and identified as Fenton-Ia by Thomas during his first excavations in 1963 (Thomas, 1963, 78).

Fenton-Ia chapel is located 177m northwest of Chytodden Farm in a narrow wooded valley known as The Reens on the edge of Troon village, Camborne, in the HLC type Plantations and Scrub. It sits at a height of 150m on the eastern side of a hillslope, about 0.4km northwest from the source of the stream which flows down the valley (Figure 6.20). The chapel lies at a point where, according to Thomas (1967b, 78), a natural spring issued from the hillside and became known as a holy well. The western end of the chapel sits at the top of a gully about 1.8m deep and 5m wide which slopes down to the stream (Figure 6.21; Historic England, 2017). A possible *lann* enclosure around the site was also identified and likewise assigned a 10th century date, and the remains of a cell or hermitage (Historic England, 2017; Figure 6.20) recorded 13m to the southwest of the chapel on the opposite side of the stream, at the base of Reen Rocks.

The chapel was found to comprise three phases of build: the earliest, a well-chapel, has a probable 10th century date, as attested by a nearby cross which was later moved to Camborne church. Thomas (1967b, 78) considered that the original chapel was a timber structure on top of a massive surround built to contain the spring, which flowed under or through the west wall into the adjacent stream. The second and third phases of the build were dated by pottery finds to the 12th century (Thomas, 1967b, 78-9), when a small stone chapel was constructed over the foundations of the well chapel, and the 13th century, which saw a major extension to the east in an east-west alignment. Fenton-Ia represents a class of site which did not become a medieval

settlement but nevertheless had attained its own status during the medieval period and has survived in folk memory.

Figure 6.17 Fenton-Ia (Source: Aerial Digimap)

Figure 6.18 Fenton-Ia chapel walls, looking northeast (Source: author)

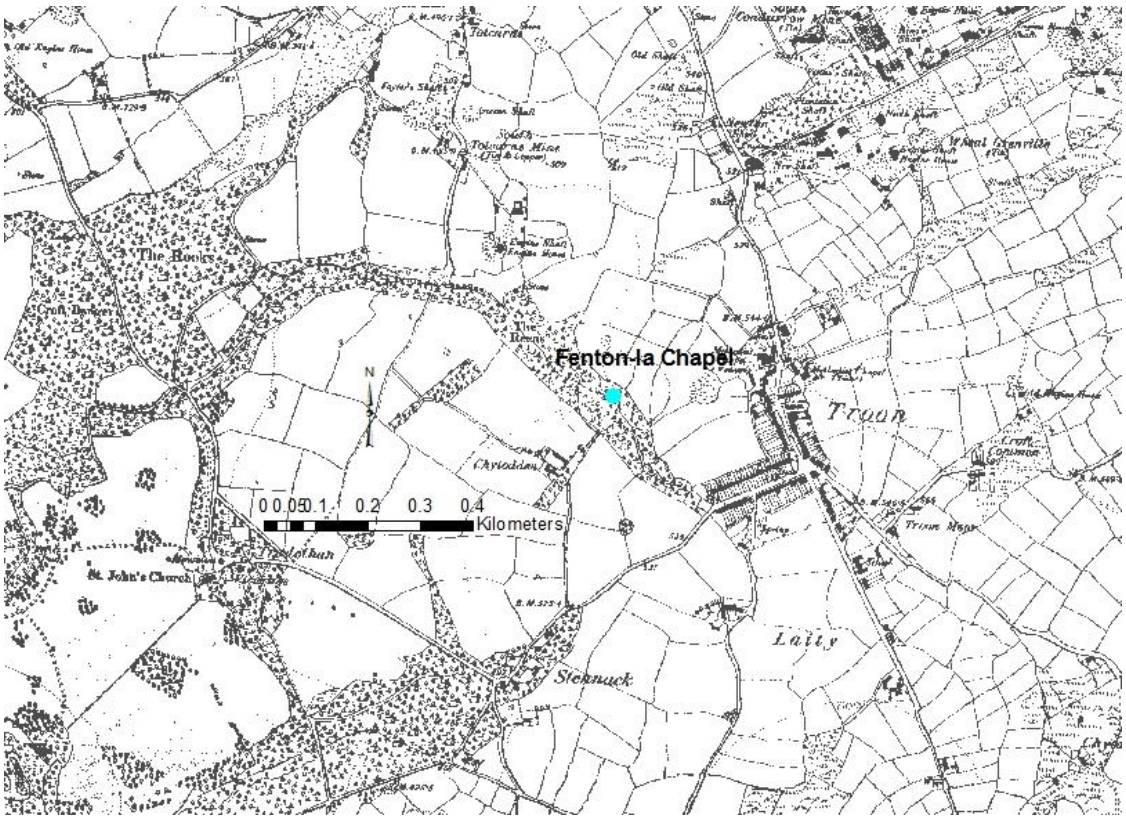


Figure 6.19 Fenton-Ia chapel: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

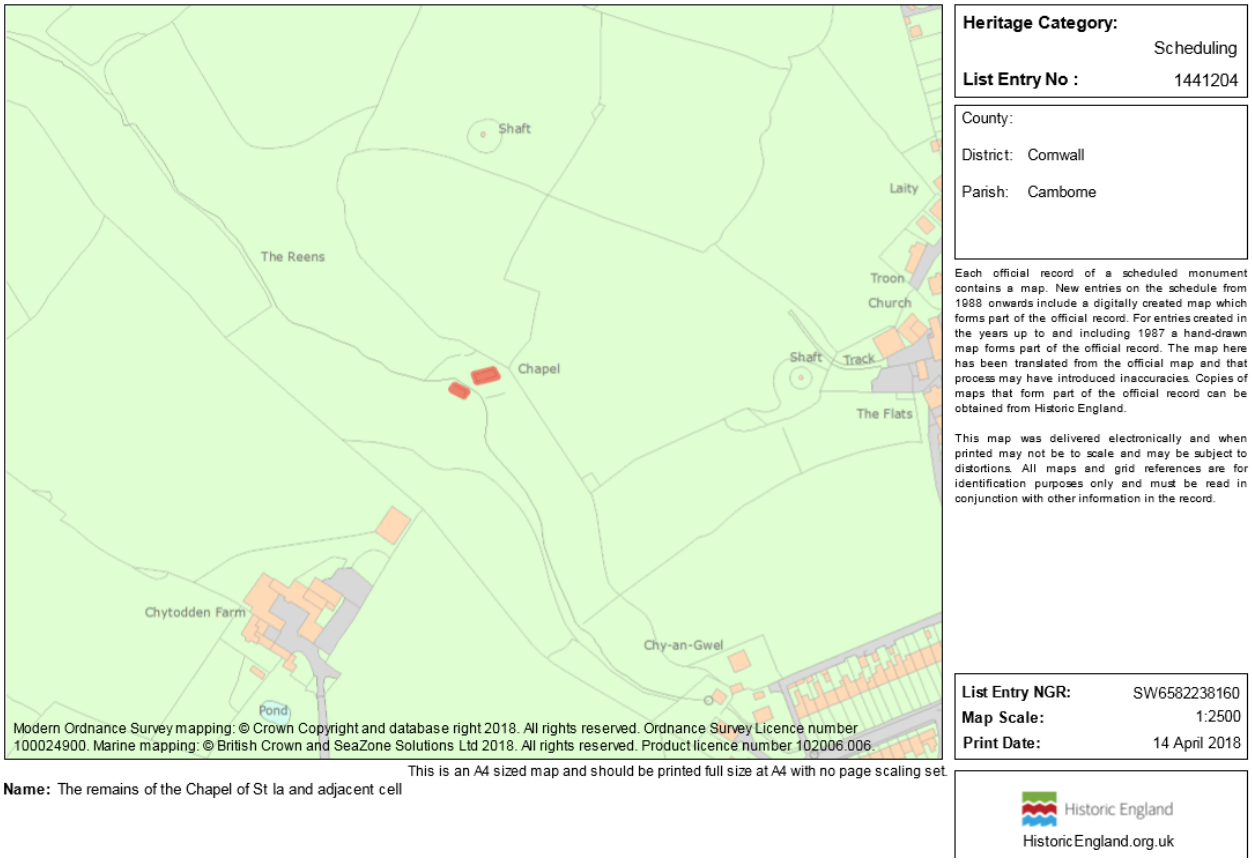


Figure 6.20 Fenton-Ia chapel: Historic England listing (Source: Historic England)

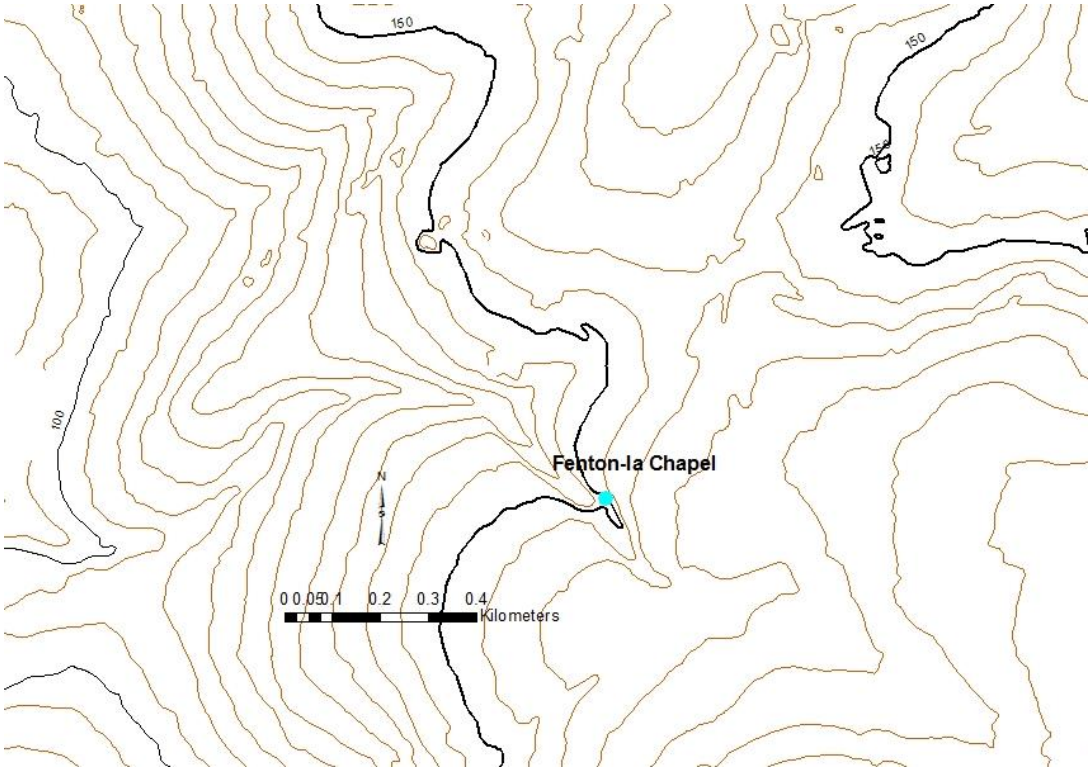


Figure 6.21 Landscape contours around Fenton-Ia chapel (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

**Fenten* settlements considered above represent a distinctive sub-class of water-elements, most of which have been designated as medieval settlements. Their topographical positions reflect the higher reaches of watercourses inland rather than coastal locations. **Fenten* settlements tend to appear either side of the central ridge of high ground that runs along the Cornish peninsula close to the heads of major river valleys. Their absence from Domesday and late recording suggest lower status settlements.

The case study illustrates the point that not all **fenten*s developed into settlements in medieval times. Very local landscape features including field-names and local springs are also associated with **fenten* names across Cornwall, but are mainly outside the scope of this thesis.

6.2.4 **Coys* place-name elements

Introduction

The Cornish place-name dataset includes 129 instances of **coys*, or woodland (Figure 6.22). With ancient origins, the element has developed in successive stages across all the Brittonic languages. In Wales today it is spelled **coed* and in Brittany **coat* or **koad*, each variant showing the original final dental stop and long diphthong arising from the Common Brittonic **caito*, meaning 'wood' (Jackson, 1953, 325), recorded in Gaul by Ptolemy. By the time of the 3rd century *Antonine Itinerary* (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 387-8) the element appears as **ceto* in the Romano-British *Letocetum* (*Lectoceto* in the *Ravenna Cosmography*), meaning 'grey wood', identified as Wall in Staffordshire. Rivet and Smith (1979, 387) note other examples on the Continent and in Wales, Scotland, and England, whilst Coates and Breeze (2000, 219) argue that **coys* represents vestiges of Brittonic speech throughout England.

Padel (1985, 66, xli, xl) spells the element **cos* or **kuz* in Modern Cornish, tracing its development through **cuit* in Old Cornish (9th to 12th centuries) and **coys* or **cos* in Middle Cornish (12th to 16th centuries). Jackson (1953, 699) dates the linguistic shift in Cornish of final /*t*/ to final /*s*/ to about 1100 AD, at around the time that Padel dates the transition from Old to Middle Cornish. We can see clearly (Figure 6.23) how the distinct geographical areas of Cornwall are differentiated in place-names between eastern, middle and western forms of **coys*, to the point where it could almost be used as an isogloss or proxy to indicate where the later Cornish language was spoken. In eastern and parts of mid Cornwall forms with final /*t*/ or /*d*/ predominate, including in combination with other elements, whilst in the middle and western Cornwall final /*s*/ forms can be seen. Where final /*t*/ forms occur in Penwith in far western Cornwall they are likely to be fossilised and indicate long use. Local dialectal variations in vowel sounds can also be seen, which range from /*oi*/ diphthongs in much of Cornwall to /*oo*/ sounds in some mid and western areas, with the form **goose* (showing initial mutation of *c* > *g*) appearing as a suffix in mid and western Cornwall.

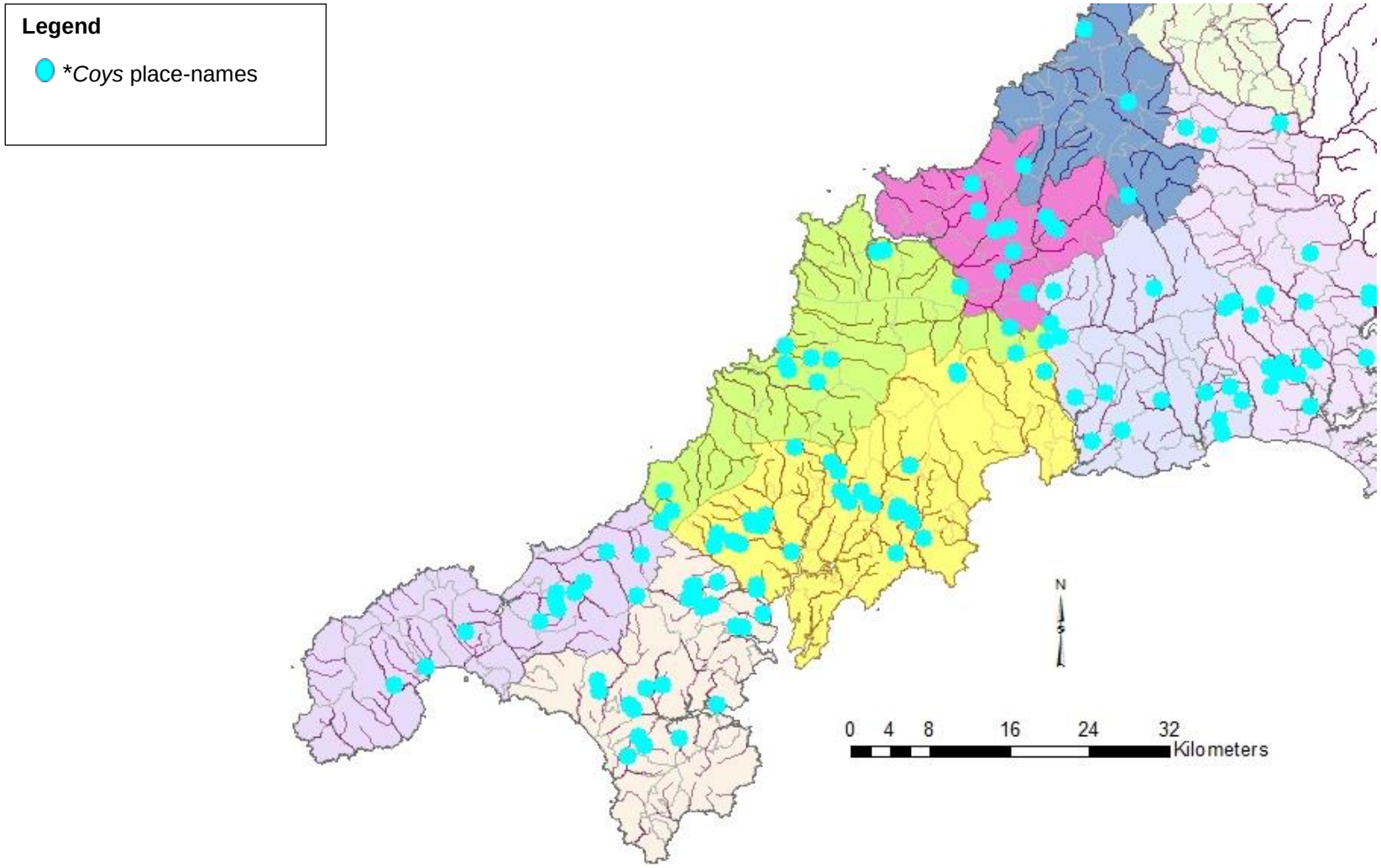


Figure 6.22 Distribution of *coys *settlements in Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

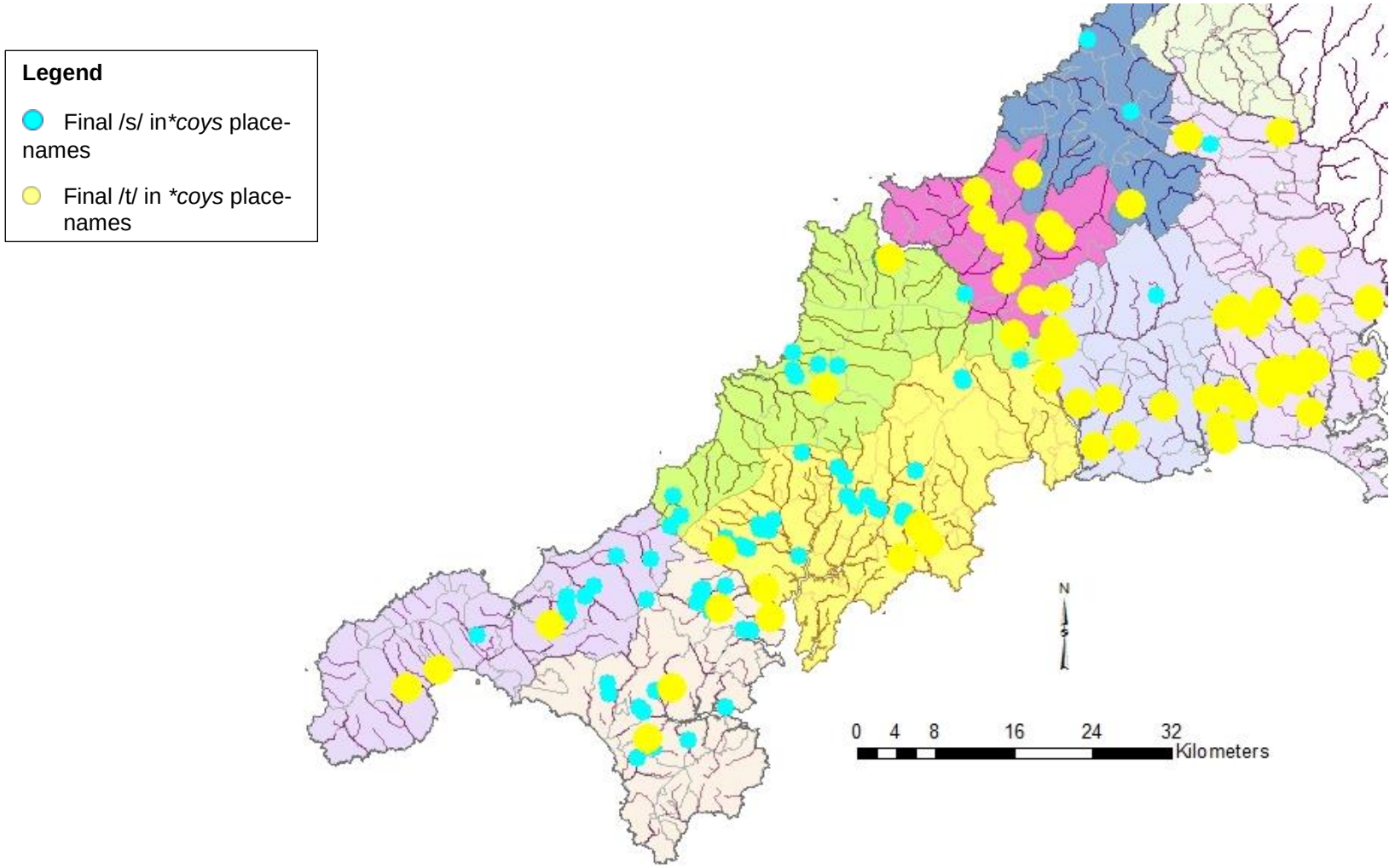


Figure 6.23 Distribution of final /t/ and final /s/ in *coys *elements across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Opinions of scholars differ as to how prevalent woodland in Cornwall was during the medieval period. Padel (1985, 66-7) considers that woodland was widespread then except for far western Cornwall, with a greater concentration in eastern Cornwall. Henderson *et al* (1935, 135-6) suggest that 61 Domesday vills contained more than twenty acres of woodland, with the largest amount in southeast Cornwall including St Austell, although substantial woods were also found further west around the Helford and Fal rivers and in East Penwith. The *Domesday Geography* (Darby and Welldon Finn, 1967, 328) contends that by Domesday times much of Cornwall was treeless, particularly in the granite uplands (apart from areas of Carnmenellis) and the Penwith peninsula. The *Domesday Geography* identifies a north-south divide where relatively little woodland existed along the northern coast as far as Bude, with the possible exception of the Camel estuary, but by comparison the southern coast and its river valleys were relatively more wooded. This distribution broadly agrees with the modern extent of woodland together with place-names in **coys* (Figure 6.24) below, apart from scattered **coys* settlements inland from the northern coast which mainly follow coastal river valleys. In the mapping in this section, we have used the locations of present-day woodland in Cornwall as illustrated by Ordnance Survey *Strategi* data to indicate where there may have been more extensive wooded areas in the medieval period.

More recently, the *Fields of Britannia* (Rippon *et al*, 2015) study provided a more detailed appraisal of the proportions of woodland, arable, improved and unimproved pasture in late Roman and early medieval times, through a range of analyses of selected sites around the UK including in Cornwall. Pollen analyses of mainly upland and its fringes in Cornwall found that the Penwith peninsula was more wooded in prehistoric than in Roman times, and that a trend towards woodland clearance for mixed land use on Bodmin Moor continued during the early medieval period. The few sites sampled in lowland Cornwall also indicated land clearance for pastoral use alongside some patchy woodland up to around the 9th century.

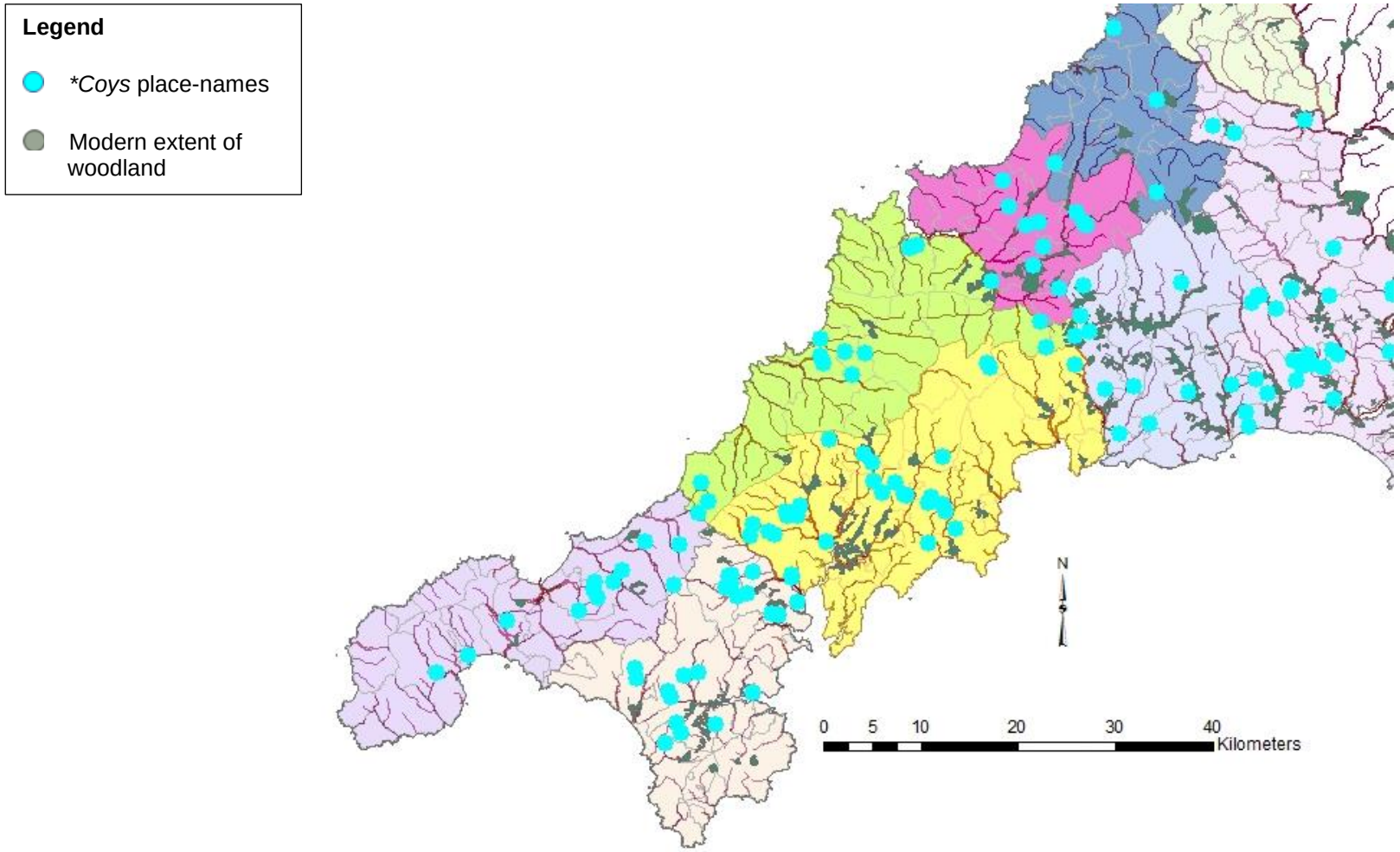


Figure 6.24 *Coys *place-names with modern extent of woodland (Source: author's database)*

Landscape position

The relative positions of **coys* settlements compared with **pen* and **tre* named settlements have been analysed (Table 6.13, Appendix A). We have observed that in topographical terms woodland is more likely to be present on the slopes of river valleys at any point along their length. Also, settlements named in **coys* will not necessarily be close to the woodland that they are named for; thus, we cannot assume that **coys* elements are sited in clearings or wood-pastures, for instance, as with the Anglo-Saxon **leah* element (see Discussion, section 7.2.6).

**Coys* elements continue the same trends as habitative-named medieval settlements and respect the Cornish topography. Some correlations exist between frequency of woodland names and their range of landscape positions: places with the greatest number of **coys* settlements in eastern and mid Cornwall show a relatively even mix between edge of high ground, midway down hillslope and base of valley locations. There is a slight preference for mid slope positions in eastern Cornwall with more edge of high ground sites further to the west, with base of slope locations in northern mid Cornwall and more **coys* on the higher ground in the far west.

Elevation

We can see from their relative heights in the landscape that **coys* settlements in general relate to the contours of the Cornish peninsula (Table 6.14, Appendix A), with some local variations. In eastern Cornwall there is a slight tendency for **coys* settlements to be sited in more elevated positions than **tre* settlements when midway down hillsides, although there most lie under the 100m contour. As would be expected, in eastern Cornwall the highest contours and the edge of moorland river valleys show a larger proportion of **coys* sites above 100m; in Trigg hundred, to the west of Bodmin Moor, 71% of the early medieval settlements in **coys* occur at the edge of high ground over 100m.

Moving into lower-lying mid and western Cornwall, the great majority of **coys* settlements are located below 100m, with more than three-quarters of **coys* at lower contours.

Proximity to waterways

With the distribution of **coys* along wooded river valleys, we might expect settlements to be sited close to waterways. This is confirmed by a higher proportion than with other types of settlement, both habitative and topographical: almost everywhere all **coys* settlements are located within 2km of rivers (Table 6.15, Appendix A).

Dispersion and intensity

**Coys* settlements (Figure 6.22) mainly appear throughout Cornwall in distinct clusters that mark the heads and lengths of major river valleys off the slopes of the higher ground inland. In eastern Cornwall the densest concentrations are found between the lower valleys of the Lynher, Seaton and East Looe rivers. Towards the north coast **coys* settlements occur along the upper valleys of the Camel and Allen rivers to the west of Bodmin Moor and extend south along the Fowey river valley.

In southerly mid Cornwall **coys* settlements run across the inland tributaries of the Tresillian and Fal river valleys, with another group between the heads of the valleys of the Kenwyn and Carnon rivers. In northern mid Cornwall a small cluster lies between the valleys of the Gannel and Menalhyl rivers. **Coys* place-names in western Cornwall appear in a small group at the head of the Kennal river which eventually empties into Falmouth Bay, across the centre of the Lizard peninsula and towards the upper Cober valley. Moving further west, a few **coys* settlements lie between the valleys of Praze and Angarrack streams, with very few on the Penwith peninsula itself.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

The large majority of **coys* settlements (Table 6.14, Appendix A) are to be found in Medieval Farmland particularly in eastern Cornwall. A few examples of later HLC types, which may perhaps indicate woodland clearance and enclosure during and after the post-medieval period, can be seen in mid to western Cornwall and generally date from the 13th century and later.

Dates of first recording

The long history of the **coys* element dating from classical times is mirrored in early recordings across Cornwall, with settlements in most areas from the 12th century or earlier (Table 6.14, Appendix A). **Coys* is represented in nine Domesday vills across Cornwall, which indicates a widespread importance and status for woodland resources of the period. At the time of their recording in Domesday all show the final /*t*/ we have noted above in pre-1100 AD forms of **coys*, with those in western Cornwall assuming a final /*s*/ at a later stage. Beyond these early examples, the large majority of **coys* settlements everywhere date from the 13th century or later and the greatest share of those were initially recorded in the 14th century.

Combinations with other elements

Unlike the other topographical place-name elements considered so far, **coys* settlements do not combine primarily with other topographical names (Table 6.16, Appendix A). Instead we see a wide range of combinations throughout Cornwall, with the greatest diversity in eastern Cornwall: about two-thirds of elements are topographical including wood and water, and some habitative elements occur also. In mid Cornwall, by contrast, habitative elements in combination exceed overall topographical elements by about one third. In western Cornwall the picture is again different, with a nearly equal proportion of topographical with habitative elements in the south, although many fewer of the habitative type combine with **coys* settlements in the far west.

What can we surmise from such a diverse picture? It may be that areas where topographical combinations with **coys* predominate are showing an older pattern, particularly where they occur in conjunction with pre-1100 AD **coys* forms with final /*t*/ rather than final /*s*/. The reverse situation, where habitative elements occur in combination with later final /*s*/ forms, can also be seen, particularly in mid Cornwall. With these linguistic clues, it is possible that **coys* settlements combined with topographical elements denote those which were gradually being introduced into woodland, where habitative combinations might denote a later period when settlements had already been established in and around woods, and so were expanding their presence in the landscape.

Case study: Colquite

Colquite (Figures 6.25-6.29; first attested as *Chilcoit*, possibly from *chil*, 'neck, recess, retreat', or *kyl*, ‘nook’, with *coit*, or ‘wood’) was a substantial manor in 1086 AD (Chesher, 1967, 58): the Domesday entry (Thorn and Thorn, 1979, 5,3,23) records 20 acres of woodland, 40 acres of pasture and land for ten ploughs. The remains of the 15th century manor house (Figure 6.26) are some 200 yards southwest of the present, mainly 18th century house: both stand on land sloping gradually to the southeast before dipping steeply down into a wooded valley, just above a bend in the river Camel.

Colquite lies 5.6km north of Bodmin and 0.4km east of the Camelford road. It is located in the HLC Ornamental type with Medieval Farmland to its west, adjoining a large area of Deciduous Woodland to the south. The medieval settlement sat at a height of 105m on the edge of high ground (Figure 6.29), whilst the present-day manor (Figure 6.27) lies at 112m.

Unusually for some parts of Cornwall, the area around Colquite was still densely wooded in 1881 (Figure 6.28) and remains extensively wooded to this day. Colquite Wood is known separately from the estate and adjoins stands of woodland at Trescowe Brake, Pencarrow and Lower Helland. It may be that the access of the estate to the Camel river at only 0.6km distance, and the major north-south route linking to the Fowey river valley, has helped it to retain both its importance and conserve its woodland resource.

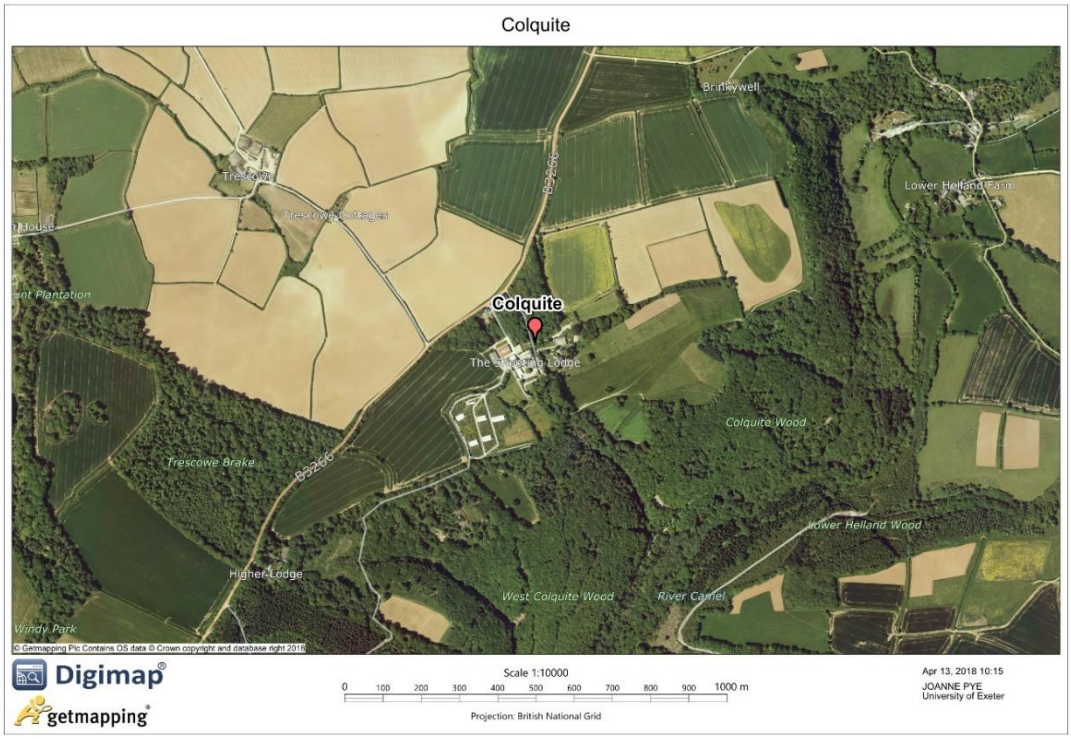


Figure 6.25 Colquite (Source: Aerial Digimap)

Figure 6.26 Landscape around Colquite (Source: author)

Figure 6.27 Present-day Colquite manor (Source: author)

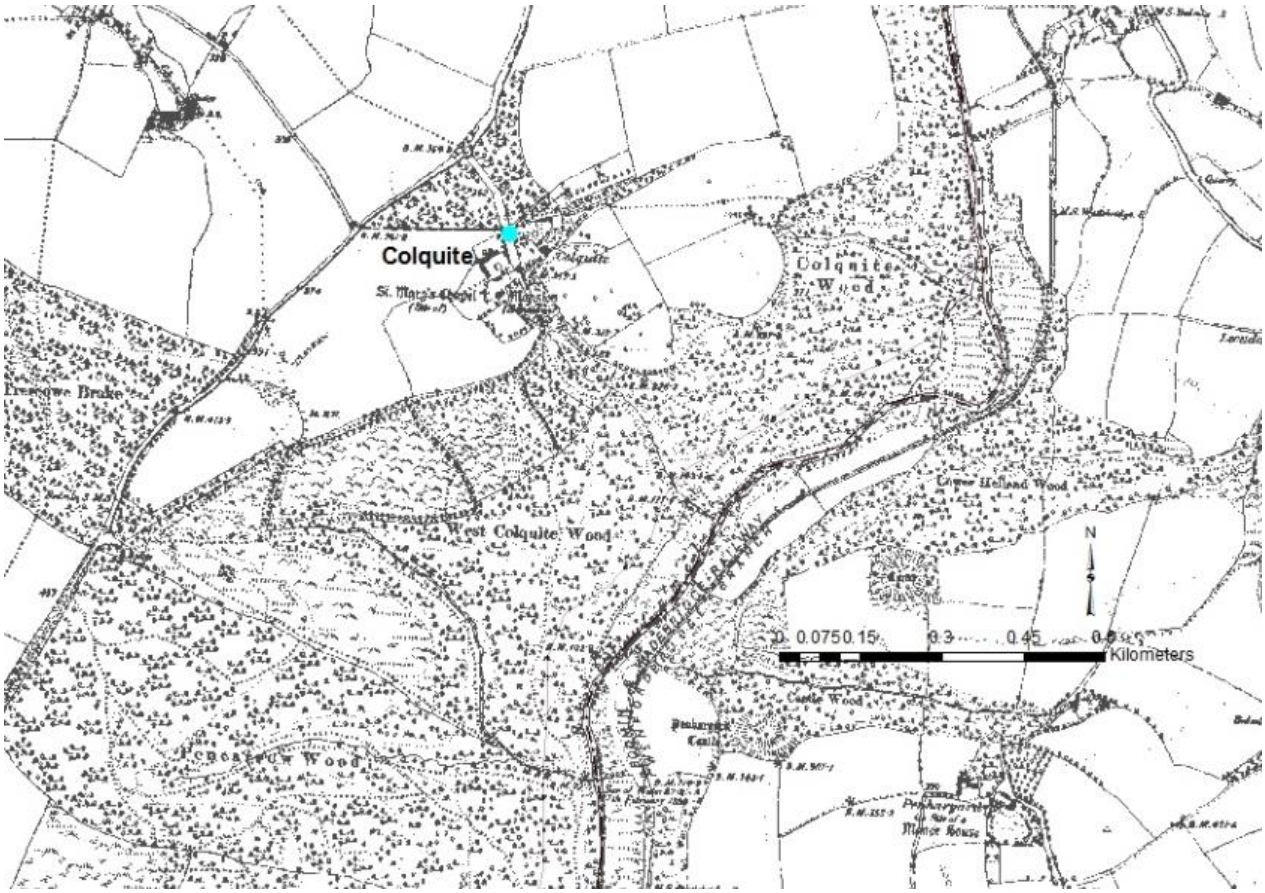


Figure 6.28 Colquite: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

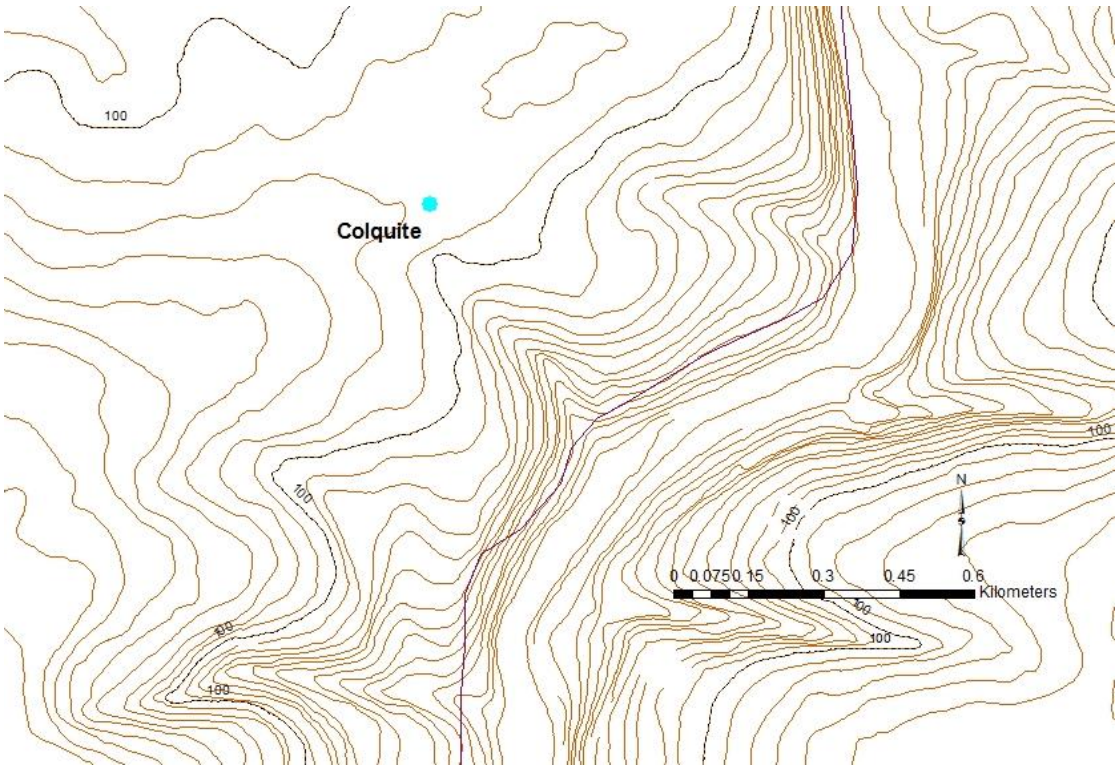


Figure 6.29 Landscape contours around Colquite (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

**Coys* settlements have a long history of use in Cornwall which dates from the early medieval throughout the rest of the medieval period. Despite sharing an ancient origin with **pen* and **pol* names, they show a distinctive, mainly inland distribution around the upper valleys of the major rivers flowing off the higher ground. **Coys* appear to refer to substantial woodland resources which remain in some parts of Cornwall to the present day, whose management and control could have afforded some status to the landholders. **Coys* settlements combine with both topographical and habitative place-name elements, and show an east-mid-west divide in their linguistic forms which helps to provide a useful chronology of when names were initially assigned.

6.2.5 **Kelli* place-name elements

Introduction

There are 83 place-names with the element **kelli* in the Cornish place-name dataset of medieval settlements (Figure 6.30), which appears in various guises in Cornish place-names as a prefix, a suffix, or uncombined in simplex form. Padel (1985, 47) considers that it refers to a 'grove' or 'small wood' compared to more extensive woodland in **coys*. As with other topographical elements considered above, the element **kelli* dates to the Common Brittonic period and even earlier. In **kelli*, an early Indo-European form originally with medial /*ld*/ became /*ll*/ in all the Celtic languages (Jackson, 1953, 432). Rivet and Smith (1979, 291) refer to the Romano-British *Calleva* (Silchester in Hampshire), which appears in Ptolemy, the *Antonine Itinerary* and the *Ravenna Cosmography*, and derives from an ancient stem **calli* < **caldi* present in Gaulish examples (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 291). Related counterparts of **kelli* for 'wood' appear not only in Welsh as **celli* but in Irish as **coill* or **caill*, present-day **kil*, with the parallel Old Cornish and Old Breton forms (Jackson, 1953, 432) **kelli* and **celli* respectively.

As a suffix the **kelli* form often undergoes mutation to **gelli*, and can also be found as **gelly* or **kelly* when a simplex element. In prefix form it tends to retain the **kell* or **kil* form without mutation; other vowel combinations may also occur. There is no strong east-mid-west divide apparent in its linguistic form as with **coys: *kelli* occurs relatively evenly in each hundred except for southerly mid Cornwall, again with twice the number of examples as elsewhere. It is slightly less well represented along the north coast, which supports the early medieval woodland distribution proposed in the *Domesday Geography*.

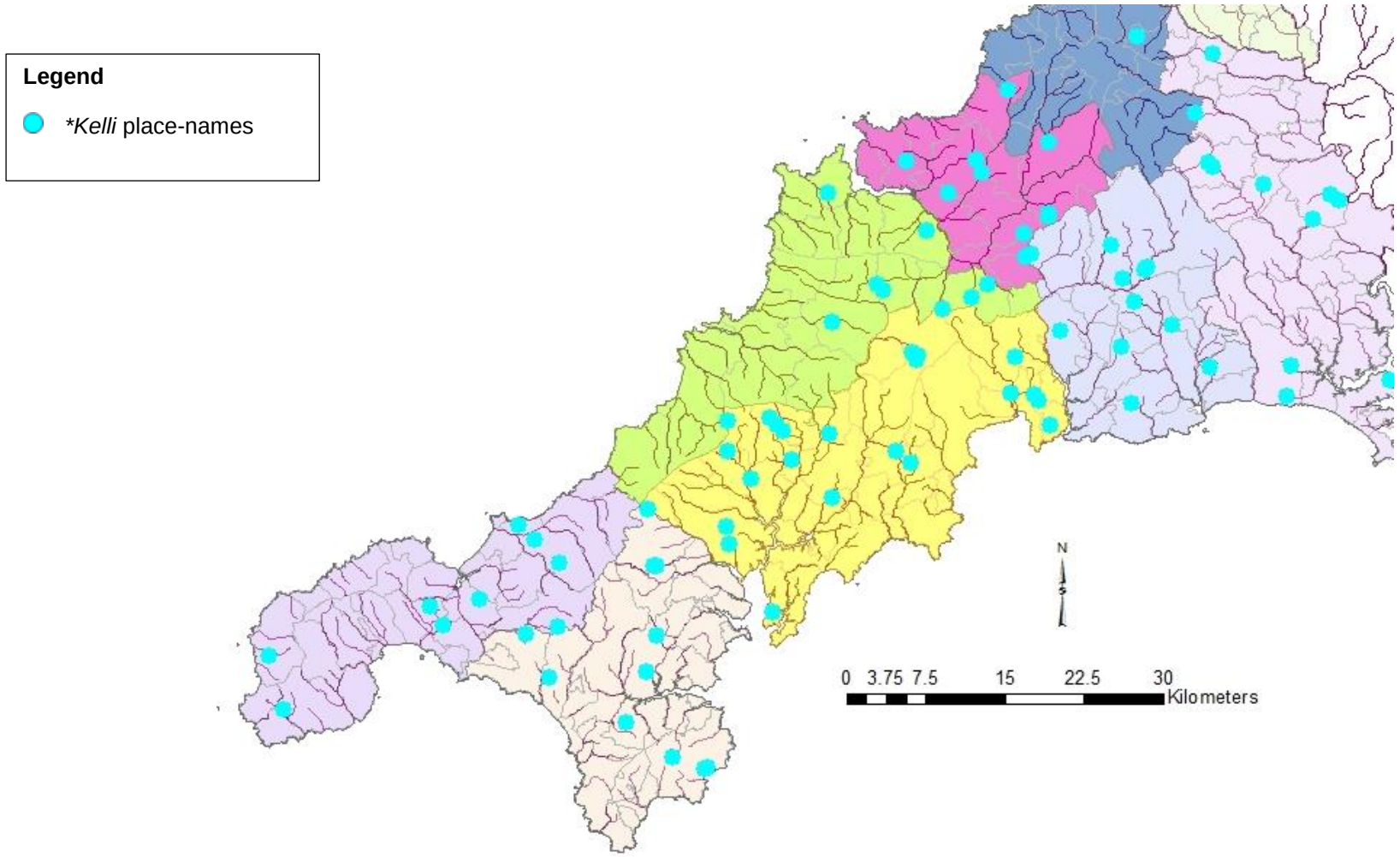


Figure 6.30 *Kelli *place-names across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Landscape position

The position in the landscape of **kelli* place-name elements has been compared with **coys* and with *tre* settlements to determine whether **kelli* shows its own distribution for woodland habitations (Table 6.17, Appendix A), which might be expected as a distinctive landscape class (see Discussion, section 7.2.6). An intriguingly mixed picture can be seen across Cornwall: base of slope positions for **kelli* settlements predominate in eastern and mid Cornwall, which in northern mid Cornwall nearly matches the distribution of **coys*. To the south of Bodmin Moor, however, edge of high ground positions for **kelli*s are more prevalent and contrast with **coys* settlements which prefer the mid slope. The majority of **kelli* settlements on the eastern side of the Camel valley and in western Cornwall also favour edge of high ground positions, and are similar to **coys* settlements in both places. Although **kelli* settlements like **coys* are found on the flanks of the inland moors, they can also occupy hilltop positions in lower-lying mid Cornwall.

The largest sample of **kelli*s in southerly mid Cornwall tend to occupy mid slope positions, rather than **coys* which favour the edge of high ground. In far western Cornwall there is no overall preference for **kelli* settlements, unlike the few **coys* on the edge of high ground. There appears to be a general tendency for **kelli* settlements to follow **tre* positions in western Cornwall only.

Elevation

**Kelli* settlements show some differences from **coys* in their elevation and match the contours of the Cornish landscape (Table 6.18, Appendix A). In eastern Cornwall up to the Camel-Fowey river valleys, more than two-thirds of **kelli*s are found at contours greater than 100m, with at least half at heights exceeding 150m. In mid and western Cornwall the position is reversed: as with **coys*, **kelli*s lie at much lower contours. Nearly two-thirds of **kelli* settlements in mid Cornwall and over 70% in western Cornwall appear at levels under the 100m contour.

Proximity to waterways

Like **coys* settlements, **kelli*s are also likely to be sited near river valleys and show a similar affinity for water (Table 6.19, Appendix A). All **kelli* settlements are located within 2km of rivers in most parts of Cornwall, with exceptions in the far southeast, in southern mid Cornwall and to the east of the Camel estuary. Bearing in mind the small samples, only four **kelli* settlements in total are beyond a 1km distance from rivers, with only one not near the coast.

Dispersion and intensity

**Kelli*s are relatively evenly distributed throughout Cornwall (Figure 6.30) with approximately ten settlements in each hundred except for mid southern Cornwall, which has 24 **kelli*s, most of which are located inland in the Fal river network. Other groupings of **kelli* settlements occur to the east of the Camel and Fowey river valleys. **Kelli* settlements become more dispersed in western Cornwall although still riverine, with two examples near the coast in the far west.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

There is a certain amount of divergence to be noted across HLC types (Table 6.18, Appendix A) at either end of Cornwall. In the far east and far west **kelli* settlements appear in landscape characterised as Post Medieval, overlying earlier types. By contrast, **kelli*s in most of the rest of Cornwall lie almost entirely in Medieval Farmland, apart from a few later Ornamental types in southern mid Cornwall.

Dates of first recording

**Kelli* names have been first attested over a long period (Table 6.18, Appendix A). Date analysis shows early recordings for **kelli* settlements during or before the 12th century across much of Cornwall. Domesday vills in **kelli* occur at both ends of the Duchy. In mid and western Cornwall **kelli*s appear from the 13th century onwards and those to the north of Bodmin Moor from the 14th century.

Interestingly, **kelli* settlements continued to be initially recorded into the 15th century and later in most parts of Cornwall.

Combinations with other elements

In contrast to **coys, *kelli* settlements align with the usual pattern of topographical place-names by combining primarily with other topographical elements (Table 6.20, Appendix A). Across Cornwall, at least half of **kelli*s combine with topographical, wood and water elements. By contrast, over 30% of habitative elements in combination with **kelli* occur in the far east and west, with over 20% either side of the Camel estuary. Also in western Cornwall, about 30% of **kelli*s combine with specifically 'wood' or 'tree' names, and over 20% in mid Cornwall and to the east of the Fowey river. Overall southerly mid and western Cornwall show the widest variety of combinations of **kelli* with different elements.

The main difference between **kelli* and **coys* place-names appears to be the relatively large proportion of groves that are named with 'wood' names. The close identification of **kelli*s with specific types of trees or plants suggests that they were less extensive in size than the mixed woodland denoted by **coys.*

Case study: Killigrew

The place-name 'Killigrew' (Figures 6.31-6.34) is thought to derive from **kelli* or 'small grove' and **crew*, for 'weir', and was first recorded in 1284 AD in the form 'Kellygruw'. It is conceivable that the qualifying element could instead be **gruah*, or 'witch', as the settlement is not close to a major watercourse. Two more examples ('Killiserth' and 'Pengelly') occur within 2km southeast of Killigrew. The majority of **kelli* place-names in western Cornwall suggests a wider distribution of groves in medieval times; there are few small patches of woodland in the area today.

The medieval settlement of Killigrew is located at 0.47km from the medieval house and chapel of Killigrew, occupied by the family of the same name until the late 14th century, according to Henderson (1955-60, 175). A manor house is also nearby which was 'dismembered' in the 17th century (Henderson, 1955-60, 151-2), from which the settlement is 0.8km distant. The medieval house lies 0.4km from the manor house in a field known as 'Castle Close' (Henderson, 1955-60, 175). Killigrew settlement (Figure 6.32) sits at the head of a gently sloping east-facing valley at a height of 80m below a steep hilltop to the south, and between two streams running roughly north-south, at 0.89km from the east and 1.2km on the west (Figure 6.34).

The archaeological landscape around Killigrew was surveyed in 1996 (Preston-Jones and Jones, 1997) when repairing Killigrew barrow, at 1.2km from the medieval settlement in the former moorland of Newlyn Downs (Preston-Jones and Jones, 1997, 5). In this area *'þa ealdan stræt*' (or 'old road'; Hooke, 1994, 28-31) of the A30 runs close to the medieval administrative boundary between Pydar and Powder hundreds across what was an important rough ground resource (Padel, 2011, 75) in medieval times. It linked roadside markets travelling west from the *Langchepyng*, or 'long market' (also known as Penhale Fair; section 6.2.1) at Summercourt (Padel, 2011, 76). The location of Killigrew suggests that it was well placed to capitalise on medieval trade routes (Figure 6.34), whilst the shifting position of its components illustrates the fluidity of

settlement nuclei over the medieval period. Indications are that the grove it is named for would not have been an extensive resource.

Figure 6.31 Killigrew (Source: Aerial Digimap)

Figure 6.32 Killigrew Farm lane (Source: author)

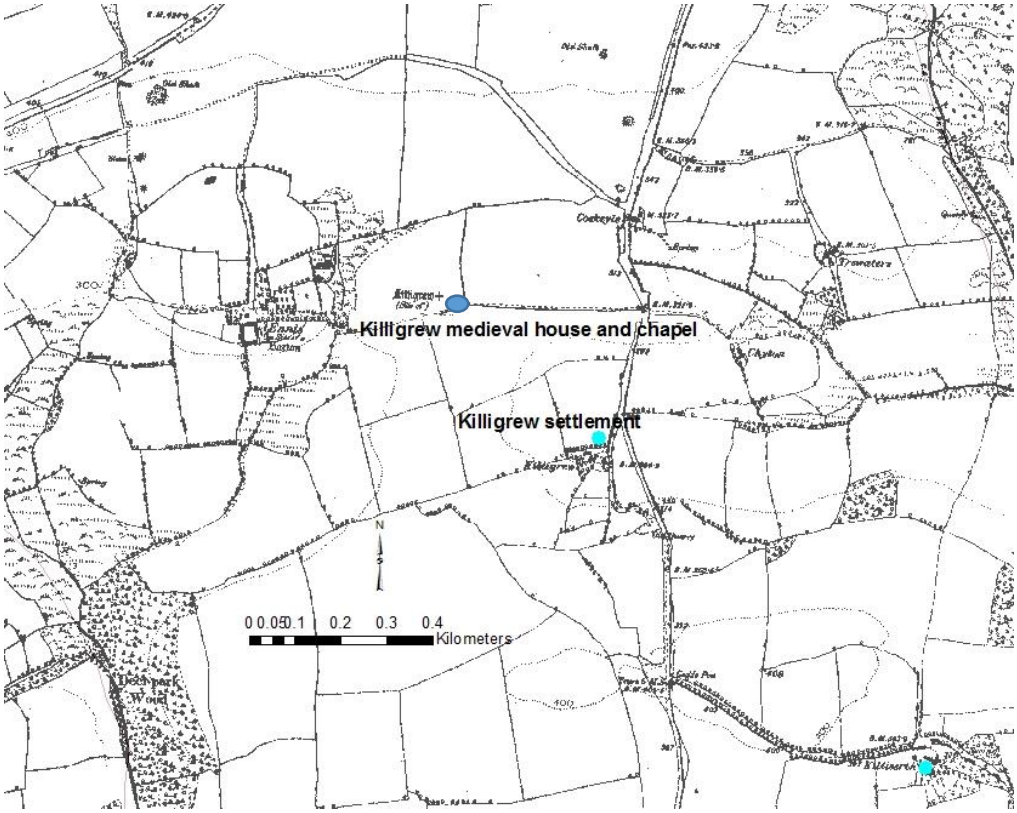


Figure 6.33 Killigrew: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

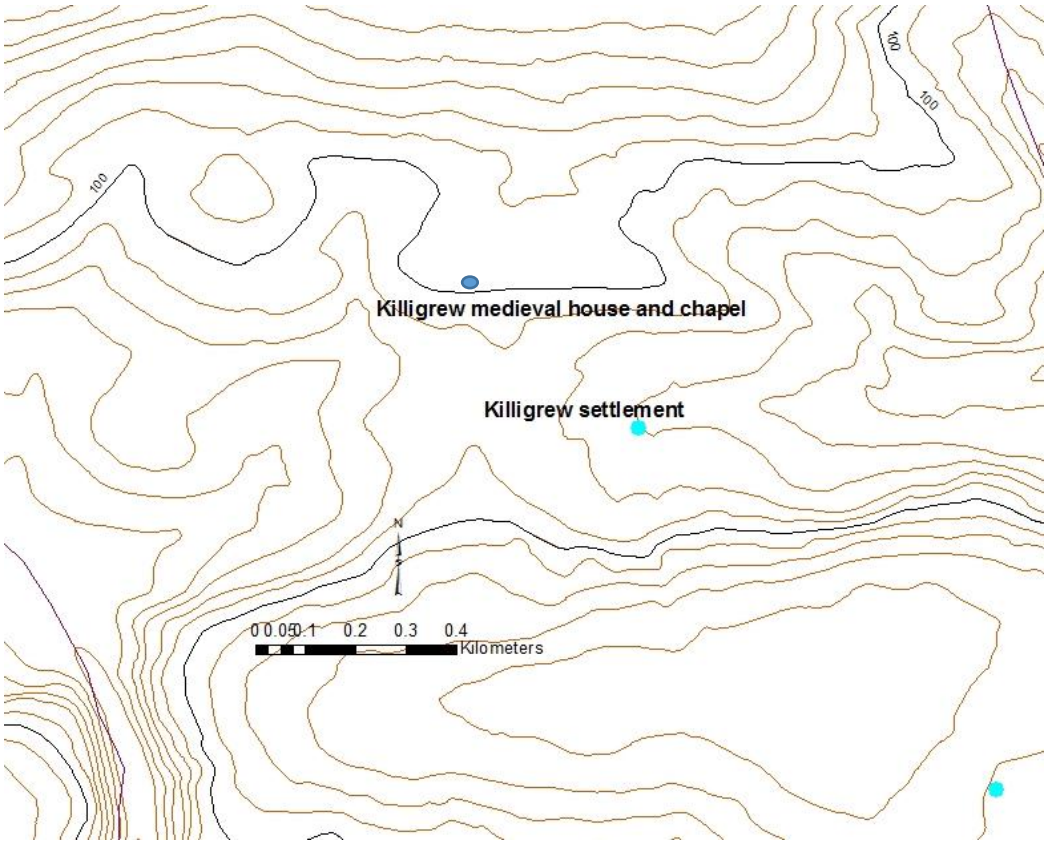


Figure 6.34 Landscape contours around Killigrew (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

**Kelli* settlements refer to smaller stands of woodland or groves and, like **coys*, have been documented as place-name elements in the Celtic languages since ancient times. They show distinctive patterning compared with **coys* with their positions in the landscape, proximity to water and elevations, ranging from base of slope positions in eastern Cornwall that are nevertheless sited on higher contours to edge of high ground and hilltop positions further west. It is also notable that in their combinations with other place-names elements they show a greater percentage than **coys* with topographical connotations, especially with specific wood, tree and plant elements which **coys* place-names do not share. The smaller groves associated with **kelli* settlements are not now as evident as in medieval Cornwall.

6.2.6 **Gwyth* place-name elements

Introduction

The place-name element **gwyth*, or 'trees' (Figure 6.35), occurs in 58 names in the Cornish place-names dataset. If we assume that **kelli* or 'grove' represents a more limited expanse of woodland than **coys*, **gwyth* may denote smaller groups of individual trees whose extent is too limited for a grove. Unlike other woodland terms we have reviewed above, **gwyth* does not appear within the Romano-British itineraries. Nevertheless, Jackson (1953, 404-5) traces the Indo-European antecedents of the final consonants to the form /*kt*/, which passed through a stage of palatalisation as /*Xt*/ in the Common Celtic languages before arriving in its final position of /*th*/ preceded by a long diphthong. Thus the Brittonic form with the palatal /*X*/ led on to the Welsh **gwaith* and Old Cornish **gueid*, later becoming **gweth* or **gwyth* in Cornish and **gwez* in Modern Breton.

In Cornish place-names **gwyth* appears in almost every example as the second element of a name, and in this position has often lenited and lost its initial /*g*/ to combine with other elements as **wyth*. Occasional variants in spelling of *gw* as

qu can be seen, whether as a vestige of the palatal /*X*/ or by analogy with some **coys* forms. As **wyth*, the element often also occurs as a medial form and attracts a further adjectival suffix such as **an*, **ian* or **iel*, denoting 'many'. Included in the examples analysed is the name **gwythel*, or 'thicket'. Padel (1985, 121-2) notes its use in the species name **collwyth*, or 'hazel-trees', and also **glynn-wyth*, or 'valley-trees'.

Landscape position

The **gwyth* place-name element shows some similarities in its landscape positions compared with **coys* settlements across Cornwall (Table 6.21, Appendix A). In eastern Cornwall **gwyth*s can be found either at the edge of high ground or midway down hillslopes, and at the edge of high ground in mid southern and western Cornwall. There is good agreement between **gwyth* and **coys* settlement locations in less wooded areas of mid northern and western Cornwall, which show unusual base of slope positions and a strong preference for edge of high ground respectively. In the far west **gwyth*s tend to lie either mid slope or at the base of slope and do not follow either **coys* or **tre* settlements.

Elevation

Like **coys* settlements, **gwyth*s conform with the gradually declining elevations moving west across eastern and mid Cornwall (Table 6.22, Appendix A). In eastern Cornwall most lie between 100m and 200m, but to the south of Bodmin Moor there is a sharper split between under 100m and above 150m. In the rest of Cornwall **gwyth* settlements are less elevated, with two-thirds of those east of the Camel valley under 100m, compared with one-third of **coys*. In western Cornwall, most **gwyth* settlements are not as low as **coys* settlements, but in the far west **coys* settlements are markedly lower than its **gwyth*s.

Proximity to waterways

Almost all the **gwyth* settlements are situated within 1km of waterways (Table 6.23, Appendix A), although apparently not quite as regularly as for **coys* settlements.

Distribution and intensity

**Gwyth* place-names appear across Cornwall in similar areas to **coys* settlements but are generally sparser in eastern Cornwall. Their distribution is fairly regular and not dissimilar to that of **kelli*s. **Gwyth*s are more numerous in the areas bordering eastern and mid Cornwall on both the northern and southern sides.

As would be expected from the distributions of both **coys* and **kelli*s, there are roughly twice as many in southerly mid Cornwall than elsewhere. Unusually, however, there are more **gwyth*s in western than in mid Cornwall, which may refer to less extensive stands of woodland in this area. They are well spaced across the northern half of western Cornwall and appear to run across the head of the Lizard peninsula, which also roughly corresponds with the edge of the Carnmenellis granite. Very few are found in the far west.

Historic Landscape Characterisation types

Nearly all the **gwyth* settlements across Cornwall lie in the Medieval Farmland HLC type (Table 6.22, Appendix A), with several examples also of modern types throughout Cornwall. In mid Cornwall HLC types become more diverse, and either side of the Camel estuary appear in Upland Rough Ground. In the far west two **gwyth* settlements are located in farmland with prehistoric origins.

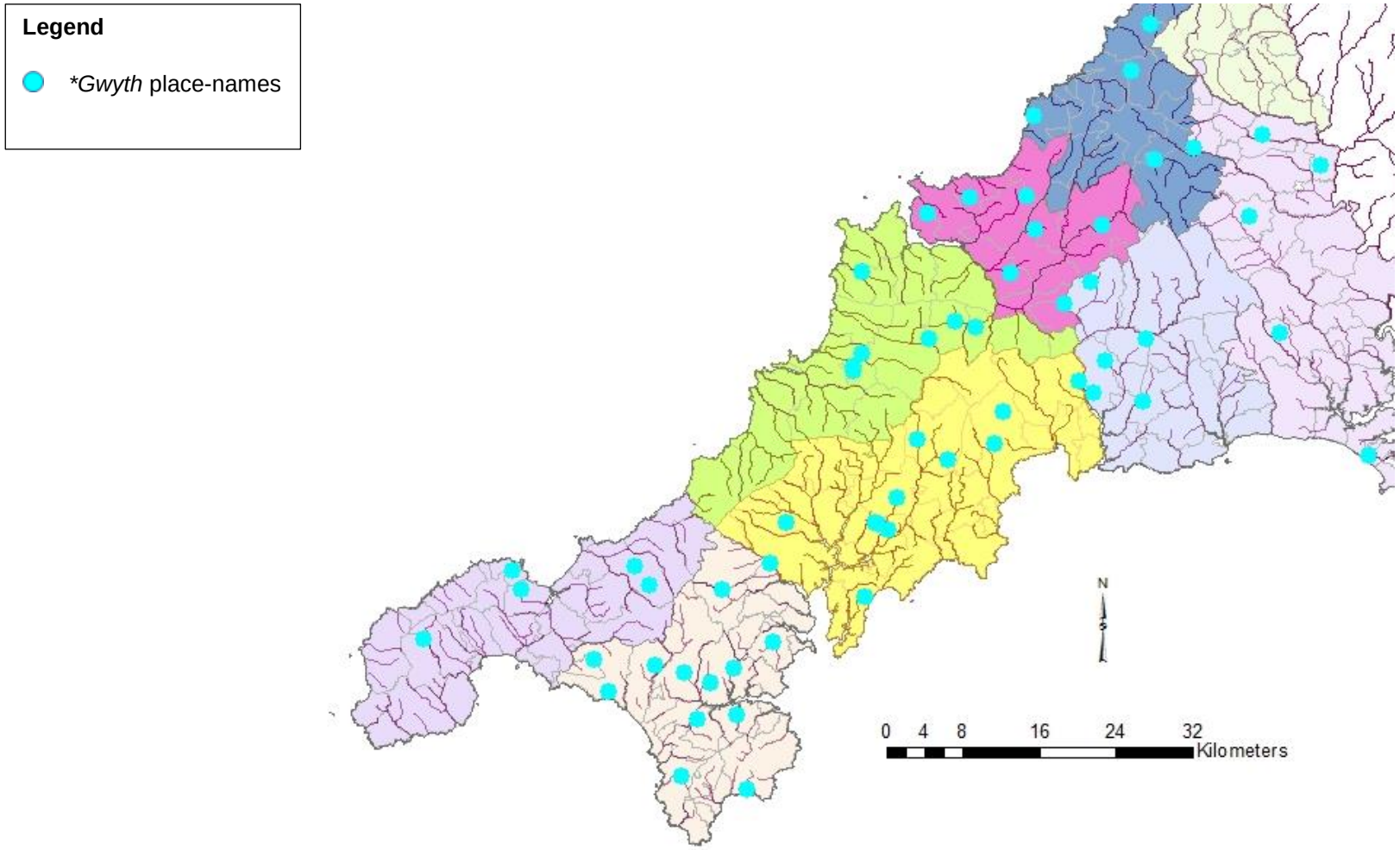


Figure 6.35 *Gwyth *place-names across Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Dates of first recording

**Gwyth* settlements are first recorded from the 10th century (Table 6.22, Appendix A) at a Domesday vill close to the Devon border on the upper Tamar. Other **gwyth* settlements as Domesday vills are recorded in eastern and mid Cornwall, with another early example from the 12th century. Although there are several undated settlements from eastern and mid Cornwall, the remainder of **gwyth*s in western Cornwall were first attested in the 13th century and later. The element continued to be used for initial recordings of settlements up to the 16th century in western Cornwall.

Combinations with other elements

**Gwyth* settlements show less diversity across types of combining element than with **coys (*Table 6.24, Appendix A), but most also combine with habitative, rather than topographical, elements. In eastern Cornwall only one-third of combinations are topographical and the remainder habitative, with no other types of element. The trend is even more pronounced to the north and west of Bodmin Moor, with almost all **gwyth* settlements combined with habitative elements. South of Bodmin Moor only one-third of combinations is habitative and the remainder topographical, including wood and water elements.

Combinations continue to be mixed in mid and western Cornwall where about three-quarters of **gwyth* combinations are habitative, not entirely similar to **coys* combinations. In northern mid Cornwall over half the combinations are topographical; in the far west, over half the combinations are habitative and the rest topographical (see Discussion, section 7.2.6).

Case study: Gloweth

The place-name Gloweth (Figures 6.36-6.39) was first recorded as 'Gleuweth' in 1325 AD where, according to the Historic Environment Record, the element **gwyth* refers to 'trees' and **glow* means 'bright'. Most examples of **gwyth* place-names date from the 13th century and later. 62% (36 out of 58) of the medieval settlements named in **gwyth* occur in western Cornwall, although this is not the most wooded part of the Duchy. Analysis of charcoal from Gloweth indicates the presence of oak, hazel, birch, willow or poplar, and the hawthorn and broom families (Jones, 2015, 238).

The medieval settlement of Gloweth lay at the head of a narrow cleft, midway down a steep south-east facing hillslope on the southern side of a hilltop at 80m (Figure 6.39). Gloweth is between the Tinney and Kenwyn rivers which join at Truro at a distance of 1.2km from each, overlooking the Tinney valley to the south. When surveyed, some features related to old field boundaries of later medieval and post-medieval date (Jones, 2015, 233) which are suggestive of fossilised medieval strip fields. Pottery was found in several pits which dated to the 6th and 7th centuries and charcoal recovered from an undated structure containing postholes (Jones, 2015, 237-8).

Gloweth lies on the border between HLC types Post Medieval and 20th Century Settlement in an area to the west of Truro that in recent years has been subject to mixed development. New housing plans over several stages for the site triggered several archaeological investigations by contractors (Smalley, 2007; Gater, 2008; Jones, 2015). The development site adjoins what was the medieval settlement of Lower Besore to the east, to the south of what is now the main A390 road corridor which is undergoing rapid modernisation (Figure 6.37). The medieval origins of the settlement at Gloweth will soon be remembered only by its place-name as it is absorbed into the greater Truro urban area.

Figure 6.36 Gloweth (Source: Aerial Roam)

Figure 6.37 Gloweth landscape context (Source: author)

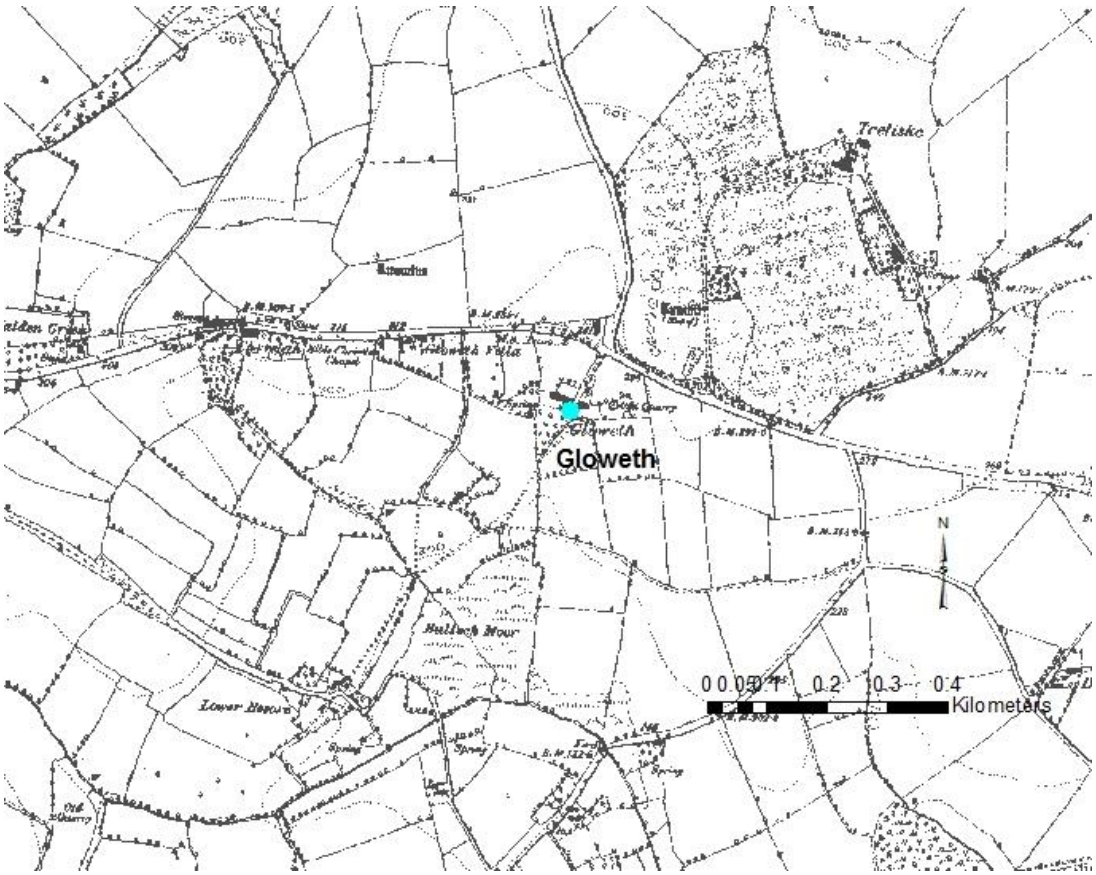


Figure 6.38 Gloweth: Ordnance Survey 1st series map, 1881 (Source: Historic Digimap)

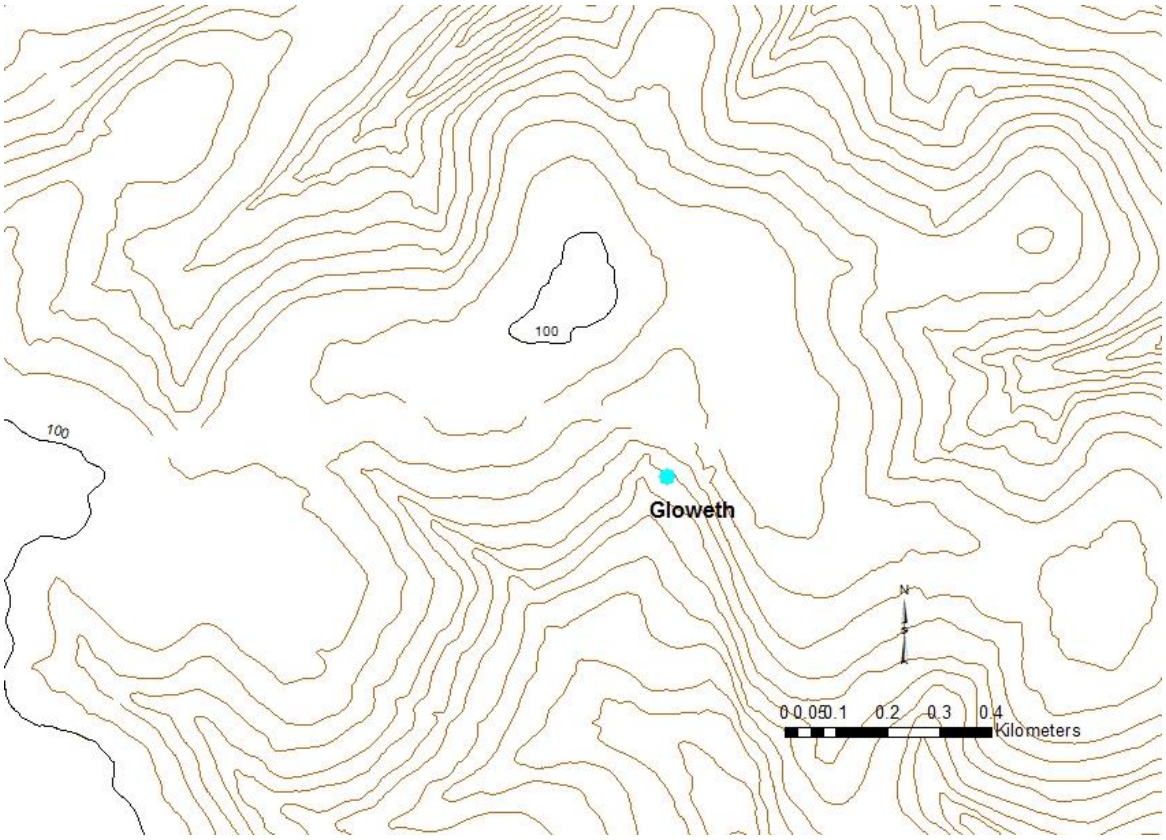


Figure 6.39 Landscape contours around Gloweth (Source: OS Landform data)

Summary

Like **kelli*s, **gwyth* elements show some similarities with **coys* settlements but also interesting differences. Their landscape distribution appears as a blend of **coys* and **tre* positions, which is also suggested by their preferred combinations with habitative place-name elements. Divergence in their dates of first recording may reflect their resurgence in naming practice in the later medieval period following a decline of status after Domesday, particularly in western Cornwall. They are not as strongly associated with river valleys as **coys* elements although they do reflect the contours of the Cornish landscape.

6.3 Topographical summary

We have seen from the analysis above that topographical place-name elements show distinctive patterns which reflect the distribution of the landscape features they denote. The elements selected have been used since ancient times in western Europe and Celtic-speaking areas on its fringe. They relate both to aspects of the underlying landscape, such as high ground and watercourses, as well as the natural environment represented by woodland of various extents.

The topographical elements have been in use for long periods and their changing linguistic forms give us clues as to their antiquity. Each also carries an individual signature through their preferred combinations with other elements. In the case of the names above, we have seen that in most cases they are more likely to combine with topographical elements than with habitative names. In some instances we even see detail such as types of woodland, and the use of colour and animal combinations to qualify water elements. Habitative elements that we have reviewed above tend not to combine with topographical elements to anything like the same extent, nor with similar sub-classes.

We now turn to discuss how habitative and topographical place-name elements respond to the research questions in the Introduction and relate to the broader context of place-name and landscape studies.

7 DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

The foregoing chapters have described the landscape locations of representative samples of low and high status habitative and topographical place-name elements, together with case studies of their landscape contexts. In the discussion which follows we will consider how place-names contribute to our understanding of Cornish settlement patterns during the medieval period. To do so, we will revisit the research questions which we posed in the Introduction and review the insights that arise from place-name distribution.

7.2 Research questions

7.2.1 Do place-names reflect an expansion of settlement from lowlands to uplands?

The major areas of rough ground of Cornwall remain today as in the medieval period: Bodmin Moor, the Lizard peninsula, Carnmenellis and the Penwith moors (Young, 2007, 15), with smaller areas in the Hensbarrow granites to the northwest of St Austell and St Breock Downs (Figure 7.1). Although permanent medieval settlements are not thought to have been established on the highest ground in eastern Cornwall until the later medieval period, over the centuries moorland and downland have provided an extensive rough ground resource for seasonal pasturing of animals as part of a mixed farming regime (section 4.3.3).

The respective land quality of the uplands and rough ground areas of Cornwall are shown in relation to modern agricultural land classification types in Figure 7.2. Herring et al (2011b, 289) consider that about one-third of medieval Cornwall comprised rough ground, although not all would have lain in the uplands over 100m (Figure 7.3).

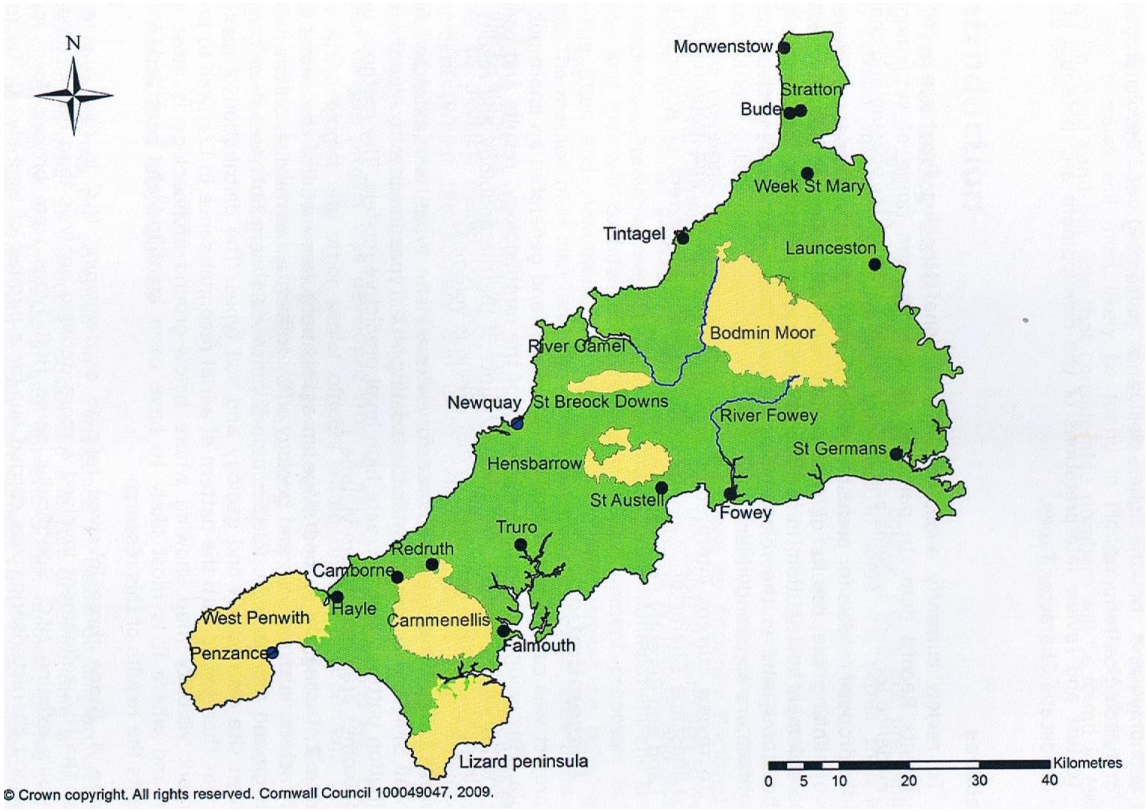


Figure 7.1 Upland rough ground in Cornwall (areas in yellow) (Source: Young, 2015, 7, Fig 1)

In the western half of Cornwall, much of the southern Lizard peninsula and the downlands in central mid Cornwall would have been classed as rough ground although mainly under the 100m contour, as denoted by place-names in **goon*, **hal* and **ros* denoting 'downland' or 'moorland' (Padel, 2011, 81). Most of the rest of lowland Cornwall, with early medieval origins in 'convertible husbandry' (Herring, 2006, 44; 2016, 204) – where land was worked and rested on a rotation basis – was then as now subject to a mixed farming regime (Young, 2007, 15).

Whether in Cornish or English, most place-names in Cornwall referring to medieval settlements whenever first used were initially recorded during the 13th century and after, reaching a peak in the 14th century (section 4.3.2; Table 7.1, Appendix A). Place-names in both Cornish and English appear on elevated Bodmin Moor (Figure 7.4), proposed by Johnson and Rose to indicate colonisation of higher ground in the later medieval period by English speakers (1994, 79). Johnson and Rose suggest that an absence of habitative place-

names in **tre* and **bod* on Bodmin Moor may show that their use had fallen out of favour by the later medieval period, although other Cornish names on the Moor may represent survivals of earlier practice.

Clusters of English names make inroads into the overall corpus of place-names in later medieval Cornwall, and may indicate genuinely later settlement which was named closer in time to its establishment. Of the 1002 English names in the place-name dataset of 5138 names, only 87 or 9% were initially recorded prior to the 13th century. The respective distributions of English place-names in relation to higher contours above 150m in eastern (Figure 7.5a) and western Cornwall (Figure 7.5b) from the 13th century onwards show a sharp contrast in naming practice by this period, with Cornish still the prevalent language for naming purposes in the west. This differentiation is suggestive of wide scale English language adoption in eastern Cornwall by the 13th century, although pockets of Cornish speakers would probably have survived (Wakelin, 1975, 95).

We can see from Table 7.1 (Appendix A) that the 91% of English place-names recorded from the 13th century and later agree with timings for initial recording of most habitative Cornish place-names. Nevertheless, we need to bear in mind that date of first attestation in the medieval period does not necessarily tell us when a settlement was established, how long it may have had a form of place-name, nor if a medieval recording date represents settlement expansion into more marginal ground. We can note that **tre* and **bod* place-name elements continued to be first attested throughout the medieval period, although Padel (1985, 228) refers to later examples where **tre* replaced an earlier element as 'false **tre*s'. Combinations of the **tre* place-name element with variants of the qualifier **neweth*, or 'new', appear throughout Cornwall, almost all from the 13th century onwards and with **tre* as original element (Table 4.6, Appendix A); just over half of cases lie on contours over 100m (Figure 7.6).

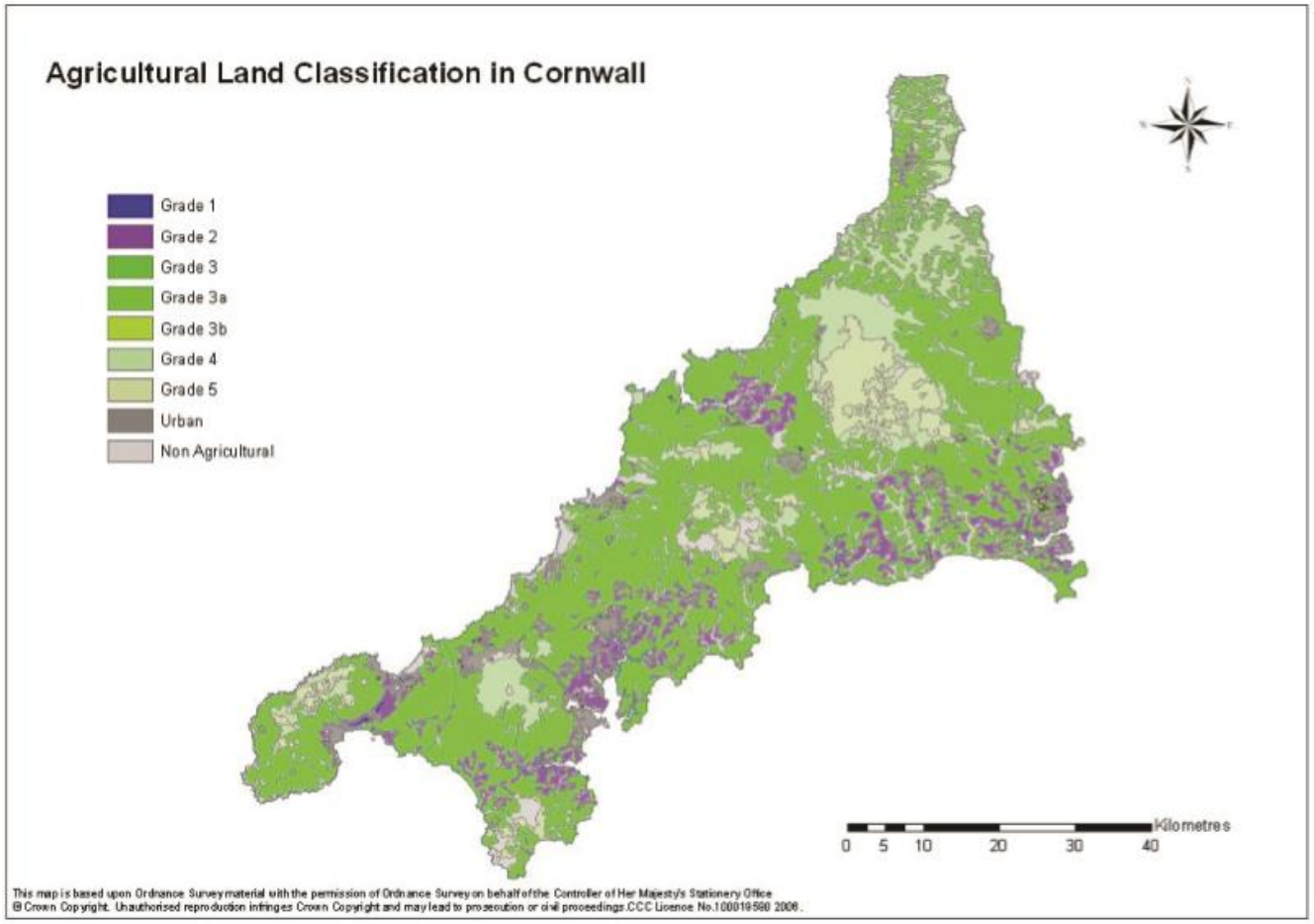


Figure 7.2 Modern Agricultural Land Classification areas in Cornwall, with uplands and rough ground areas shown as 'non-agricultural' (Source: Young, 2007, 18, Fig 3)

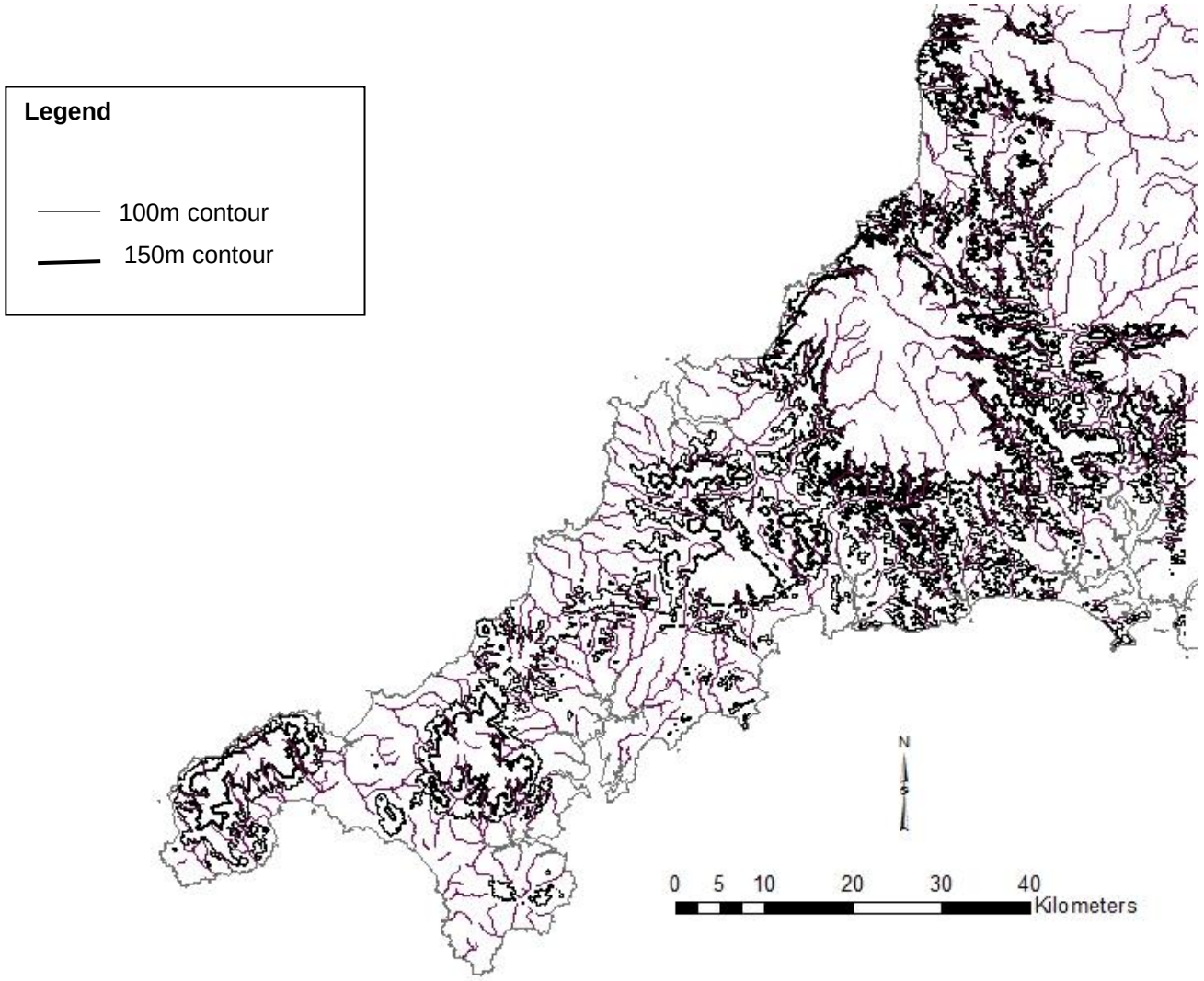


Figure 7.3 Land over 100m and 150m in Cornwall (Source: author's database)

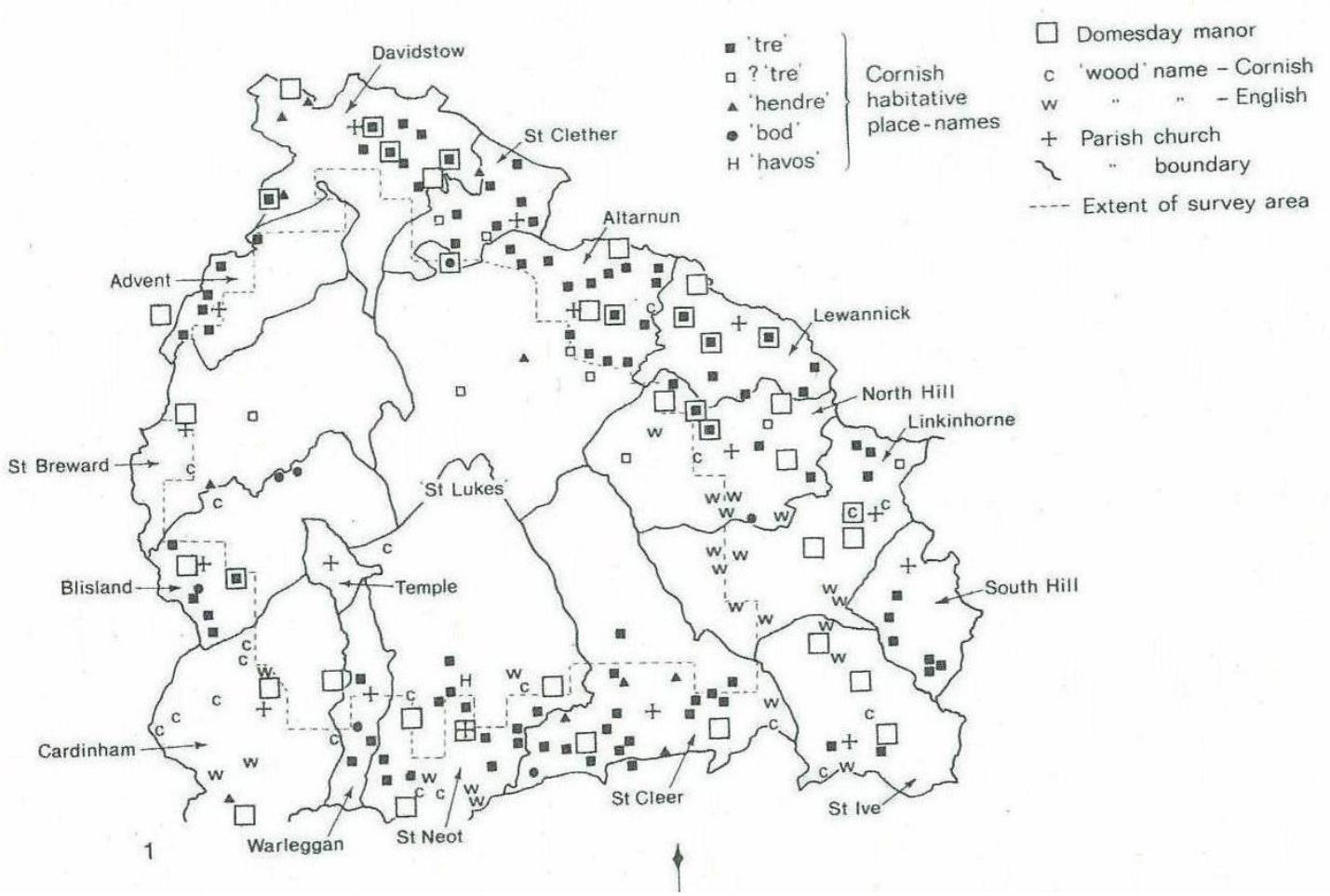


Figure 7.4 Cornish and English place-name elements with settlement patterns on Bodmin Moor (Source: Johnson and Rose, 1994, 78, Fig 51)

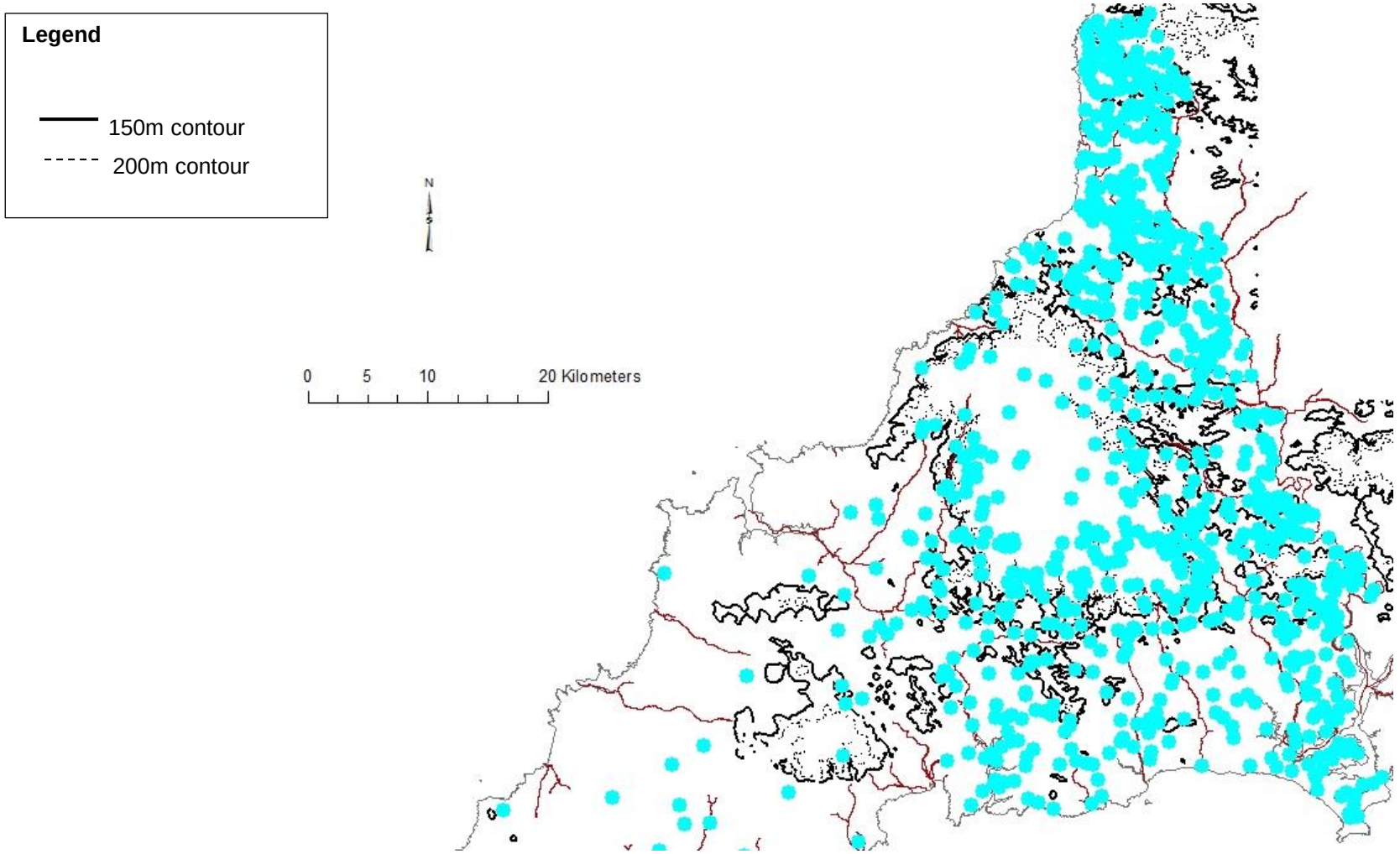


Figure 7.5a Distributions of English place-names first recorded from the 13th century onwards in relation to 150m and 200m contours, showing prevalence of English in eastern Cornwall (Source: author's database)

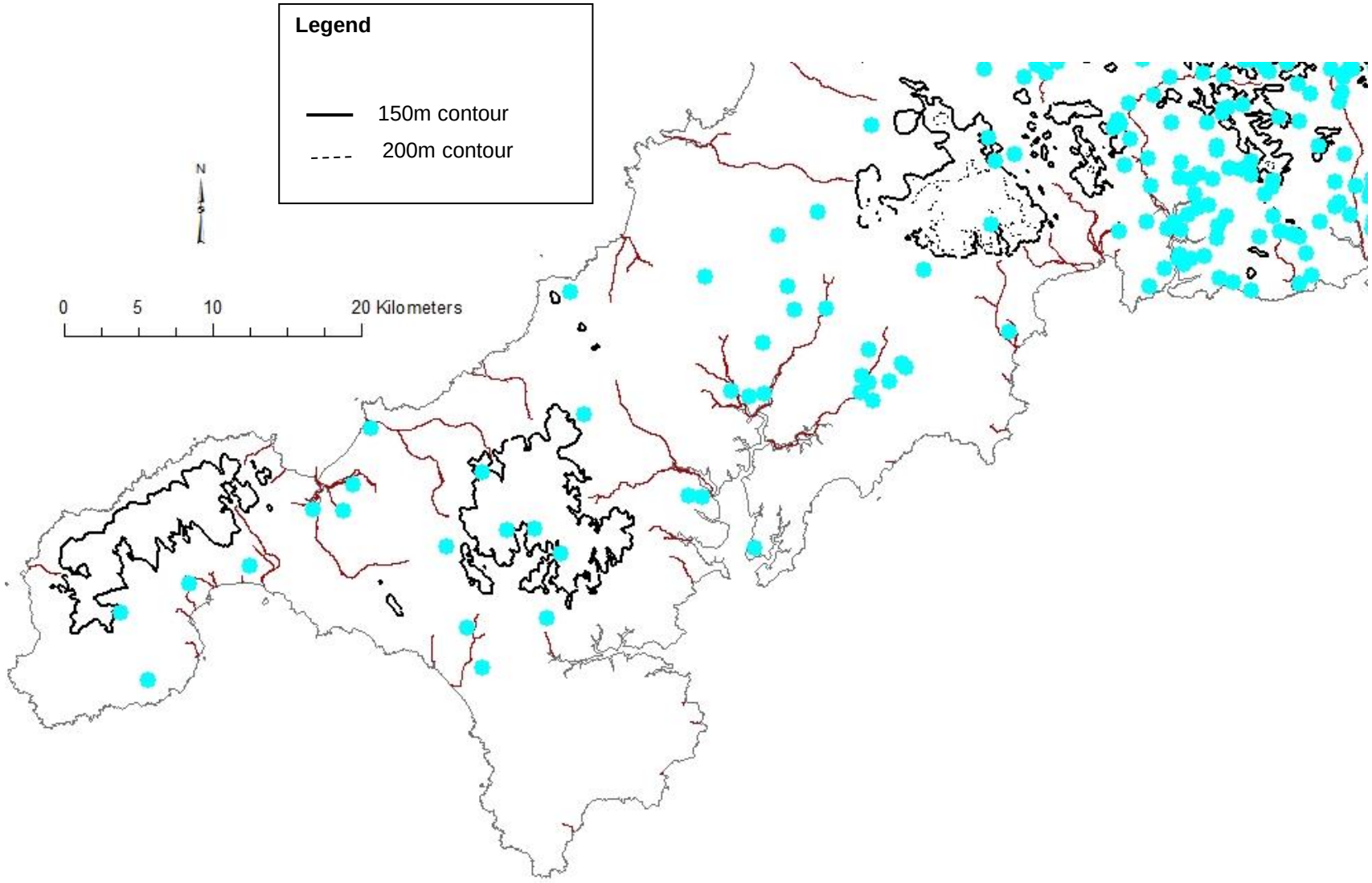


Figure 7.5b Distributions of English place-names first recorded from the 13th century onwards in relation to 150m and 200m contours, showing preference for Cornish in western Cornwall (Source: author's database)

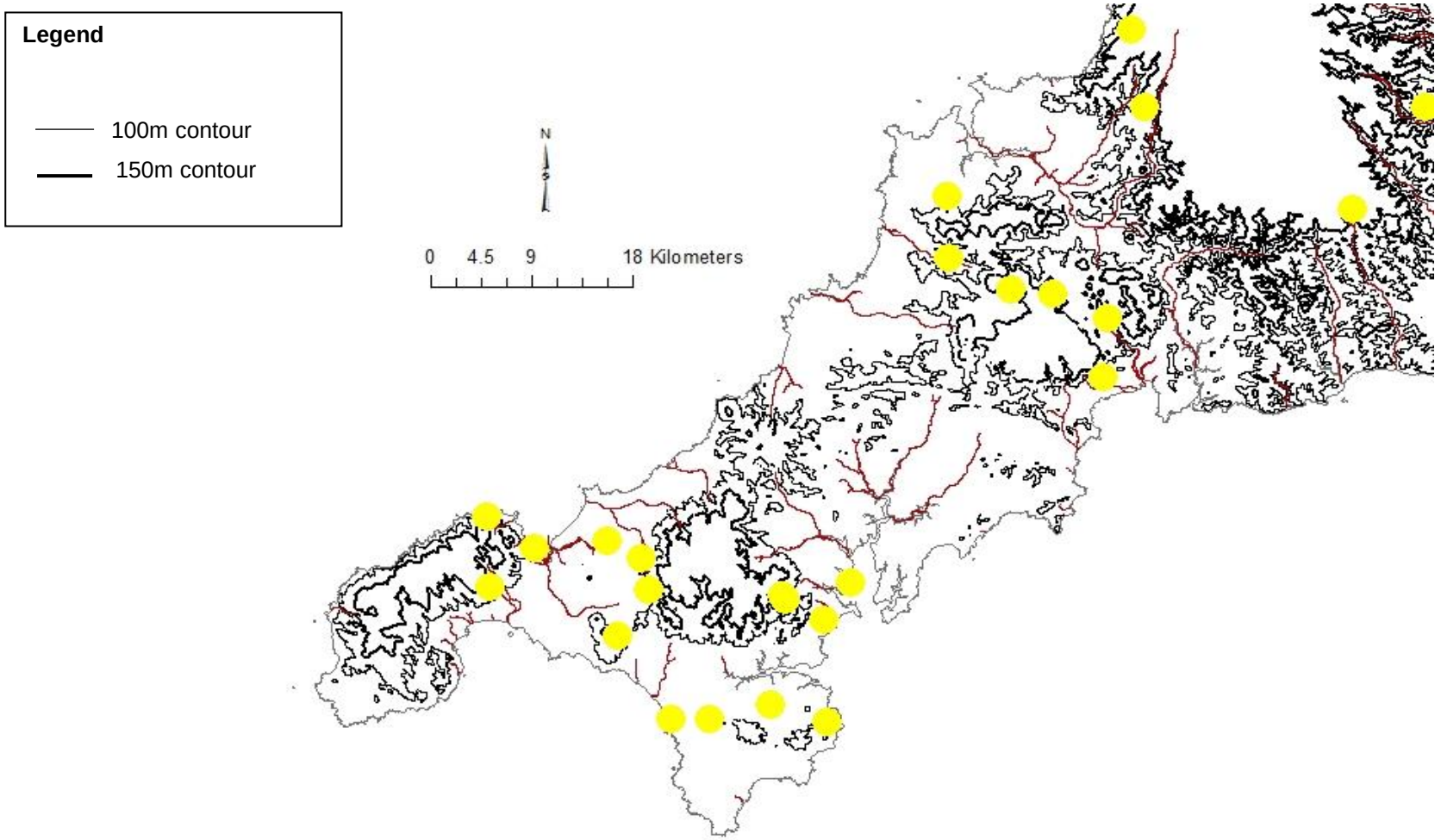


Figure 7.6 *Distribution of* *tre *place-names with the element* *neweth *from 13th century onwards in relation to 100m and 150m contours, showing their preference for the edges of higher ground, with none in mid Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

When considering what place-names can tell us about population expansion onto more marginal ground, elevations and quality of land are both relevant factors. Figure 7.6 shows an east-mid-west divide in its distributions, where almost all the late-attested **tre* place-names referred to as 'new **tre*s' are located at the margins of uplands – including two in relatively low-lying southern mid Cornwall, which otherwise is devoid of **tre* names with **neweth*. In western Cornwall, this pattern can also be seen at the edges of the uplands of the Carnmenellis granite mass, Godolphin and Tregonning Hills, and at the eastern edge of the Penwith moors. On the Lizard peninsula, they can also be found at the edges of the gneiss and schist bedrock formations in the centre of the peninsula; to the south of this area, **tre* settlements become sparser and tend to avoid the poorer quality soils overlying the serpentine bedrock (Figure 7.7). In lower-lying mid Cornwall, the absence of 'new **tre*s' shows a tendency for them to cluster around uplands – and gives another example of the east-mid-west patterning observed elsewhere.

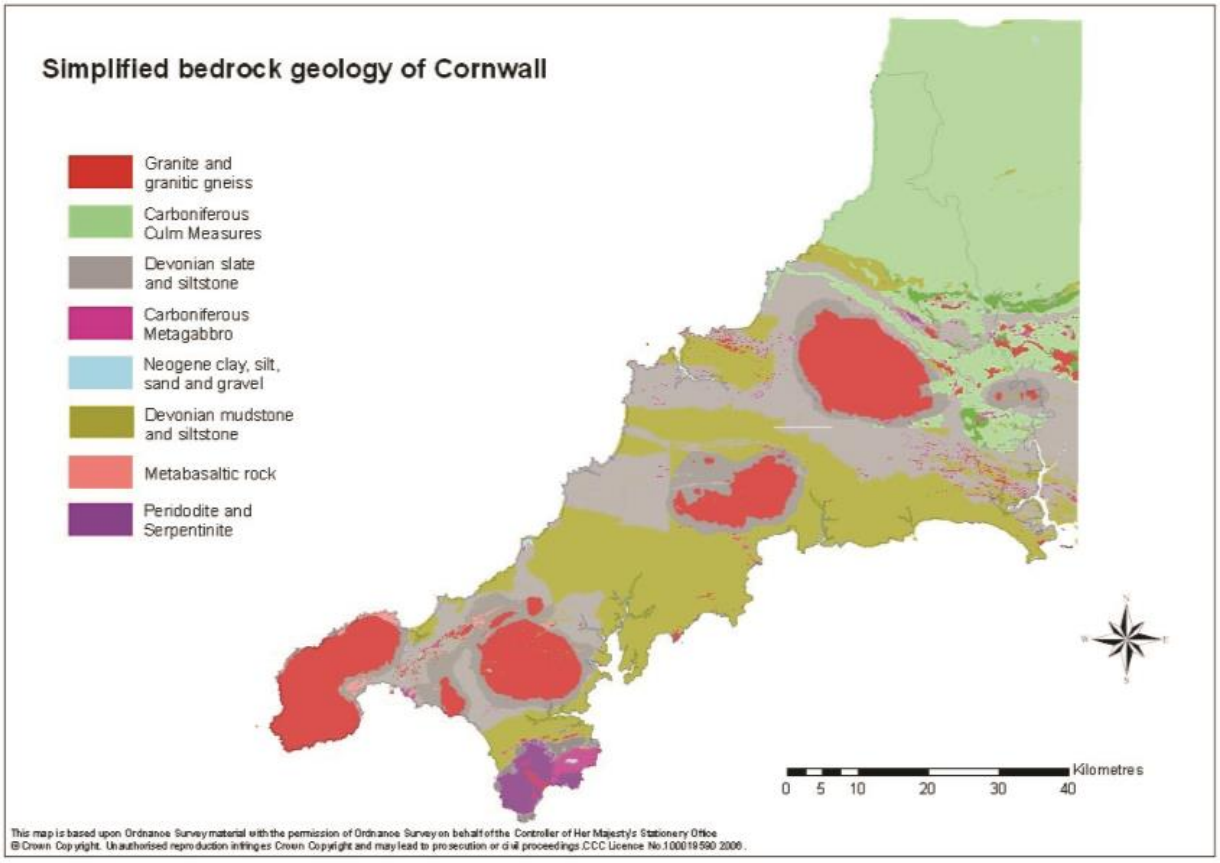


Figure 7.7 Simplified bedrock geology of Cornwall, showing upland granite areas and mixed Lizard geology (Source: Young, 2007, 16, Fig 2)

Turning to terms for rough ground, in West Penwith Herring (2016, 202-3) interpreted the combination of **chy* place-names with **goon*, **hal* and **ros* to indicate expansion of settlement into marginal areas during the later medieval period. Padel (2011, 81-3) suggests that place-names in **ros* may have had an originally coastal distribution and been replaced by **goon* after the 13th century, postulating a sequence of meanings from 'low-lying marshy grassland' through 'grassland or upland where hay is cut' to 'any upland grassland'. The distribution of Cornish place-names from the 13th century onwards combined with **goon*, **hal* and **ros* appears in Table 7.2 (Appendix A). Figure 7.8a shows a correlation between the terms for rough ground and elevation in eastern Cornwall, where place-names appear on the edges of and within the elevated uplands. In lower-lying mid to western Cornwall (Figure 7.8b) there are also clusters of names for rough ground evident, appearing to denote the edges of the Carnmenellis uplands and the Penwith moors, the downlands and coast of central Cornwall, and the Lizard peninsula.

To look at settlement expansion, we have focused on selected place-name elements against landscape elevation in Cornwall and quality of land for agricultural and/or pastoral uses. The period under consideration has been the 13th century onwards, which covers not only recording of the greatest range of Cornish place-names but also may show expansion onto marginal ground (Turner, 2006b, 81). To guide discussion, we have considered the distributions of three types of place-name elements which may indicate expansion of settlement during the later medieval period: 1) English place-names, especially prevalent in eastern Cornwall; 2) **tre* place-names combined with **neweth*, for new; and 3) elements indicating marginal or rough ground, in **goon*, **hal* and **ros*.

*Figure 7.8a Distribution of terms for rough ground (*goon, *hal, *ros*) recorded from 13th century onwards against 100m and 150m contours, eastern Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

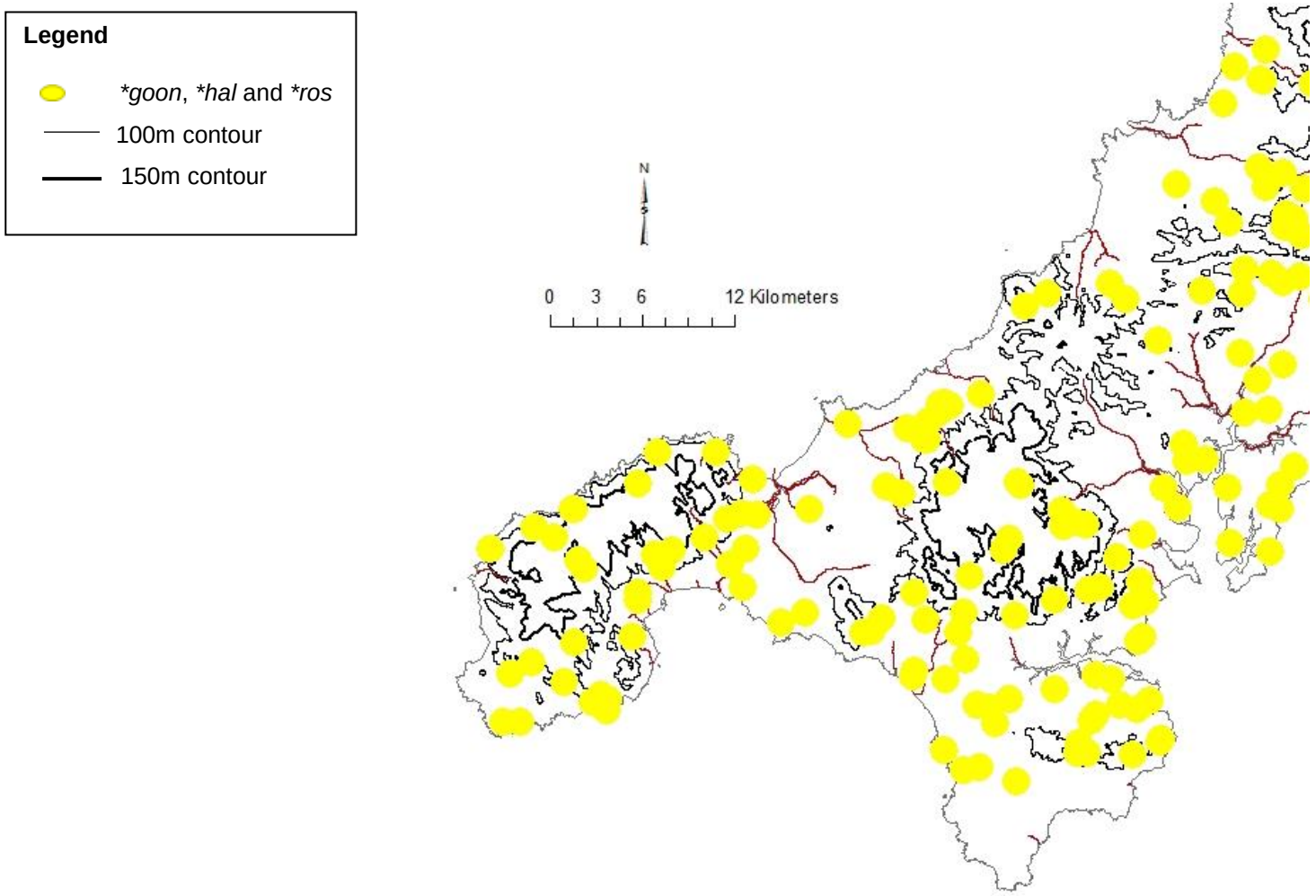


*Figure 7.8b Distribution of terms for rough ground (*goon, *hal, *ros*) recorded from 13th century onwards against 100m and 150m contours, western Cornwall (Source: author's database)*

Whilst the time of initial recording as ever is problematical, the use of the English rather than Cornish language together with excavation evidence on Bodmin Moor does reveal settlement expansion onto higher ground in eastern Cornwall during the medieval period. Elsewhere in Cornwall, the combination of **neweth* with **tre* does not necessarily confirm a later use of place-name element as so many were not recorded until the 13th century. It is reasonable, however, to assume that these place-names were designated as 'new' to distinguish them from the original **tre*-named settlements, and so were somewhat later in time. In their landscape distribution, we can see a tendency for them to occupy the edges of marginal or upland areas.

Finally, the elements of **goon*, **hal* and **ros* for 'rough ground' when plotted against contours also show a widespread distribution which favours the edges of higher ground, and indicates where grazing and pasturing resources were to be found. Where they occur in lower-lying central and western Cornwall they often reflect coastal, or possibly marshy areas, further inland which may have been considered marginal for agricultural purposes earlier in the medieval period. Their use in most parts of Cornwall is suggestive, along with their reasonably consistent percentage of the corpus of Cornish place-names in each area recorded from the 13th century – even in some eastern areas where, as we have seen, English place-names were gaining in popularity. They are topographical elements and based on proximity to resources, rather than types of habitation.

7.2.2 Do place-names denote seasonal or temporary settlements?

To an extent the question of settlements with seasonal place-names overlaps with that above relating to expansion onto higher ground. Scholars have assumed by their names that such settlements on marginal land were temporarily occupied (eg Padel, 1985, 127; Herring, 1996, 37). Insights that place-names provide are mainly fragmentary, however, and only supported by limited evidence from excavation. The types of place-names that may shed light are **havos*, denoting summer shielings, thought to refer to the ancient practice of transhumance or seasonal pasturing, and the **chy* family of place-name

elements which are demonstrably late, as shown by their relative absence from eastern Cornwall. A distinctive class of **chy* names combines types of activity with the suffix **ty* and appears to refer to places with some economic function and not necessarily permanent settlements, such as Laity for 'milk-house' (Hamilton Jenkin, 1945, 380), Melingey for 'mill-house' and Crowgey for 'hut-house'.

**Havos* place-names, incorporating a seasonal element, are thought to be secondary settlements arising from 'original' core habitations represented by **hendre* place-names, considered to be occupied throughout the year (Herring, 1996, 35; Johnson and Rose, 1994, 79). **Kyniaf-vod* for 'autumn-dwelling' appears in two 13th century examples from southern Cornwall (Padel, 1985, 59). Western Cornwall has two 14th century instances of **gwavos*, from Cornish **gwaf* for 'winter' (Welsh **gaeaf*), combined with the element **bod* to denote 'winter settlement' (Padel, 1985, 268), and two 13th century examples combined with **tre* in the form Trewavas (Nance, 1926, 32-3). Although **gwainton* for 'spring' is not recorded with the element **bod* it also combines with **tre* to form Trengwainton in western Cornwall, originally recorded as Tredygwaenton in 1302 AD. Unusually, here the element **tre* refers to an estate affixed to that of an individual dwelling in the form **dy*, from **ty* for house.

Difficulties with interpretation relating to transhumance arise from the few surviving **havos* names, some at distance from their supposed **hendre* counterparts. Fox draws a distinction between the more local pasturing used for classic transhumance and longer distance droveways, notes a lack of written sources and physical evidence for transhumance, and cautions that some seasonal sites were not related to transhumance (1996b, 10-1). With written sources there are also questions as to why all but one recorded **hendre* place-name dates only from the 13th century onwards, when archaeological evidence may suggest that the practice of transhumance did not continue after the Conquest (Herring, 1996, 37). Indeed, our case study Hamatethy (section 4.3.4) was one of two **havos* place-names initially recorded as a Domesday vill, and remained an extensive estate during the medieval period – not an obvious outcome for what might be assumed to have originated as a lowly seasonal

habitation. Johnson and Rose (1994, 79), however, note that much of St Breward parish lies at an elevation of over 210m within the manor of Hamatethy, which they consider a prime example of medieval expansion and colonisation. It is conceivable if not likely that Hamatethy became established before the Conquest as a large upland resource for summer pasturing to which nearby lowland farms resorted.

Place-names show shifting preferences in terminology for transhumance between eastern and western Cornwall, with suggestions of replacement of seasonal with more functional connotations. Early 20th century scholars of West Cornwall (eg Hamilton Jenkin, 1945, 380-1; Henderson *et al*, 1935, 129; Nance, 1926, 32-4) noted the similarities of summer cattle-pounds on Dartmoor and Bodmin Moor with the Welsh practice known as *hafod*, applied in the form Hewas to 'many high crofts' in mid and western Cornwall, and denoting rough pasture in Sancreed 'as late as the seventeenth century' (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 129). Hamilton Jenkin, born in Redruth, notes that summer pasturing was still current in western Cornwall in the 18th century, although the Cornish word for the Welsh practice of *hafod*, or 'summer quarters…is no longer known': 'the herdsmen would leave the *gwavas* or winter homestead and proceed into the high-country moorlands…too exposed for permanent settlement…during a few months of the year [when] dairy-work would form the chief occupation. Hence the Cornish word *laity* or milk-house may…have much the same meaning as the Welsh *haffoty* or summer-house' (Hamilton Jenkin, 1945, 381). Hamilton Jenkin goes on to cite an 1812 West Briton newspaper advertisement for a smallholding at St Cleer with 'excellent summer pasture' to show the practice's survival as late as the 19th century on Bodmin Moor. The Cornish language revivalist Nance, born in Wales and later resident in Penwith, refers to *gwavas* as 'the opposite of Welsh *hafod*', and the place-names Hendra and Laity as 'relics of the old celtic(*sic*) pastoral custom (Nance, 1926, 34)': 'taking full advantage of the pasture in places then too exposed or otherwise unsuitable for permanent settlement' (Nance, 1926, 33).

In western Cornwall, four out of five examples of the place-name Laity lie at an elevation of 100m or higher, with three at distances of between 0.6km and 1.6km (Figure 7.9a and 7.9b) from Hendra place-names; the westernmost Laity

was recorded in 1200 AD as *Lahitty*, not much later than the earliest recorded **havos* settlements in eastern Cornwall. Here, where the Cornish language was retained longer, an older substratum of a form of **havos* denoting a seasonal dwelling on a land resource seems to have been replaced by a more specific term relating to a place's function. In both cases, however, the reference is to an individual structure where the element **bod* has been replaced by **ty*, in common with Welsh practice – rather than by **tre*, denoting an agricultural estate. Two Trewavas place-names are close to two **hendre* settlements in western Cornwall, the first, in Wendron, at a scant 0.016km – or two fields – from a **hendre*. Such proximity suggests that they were originally the same settlement; the earliest recordings of both date from the late 13th century and they lie at the edge of the 150m contour. The other, again 13th century, lies 0.6km east of the Domesday vill Rinsey in Breage, itself at the centre of a 'hub-and-spoke' arrangement of tracks; 0.6km to the west of Rinsey is a 14th century **hendre*. The examples are indicative of summer pasturing in western Cornwall and suggest that the term 'winter dwelling' was still current at the time – and possibly distinct from **hendre*.

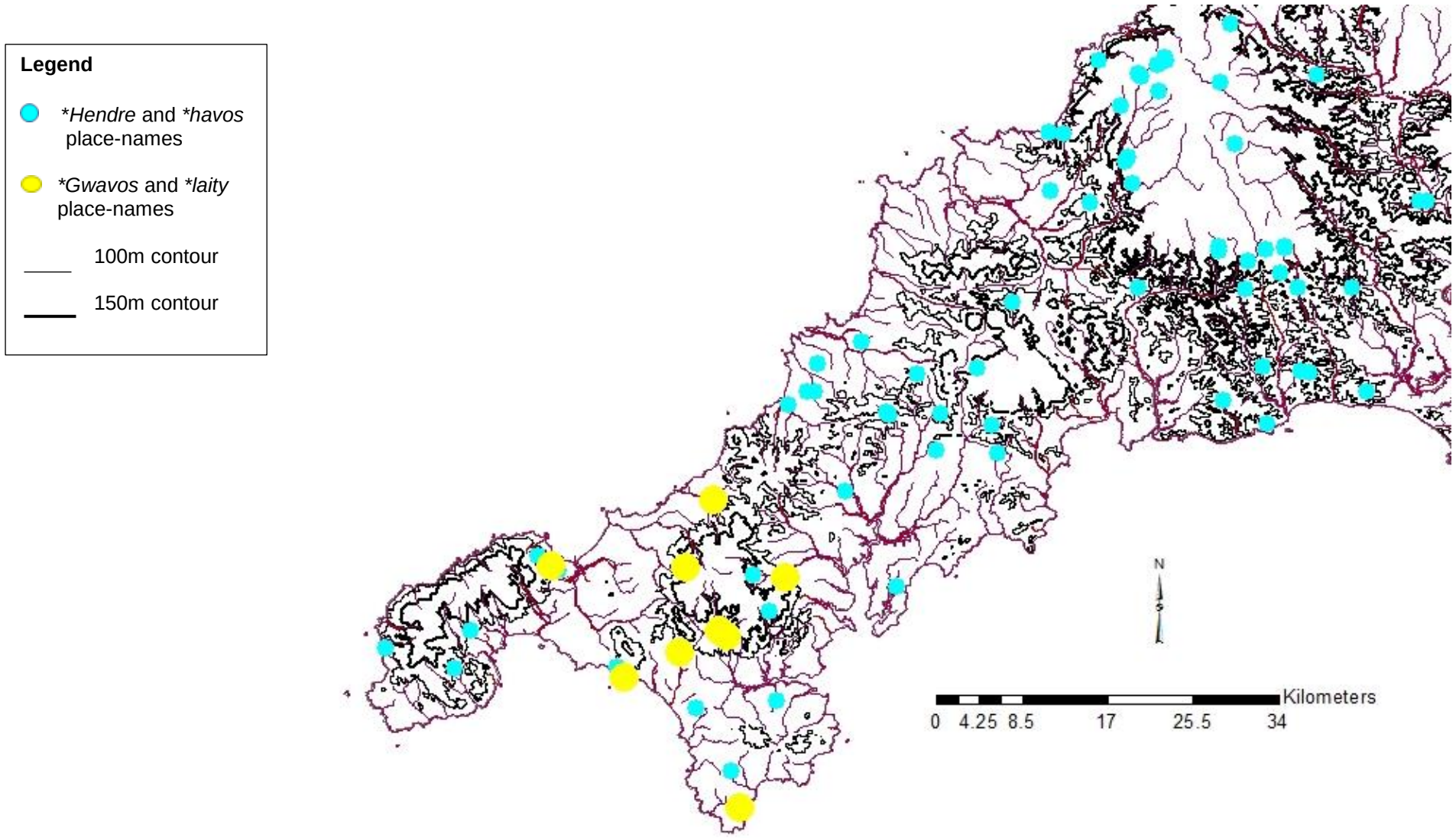


Figure 7.9a *Hendre *and* *havos, *gwavos *and* *laity *names against 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

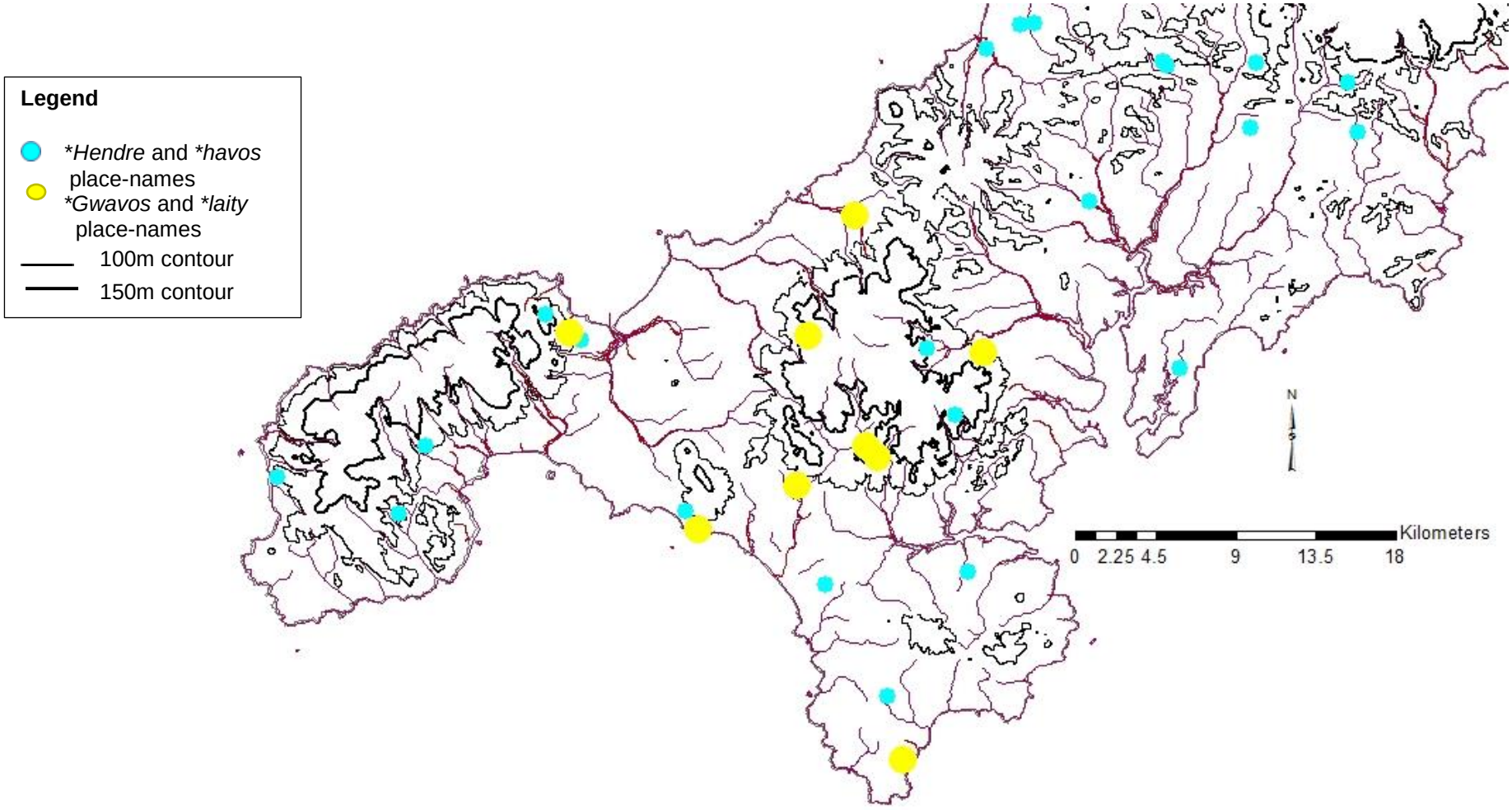


Figure 7.9b *Western Cornwall detail of* *hendre *and* *havos, *gwavos *and* *laity *names against 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

Seasonal, or temporary, place-names have their own contribution to make to what we know of medieval settlement distribution and seem to have been used interchangeably over time. Overall, the place-name distribution suggests that the summer pasturing practice indicated by **hendre* and **havos* settlements throughout Cornwall is likely to have continued into the medieval period and beyond, albeit marked by what was by then archaic terminology at least in eastern Cornwall. In some areas of lower-lying western Cornwall local usages may have favoured **gwavas* and **laity*, where the former retained a seasonal context and the latter represented early economic activity – in complementary distribution with **havos*. In this role, **laity* might have formed a western Cornwall counterpart to Dartmoor place-names in **wīc* for dairy farms, referring to developments within the local economy such as the sale to market of milk surpluses in later medieval times (Fox, 1989, 63; 2012, 152). The mainly simplex name forms, widespread usage and relatively late recordings underline the contention that names assigned to Cornish settlements were not intended to be distinctive or reflect ownership, but instead refer to resources and land use.

7.2.3 Do habitative place-names of higher and lower status show different preferences for landscape locations?

Previous scholarship has observed that higher and lower status settlements with habitative names appear to occupy distinctive positions in the landscape (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 60; Turner, 2006b, 79; Young, 2015, 105). Early medieval settlements named in **tre* can often be found in sheltered positions midway down hillsides below break of slope, whilst the Iron Age/Romano-British rounds named in **caer/*ker/*gear* tend to favour exposed settings, on spurs and the upper slopes of hillsides. Compared to the earliest lower status habitations, higher status settlements appear to lie in more sheltered locations. We will look below at representative place-name elements and their settlement distribution, taking relative landscape position as one proxy for status. Settlements with topographical names appear to have been positioned according to distinctive criteria that reflect specific landscape features rather than relative elevations or sheltered location, and we will consider their locations separately below in section 7.2.6.

Preston-Jones found that many early medieval settlements named in **lan* with larger enclosures occupy lower-lying sites on valley bottoms. She notes 'a close relationship between the size of a *lann* [enclosure] and its status' and contends that the larger examples may have been purpose built, with over 64% close to navigable waters which are often tidal (Preston-Jones, 1994, 85-7). By contrast, settlements with smaller enclosures – some of which may have lost a name in **lan* – are often found in more elevated locations on hill spurs, valley sides or heads, which Preston-Jones considers may represent reused rounds. Settlements with **eglos* names are more likely to appear further inland than **lan* settlements with larger enclosures and be found on valley sides (Preston-Jones, 1994, 92).

Whilst they do not focus wholly on place-names, Rose and Preston-Jones utilise aerial survey and cropmark evidence to contend that the relative distributions of Iron Age/Romano-British rounds and early medieval settlements were 'not unlike' each other, 'concentrating on the reasonable farming areas and avoiding the major uplands' (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 56). Although one of their study areas, the low-lying Camel estuary, shows similar locations for both types of settlement, where there are greater variations in altitude elsewhere rounds are mostly on higher ground (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 60). They interpret the pattern to suggest that there was not a shift as such from higher to lower ground at the end of the Roman period, but that higher level settlements were abandoned whilst lower ones continued. Turner (2006b, 79), in his three case study areas (St. Neot, St Keverne and Tintagel), also observes that early medieval settlements named in **tre* are often found in sheltered positions midway down hillsides below break of slope, whilst sites of later Iron Age rounds – relating to settlements with **caer/*ker/*gear* place-names – are often in more exposed settings, on spurs and the upper edges of valleys.

Young combined cropmark surveys, extant remains and documentary evidence to survey prehistoric and Romano-British settlement sites in four areas in lowland Cornwall (Pelynt, Penwith, Poundstock and Probus; Young, 2015, 104). He noted the occurrence of visible remains of enclosures as 'very close to farms or hamlets with indicative place-names' in **caer/*ker/*gear* as well as early

medieval settlements named in **tre*, 'situated close to abandoned prehistoric or Romano-British enclosed settlements' (Young, 2015, 10, 18). Young accepts that in these cases the early medieval settlements may have been named for the nearby rounds. Over 70% of the prehistoric enclosures surveyed were located on hill slopes and 10% respectively on hilltops, ridges, and plateaux or promontories. A clear preference was noted for enclosures to lie between the 70m and 145m contours in all study areas, with distinctive favoured aspects seen in Probus and Penwith (Young, 2015, 105). Here and in Pelynt also, Young found that early medieval settlements were situated in lower-lying land than the prehistoric enclosures, with 63% above the 70m contour compared with 79% of enclosures and 'a marked preference for southerly aspects' (Young, 2015, 105).

Although **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements are linked with roundhouse dwellings of ancient occupation only eight appear in Domesday, with all but one in mid and western Cornwall. We have seen above (section 4.3.6) and earlier in this section that, like **tre* settlements, **caer/*ker/*gear* contour levels broadly follow the Cornish landscape, and settlements denoted by **caer/*ker/*gear* and **tre* tend to be found at similar elevations. Edge of higher ground positions are slightly more prevalent than mid slope with **caer/*ker/*gear* than with **tre* settlements, but they do not differ very much overall. Evidence concurs with conclusions reached by other scholars that **tre* settlements have not deviated far from **caer/*ker/*gear* settlements in terms of favoured sites for most of the lower status habitations throughout Cornwall.

When looking at the landscape distribution of**caer/*ker/*gear* settlements in relation to some **lan* settlements, however, a different picture emerges. In her study of sites with *lann* enclosures in Cornwall, Preston-Jones did not focus on smaller sites in 'more exposed topographical locations' (Preston-Jones, 1994, 87), which she considered may have originally been rounds. Distinctive patterns for these smaller sites are revealed through analysis of place-names (63 out of 103, 61%; Figure 7.10) for **lan* named settlements without counterpart names in either **seynt* or **eglos,* which tend to combine with habitative or topographical elements rather than the names of individuals. Over one-third (37%) of the 63 **lan* settlements without saints' names lie above the 100m contour and are

found on less hospitable ground, such as the hilly terrain near the Devon border; the downland in central mid Cornwall; and the margins between gabbro and schist in the southern Lizard peninsula, devoid of lower status habitative settlements.

Throughout Cornwall, it is apparent (Figure 7.10) that this type of **lan* name appears in a complementary distribution to **caer/*ker/*gear* names where one 'fills in the gaps' of the other. They are either interspersed with, or on the edges of, clusters of other habitative named settlements. Where interspersed, they are more likely to be found amongst groups of **tre*, rather than **bod*, names, and examples combine with **tre* elements, not **bod*. The complementarity with **caer/*ker/*gear* names suggests that **lan* settlements were originally part of the same type and age of settlement as Iron Age/Romano-British rounds. Some would have gone on to be classed as religious settlements, attracting higher status and development in the early Christian period. Their co-location and combinations with **tre* named settlements suggests that they may have been incorporated into agricultural estates which later grew up around them.

Preferred positions for higher status settlements can also be deduced through analysis of the landscape settings of Domesday vills which, as with pre-Norman charters, together comprise the earliest written records we have of high status settlements, albeit incomplete. A glance at the distribution of Domesday vills across Cornwall (Table 7.3, Appendix A; Figure 7.11) confirms that 61% are found in eastern Cornwall and that their density declines going west, with only 39% in western Cornwall beyond the Camel-Fowey rivers. Of the latter, 43% lie in southern mid Cornwall, an area of higher grade agricultural land (Figure 7.1), and only 14 or 4.2% in Penwith. Nevertheless, even allowing for the higher elevations of eastern Cornwall, the majority of vills occupy levels under 150m (Table 7.3), with at least 73% under 100m in western Cornwall. Their predominant landscape positions are midway down hillslopes; edge of high ground appears in far northeast Cornwall and low-lying southern mid Cornwall, and base of hillslope in northern mid Cornwall.

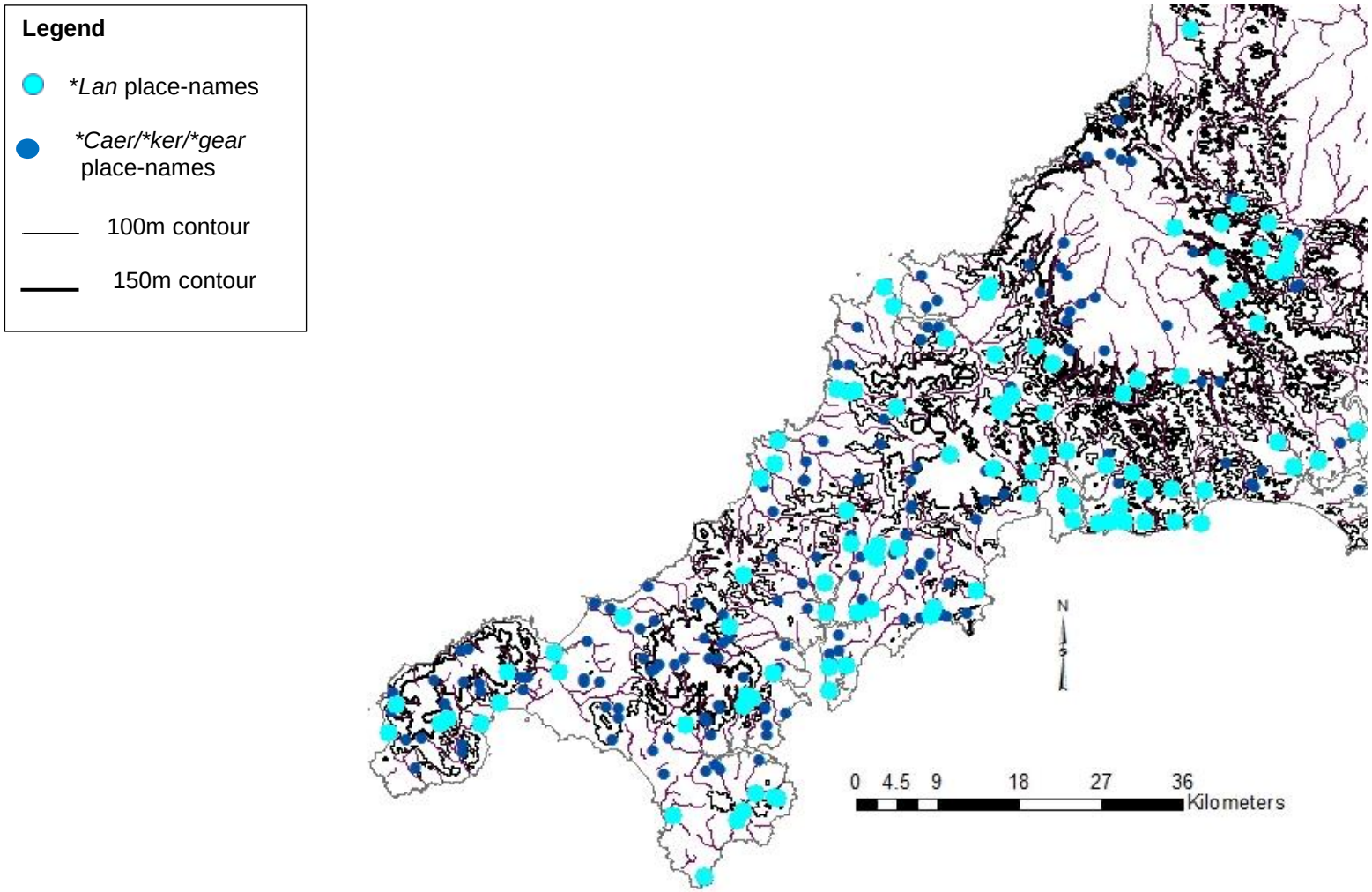


Figure 7.10 *Selected* *lan *names against* *caer/*ker/*gear *names and the 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

Although thought to be of lower status compared to early medieval administrative and religious centres, **tre* settlements are well documented in Domesday and comprise 96 or 29% of all vills. Eleven examples of **tre* appear as estate names in the 53 places listed in the sparser pre-Conquest charters (Hooke, 1994, 51; Figure 4.4), all in southern half and most in mid and western Cornwall. Compared with higher status Domesday vills, most other settlements named in **tre* occupy more mixed positions, ranging from slight to stronger preferences for edge of high ground in much of eastern and southern Cornwall to mid slope positions elsewhere. Domesday vills named in **tre* do not differ appreciably from other vills in terms of landscape position, although they do tend to be found in the lower-lying areas closer to the coasts and off the higher ground (Figure 7.11).

Turning to other habitative place-name elements which are considered of lower status, **bod* settlements are arguably the only other lower status habitative element with a noticeable presence in Domesday and earlier: four certain examples are noted in pre-Conquest charters from Penwith (Hooke, 1994), with sixteen Domesday vills (9% of the overall total of **bod*s) from across Cornwall. In Penwith, where the majority of **bod*s are found, none are attested before the 12th century, and they continued to be well recorded into the 14th century and beyond. With the remoteness of Penwith from eastern Cornwall during the Domesday period, the small percentage of Domesday vills in Penwith and time lag in recording does not necessarily mean that settlements were not yet established there.

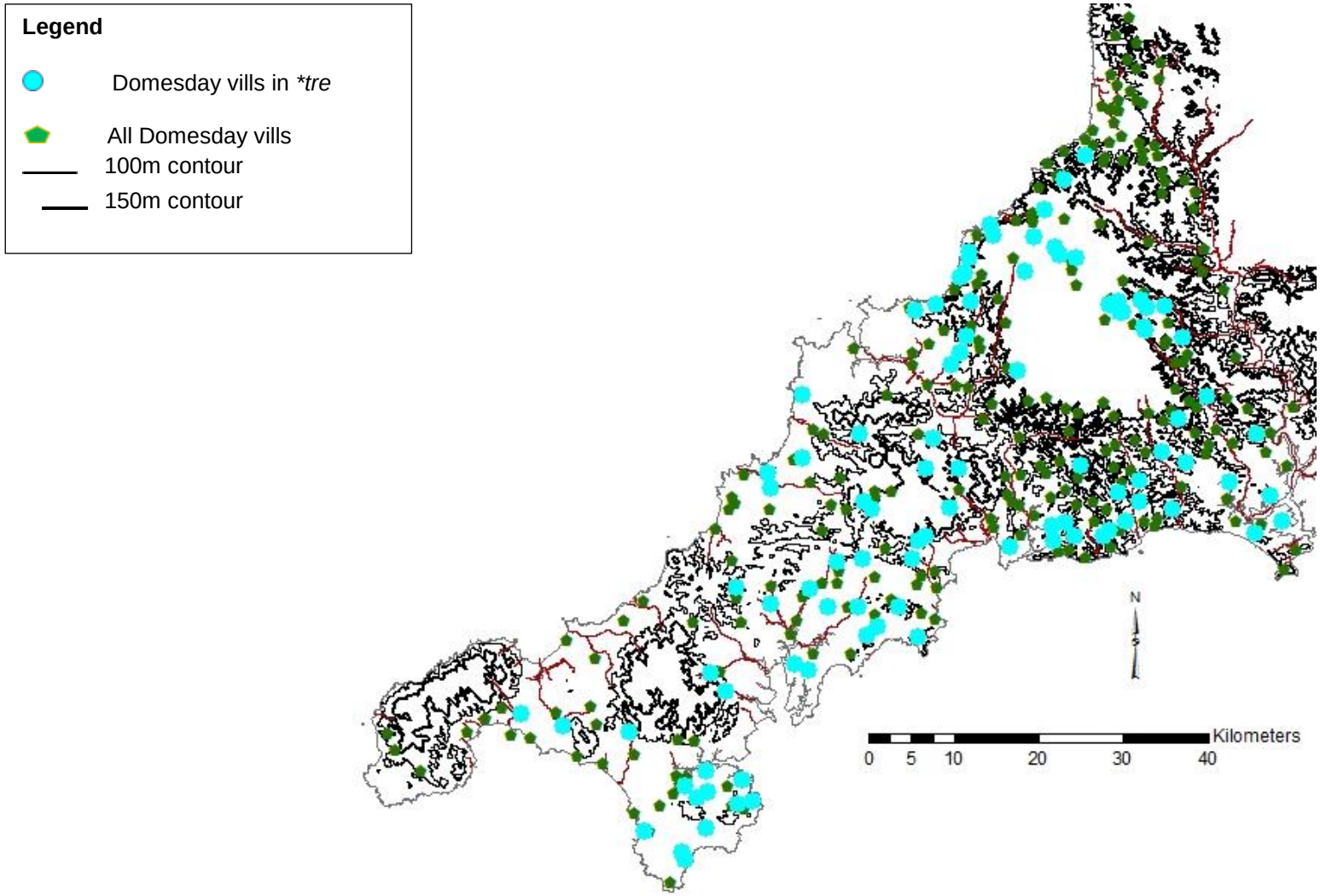


Figure 7.11 Distribution of Domesday vills named in *tre *against all Domesday vills and 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

**Bod*s do not appear to have subsequently grown into later population centres to the same extent as religious place-name elements in **seynt*, for example. Herring contends that some **bod* places in Penwith occupy more marginal locations and appear to be secondary to core **caer/*ker/*gear* and **tre* locations in more favourable land, with 6% of **tre* settlements on land over 137m compared with 28% of **bod* settlements (Herring, 2016, 195-6) (Figure 7.12). In Zennor parish, the latter seem to have been 'cut out of the lands of earlier hamlets' (Herring, 2016, 196), and may have been more recently established on higher ground. Such a configuration, however, would not preclude a number of **bod* place-names having been retained but sidelined when later land reorganisation took place. The volume, widespread distribution and lengthy history of **bod* settlements across both northern and southern Penwith not only suggests a preference for **bod* place-names as the preferred term for habitations in far western Cornwall, but also may reflect micro-level readjustments over time according to changes in local landholding patterns.

Throughout their long period of use, **bod* elements may in fact have changed their status, and also their favoured locations in the landscape. The earliest **bod* settlements in pre-Conquest charters are nearly all under the 100m contour, with similar low-lying examples in Domesday vills across Cornwall – including elevated Lesnewth – which continued to be first recorded throughout the medieval period. **Bod* settlements tend to occupy mid slope positions almost everywhere, with many base of slope river valley locations in lower-lying areas and some instances of edge of high ground. Those base of slope settings close to major rivers may represent high status locations: along with their presence in pre-Norman charters and the Domesday Book, we cannot rule out the possibility that **bod*s when first founded were more important settlements than they later became.

Of the remaining habitative place-names, early high status evidence for **chy* forms is relatively sparse in Domesday with six examples, almost all in southern Cornwall, including several important manors in the form **ty.* As the corpus of **chy* forms is mainly recorded from the 13th century onwards in mid and western Cornwall, we might not expect to find many in Domesday. We have seen above

(section 4.3.5), however, that although they date from a relatively late period in Cornish place-naming practice, they tend to appear around the edges of **tre* settlements or as ‘infill’. Although they mainly are lowland settlements, in some areas of western Cornwall they occupy the edges of the higher ground around the 150m contour, as with the Carnmenellis granite and the Penwith moors (Figure 7.13).

Looking at higher status habitative place-name elements compared with lower status ones, we can see that those with some importance were able to occupy premium locations, whether in sheltered positions, near to water, or in the ‘fertile soils’ of better agricultural land in southern Cornwall (Preston-Jones, 1994, 91). Lower status habitative elements, with most examples in lowland Cornwall, maintained generally similar topographical positions over the medieval period although some reorganisation in land use may have taken place. The long period of time during which lower status place-names were recorded also suggests that some name-elements may have been replaced or fallen out of favour. Preferred locations for settlements continued to be closely linked to the resources that were the lifeblood of the medieval Cornish economy.

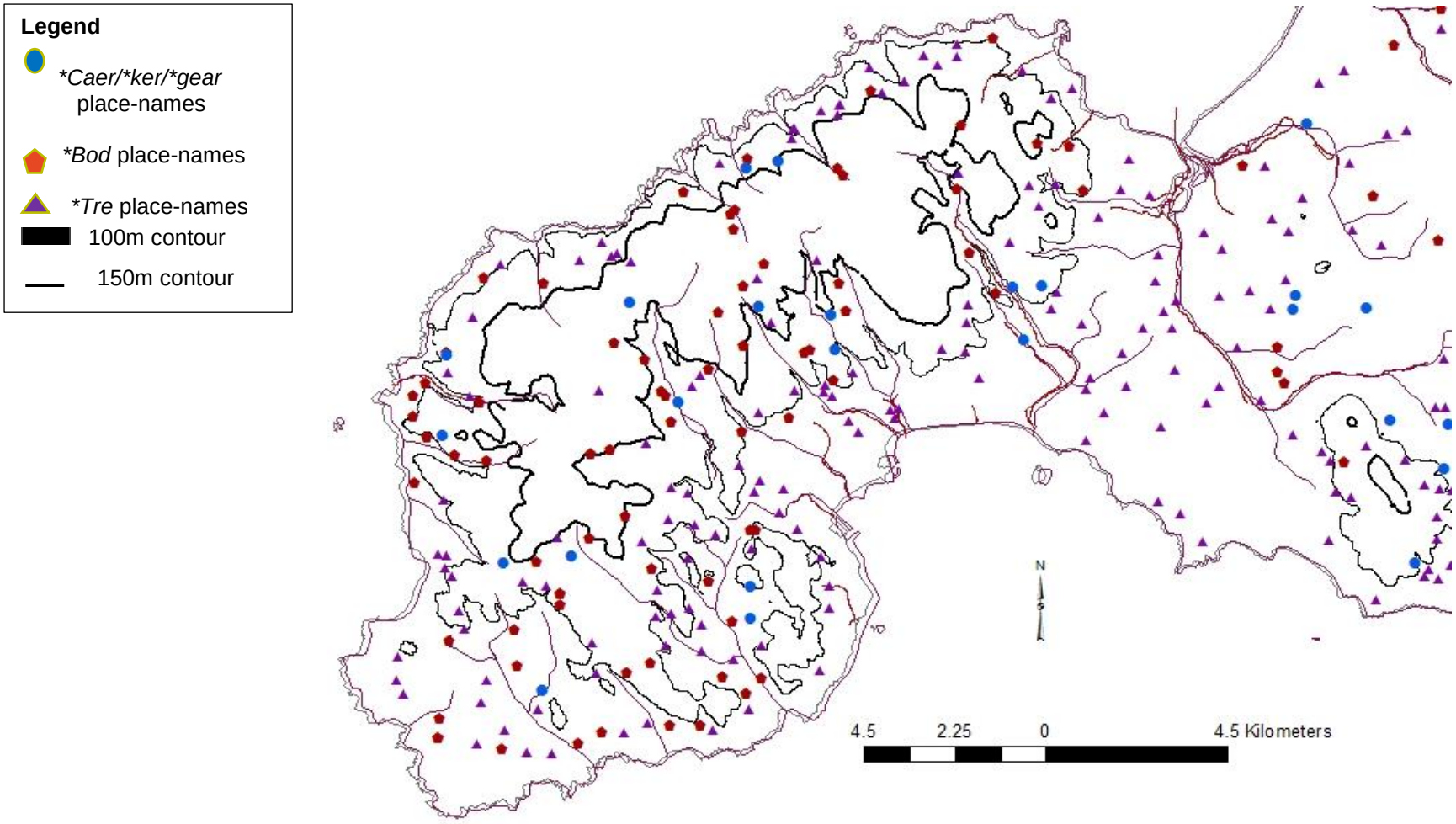


Figure 7.12 *Tre, *caer/*ker/*gear *and* *bod-*named settlements in Penwith with 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

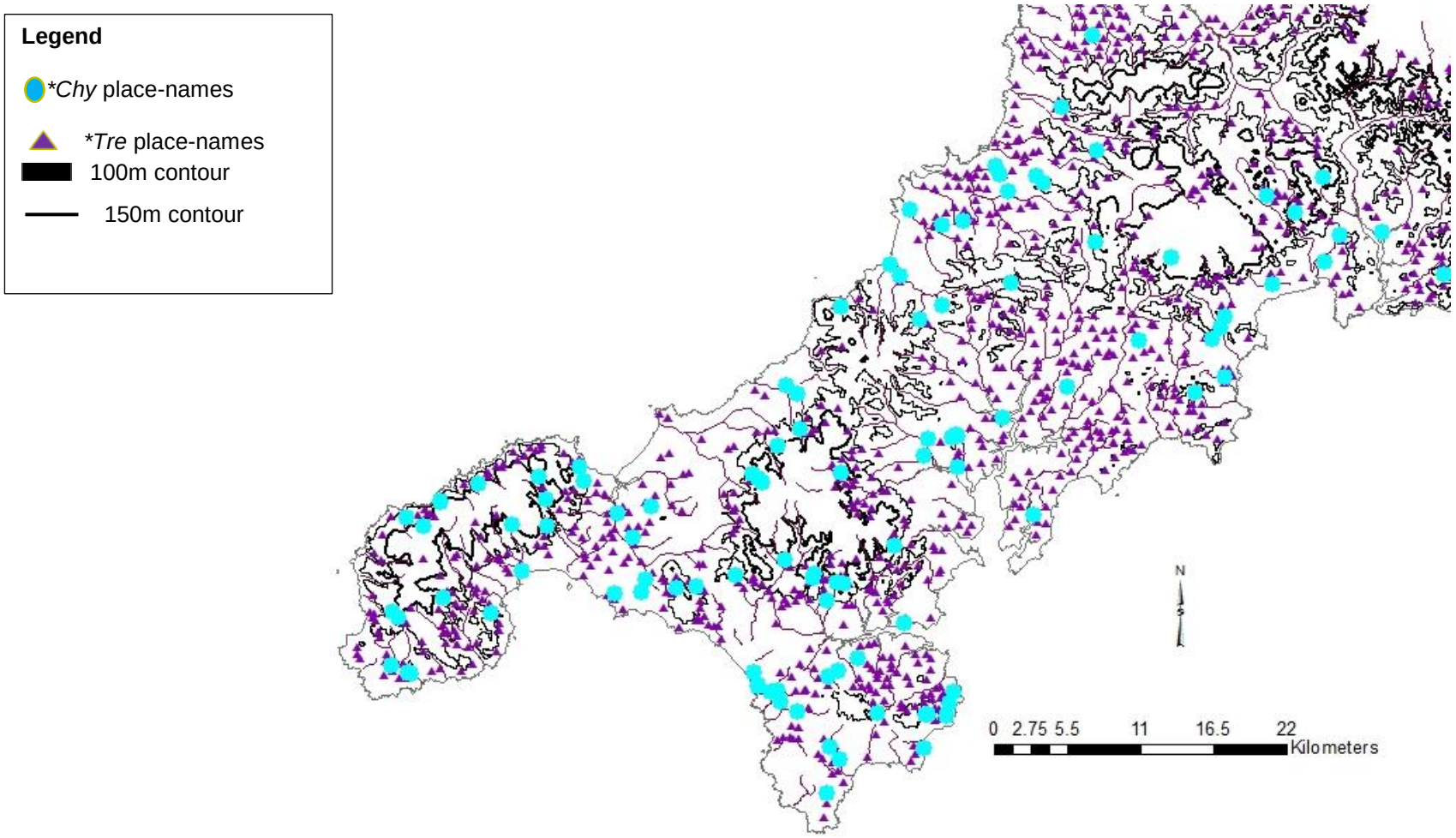


*Figure 7.13 *Chy and *tre place-names with the 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

7.2.4 Where are prehistoric sites located in relation to place-names for medieval settlements?

It is problematic to determine how place-names relate to ancient monuments as this presupposes their visibility in the historic landscape. The intervening layers of time-depth make this unlikely in all places, even in an area as evidently rich in prehistoric archaeology as Cornwall. In the absence of widespread large-scale excavations, place-names are often the only indication we have as to the possible whereabouts of below-ground features. Recent research has utilised medieval settlement place-names in **tre* together with HLC and HER records, soils and geology, crop mark and mapping surveys, and statistical analysis, to develop high level predictive models (Young, 2015, 6, 10) for the likely locations of Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed settlements linked with **caer/*ker/*gear* names. Such studies may highlight general areas of potential interest but will not necessarily pinpoint locations of individual sites, whose estimated numbers and types continue to grow. Young contends that if all of lowland Cornwall were to be investigated, results would yield '1,854 new enclosures, 2,134 roundhouses, 1,011 field systems and 618 barrows' (Young, 2015, 149), and this may be a conservative estimate.

Of the place-name elements selected for detailed analysis in this thesis, it is only **dinas* – whether inland for 'hill fort', or coastal, as with cliff castles – which are sufficiently imposing in the landscape to offer scope for us to look at locations of nearby medieval settlements. We have seen that those taking their name from **dinas* are more likely to lie on the slopes of a hill fort or around its base; a prominent landscape feature is nevertheless in the vicinity. Of the 48 examples of place-names in **dinas*, 33 or 69% lie less than 1km from the nearest hill summit or cliff castle, with only one further than 1.5km at 1.8km. The average distance between **dinas* place-names and nearby monuments is 0.77km. It is interesting to note that three of the best known, excavated cliff castles with corresponding settlements named in **dinas* – Tintagel, Treen St Levan (see case study, section 5.2.1) and Treen Zennor – are at 1km distance from them.

Whether settlements lie at the base or on the nearby hill forts they are named for, those with **dinas* names (Figure 7.14) tend to be found at the margins of higher ground inland or on the coast. Throughout the more rugged parts of Cornwall they seem to mark the edges of high ground, at 150m on the sides of Bodmin Moor, around the Penwith moorland, or at the edges of the Hensbarrow granites in mid Cornwall. Where **dinas* named settlements appear to be associated with major rivers, not only at the coast but in some cases well inland, it is possible that here they mark previously navigable limits. The settlement Retyn (formerly 'Rittin', from **rid* for 'ford' with **dinas*) is suggestive (Figure 7.15), overlooking the Gannel valley deep inland and up a lane from the river, adjacent to medieval strip fields. Another **dinas*-named settlement, Bodanna, previously 'the site of a Mansion', appears on the opposite side of the valley and is linked to the same lane, each less than 0.5km from the river.

**Dinas* settlements represent an intriguing mix of distributions relative to other elements. In northern and eastern Cornwall they are generally found close to settlements with habitative place-names, but less so in mid Cornwall. To the west, by contrast, their proximity to habitative named settlements again increases. That **dinas* settlements have retained their names even in eastern Cornwall suggests persistence in folk-memory of high status sites, relating either to hill forts on the edges of high ground in the interior or coastal cliff castles.

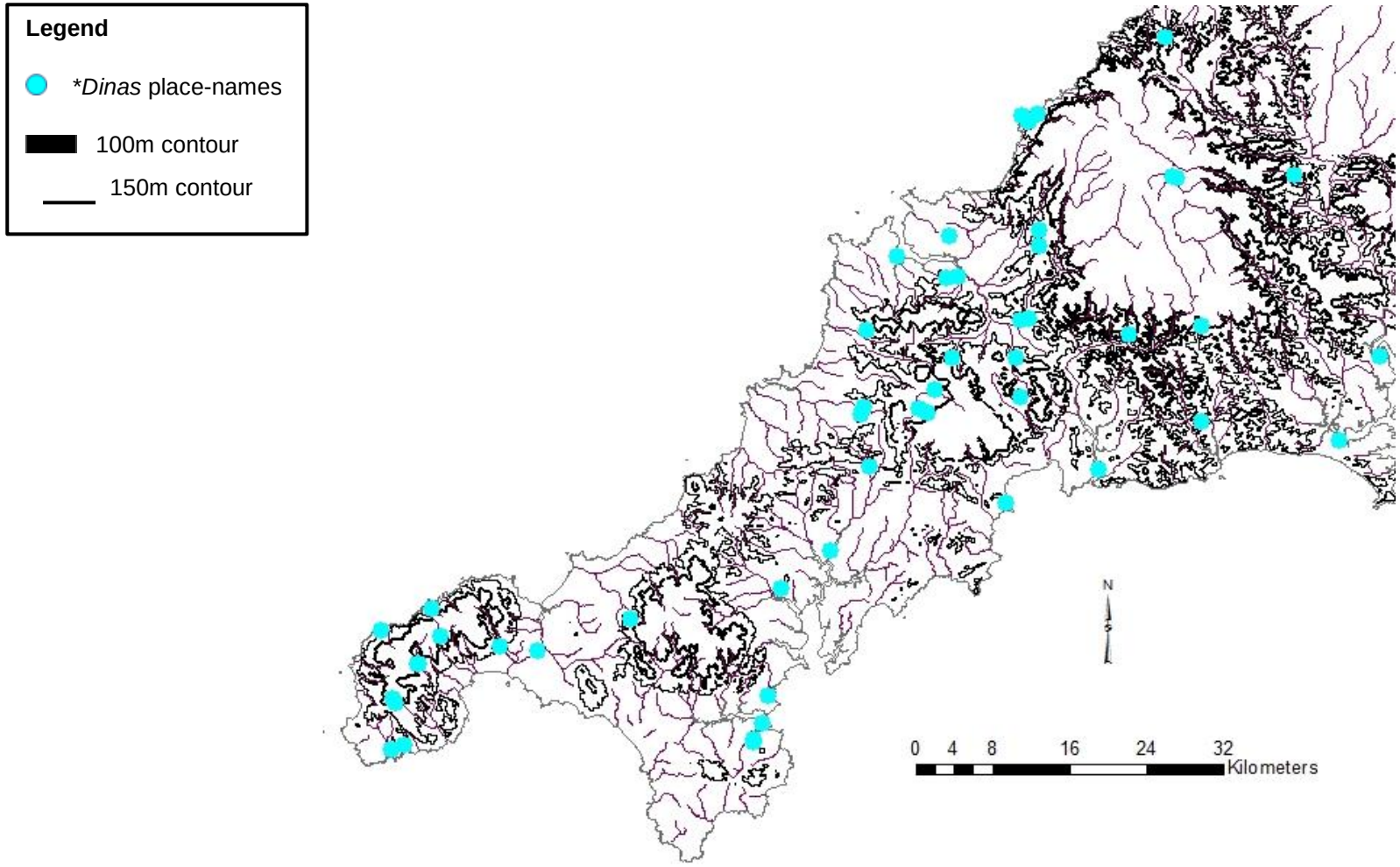


Figure 7.14 *Dinas *names with 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

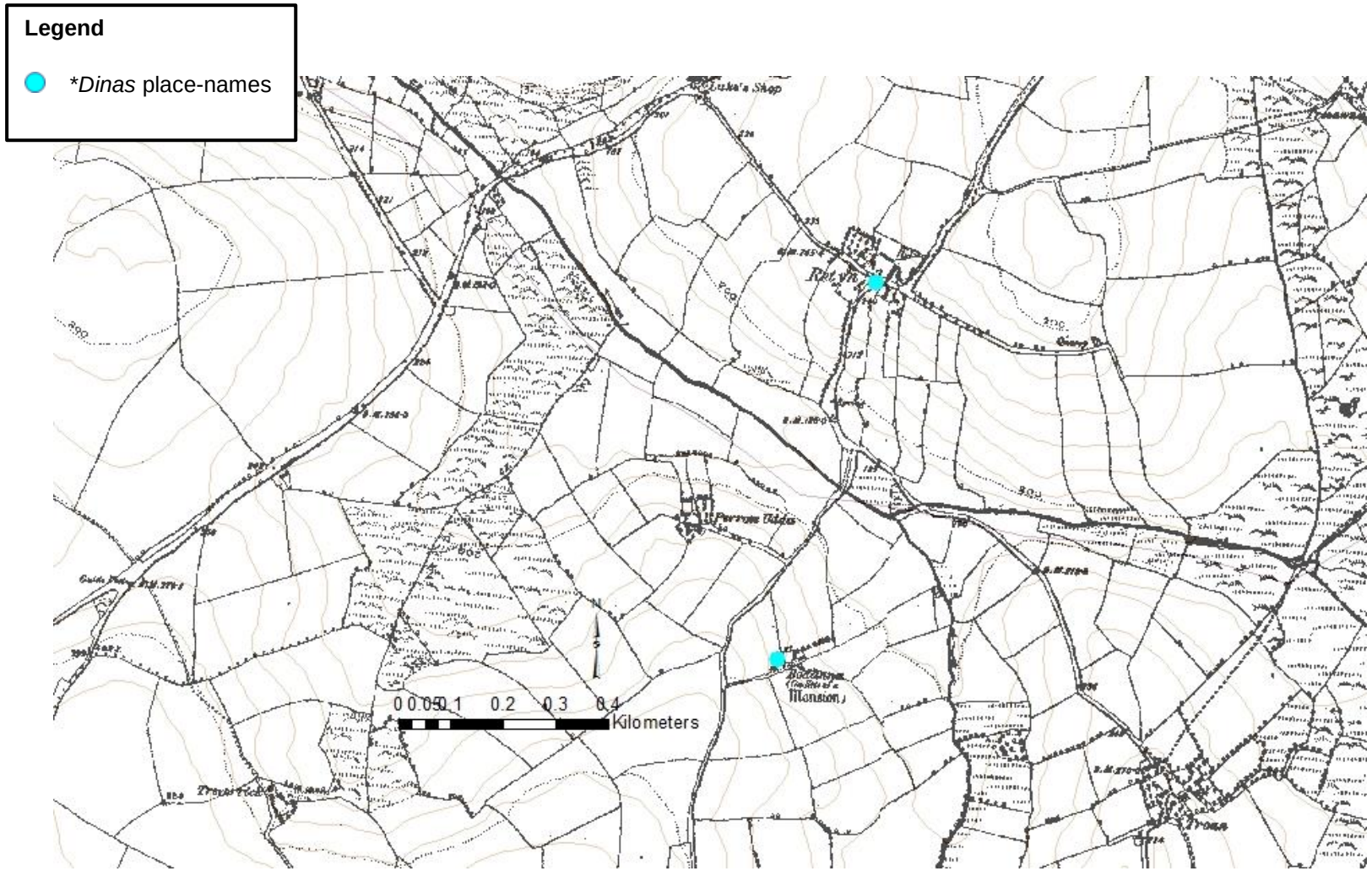


Figure 7.15 *The settlement Retyn, 'ford by a hill-fort', overlooking the Gannel valley; another* *dinas *settlement, Bodanna, is nearby on the opposite side of the Gannel river valley (Source: author's database/Historic Map data)*

7.2.5 Do cultural and religious place-names show preferred locations for their settlements?

We look first at settlements with names in **lys* which, as we have seen, may refer to manorial centres or meeting places (section 5.2.2); as they share Common Brittonic roots and interpretations with early Welsh and Breton, they are thought likely to have been of administrative importance in the distant past. Padel (1985, 150; personal communication, 2013) considers that 'medieval manors' named in **lys* may well have been pre-English administrative centres (see section 5.2.2). Padel's assessment of **lys* settlements as former courts highlights seven vills named in **lys* in the Domesday Book (Figure 5.10), with one other in pre-Norman charters (Lesneage) whose name ('monkish court') suggests an early affiliation with the monastic settlement at St Keverne.

The distribution of **lys* settlements across most Cornish hundreds was interpreted by Padel as possibly representing the remnants of a whole-Cornwall court system as with 9th and 10th century Brittany (Padel, 1985, 150), with **lys* place-names appearing close to the hundred borders. There are, however, variations in distribution as well as apparent overpopulation in this model (Figure 5.10). Whilst Kerrier hundred retained three important **lys* examples, those hundreds not subdivided until Domesday or later (eg Wivelshire and Stratton) show manorial **lys* sites in what may have been their original centres (eg Liskeard and Helstone), rather than near their borders.

Some commentators consider that an earlier importance of minor and antiquarian **lys* sites may be masked by too much focus on Domesday. Continuity between early Cornish administration and later Anglo-Saxon structures could have been only 'partial' (Turner, 2006b, 57), where **lys* settlements may have given up their administrative functions by Domesday. Turner proposes three main phases of development for high status Cornish administrative sites with the earliest ones, like Tintagel, established during the later Romano-British period; the middle phase representing probable centres of the early medieval élite; and the final phase covering those documented as royal centres in Domesday (Turner, 2006b, 57). Throughout the medieval period

some centres were likely losing influence and status and may not have entered the records; Herring notes that parts of Penwith seem to have been incompletely assessed in Domesday, and suggests that Lesingey, Ludgvan Leaze or the Iron Age hill fort at Lescudjack could all have been early candidates for local centres (Herring, 2016, 194, 197), rather than of antiquarian interest only.

As the 'ruins' referred to by Padel attest (section 5.2.2), most of our limited excavation evidence from places with confirmed names in **lys* comes not from medieval settlements, but ancient monuments. One example is Leskernick Hill, high on Bodmin Moor with a multi-period prehistoric archaeology, which excavators thought had not been permanently settled since the end of the Bronze Age (Bender *et al*, 1995, 58). In western Cornwall, sites of interest in Penwith include Lescudjack and Lesingey (Herring and Kirkham, 2011, 98-9) outside Penzance, and Lestowder in St Keverne (Tangye, 1995, 176-81; see case study in section 4.4.2 above). All are classed as Iron Age hill forts rather than settlements and so illustrate an intriguing overlap in time scale with **dinas* sites which, as we have seen above, appear to denote habitative settlements near hill forts and cliff castles. Nowakowski considers that the commanding position of Lescudjack, like Leskernick, indicates its former importance (2016, 180, Fig 7.19); Herring, in the same volume (2016, 201), postulates a 'Lescudjack-land' which may have enclosed a late prehistoric territory.

Like **dinas* settlements, regardless of their elevation and landscape position, **lys* (Figure 7.16) are mostly found in prominent locations on the high ground or on the coast. They occur across Cornwall, but in mid Cornwall are sparser and more unevenly distributed than **dinas* settlements; they also appear as pairs or clusters of settlements, but with more extensive gaps in between. In these areas, they may at one time have been more numerous than they are now, and possibly either renamed with other types of habitative place-name or fallen out of use. There is not a strong distinction between landscape positions of Domesday vills named in **lys* and other settlements sharing the place-name element. Almost all the **lys* examples in Lesnewth and Kerrier hundreds – where most of the Domesday vills occur – are located mid slope, along with most of those in Penwith and mid Cornwall, although landscape positions differ

between the north and south coasts in this low-lying area. Their presence in Domesday and apparent predilection for visible sites suggests that they retained some earlier importance. Without excavation evidence from the medieval period, however, it is unclear whether the **lys* designation denoted contemporary occupation or status, or rather commemorated a previous role.

We have already noted that the landscape positions of **dinas* and **lys* are very similar. It is also apparent that **lys* place-names appear in a complementary distribution with **dinas,* in which those areas without **lys* contain **dinas*, and vice versa. In western Cornwall the density of **lys* settlements increases along with their distances from habitative settlements, whilst their complementarity with **dinas* is especially noticeable on the Lizard peninsula. In Penwith **lys* appear alongside habitative settlements named in **bod* whilst retaining complementary distributions with **dinas*.

In comparison to **dinas* names, combinations of other elements with **lys* names favour topographic and animal types (sections 5.2.2 and 6.1); habitative combinations do not predominate as with **dinas* names. This may be explained by the latter's combinations with other habitative place-name types later associated with nearby settlements. It is a possibility that **lys* were not in fact habitative sites until the medieval period, particularly if they originally served another purpose as, for example, administrative courts. Scholars of Brittany (Giot *et al*, 2003, 47) contend that Armorican sites 'devoted to meeting places …were not inhabited' and some hill forts or cliff castles may not have been permanent, although by the medieval period place-names in **les* were becoming identified as Breton chieftains' courts (Flatrès, 1977, 71; Gaillou and Jones, 1991, 136). With **lys* and **dinas* place-names we may be seeing a similar reciprocation as with **lan* and **caer/*ker/*gear* names, where selected sites of types with shared characteristics went on to develop a high status role, and were later named to distinguish them.

Turning to preferred locations for religious place-names, scholars (eg Bowen, 1977, 51-80; Doble, 1964) note an early association with water at ecclesiastical sites, later confirmed by Christian dedications (Blair, 2005, 277-8) at rivers, springs and wells. Preston-Jones (1994, 91) suggests that the 'coastal and

estuarine distribution' of higher status *lann* enclosures and parish churches with **lan* names points to the introduction and spread of Christianity via overseas contact. Through church dedications, churchyard morphology and north coast locations, Preston-Jones traces an origin for Cornish Christianity to Wales rather than to Brittany (Preston-Jones, 1994, 91). Although the southerly bias to **lan* settlements is suggestive of some contact with Brittany, with counterpart north coast locations in Brittany for later parishes named in Lan (Galliou and Jones, 1991, 136), Preston-Jones contends that the common Brittonic church dedications in southern Cornwall are more likely to be 'indigenous' (Preston-Jones, 1994, 91).

High status settlements such as churches or religious sites elsewhere in the UK also seem to favour access to water. Evidence from finds in rivers from Anglo-Saxon speaking areas of England has suggested that watery places carried spiritual significance in the pre-Christian landscape (Semple, 2013, 72), later confirmed by Christian dedications at rivers, springs and wells (Blair, 2005, 277-8). In early medieval Kent, Everitt (1979, 101) observed that what he referred to as 'seminal', or high-status, settlements tended to be sited by rivers or major springheads as well as 'recognised prehistoric routeways'. Preston-Jones (1994, 87) notes that 64% of definite identifications of **lan* are near navigable water, which in Cornwall also includes access to coastal sites with dedications to 'inter-Celtic' saints (eg those important in Brittonic-speaking countries).

As we have seen above (section 5.3.3; Figure 5.21), settlements with place-names in **seynt* which have not attracted **lan* names are found throughout Cornwall. In southern and mid Cornwall they are interspersed amongst lower status habitative place-names, whilst further west they are found on the edge of settlements, especially **tre*s. On the north coast a cluster of **seynt* settlements appears either side of the Camel estuary in complementary positions to groupings of **tre* names. In western Cornwall **seynt* names become mostly coastal, with little overlap with other habitative settlements. The smaller sample not coastal lie inland at the head of tributaries of major river valleys.

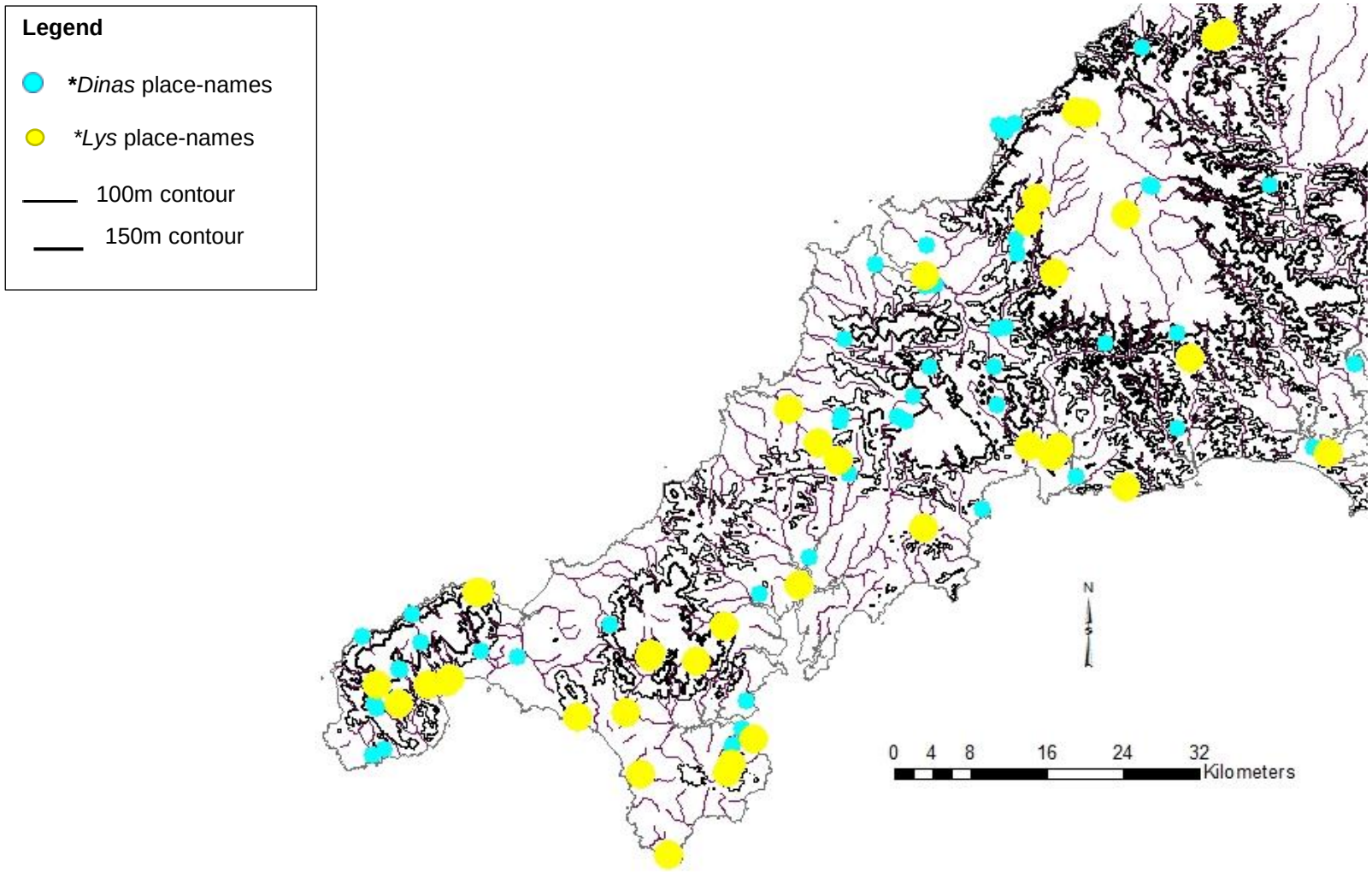


Figure 7.16 *Dinas *and* *lys *names against 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

Looking at the map (Figure 7.17), there is a sense that **seynt* names almost appear as two separate entities across Cornwall. Those in the east and south tend to show a greater propensity for inland distribution and integration with other habitative settlements. By contrast, coastal **seynt*s in the north and west appear as outliers on the edges of habitative areas. There is a sense that proximity to water – as highlighted by Preston-Jones above – may have been more important at the time they were established than access to nearby settlements.

As previously noted, there is a fair overlap in landscape positions between **seynt* and **eglos* settlements, which would be expected with those **seynt* place-names originally recorded with **eglos* elements. Nevertheless, those few settlements with names in **eglos* without **seynt* affiliations do show a distinctive distribution compared with **seynt*s (Figure 7.18) and are more likely to be interspersed amongst other habitative settlements. It is noticeable that the **eglos* settlements in general occupy somewhat higher ground than the coastal **seynt* settlements.

There are also differences between HLC types for **lan*, **seynt* and **eglos* place-names, which become more diverse in western Cornwall for these high status ecclesiastical settlements. In eastern and southern mid Cornwall the majority of **lan* settlements lie in Medieval Farmland, but moving west an overlying 20thC Settlement type becomes more dominant until it outnumbers earlier types in the far west. This pattern becomes more marked with **seynt* and **eglos* named settlements. Most of the 20thC Settlement elements occur within, or on the edge of, present-day population centres where surrounding Medieval Farmland types confirm probable medieval origins. It is certainly possible, if not likely, that the towns or larger villages developed from pre-existing religious centres in the medieval landscape which had become ‘core’ settlements, and had emerged as a focus for local economies.

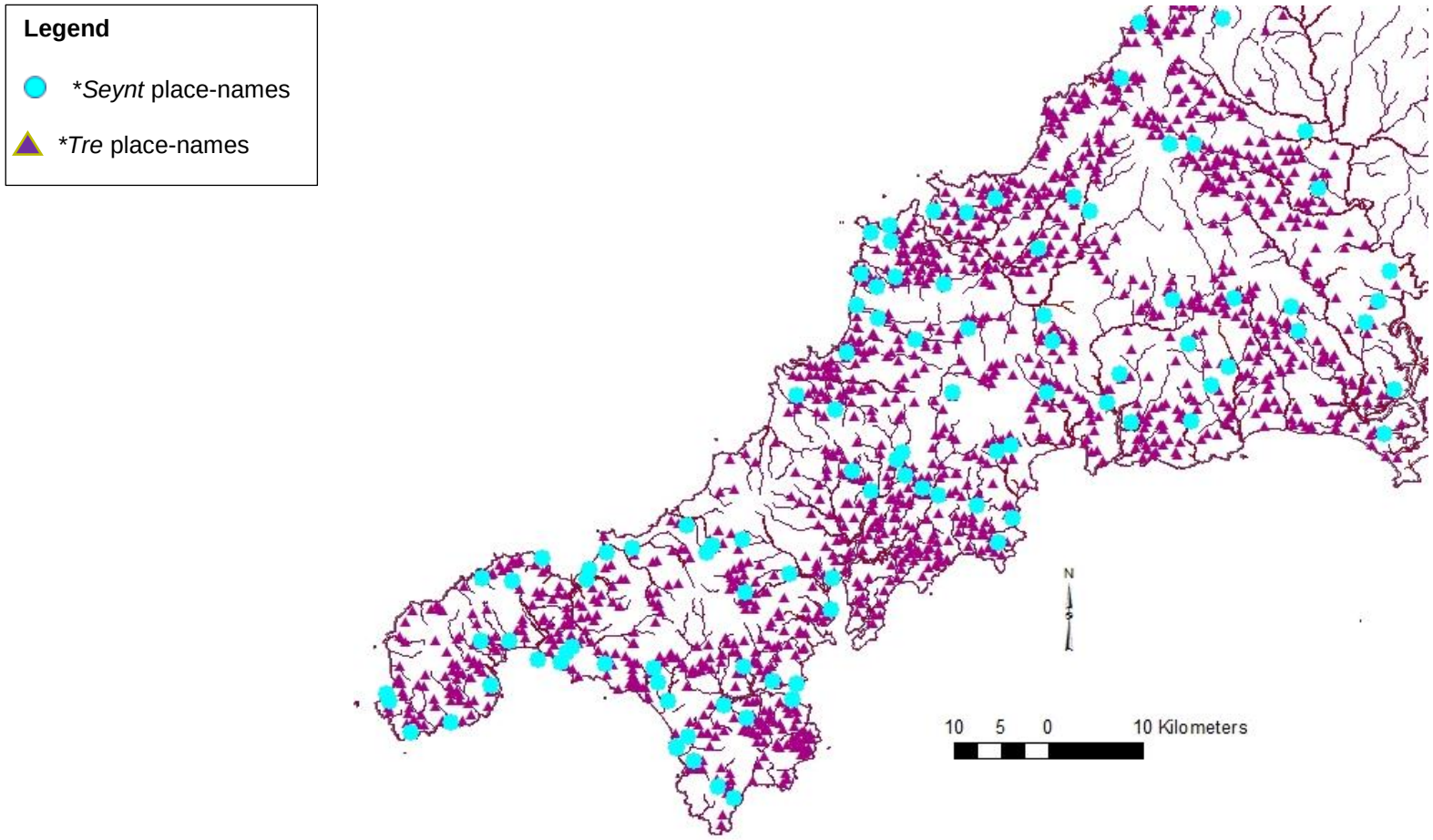


Figure 7.17 Names including *seynt *against* *tre *names (Source: author's database)*

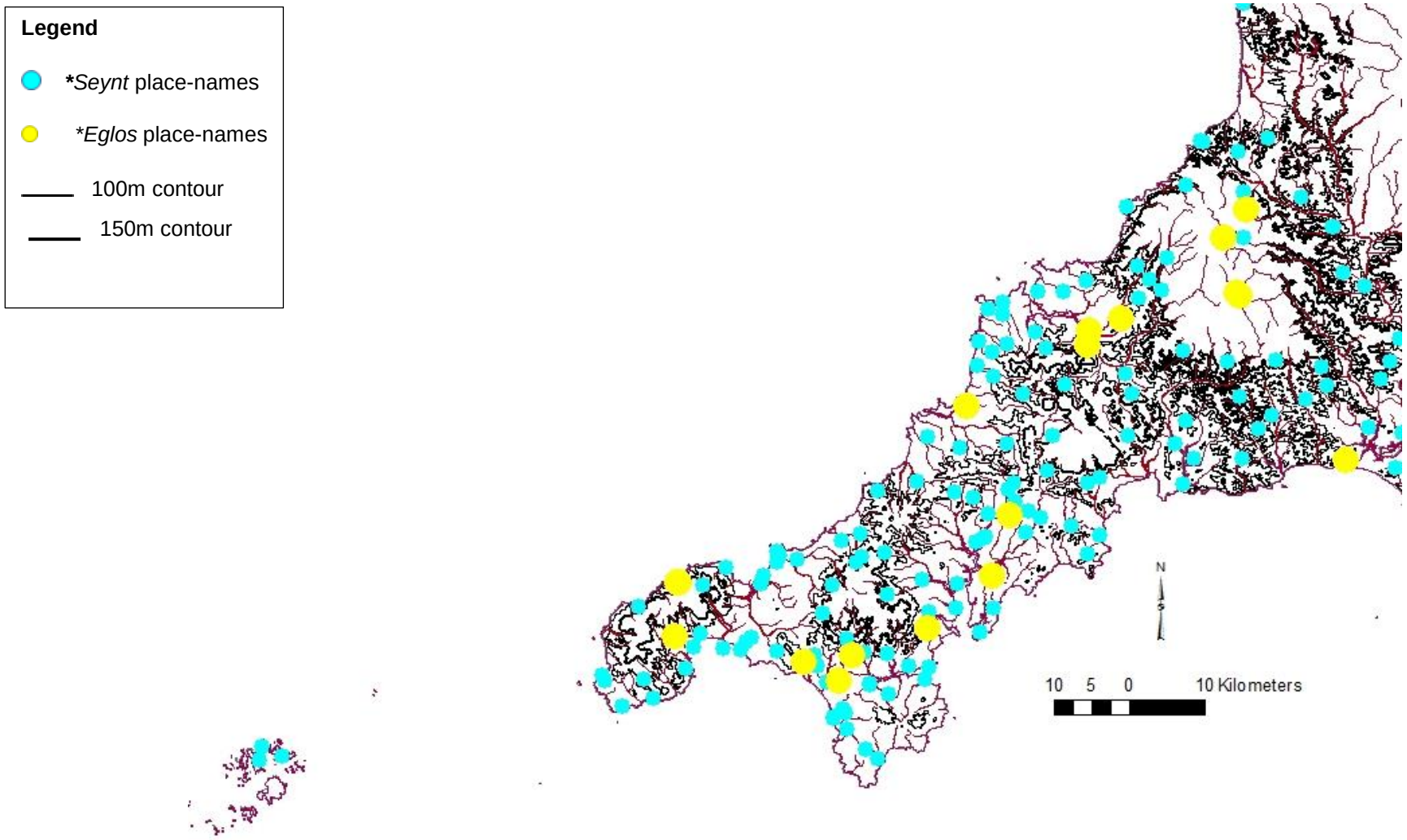


Figure 7.18 *Seynt *and unique* *eglos *names against 100m and 150m contours, including Isles of Scilly (Source: author's database)*

The high status secular and religious habitative elements in western Cornwall do seem to reflect distinctive preferences in their locations either side of the Camel-Fowey river valleys. We can see differences in naming practice that indicate what may be a cultural discontinuity between eastern and western Cornwall dating back at least as far as the early medieval period, and which has long been noted by linguistic scholars and historians of Cornwall (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 144; Padel, 2010; Spriggs, 2003, 233-4). Dialectal evidence appears to distinguish an additional zone across mid Cornwall: 'dividing the county into three regions, and accounting for some of the most important of the present-day dialectal isoglosses' (Wakelin, 1975, 202-3). We have observed in place-name element distributions suggestions of topographical preferences for settlement siting that also mark apparent differences between eastern, mid and western Cornwall.

7.2.6 Are there place-name elements that identify favoured locations for settlements?

We turn finally to consider topographical alongside habitative place-name elements (chapter 6) whose distribution reflects the resources they were named for, and so appear to be sited according to different criteria than habitative place-names. Although the time scale for establishment of such settlements is obscure, they evidence common forms across all the Brittonic languages which suggests an early origin. Topographical elements denote landscape features across Cornwall relating to land forms, watercourses and woodland cover, and show more mixed locations overall than habitative elements. Apart from two place-name elements for woodland (**coys* and **gwyth*), most topographical elements are more likely to combine with each other than with habitative elements. This may indicate either a distinctive preference, or possible established practice before habitative place-names were introduced. In the case of some woodland names, habitative combinations suggests establishment of dwellings nearby.

We see early dates of recording with topographical elements: three **pen* examples appear in 10th century charters from southern Cornwall and fourteen

Domesday vills named in **pen* come from eastern and mid Cornwall, substantiating the 'high status' sense of the element. Two **pol* elements are found in 10th century charters and seven in Domesday from similar areas; by contrast, **fenten* settlements occur mainly from the 13th century onwards, with a single Domesday example from southern Cornwall. Names for woodland also carry early initial recordings: nine **coys* settlements appear as Domesday vills in mid and western Cornwall, three **kelli*s in the east and far west, and three **gwyth*s from northern and mid Cornwall alongside a single 10th century charter from the far east (Hooke, 1994, 20). This distribution suggests an eventual decline in status for topographical names over time.

Locations for **pen* names (Figure 7.19) across Cornwall are densest between Bodmin Moor and the east of the Camel-Fowey river valleys, and on the eastern edge of the Carnmenellis granite to the west of the Carnon river valley. Whilst these points appear to mark the edge – or 'end' – of high ground on either side, there is also a cluster of **pen* names in the lowland valleys of the Fal river network, and a more limited number in the northwest corner of the Lizard peninsula.

Both **pen* and **pol* named settlements appear to intermingle with habitative elements rather than show complementary distributions. **Pol* names (Figure 7.20) are not as closely linked with an elevated landscape as **pen* names but appear mainly in association with lowland watercourses, whether coast, creeks or major rivers. Occasional reciprocal substitutions of **pen* and **pol* suggest an enduring relationship between them which may have outlasted awareness of their links with specific landscape features. As they are interspersed with habitative names, there is an indication that they have not been replaced by other elements over their relatively long period of use. The smaller corpus of **fenten* settlement seems to reflect a complementary distribution with **pol* settlements, especially to the east of the Camel-Fowey river valleys in the higher ground to the north of Bodmin Moor. It would seem from their more inland distribution that **fenten*s tend to denote sources, or upper reaches, of waterways (Figure 7.21), for example along the upper Fal river valley.

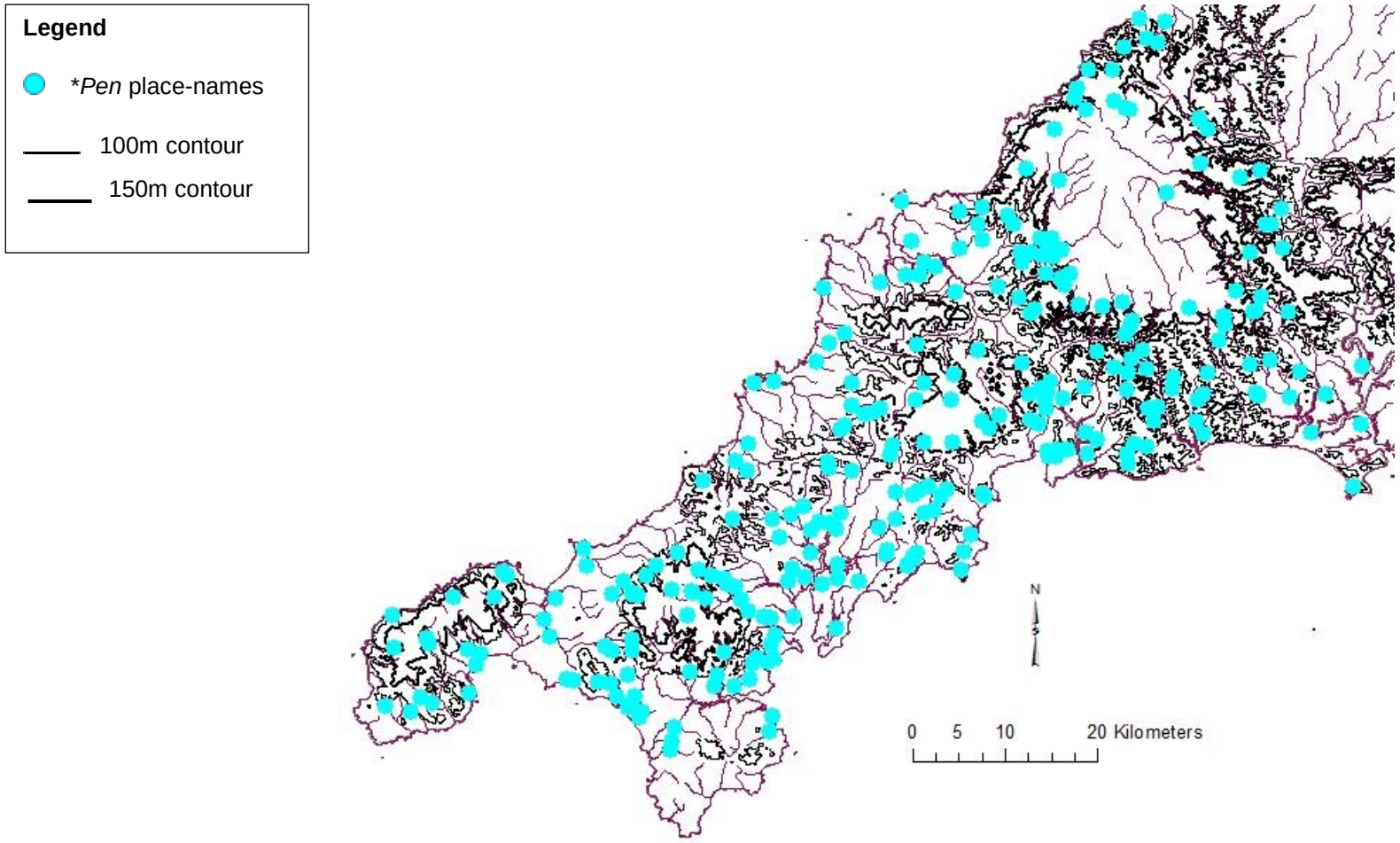


Figure 7.19 *Pen *names against 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

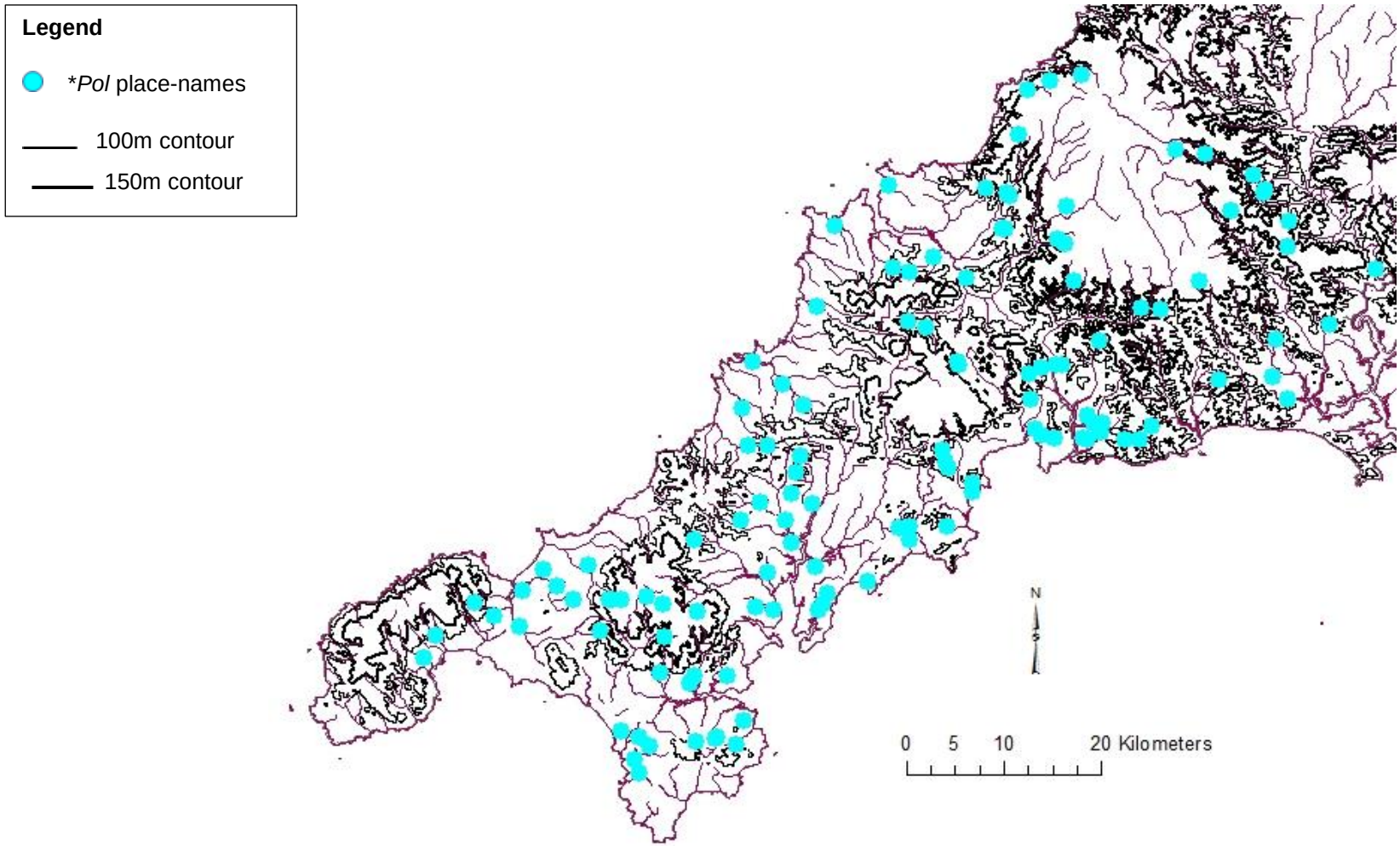


Figure 7.20 *Pol *names against 100m and 150m contours (Source: author's database)*

By contrast, the analogous element **dour* (Figure 7.21), meaning 'watering-place', is found alongside and further west than **fenten* names in a complementary distribution. Of the two elements **dour* appears to be older and derives (Jackson, 1953, 418) from the Brittonic **dubro*, 'water', giving Old Cornish **douer* or **dofr* via an intermediate vocalised /ð̞/ > /v/. Traces of the medial /v/ remain in several Cornish **dour* names (Ardevora, Deveral, Devoran). Jackson (1953, 421) dates this change to no later than the 6th century based on formerly Brittonic-speaking areas elsewhere in the UK, where **dour* is found in river names in northern England and Scotland, the Romano-British *Dubris* or Dover, and in European river names: the Gaulish *Dubra* (the German river *Tauber*; Jackson, 1953, 577), France (*Douvre*), Spain (*Dobra*; Rivet and Smith, 1979, 341) and Portugal (*Douro*). This widespread European distribution and complementary patterning of Cornish **dour* and **fenten* not only suggests cultural boundaries within Cornwall, but also an outward-facing western Cornwall during the later Romano-British period, as attested by excavation finds on St Michael's Mount (Herring, 2000, 45-6, 119).

Turning to names for woodland, although eastern Cornwall today is more heavily wooded than the west, the majority of **coys* names occur in mid and western Cornwall (Figure 7.22), where they show little correlation to the present-day resource. Compared with habitative place-names **coys* names (Figure 7.23) do show complementary positions: in the southeast corner of Cornwall on the edges of habitative named settlements, and in clusters between the north and south coasts to the east of the Camel-Fowey river valleys and further west in mid Cornwall. Others appear in the upper reaches of the Carnon and Helford river networks but then become much sparser, which reflects the less wooded nature of the landscape.

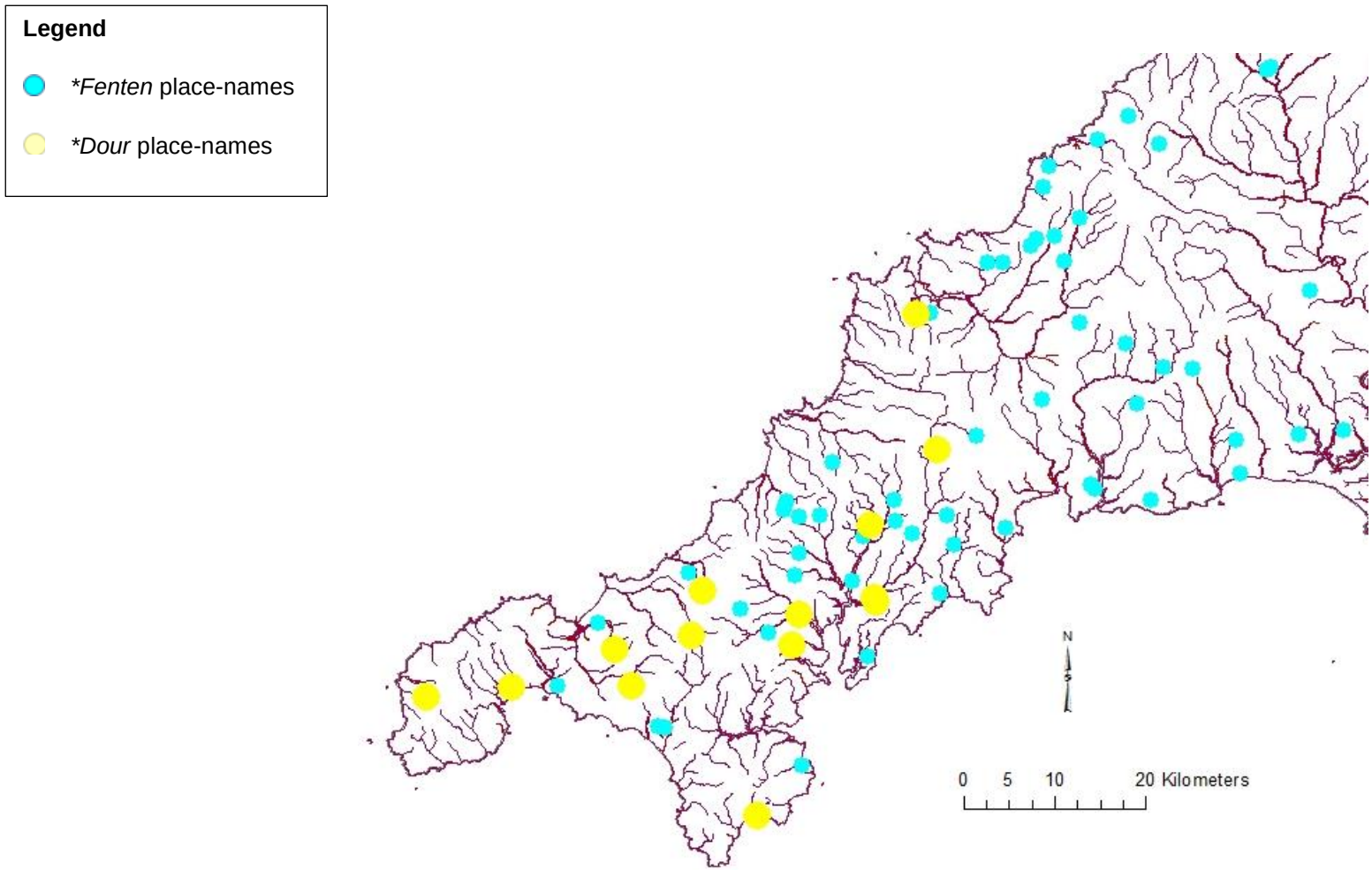


Figure 7.21 *Fenten *and* *dour *name distribution (Source: author's database)*

The less extensive woodland groves denoted by **kelli* settlements (Figure 7.24) also suggest general patterns for medieval woodland. With their more restricted size, we generally see closer correlation between **kelli* settlements and smaller woods to this day, although in some cases only the place-name marks what was previously a grove. **Kelli* settlements occupy complementary positions compared to **coys* and show a weaker relationship with habitative named settlements, which may suggest that they did not contribute as strongly as **coys* to the Cornish woodland resource. They are more evenly distributed throughout Cornwall than **coys* settlements and not as closely associated with substantial woodland areas, wooded river valleys or estuaries; any small clusters occur at the heads of tributaries of minor rivers well inland.

**Gwyth* settlements (Figure 7.25) are not particularly associated with wooded river valleys. They can be found along the coasts of northern Cornwall and in the interior of mid and western Cornwall, where they fringe the higher ground around the edges of the moorlands and appear along the coasts. As they are intermingled with habitative named settlements and show mainly late recording, it may be that **gwyth* names date from an active period of habitation establishment in Cornwall. They perhaps refer to smaller stands of trees whose more limited extent makes it easier to incorporate them into individual holdings, accessible as private timber resources at a time when common ownership was breaking down. Their preferred combinations with habitative elements also reinforce this interpretation.

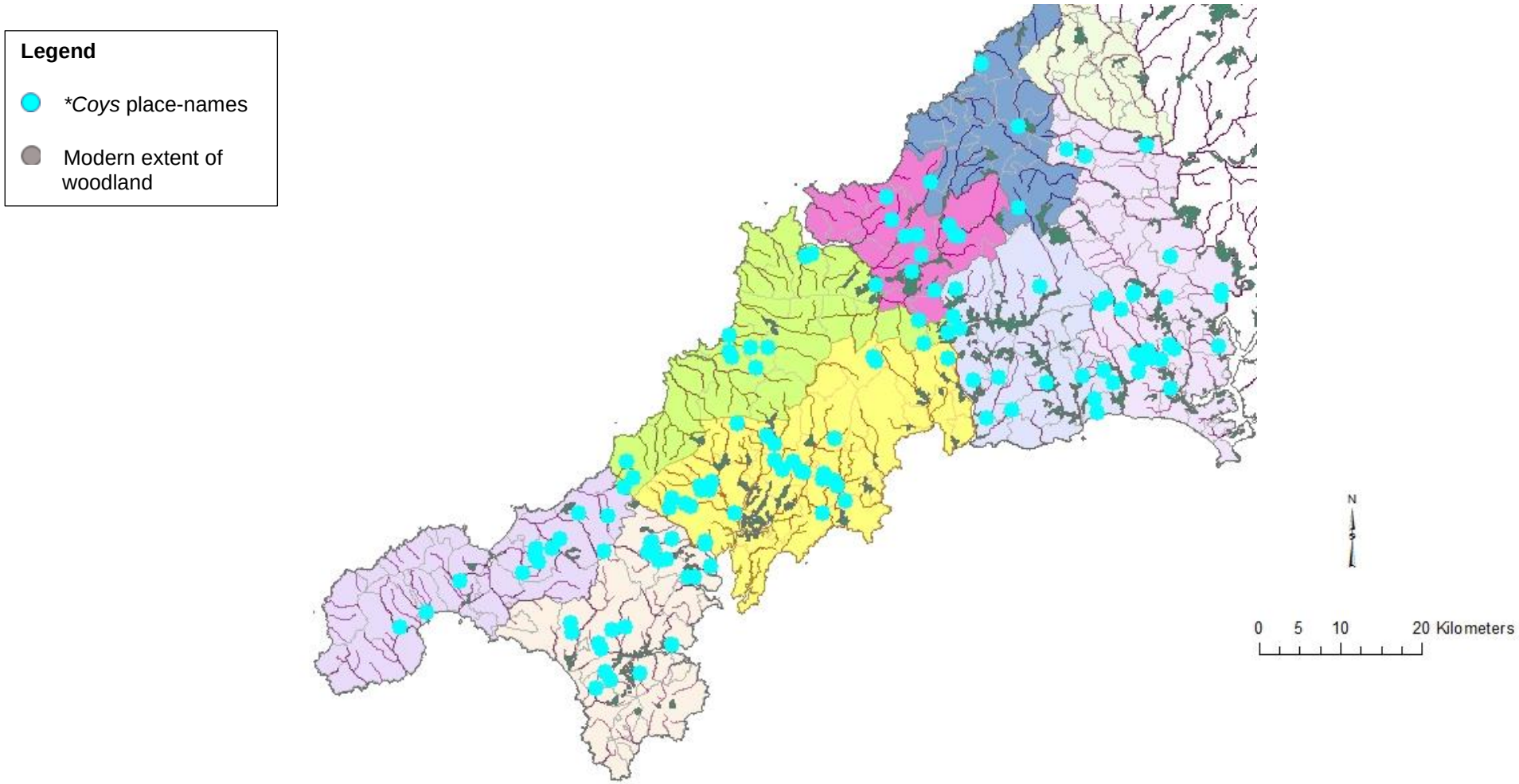


Figure 7.22 *Coys *settlements against the extent of 20th century Cornish woodland (Source: author's database/OS* Strategi *data)*

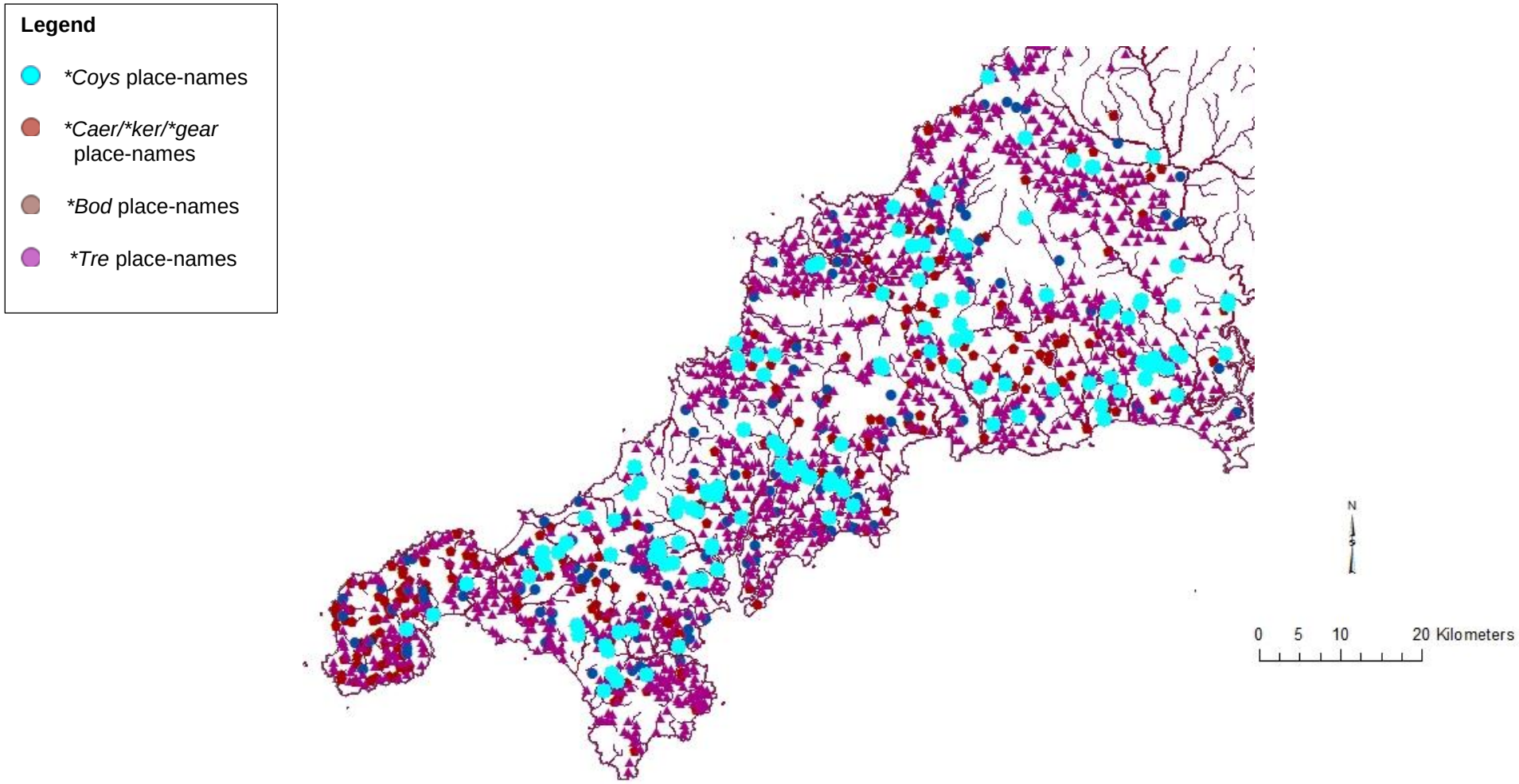


Figure 7.23 *Coys *names against *tre*, *caer/*ker/*gear *and* *bod *(Source: author's database)*

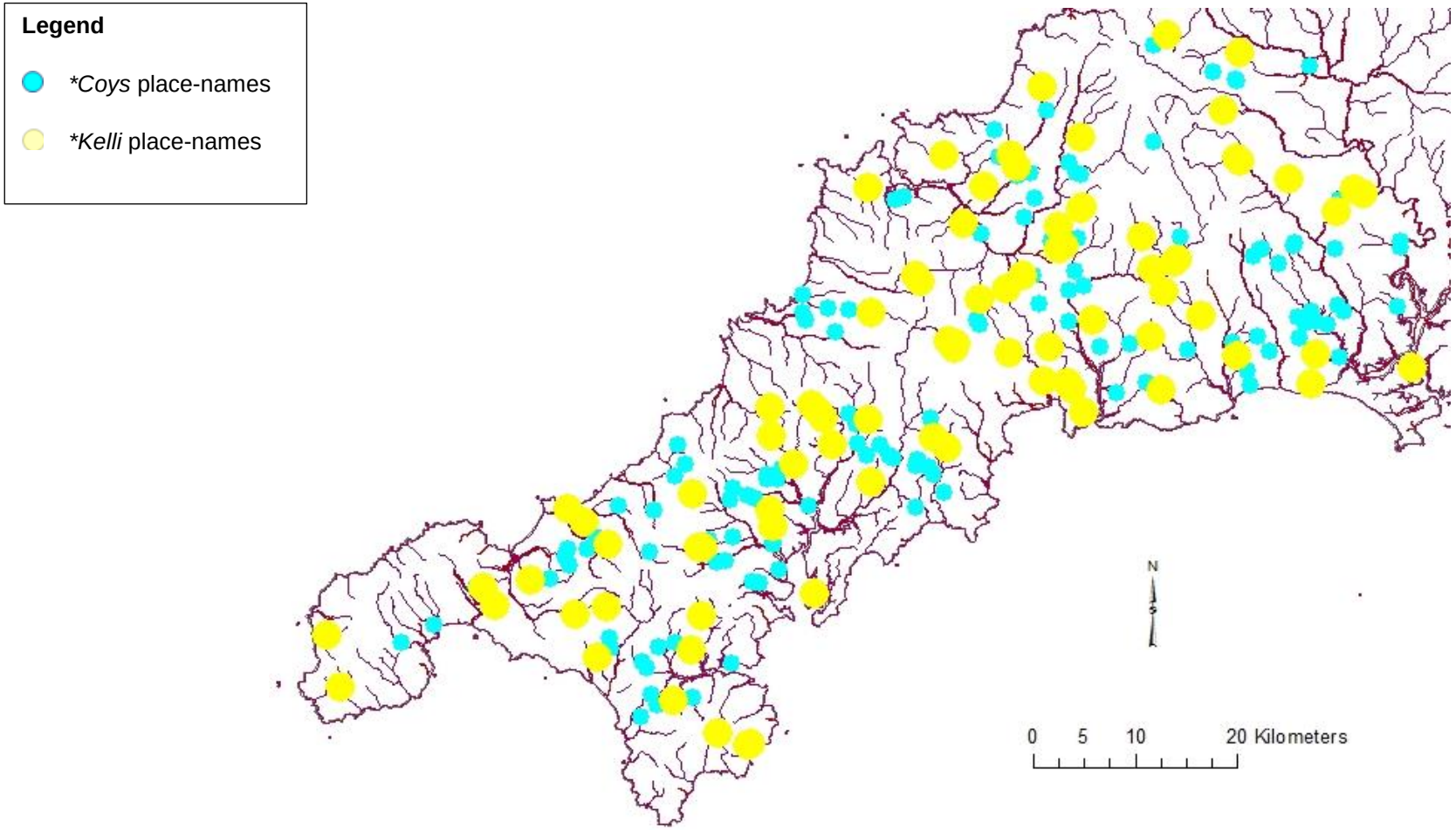


Figure 7.24 *Coys *and* *kelli *place-names (Source: author's database)*

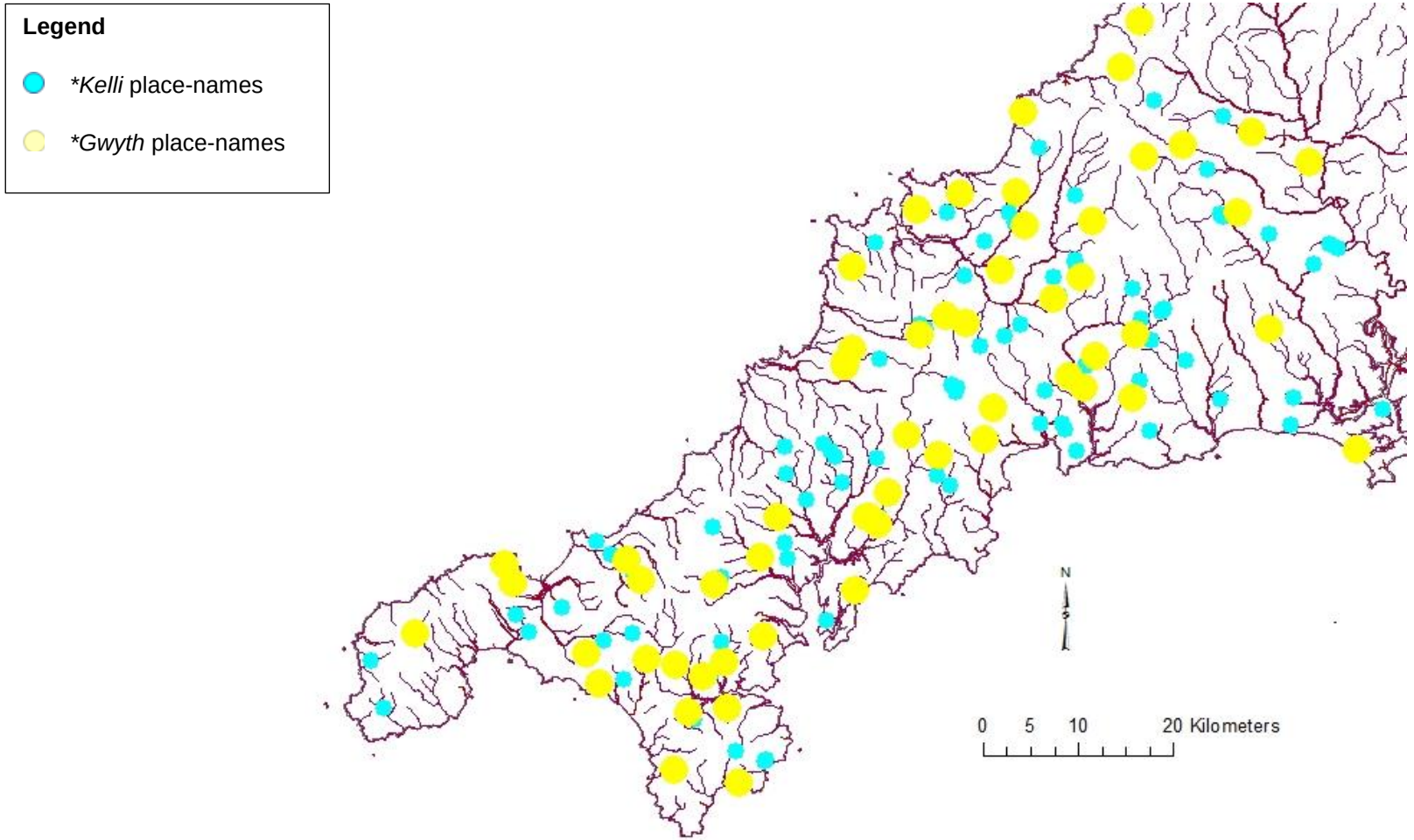


Figure 7.25 *Kelli *and* *gwyth *place-names (Source: author's database)*

To deepen our discussion of whether place-names indicate favoured sites for settlement, we will turn now to consider the underlying conditions for siting habitations – the Cornish geology and soils context (Figures 7.26, 7.27 and 7.28) – to look at any relationships with place-name elements and the landscape itself. There are apparent correlations between some settlements with habitative place-names and their underlying geology (Figure 7.27), which may indicate a preference for locations on geological boundaries. Such sites would benefit from being able to access a wider variety of ground conditions than those overlying a single rock type.

The majority (45 of 65 or 69%) of settlements with **hendre* and **havos* place-names appear to lie at the boundaries of geological formations. Interestingly, recent geological surveys of the Minions area of Bodmin Moor for the Reading the Hurlers project suggest that ancient monuments such as the Hurlers were located at the margins of underlying rock types (Beeson, personal communication, 2016). The geological distribution of **hendre* and **havos* settlements can be clearly seen (Figure 7.27) at the southern edges of the Bodmin Moor granite intrusion and at the boundaries between slates, siltstones and mudstones; between mudstones, sandstones and slates in mid Cornwall; and in western Cornwall at the boundaries between granites and adjacent formations towards the north coast. Habitations named in **chy* are also found encircling granite formations and at the boundaries between sandstones, mudstones and slates. Settlements in lower-lying southerly coastal areas are not as closely associated with geological boundaries, nor are those named in **bod* which are rather more dispersed, although they may have undergone some thinning.

The soils (Figure 7.28) in which **hendre* and **tre* settlements are located appear to be similar and reflect the types of soil as well as the geology beneath; there are no areas where **hendre* settlements exist and those named in **tre* do not. The types of soil preferred by these habitations are freely draining acid or slightly acid loamy soils, either medium to light silty loams or light to medium sandy loams. In mid and western Cornwall **chy* settlements show the same soil preferences, although further to the west they are more likely to be found

overlying granite on coarser, more acid soils ranging from sand to loam in texture, encircling the boundaries of geological formations in the uplands.

In the lowlands, **chy* settlements also occur in sandstones on the western side of the Lizard and in mudstones further west; the unusual complex geology on the Lizard inhibited settlement in areas where poorly drained soils created boggy conditions. By contrast, as with their less restricted geological distribution, **bod* settlements appear in the most varied collection of soil types throughout, ranging from light to medium silty loams to coarse sandy to loamy soils in eastern and mid Cornwall, to medium to coarse sandy to loamy acid soils overlying the Carnmenellis and Penwith granite intrusions.

Lowland settlements of both higher and lower status are likely to have favoured river valley locations, where alluvial character and flexible access to resources would have been more important for subsistence than the underlying geology. Bases of hillslopes and river valleys would gain a natural advantage from richer soils washing down from hillsides and access to fertile alluvial sediments. Settlements that favour freely draining loamy soils with silty and sandy textures, such as **hendre* and **tre* settlements, would benefit from these tending to be light, easy to work, and not requiring much enrichment for either pastoral or agricultural uses.

With topographical place-name elements, we appear to be seeing distribution patterns which are well attuned to the visible resources they are close to in the landscape. Not only do the resources themselves, such as woodland and watercourses, freely recombine in place-names, but the names also seem to mark the boundaries of those resources. There are indications that **pen* and **pol* place-names may have originally been higher status, and in the case of the former tend to occupy higher ground; combinations of the two types are found at the heads of inland creeks which, it is argued, would have conferred some strategic advantage. Settlements of most lower status habitative types seem to prefer locations that would give optimum access to a range of soil types for a mixed agricultural economy, including at the boundaries of rock formations. The wider distribution of **bod* names across soils and geologies suggests that they may have originally been founded according to different criteria.

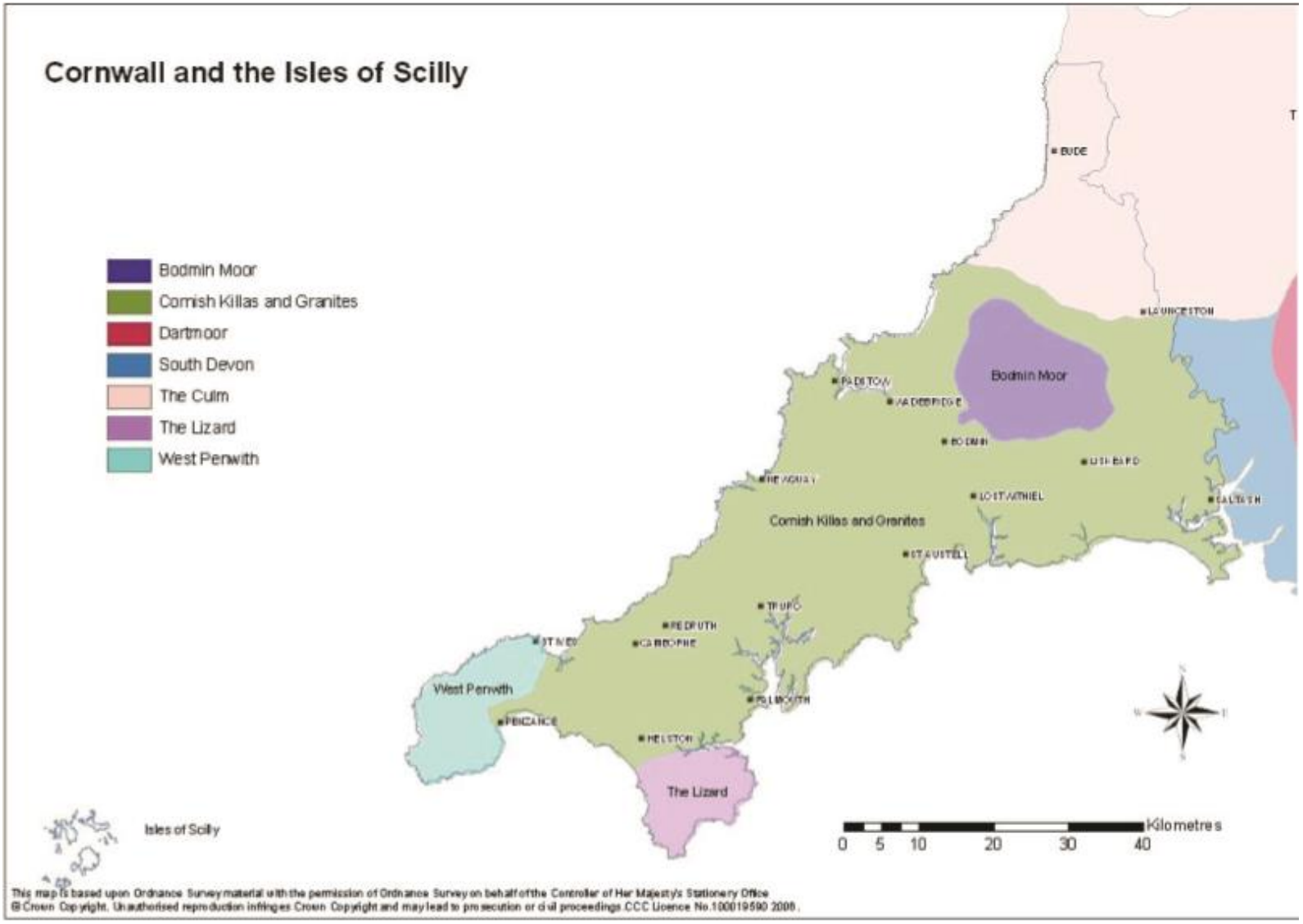


Figure 7.26 Simplified overview of Cornish geological zones (Source: Young, 2007, 14, Fig 1)

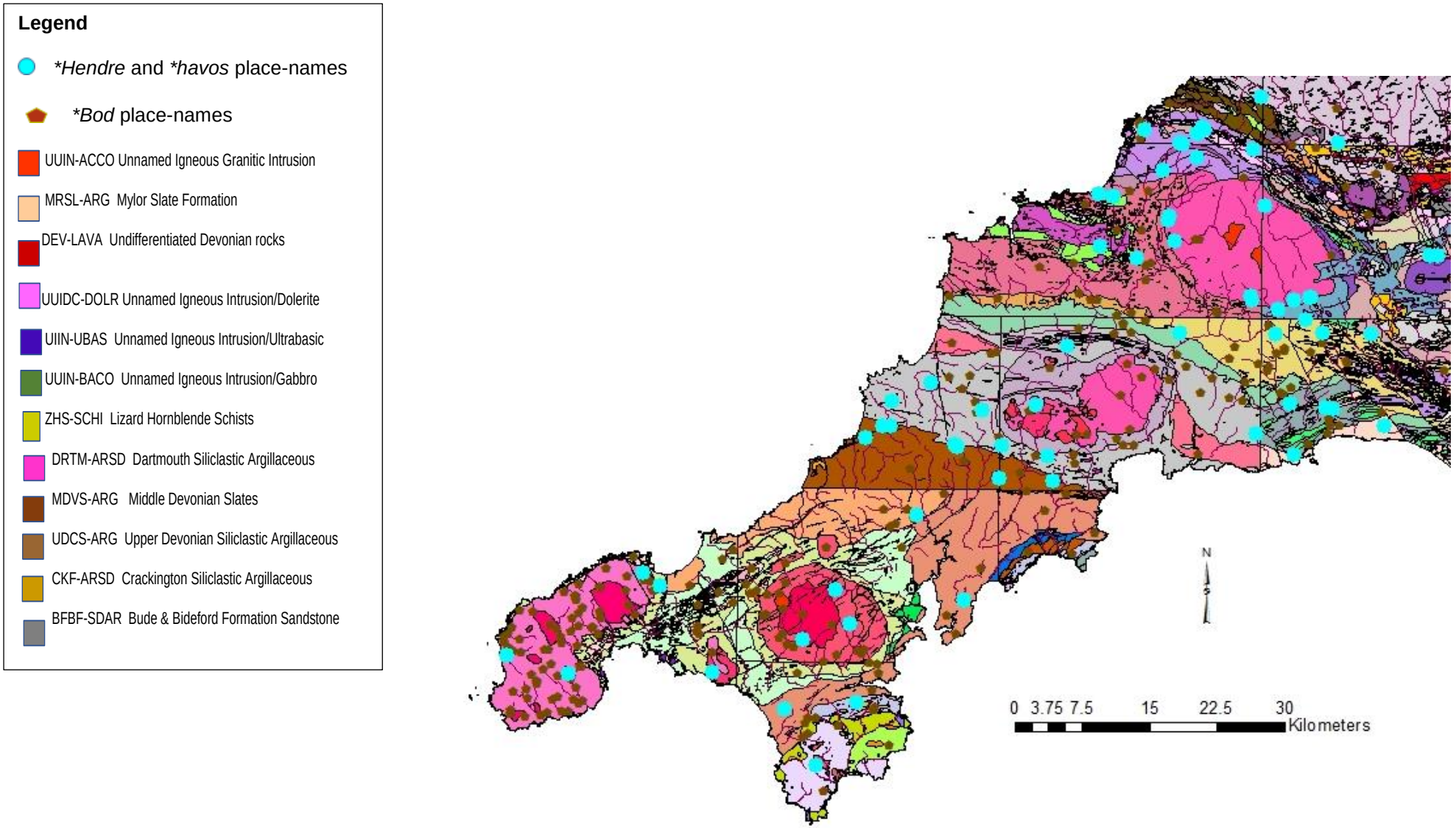


Figure 7.27 Settlements with selected habitative place-names and Cornish geology showing distribution at boundaries of rock types (Source: author's database/British Geological Survey)

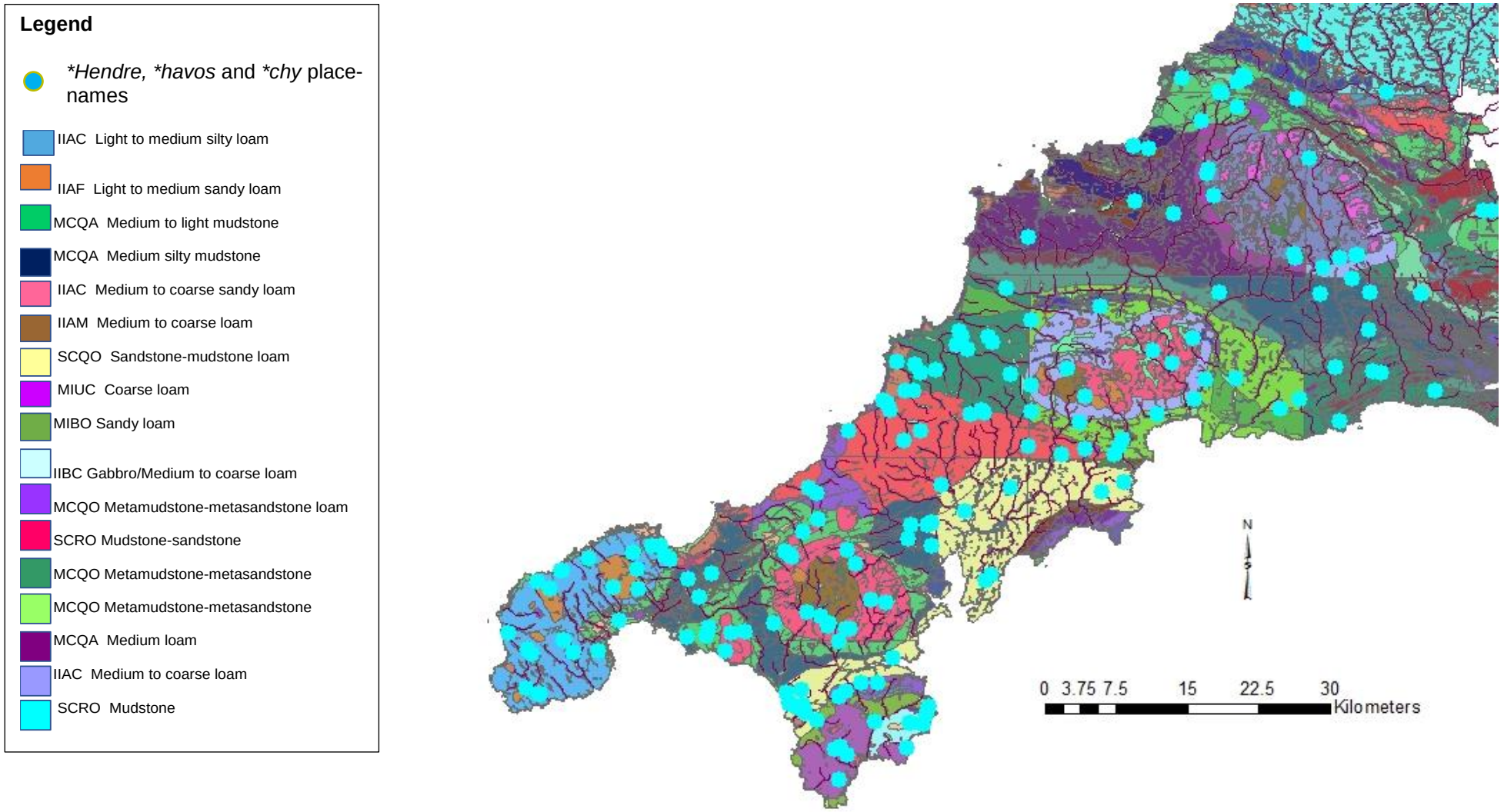


Figure 7.28 Settlements with selected habitative place-names and Cornish soil types (Source: author's database/British Geological Survey)

Having reviewed the underpinning evidence for place-name distribution in the Cornish landscape we now turn to the Conclusions, where we will identify the main findings that arise from the foregoing analysis. We will then summarise the research question responses and overall conclusions from the Cornish place-name research. Finally, we will suggest future directions for Cornish place-name research.

8 FINAL CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Key findings

The evidence discussed in the previous chapter has identified the following key findings that appear to characterise Cornish place-names of both habitative and topographical types, and which we shall now consider in turn.

8.1.1 East-Mid-West divisions

The east-mid-west divisions which, it is proposed, are illustrated by place-name patterns may be of very long standing. Nor is this distinction restricted to Cornish place-names: Wakelin (1975, 21) noted major differences in pronunciation of Cornish dialectal speech between ‘east, central and west Cornwall’, and Harvey (section 2.2.3) found medieval land units to be different at either end of Cornwall. The contrast between English place-names much more common in eastern Cornwall and Cornish place-names in the middle and west of the Duchy is striking (Figure 2.6a), and is traditionally defined by a line drawn between the valleys of the Camel and Fowey rivers. To the west of this area, mid and western Cornwall are much lower topographically than eastern Cornwall except for the far west Penwith uplands. Patterns of place-names also show distinct differences which may partly reflect the changing topography.

Historical sources tell us (Hooke, 1999, 95) that in 722 AD an Anglo-Saxon attempt to dominate Cornwall was defeated at the battle of *Hehil*, whose location has been disputed. Amongst other possibilities, it is conceivable that the place-name refers to the Camel estuary, otherwise known as Egloshayle. Certainly the element *heyl* or ‘estuary’ was well used here and elsewhere along the Cornish coasts to denote a ‘place where the sea flowed’ (MacLauchlan, 1848, 24-26). Low-lying and well-watered, mid Cornwall presents a suitable landscape for overland travel between the north and south coasts, with major estuaries at the Camel, Fowey and Fal that, like the Tresillian, Gannel and Menalhyl rivers, run deep inland. On the north coast of mid Cornwall, material

finds may indicate prehistoric trade (eg Trevelgue Head; Johnson and Rose, 1984, 189). Recent research on both sides of the Camel estuary confirms a dense pattern of prehistoric and Romano-British enclosures long before Christianity first left its mark on the area (Young, 2012, 69-124). Alongside this, excavations of long-cist cemeteries have pointed to early Christian activity (eg Perranporth, Padstow) and pre-Norman ecclesiastical centres (eg Crantock, St Columb; Preston-Jones, 1984, 157-178). Medieval settlement patterns show similarities between Pydar and Trigg hundreds either side of the Camel estuary, perhaps reflected in the cult of St Petroc at Padstow and Bodmin: 'whose monks…dominated a vast territory on both sides of the Camel' (Hoskins and Finberg, 1952, 22).

At the other end of Cornwall, Penwith exhibits distinctive distribution patterns in almost every place-name element, which may be partly due to an innate conservatism – seen in naming practice, as with its long use of the ancient **bod* designation – as well as with different cultural markers, as evidenced by courtyard houses and 'geographically atypical' settlement patterns (Quinnell, 1986, 131). The 'gateway' to the far west crosses the narrowest part of the Cornish peninsula between what are thought the two westernmost areas of prehistoric tin extraction (Herring, 2000 115) (Figure 8.1), marked by the Hayle and Roseworthy river valleys running inland from the north coast.

More recent reinterpretation of excavations on the north coast within the Hayle river estuary at Gwithian (Nowakowski *et al*, 2007, 54-56) has revealed Roman period coinage, as well as Bronze Age through to post-Roman industrial workshops. Across the peninsula on the south coast, research suggests that St Michael's Mount may be the ancient site of Diodorus Siculus' *Ictis* (Herring, 2000, 10, 116) and Mount's Bay a prehistoric tin trading station (Cunliffe, 2001, 304-5; Davis, 1997, 136), offering 'safe anchorages and easy access to the interior' (Todd, 1987, 154). The Penwith peninsula – known as *Belerion*, or *Belerium*, to Diodorus and Ptolemy (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 266) – had ample opportunity in prehistoric times to develop its own unique place-name and settlement patterns.

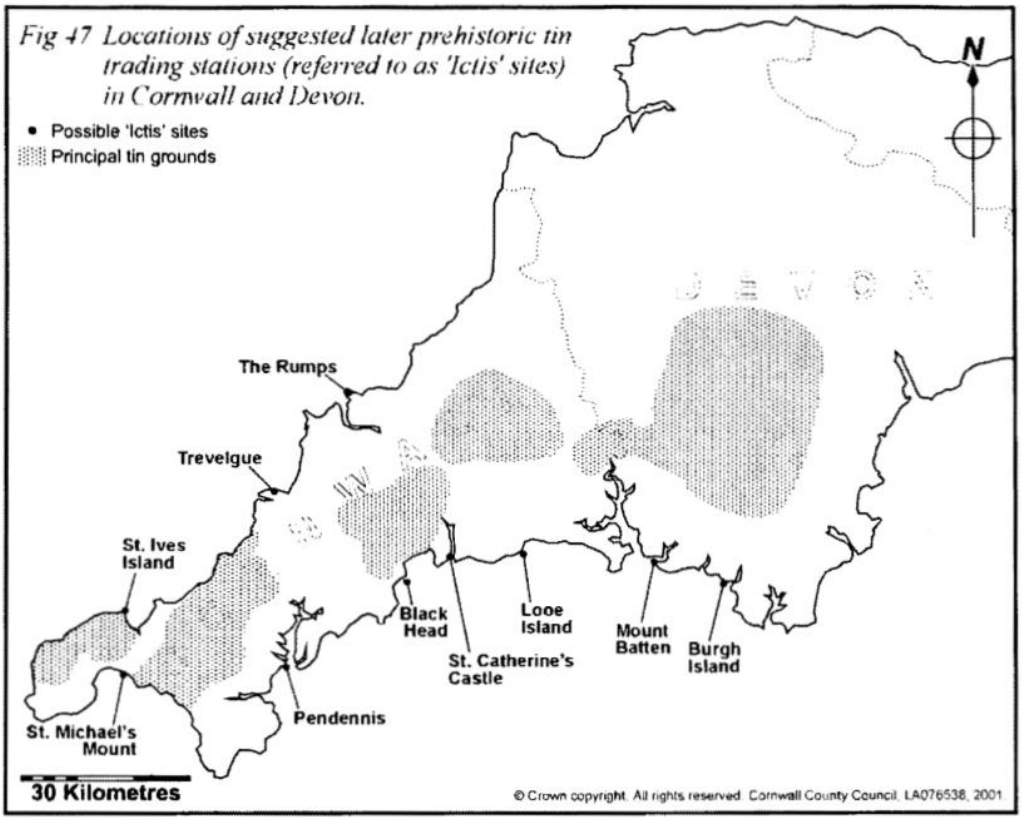


Figure 8.1 Putative prehistoric tin trading sites (Source: Herring, 2000, 115, Fig 46)

Penwith hundred itself shows a change in character between its eastern side and the far west peninsula: here, field boundaries with origins in prehistoric farmland persist into the medieval period (Nowakowski, 2011, 243), with evident differences in field sizes from other parts of Cornwall (Young, 2015, 100). Herring (2016, 201) proposes the former existence of what he terms the Giants' Grave, an overland earthwork which would have run 6km between Mount's Bay on the south coast and St Ives Bay on the north, and would have effectively demarcated the Penwith peninsula as a distinctive entity apart from the rest of Cornwall.

The differences between the proposed 'thirds' of Cornwall may indeed be partly due to the less elevated nature of its centre, where the landscape positions of place-names changed character in the lower ground. We have noted distinctions between settings for place-name types in their contours as well as landscape settings, and that in some instances contexts for names show similarities between the more rugged landscapes in eastern and far western Cornwall. It is interesting also to see a recurrence of variants of the name

Embla, or ‘edge’, both on the eastern side of the Penwith Moors (Embla, Amalveor, Amalwhidden) and on the western edge of Bodmin Moor (Emblance Downs, Amble). It is conceivable that these originally referred to territorial divisions which distinguished the higher ground of eastern and western Cornwall from its low-lying centre.

8.1.2 Place-name replacement

There is ample evidence for name replacement throughout Cornwall, which – although the process may have started long before written records began – carried on freely throughout the medieval period, according to forms first attested. Replacement may have occurred for a range of reasons, whether linguistic (as with **chy* forms, replacing an earlier **ty* or **tre*; Table 4.6, Appendix A), dialectal (where **tre* has resulted from **tyr*, meaning ‘point of land’), homophonic, or possibly historical. Likely examples of renaming in **tre* include prehistoric settlements whose importance and long periods of early occupation have been confirmed by excavation (eg Trevisker, ApSimon and Greenfield, 1972, 302-381; Trevelgue Head, Johnson and Rose, 1984, 189). Evidence of **tre* places named in conjunction with **caer/*ker/*gear* place-names occurs in numerous instances of the place-name Tregear (Table 4.22), suggesting an intermediate overlapping stage where the two types may have coexisted. By contrast, despite a presumed coexistence we do not often see **bod* used in conjunction with **tre* whether replaced by it or vice versa, which may be due to distinctiveness of settlement type or for a more obscure historical reason.

The corpus of English place-names in eastern Cornwall have also probably undergone name replacement, although here the first recording of names in English means that translation from earlier place-names in Cornish can only be surmised. Even here, except for areas close to Devon, the forms that English names take are more likely to include topographical elements – as with Cornish names – than denote personal ownership, as with place-name combinations in Anglo-Saxon speaking parts of England. In eastern Cornwall, the complementary distributions of **tre* names with **tūn* names, especially along major rivers, suggests some replacement of **tre* by **tūn* names which are

heavily riverine in neighbouring Devon (Hoskins and Finberg, 1952, 303). That **tūn* names carried higher status into medieval times are shown by the 'ton' designations of almost all the Domesday hundreds.

Topographical names too show evidence of replacement, with examples of **pol* having been substituted for **pen*, and the reverse. We also see cases where other elements such as **porth* or **pons* have been interchanged for **pol* and **pen*. These examples are more likely to have been dialectal and to have occurred at a time when the original sense of the element had been lost, so replaced by a homophonic substitute. With the names of distinctive features such as **fenten* or **kelli*, the existence of simplex or single name forms suggests that some subsequently acquired a qualifier or descriptive term in combination to indicate extent or individual characteristic.

8.1.3 Common property regimes

Compared to English place-names, there is little attempt in Cornish names to indicate private ownership in early medieval times. Relatively few qualifying elements are recognisable as individuals' personal names apart from ecclesiastical dedications and a handful of Domesday vills; as Domesday records ownership, this is somewhat surprising. It is possible, however, that the subset of unknown elements in combinations refers to unidentified Cornish personal names. During the early medieval period, it seems that Cornish place-names are not assigned to make places distinctive: names are freely duplicated even within a small area, where Penhale, for instance, may refer to either side of the same patch of rough ground. As shown by pre-Norman charters, place-names also tend to refer to areas around settlements rather than reflect specific points in the landscape which could have reflected individual ownership more precisely.

In her wide-ranging discussion of common property regimes (CPrRs) in the Romano-British and early medieval periods in Britain, Oosthuizen (2013, 162) notes that they were not an Anglo-Saxon innovation, but 'occurred in areas where Late British populations survived into the seventh or eighth centuries' (Oosthuizen, 2013, 170). She (Oosthuizen, 2013, 154) draws together evidence

from Wales and Ireland as well as England to identify two forms, one relating to rights to work arable land in severalty and the other covering common rights to non-arable land, as with transhumance (Oosthuizen, 2013, 31). Rights of participation (Oosthuizen, 2013, 160-1) were centred around the unit of the household, itself based on perceived membership of a kin group, which also extended to relationships between households to cover perhaps nine to twelve individuals. Arrangements were flexible and well embedded in social relations (Oosthuizen, 2013, 42-3), although the expansion of territories by the 7th century meant that resource entitlement became more restricted (Oosthuizen, 2013, 156).

Herring's studies of seasonal settlement patterns on the uplands of Bodmin Moor, represented by **hendre* and **havos* place-names, convinced him of the lasting importance of shared resources in Cornwall, where

> *resource sharing and cooperation between…hamlets is crucial to understanding the development of Cornwall's landscape and society. The cooperative group or hamlet was [run]…by its constituent households, to satisfy basic agricultural…needs, and not imposed from above, hence its…enduring presence in Cornwall for over 3,000 years.*
>
> - Herring, 2006, 74

Herring's subsequent research suggested that the many cooperative settlements that came to be named in **tre* in early medieval times provided equitable access to arable, meadow and rough pasture (Herring, 2012, 90; Herring *et al*, 2011a, 266). He considered that the hamlet morphology of later first millennium *tref*s may have contained several households in kinship groups, that may possibly have developed from late Romano-British cooperative communities (Herring, 2011c, 38). Each *tref* comprised an area of around 50 hectares which could cluster as densely as 'typically half a kilometre apart', still evident in spacings of between 400m and 700m in northern Penwith (Herring, 2016, 196; Herring *et al*, 2011a, 266).

Some scholars consider that *tref*s may have been introduced around the 7th century when enclosed rounds (likely to have been retrospectively named in

*caer/*ker/*gear*) – themselves showing spacing at regular intervals (Nowakowski *et al*, 2007, 54) – were being abandoned, and settlement patterns were undergoing minor shifts in location (Rose and Preston-Jones, 1995, 62-6). Others contend that *tref*s might date from a period closer in time to Domesday, when 10th century royal charters show the break-up of large ecclesiastical estates following establishment of English overlordship of Cornwall in 838 AD (Hooke, 1994, 20-1; 1999, 99-101). Certainly the element **tre* became more prevalent after this period, as evidenced by a much increased presence in Domesday compared to pre-Norman charters.

The agricultural estates represented by **tre* settlements may well illustrate a smaller scale, collective mix of agriculture and pastoral activities, as suggested by analogous systems in place around the British Isles and further afield throughout the medieval period. Likely to have early roots, the practice continued to flourish during a period of distant overlordship in pre-Norman Cornwall (Herring, 2012, 89-105). The sustained importance of local and shared management of resources throughout the time of Domesday and beyond is evidenced by the huge number of **tre* place-names across Cornwall. The cooperative practice of transhumance is also indicated by the place-names **hendre* and **havos*, again illustrating a shared approach to control of local resources, where individual ownership was not as important (Herring, 2006, 74; 2009, 52).

8.1.4 Resource naming

Place-names in Cornwall appear to reflect long-settled communities, well established and familiar with the resources available to their local economies. Early dates and widespread distributions for topographical place-name elements that referred to these resources (section 6.1) suggest that they were originally conferred by residents to denote the existing character or dominant features of local landscapes. In this way, they contrast with other parts of Britain where place-names were recorded by incoming populations, for whom detailed descriptions of less familiar types of landforms (Gelling and Cole, 2000) and way markers for longer distance navigational routes were more important (Cole, 2010).

The significance of resources and land use is illustrated by the many names in **goon*, **hal* and **ros* denoting rough ground (Padel, 2011, 75-83) suitable for pasture, which eventually fell together in meaning although they originally denoted distinctive types of land (moorland, marsh and coastal downland respectively). We have also noted that topographical names, probably the earliest to denote resources, tend to combine with other topographical names. Indeed, many of the elements frequently used as qualifiers combining with habitative names also refer to resources or landscape features. Of the topographical elements, **pen* settlements (section 5.2.1) appear to have been named to reflect extents of local resources and boundaries, as well as elevation in the landscape and higher status.

It should be noted that there are many other topographical place-name elements and combinations which indicate resources or landscape but due to space constraints have not been subjected to detailed analysis, such as **nans* for 'valley', **meyn* for 'rock' and **carn* for 'rock-pile'. These tend to be described in terms which reference their qualities or other features, including animals, plants, colours or possibly shapes. Again, duplication is rife; there are few examples of distinctive names which would set places apart from others, make it easier to recognise or indicate individual ownership. Terms for infrastructure such as **porth* for 'landing-place' or **rid* for 'ford' again have not been analysed in depth, but show the same patterns; these are names which indicate movement of resources or people across the landscape. Even the later forms of both Cornish and English names conferred once larger estates subdivided combine with resource or topographical terms, and refer to size (as with 'great' or 'little'), landscape position ('higher' or 'lower') or directions, in the case of English names. There are comparatively few references with Cornish names to medieval landholding elements like **guel* for 'field' or **leyn* for 'strip' – or administrative status, such as **plu* for 'parish', so common in Brittany.

Most lower status habitative names such as **bod* and **caer/*ker/*gear* combine with topographical terms denoting resources, which may have originally been simplex; the same applies to most **tre* names, although some do reference personal names or have unknown combinations. **Chy* names mainly reflect

later habitations and more functional settlements and may show naming contemporary with the time that buildings were constructed. They are more likely to relate to work-related structures than other habitative place names referring to living spaces. Even the forms with the qualifier **ty* as a suffix do not tend to reflect ownership but instead designate resource management, which have become more sophisticated over time to relate to dairies, mills, and animal housing.

8.1.5 Riverine distribution

The South West Archaeological Research Framework (Webster, 2007, 91-2) notes that 'routes along rivers would surely have been a prime means of communication' in prehistoric South West Britain, and certainly later; the transport of bluestones to Stonehenge is a prime example of long distance routeways. We have seen the proximity to waterways in Cornwall across all the place-names under consideration, both habitative and topographical. This applies to settlements, hamlets, rural villages as well as the sparser population centres: Henderson pointed out that 'the estuaries of Cornwall, piercing the land as they do, made it possible for the same town to be a central market and a seaport' (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 19). Major rivers would have formed an essential part of the local medieval infrastructure, as in other parts of Britain (Semple, 2013, 73).

By the post medieval period, more active industrial processes were leading to silting up of previously navigable estuaries (Henderson *et al*, 1935, 109) and waterways (Herring, 2011a, 169), causing changes to medieval transport networks and established trading routes. Despite these activities, early modern maps of Cornwall (eg Norden in Carew, 1953, 73-4; Martyn, 1748) show harbours and estuaries penetrating much more deeply inland even up to the mid-eighteenth century. In the intervening centuries to the present day, extensive land-based development has obscured the important functions of waterways and sea routes to the medieval population.

Minor rivers have also been shown by evidence elsewhere in the UK (Everitt, 1986, 46; Brookes, 2007, 431) to have guided settlement patterns. Distances of

less than one and a half miles (or 2km) from water sources were found by Cole (2010, 75) to be statistically significant for travellers along Roman roads. Although recorded minor river names are rarely present in the landscape, in Cornwall as in other parts of Britain fords and other crossing-places have merited their own place-names (Cole, 2010, 41-52; Gelling and Cole, 2000, 65; Hooke, 1985, 45; Semple, 2013, 73), and minor rivers are well evidenced as pre-Conquest charter boundaries in Cornwall (eg Hooke, 1994, 49). Analysis of settlement distance from minor watercourses in Cornwall has confirmed how essential their proximity was to activities in the period, with the great majority of settlements within 2km of water. Minor rivers data in the Cornish place-name dataset confirms that all of Cornwall lies within stream catchment areas.

Water elements were near the landscape features they refer to: **pol* names may have been introduced to 'pair' with **pen* names further downstream and suggest control of lowland river resources. **Fenten* and **dour* names indicated water sources further upstream, which in some cases attracted saints' dedications. Although we have not considered names for coastal settlements as their locations are self-explanatory, clearly the place-names **porth* and **treath* relate to landing places as well as inland access.

Considering that Brittonic river-names are well known from ancient sources elsewhere in Britain (Ekwall, 1928; Jackson, 1953, 220), and are commonly used in English place-names elsewhere including in Devon, it is unusual that so few proper river-names in Cornwall have come down to us today apart from a few major waterways. The exceptions are the Domesday head manors from which hundreds were named of which some have names of rivers combined with **tūn*, as in Devon. It is notable that, in contrast to neighbouring Devon, coastal settlements in the medieval period were not necessarily considered as subsidiary or secondary to important manors further inland (Fox, 2001, 12).

8.2 Research questions revisited

We have now reviewed how the sample of Cornish place-name elements analysed relates to the research questions initially posed at the start of this thesis. Whilst they do not cover every aspect of their distribution in the

landscape, it is hoped that the elements selected are sufficiently representative of the wider corpus of place-names to illustrate likely patterns that would be encountered across a broad range of features.

We have seen that differences in naming practice across Cornwall are not confined to Cornish language usage, but are also reflected in landscape context, type, and medieval settlement history. The general impression is that the cultural reference points of the Cornish population during the medieval period were undergoing many underlying changes in their way of life, governance, economic livelihoods and religious practices, which are traced as much by a shift from topographical to habitative place-name preferences as to where they are located in the Cornish landscape.

Analysis of Cornish place-names has identified characteristics of naming practices that link with those in other Brittonic speaking areas in the UK and beyond, and highlight their relationship with the native landscape. The peripheral geographical position of Cornwall beyond the more Romanised areas of England, its rugged and diverse topography, and long coastline facilitating maritime contact have all influenced the locations of Cornish place-names and corresponding settlements.

We propose the following responses to the research questions:

- Place-names do reflect an expansion of settlement from lowlands to uplands during the later medieval period, although it is noticeable that habitative-named settlements continue to occupy locations around the edges of, or as ‘infill’ to, the original lowland distribution, rather than make fresh incursions into the uplands.

- Seasonal place-names mainly – although not invariably – reveal short-term or temporary occupation of sites, and terms for these differ between eastern and western Cornwall. They may relate to higher as well as lower status locations: for the former, this could indicate local administrative functions, and for the latter may indicate pastoral or land management practices. Later uses include elements of emerging industry, such as dairy production.

- Habitative place-names of varying status show distinctive locations. Lower status settlements tend to occupy relatively similar niches in the lowland landscape, whilst most higher status, mainly religious settlements are found in valleys and near water. Settlements named in **caer/*ker/*gear* and **lan* appear in complementary positions, which suggests that they were originally a single type which eventually diverged in function although not in form. Over time, where some name types may have declined in status their later settlement positions have likewise altered, and in some cases can have shifted onto more marginal ground.

- Ancient monuments such as hill forts named in **dinas* appear relatively close to habitative settlements, which may be found around their bases or closer to their summits. Similarly, place-names in **caer/*ker/*gear* also suggest a retrospective folk-memory of ancient sites which is preserved in the nearby distribution of medieval settlements.

- High status settlements with secular affiliations, such as those named in **lys* and **dinas*, appear to occupy similar landscape positions in complementary distributions. **Caer/*ker/*gear* sites also share a morphology and complementary distribution pattern with **lan*-named settlements, suggesting a common origin. Lower status settlements are also likely to occupy similar landscape locations, as shown by names in **caer/*ker/*gear* and **tre.*

- Topographical place-names link closely to the resources they are named for and show that sites nearby were attractive for habitations over a long period. They illustrate their own spectrum of status which has later declined, although those in more prominent positions near water and woodland may have enjoyed some longevity. Their favoured combinations with each other may indicate their origin as a distinct type.

8.3 Overall characteristics of Cornish place-names

There is a noticeable distinction between place-names and associated settlement patterns in eastern, mid and western Cornwall. This appears to be linked with variations in landscape character such as the higher ground of Bodmin Moor and Penwith, either side of lower lying mid Cornwall. The difference is apparent in the siting of both topographical and habitative settlements with similar place-names, both high and low status. In eastern Cornwall the earlier introduction of English overlordship and language accounts for some, but not all, of the differences.

The sharpest divide lies where uplands and lowlands diverge, which in eastern Cornwall lies at the western edge of Bodmin Moor, and in western Cornwall cuts off the Penwith moors in the far west, just beyond the narrow 'isthmus' that runs between the Hayle river estuary and Mount's Bay. Both areas of higher ground appear to form a major discontinuity for place-names and settlement patterns, as evidenced by similar distributions for some elements at either end of the Duchy. These may partly be due to early fossilisation of naming practice in far eastern Cornwall on the one hand and conservativism of usage which continued into the later medieval in Penwith.

Place-names show that low lying mid Cornwall sometimes splits into two distinct zones, and indicates differences in settlement patterns between northern and southern Cornwall divided by the downland that runs between them. The Camel-Fowey river valleys are considered to represent a cultural boundary or linguistic 'isogloss' between eastern and mid Cornwall where, by 1100 AD, the Cornish language was losing influence in the east. Patterns in place-names, however, do not follow the medieval hundred boundaries but suggest earlier influences. Similarities on both sides of the Camel estuary appear to confirm the importance of the north coast as a destination for travellers by sea, alongside vestiges of older trading routes. Southern mid Cornwall either side of the Fowey river hosts concentrations of higher status settlements named in **lan* and **seynt* in proximity to the southern coast and river estuaries, where archival sources and counterpart names in Brittany confirm contact during the early medieval period.

Some but not all Cornish place-names have been replaced with English forms in the east, as evidenced by complementary distributions of such forms as **tūn* for **tre* and **tor* for **carn*. Even where this has taken place, however, there are underlying constructions of names which suggest a Brittonic influence including little clear evidence for individual settlement ownership. Many examples of hybrid names show a lingering influence of Cornish well beyond the period of 1100 AD, and we may assume that the two language groups were in contact long before the language was abandoned in the east. Dialectal forms can also be seen in parts of eastern Cornwall where non-speakers tried to approximate Cornish sounds, and where older versions of Cornish have fossilised and no longer undergo later sound changes.

Some topographical names may over time have been replaced with habitative ones, but it is more likely that habitative elements combined with them rather than be subsumed completely. Where we do see later replacement there is interchange between two topographical elements, such as **pen* and **pol*, where it is likely that the original meanings have been lost. Complementary distributions of place-names are instructive, as they suggest that to an extent their meanings and preferred settlement locations have been retained. In some cases complementary distributions indicate where place-names have undergone later changes in status which tend to represent a decline rather than an elevation, particularly with elements that have been conferred over a long period. Such longevity is confirmed by comparison to similar name elements against a comparative timescale in other Brittonic speaking regions.

Retrospective or commemorative naming is an integral part of Cornish place-name practice and applies to many settlements which are probably no longer visible in the landscape. We may assume, for example, that those named in **caer/*ker/*gear* would have archaeological remains of the later Iron Age/Romano-British rounds nearby and may possibly have been intermittently occupied into the early medieval period, but without extensive site excavation over a wide area this can only remain conjecture. Recent field surveys and predictive modelling have confirmed that there are likely to be far more sites remaining undiscovered in the landscape across Cornwall than was previously

anticipated. A related conundrum is the spatial relationship between the enclosures marked by rounds and the early medieval unenclosed settlements named in **tre*, which it is thought may represent a slight shift in settlement locations. Commentators have linked this supposed displacement to the coming of Christianity or to a realignment in prehistoric field systems which paved the way for open fields in Cornwall, perhaps in conjunction with the break-up of larger territories into less extensive agricultural estates.

The earliest archives of pre-Norman charter bounds and the Domesday Book, albeit biased towards more important vills and incomplete, show differences in the relative proportions of higher status place-name types that are likely to reflect social changes in late Anglo-Saxon Cornwall. Native administrative systems represented by **lys* names, and layers of early settlement as with **caer/*ker/*gear* names, appear to have been superseded; the tendency of **lan* names to develop into **seynt* names is no longer as strong. We also see instances of differing vocabulary, with **tūn* names in a complementary relationship to **tre* names, and changes in forms of names as with **coyt* for **coys*, where original Brittonic sounds and spellings have become fossilised.

Whether place-naming throughout Cornwall reflected this reordering of the Cornish landscape or continued to harken back to earlier settlement patterns and systems remains a moot point. The relatively late first recording of a large majority of Cornish place-names means that we will probably never know for just how long names were conferred before they were attested. But their mapping in the landscape offers a fascinating new dimension to their interpretation which gives fresh insights into the diverse social and economic landscape of medieval Cornwall.

Later medieval forms of place-names such as those which indicate subdivided settlements (eg Lower and Higher) give us clues as to where original Domesday vills were subsequently broken up into smaller holdings. Associated with settlement positions as confirmed in the 1st Series Ordnance Survey maps, we can see that there has been relatively little change in the inhabited landscape since the first attested locations of most place-names were recorded during the medieval period. Limited excavation evidence available from case study sites

appears to confirm this, with some dislocation evident within larger estates across average distances of no more than two fields, or 0.5km. The precision of settlement locations and the stage at which they attained their present name is masked, both by late recordings and the long practice in Cornwall of naming settlements according to their extents and resources, rather than individual positions: an ‘enduring attachment to blocks of land’ (Nowakowski, 2016, 142).

Returning to the aims and objectives stated in the Introduction to this thesis, we have now been able to demonstrate clear linkages between Cornish place-names and their native landscape in the medieval period. Historical and geographical analyses of the seventeen place-name elements originally selected through analogy with time-depth categories have shown meaningful correlations across distribution patterns. Case studies have confirmed preferences for site positions apparent across lower and higher status habitative and topographical name types. Whilst it is evident from material archaeology and historical records that some settlements have been abandoned, shrunken in size or shifted their centres, the hamlet morphology of most Cornish settlements and their resource-based local economies have remained very stable over long centuries (Herring, 2016, 193).

8.4 Areas of interest for further research

Inevitably, the foregoing review of Cornish place-names in the landscape has not been able to cover all the aspects of study that would have been ideally useful. It is hoped that it has been sufficiently comprehensive to link with previous research and lay down markers for future work. The following strands for possible new research have been identified, and it is hoped will encourage others to explore their own directions. The sample below probably does not in any way reflect the full range of options available.

Linking place-name studies in the Cornish landscape with those in Wales and Brittany.

It has been a fascinating aspect of the Cornish review to have been able to interrogate a small range of Welsh and Breton place-name sources and make comparisons between them. It would be interesting to bring together the Welsh

Place-Name Society with the GIS portals provided by Historic Wales, under the Welsh Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Wales, with those from recent Welsh Historic Landscape Characterisation analysis, to plot Welsh place-names within the landscape. Comparable research underway in Brittany which provides a geographic dimension to place-names should likewise be taken forward. The maritime links between all the regions are deserving of much more future study, not only the early Christian voyages usefully chronicled in Bowen (1977) and Jankulak (2000), but exciting new evidence of the prehistoric and early medieval trading routes explored by Cunliffe (2001) and recent archaeological researchers (eg Nowakowski and Gossip, 2017).

Inclusion of detailed archival research within recent landscape-based interpretations of Cornish place-names.

The intensive archival research into linguistic and literary sources for Cornish place-names so diligently undertaken by Henderson *et al* (1935) and Padel (1985) should be revisited, extended and incorporated into Cornish landscape-based place-name research. Local historical sources such as Tithe Apportionments and parish records should be surveyed in detail for their additional insights into how place-names have reflected the landscape and landholding patterns in the past. Further case study areas should be selected for in depth analysis to draw archival sources together with emerging findings from archaeological excavations and research.

Highlighting Cornish field-name analysis within wider place-name studies.

It has not been possible to include Cornish field-names within the scope of the present research. Many of the field-names that have come down to us today are in English and date from no earlier than the 16th century, but some are Anglicisations of previous Cornish field-names whilst others retain Cornish names. At present the vast corpus of names is relatively unexplored territory, although there is now an encouraging trend for local historians to produce inclusive place-name guides for their own areas. Ideally these should be brought together with a systematic survey of extant Cornish dialect terms to identify common vocabulary and ensure that field-names take full account of the interface between late Cornish and English. Informal conversations with local

landowners during the preparation of this dissertation have demonstrated the interest in existing field-names by, for example, confirming the retention of the shared Breton place-name element **plu*, or 'parish', on an ancient hundred boundary.

Improved integration of place-name research into local archaeological reviews. Detailed studies of a range of local place-names should be included as a standard feature of future professional archaeological site investigations. The interdisciplinary methodologies with an expanded role for place-names used so effectively in recent CAU reports (Dudley, 2011; Herring *et al*, 2016) should be incorporated into future archaeology programmes and publications, with an expanded section on place-names throughout. Further case study areas of prehistoric settlement in lowland Cornwall (Young, 2015) should also be selected with a view to identifying where place-name replacement has occurred in multi-period sites. Future developments in LIDAR technologies present exciting prospects to augment and confirm many field surveys and desk based studies. A fascinating new area of research could extend the work of Cole (2010) in Anglo-Saxon areas to investigate ancient Cornish trackways and related infrastructure across Cornwall, such as river crossings and landing places both inland and along the coast. Some of these may already appear in pre-Norman charter bounds and could shed additional light on the mysterious absence of minor river-names.

The range of Cornish place-name elements reviewed should be extended. At the beginning of this PhD research, another 27 place-name elements were selected to be subjected to the same detailed analysis as the seventeen that have been included in this thesis. These comprised a range of types that mainly referred to topography, infrastructure, and land use, and were chosen for the additional insights they could provide into Cornish medieval society and economy as it developed over time. One possible area for further study would be analysis of colour names, both for elements reviewed and others awaiting attention, which may represent places of local cultural significance during the early medieval period. Finally, although there has been a limited review of place-names in Domesday carried out as part of the research, again a more

detailed analysis would be useful to bring together place-names, settlement patterns and archival material.

Place-names on the Isles of Scilly should be researched in depth.
The research in this thesis was transformed by the CAU's sharing of datasets from the Cornwall HER that already incorporated detailed place-name derivations. Within the corpus of 5138 records that have been analysed only ten reflected names on the Isles of Scilly, and it was decided with regret that such a small sample not be included. It would be of great interest to developing maritime and coastal archaeology programmes for names on the Islands to be compiled and subjected to the same detailed analysis with a view to identifying their provenance (Thomas, 1985), linking results to recent Isles of Scilly archaeological surveys (Johns *et al*, 2016) and the insights they give for ancient coastlines and maritime trade. As the present place-name research was kindly supported by Professor Charles Thomas, his own archive of Isles of Scilly place-names would make an ideal basis for in depth study.

Cornish place-names should be more widely integrated into English place-name studies and area-based research.
We noted at the start of this thesis that the Celtic, or Brittonic, place-names have generally not been that well incorporated into mainstream place-name studies of Britain. To date much of the detailed research has concentrated more on place-name archaeology in northern and eastern England. It is hoped that, with ongoing studies by Brittonic place-name scholars, greater efforts can be made to ensure that future reviews of linguistic and archaeological regions are not 'siloed', and that Brittonic place-names elsewhere in Britain can be continue to be investigated. The latest publications by both the EPNS and the MSRG show encouraging signs of cross-fertilisation by medieval settlement archaeologists and place-name experts, which offers much scope for further joint research. Similarly, it was hoped at the beginning of this research that place-names in Devon could also be covered as part of a comparative study of the early medieval Dumnonian landscape, which would still be useful to carry out in future (Turner, 2007a).

8.5 End notes

This dissertation has brought together scholarship from diverse academic fields of study to illustrate the value of a landscape-based approach to the investigation of Cornish place-names. The research has helped to generate new insights into the locations and siting of medieval settlements in the Cornish landscape, as indicated by place-names. By considering the locations of selected habitative and topographical place-name elements within their wider landscape contexts, the study hopes to enhance our understanding of the relationship between residents of Cornwall and their surrounding environment during the medieval period.

Cornish Place-Names in the Landscape
Appendix A : Tables

Volume 3 of 4

Submitted by Joanne Pye to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology
In September 2018

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Table 1.1 Mutating phonemes from Common Brittonic into Old Cornish

p > *b*
c (k) > *g*
t > *d*
b > *v*
g > *(g)w*
m > *w, v*
f > *v*
d > *th*
w > *gw*
nt > *ns*
lt > *ls*
t > *s* (final position)

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

Table 2.1 Types of evidence used by scholars to investigate settlement patterns with place-names

Researcher	Date	Geographical area	Evidence used	Place-name element/s	Publication
Allred	2016	Mercia	Written archives Maps Grid reference Elevation Topography Qualifying elements	*worth*	*Medieval Settlement Research* 31: 28-35
Draper	2004	Wiltshire	Written archives Charters Maps Material archaeology Excavation Geology Soils Qualifying elements	*wīc, ceaster, funta, walh, stoc, worth*	PhD thesis Durham
Herring *et al*	2011	Cornwall	Written archives Maps HLC Material archaeology Excavation Soils	*hendre, havos, *tre*	*Cornish Archaeology* 50: 263-269
Morris	2005	Essex	Written archives Maps Material archaeology Excavation Palaeoenvironmental Geology Soils	*lēah, hyrst, ryding, fyrhth, gehæg, hæcc*	PhD thesis Exeter
Preston-Jones	1994	Cornwall	Written archives Maps Material archaeology Topography Qualifying elements	**lann, eglos, merther, stow*	*Cornish Archaeology* 33: 71-95
Turner	2006a	Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire	Written archives Charters Maps Grid reference HLC Material archaeology Excavation Topography Soils Qualifying elements	**lann, *lys, eglos, merther, worth, *tre, *bod*	*Making a Christian Landscape*
Welch	1985	Anglo-Saxon England	Written archives Charters Material archaeology Excavation Geology Soils	**ham, *tūn, *ingas, *ingahām, lēah*	*Landscape History* 7: 13-26

Table 2.2 1994 HLC types used in place-name analysis (Source: Herring, 1998)

Cornish HLC types (1994)
1. Upland Rough Ground (relict industry)
2. Upland Rough Ground
3. Coastal Rough Ground
4. Farmland: Prehistoric
5. Farmland: Medieval
6. Post-Medieval Enclosed Land
7. Modern Enclosed Land
8. Woodland (Deciduous)
9. Plantations and Scrub
10. Settlement: Older Core (pre-1907)
11. Settlement: C20
12. Industrial (Disused)
13. Industrial (Working)
14. Communications
15. Recreational
16. Military
17. Ornamental
18. Reservoirs
19. Intertidal and Inshore Water
20. Dunes

CHAPTER 3 – SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

Table 3.1 Selected Cornish place-name element types

A Topographical

Geography / topography (natural landscape features)
**Gwyth* (‘trees’)
**Coys* (‘wood’)
**Pol* (‘pool’)
**Kelli* (‘grove’)
**Fenten* (‘spring’)
**Pen* (‘prominent place’)

B Habitative (lower status)

Types of land use: pastoral, arable, transhumance
**Hendre* (‘home farm’/‘winter dwelling’)
**Havos* (‘shieling’/‘summer dwelling’)

Estates, settlements, dwellings (occupied and relict)
**Tre* (‘settlement’)
**Chy* (‘house’)
**Caer/ker/gear* (‘round’)
**Bos (‘house’)*

C Habitative (higher status)

Culture / religious: forts, courts, churches
**Dinas* (‘fort’)
**Lan* (‘cemetery’)
**Lys* (‘court’)
**Eglos* (‘church’)
**Seynt* (‘saint’)

CHAPTER 4 – LOWER STATUS HABITATIVE PLACE-NAMES

*Tre *place-name elements*

Table 4.1 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *tre *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**tre*	157	H M L	44 22 34
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**tre*	122	H M L	34 37 29
Total %				100
Stratton	**tre*	8	H M L	63 25 12
Total %				100
Lesnewth	**tre*	144	H M L	35 34 31
Total %				100
Trigg	**tre*	101	H M L	38 45 17
Total %				100
Powder	**tre*	252	H M L	42 27 31
Total %				100
Pydar	**tre*	177	H M L	32 41 27
Total %				100
Kerrier	**tre*	221	H M L	47 24 29
Total %				100
Penwith	**tre*	183	H M L	37 43 20
Total %				100
Total *tre* names		1365		

Table 4.2 *Tre *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	4	No date	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
			3	100-149m		2		1	
	15	11	5	<100m		2	1		Ornamental
									Military
			6	100-149m		5			Ind working
			4	150-199m		3			Ornamental
	25	12	4	<100m		2	1		Plantation
			8	100-149m		6		1	Woodland
			13	150-199m		10	1	2	
	42	13	12	<100m		10		1	Plantation
			17	100-149m		12	1	3	Ind disused
			10	150-199m		7		3	
			3	>200m		3			
	63	14	24	<100m		17		6	Settlmt C20
			25	100-149m		20	1	3	Coastal RG
			11	150-199m		9		2	
			3	>200m		2			Upland RG
	4	15	1	100-149m				1	
			3	150-199m		3			
	4	16	2	<100m		1		1	
			2	100-149m		2			
Total	157								
West Wivelshire	1	No date	1	>200m					Upland RG
	14	11	6	<100m		4			Ornamental
									Settlmt C20
			6	100-149m		4		1	Recreational
			2	150-199m		1			Settlmt C20
	2	12	1	<100m		1			

			1	100-149m				1	
	41	13	9	<100m		9			
			18	100-149m		16	1		Ornamental
			9	150-199m		8		1	
			5	>200m		5			
	46	14	14	<100m		14			
			22	100-149m		19		2	Settlmt C20
			9	150-199m		9			
			1	>200m		1			
	5	15	1	<100m		1			
			3	100-149m		3			
			1	>200m				1	
	9	16	3	<100m		2	1		
			4	100-149m		1		2	Recreational
			2	150-199m		2			
	3	17	1	<100m		1			
			2	>200m		2			
	1	19	1	>200m				1	
Total	122								
Stratton	5	14	1	<100m		1			
			4	100-149m		4			
	1	16	1	150-199m			1		
	1	17	1	150-199m		1			
	1	18	1	100-149m		1			
Total	8								
Lesnewth	8	No date	5	100-149m		4		1	
			1	150-199m				1	
			2	>200m		2			
	16	11	4	100-149m		4			
			3	150-199m		3			
			9	>200m		9			
	4	12	1	<100m		1			
			3	>200m		3			
	50	13	5	<100m		5			
			10	100-149m		9		1	
			11	150-199m		10	1		
			24	>200m		21	1		Upland RG Plantation

	58	14	1	<100m		1			
			15	100-149m		15			
			23	150-199m		21	1		Upland RG
			19	>200m		15	1	2	Plantation
	7	15	1	<100m				1	
			2	100-149m		2			
			1	150-199m		1			
			3	>200m		3			
	1	16	1	150-199m			1		
Total	144								
Trigg	10	11	6	<100m		6			
			3	100-149m		3			
			1	150-199m		1			
	2	12	2	100-149m		2			
	48	13	29	<100m		24		2	3xSetlmt C20
			16	100-149m		14	1		Plantation
			3	150-199m		3			
	36	14	21	<100m		18	1		Plantation
									Settlmt C20
			12	100-149m		12			
			2	150-199m		2			
			1	>200m		1			
	3	15	1	<100m					Coastal RG
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	2	16	1	<100m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
Total	101								
Powder	2	No date	2	<100m		2			
	2	10	2	<100m		2			
	22	11	14	<100m		8	2	2	2xSettlmt OC
			6	100-149m		5			Settlmt C20
			1	150-199m					Settlmt C20
	9	12	7	<100m		5	2		
			2	100-149m		2			
	87	13	69	<100m		54	3	3	Recreational
									2xSetlmt C20
									4xOrnamntal

									Ind working
									Communctns
			9	100-149m		6		2	Settlmt OC
			8	150-199m		7			Settlmt C20
			1	>200m		1			
	104	14	83	<100m		67	7	1	Settlmt OC
									2xOrnamntal
									2xPlantation
									3xSetlmt C20
			16	100-149m		12	1	1	Ornamental
									Settlmt C20
			5	150-199m		3			Ind disused
									Settlmt OC
	12	15	10	<100m		10			
			2	100-149m		2			
	9	16	7	<100m		6			Plantation
			2	100-149m		2			
	2	17	1	<100m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	3	19	1	<100m					Plantation
			2	150-199m		2			
Total	252								
Pydar	6	11	4	<100m		3			Settlmt C20
			2	100-149m		2			
	1	12	1	100-149m		1			
	93	13	83	<100m		59	3	8	4xRecreatnal
									6xSetlmt C20
									Ornamental
									Ind working
									Military
			10	100-149m		6		2	Military
									Woodland
	66	14	56	<100m		43	2	1	Recreational
									3xMilitary
									2xPlantation
									3xSetlmt C20
									Ornamental
			8	100-149m		5		2	Settlmt C20
			2	150-199m		1	1		

	5	15	5	<100m		4			Military
	5	16	3	<100m		1			2xSetlmt C20
			2	100-149m		2			
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
Total	177								
Kerrier	3	10	2	<100m		2			
			1	100-149m		1			
	16	11	14	<100m		8		2	Ornamental
									2xPlantation
									Settlmnt C20
			2	100-149m		2			
	3	12	3	<100m		3			
	69	13	56	<100m		43	6	2	2xSetlmt C20
									Plantation
									2xOrnamentl
			11	100-149m		8	1	1	Settlmnt C20
			2	150-199m		2			
	108	14	61	<100m		46	4	4	4xSetlmt C20
									3xOrnamentl
			35	100-149m		26	5		Plantation
									2xUpland RG
									Ind disused
			1	150-199m		11	1		
	4	15	3	<100m		2			Plantation
			1	150-199m		1			
	14	16	10	<100m		8	x		Settlmt C20
			3	100-149m		3			
			1	150-199m		1			
	4	17	4	<100m		3			Settlmt C20
Total	221								
Penwith	5	No date	4	100-149m	3				Upland RG
			1	150-199m	1				
	1	10	1	<100m	1				
	1	11	1	<100m		1			
	4	12	3	<100m	1				Plantation
									Ornamental
			1	100-149m	1				
	67	13	37	<100m	12	11	3	3	6xSetlmt C20

									2xOrnamentl
			28	100-149m	18	2	1	3	2xSetlmt C20
									Settlmt OC
									Plantation
			2	150-199m	1		1		
	87	14	49	<100m	13	21	4	1	6xSetlmt C20
									Upland RG
									2xPlantation
									Recreational
			35	100-149m	20	7	1	1	Ornamental
									5xSetlmt C20
			2	150-199m	1				Settlmt C20
			1	>200m	1				
	9	15	3	<100m	2				Settlmt C20
			4	100-149m	3		1		
			2	150-199m	2				
	8	16	6	<100m	1	3		2	
			2	100-149m	2				
	1	19	1	<100m				1	
Total	183								
Grand total	**1365**								

Table 4.3 *Numbers of* *tre *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	**Number **tre* settlements**	**<1km from rivers**	**<2km from rivers**	**Total and overall percentage**
East Wivelshire	157	112	38	150 (96%)
West Wivelshire	122	75	43	118 (97%)
Stratton	8	8	0	8 (100%)
Lesnewth	144	105	35	140 (97%)
Trigg	101	69	29	98 (97%)
Powder	252	182	65	247 (98%)
Pydar	177	150	26	176 (99%)
Kerrier	221	148	65	213 (96%)
Penwith	183	127	44	171 (93%)

Table 4.4 Percentage comparisons of *tre *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	**All **tre***	**Topographical**	**Wood /Trees**	**Water**	**Habitative**	**Colours**	**Animals**	**Personal**	**Unknown**	**Other**	**Total**
East Wivelshire	157	22%	9%	6%	10%	2%	4%	16%	13%	18%	100%
West Wivelshire	122	17%	16%	3%	10%	2%	6%	19%	10%	17%	100%
Stratton	8	13%	25%	37%	13%	0	0	0	12%	0	100%
Lesnewth	144	21%	8%	4%	8%	3%	2%	13%	8%	33%	100%
Trigg	101	15%	17%	5%	13%	3%	10%	15%	10%	12%	100%
Powder	252	19%	18%	2%	6%	2%	4%	13%	16%	20%	100%
Pydar	177	19%	18%	6%	9%	2%	5%	14%	12%	15%	100%
Kerrier	221	17%	16%	4%	7%	4%	6%	8%	16%	22%	100%
Penwith	183	17%	13%	4%	11%	3%	7%	15%	9%	21%	100%

Table 4.5 Examples of renamed *tre *settlements and respective dates of recording*

Hundred	**11thC**	**12thC**	**13thC**	**14thC**	**15thC**	**16thC**
East Wivelshire		Trekellend Tresmeer Trethorne	Trehill Tresmarrow	Trecongdon Tredown Treovistown Trevenn Trewashford Trewortha	Trefuge Trefursdon	Treburrow
West Wivelshire	Tregarland		Trehale Tremoreland	Trefanny Hill Trefrome Treheath		
Stratton				Treforda		
Lesnewth	Treslay Tresparrett Trevalga	Tregunnon	Trebant Tregrylls Tremoutha Treseat Tresmarrow	Trebray Treforda Treforda Trehole Trela Trelay Tresmaine Treven Treway	Treven	
Trigg	Trethevy Trevisquite		Tresungers	Tregragon Treswarrow Treswigger		
Powder		Treskilling		Tregorland Treliske Trenince Trescoll		Tregantle
Pydar		Tretoil	Tregirls			
Kerrier			Trelean	Trebollan		Tregonning

Table 4.6 Cornish place-names in *tre *using the element* *neweth

Name	Hundred	Date first attested	Contour level (m)
Chynoweth*	Kerrier	14	115
Higher Trenoweth	Kerrier	14	50
Lower Trenower	Kerrier	14	75
Lower Trenoweth	Powder	14	145
South Trenoweth	Penwith	14	105
Trenewth	Lesnewth	13	145
Trenouth	Lesnewth	14	200
Trenouth	West Wivelshire	14	185
Trenout	Pydar	13	85
Trenowah	Powder	13	50
Trenower	Powder	13	160
Trenoweth	Kerrier	14	155
Trenoweth	Kerrier	13	35
Trenoweth	Pydar	13	80
Trenoweth	Kerrier	13	45
Trenoweth	Kerrier	14	55
Trenoweth	Kerrier	13	40
Trenoweth	Scilly	Undated	35
Trenoweth	Penwith	16	95
Trenoweth	Penwith	14	45
Trenowin	Penwith	14	65
Trenowth	Powder	10	75
Trenowth	Powder	14	135
Trenute	East Wivelshire	13	140
Trenuth	Lesnewth	11	230
Trowan	Penwith	Undated	100

*originally attested as Treneweth

*Hendre *place-name elements*

Table 4.7 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *hendre *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**hendre*	3	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**hendre*	11	H M L	36 55 9
Total %				100
Stratton	**hendre*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				0
Lesnewth	**hendre*	11	H M L	18 73 9
Total %				100
Trigg	**hendre*	5	H M L	40 60 0
Total %				100
Powder	**hendre*	7	H M L	15 71 14
Total %				100
Pydar	**hendre*	7	H M L	43 43 14
Total %				100
Kerrier	**hendre*	6	H M L	67 33 0
Total %				100
Penwith	**hendre*	4	H M L	50 50 0
Total %				100
Total *hendre names		54		

Table 4.8 *Hendre *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	3	14	3	100-149m		3			
Total	3								
West Wivelshire	3	13	2	100-149m				1	Ornamental
			1	>200m		1			
	3	14	3	100-149m		2			Plantation
	3	15	2	100-149m		2			
			1	>200m		1			
	1	16	1	>200m		1			
	1	19	1	>200m		1			
Total	11								
Lesnewth	1	No date	1	>200m				1	
	4	13	1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
			2	>200m		1		1	
	6	14	1	150-199m		1			
			5	>200m		4		1	
Total	11								
Trigg	2	13	1	<100m		1			
			1	>200m		1			
	2	14	1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	1	16	1	100-149m		1			
Total	5								
Powder	1	No date	1	<100m		1			
	2	13	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
	3	14	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20

	1	16	1 1	150-199m <100m		1			Settlmt OC
Total	7								
Pydar	1 6	13 14	1 5 1	<100m <100m 100-149m		1 1	3	1	Recreational
Total	7								
Kerrier	1 2 3	12 13 14	1 1 1 2 1	<100m <100m 150-199m <100m 150-199m		1 1 1 2 1			
Total	6								
Penwith	1 3	13 14	1 1 2	<100m <100m 100-149m	 1 2		1		
Total	4								
Grand total	**54**								

Table 4.9 *Numbers of* *hendre *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	**Number **hendre* settlements**	**<1km from rivers**	**<2km from rivers**	**Total and overall percentage**
East Wivelshire	3	2	1	3 (100%)
West Wivelshire	11	5	5	10 (91%)
Lesnewth	11	10	1	11 (100%)
Trigg	5	2	2	4 (80%)
Powder	7	6	1	7 (100%)
Pydar	7	5	2	7 (100%)
Kerrier	6	5	0	5 (83%)
Penwith	4	3	1	4 (100%)

Table 4.10 Percentage comparisons of *hendre *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	All ***hendre***	Topographical	Wood /Trees	Water	Habitative	Colours	Animals	Personal	Unknown	Other	Simplex	Total
East Wivelshire	3	33%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67%	100%
West Wivelshire	11	18%	0	0	9%	0	0	0	0	0	73%	100%
Lesnewth	11	9%	0	0	27%	0	0	0	0	0	64%	100%
Trigg	5	40%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	60%	100%
Powder	7	29%	0	14%	0	0	0	0	0	0	57%	100%
Pydar	7	15%	0	14%	0	0	14%	0	0	0	57%	100%
Kerrier	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%	100%
Penwith	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%	100%

*Havos *place-name elements*

Table 4.11 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *havos *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**havos*	3	H M L	0 0 100
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**havos*	3	H M L	33 67 0
Total %				100
Stratton	**havos*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %		0		100
Lesnewth	**havos*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %		0		100
Trigg	**havos*	2	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
Powder	**havos*	2	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
Pydar	**havos*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				100
Kerrier	**havos*	1	H M L	100 0 0
Total %				100
Penwith	**havos*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				0
Total **havos* names		11		

Table 4.12 *Havos *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric Farmland**	**Medieval Farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1 2	11 13	1 2	100-149m <100m		1 1		 1	
West Wivelshire	2 1	13 14	1 1 1	100-149m >200m >200m		1 1 1			
Trigg	1 1	11 19	1 1	>200m 150-199m					Plantation Plantation
Powder	1 1	13 14	1 1	<100m <100m		1 1			
Kerrier	1	13	1	150-199m		1			
Grand total	11								

Table 4.13 *Numbers of *havos *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	**Number *havos* settlements**	**<1km from rivers**	**<2km from rivers**	**Total and overall percentage**
East Wivelshire	3	3	0	3 (100%)
West Wivelshire	3	2	1	3 (100%)
Trigg	2	2	0	2 (100%)
Powder	2	2	0	2 (100%)
Kerrier	1	1	0	1 (100%)

*Chy-*type place-name elements*

Table 4.14 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *chy-*type place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	Place-name element	Number of names	Landscape position	% of names
East Wivelshire	*chy	0		0
	*ty	0		0
	*dy	0		0
	*jy	1	H	100
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	*chy	1	M	100
	*ty	0		0
Total %				100
West Wivelshire				
	*dy	1	L	100
	*jy	0		0
Total %				100
Stratton	*chy	0		0
	*ty	0		0
	*dy	0		0
	*jy	0		0
Total %				0
Lesnewth	*chy	0		0
	*ty	0		0
	*dy	0		0
	*jy	0		0
Total %				0
Trigg	*chy	0		0
	*ty	0		0
	*dy	0		0
	*jy	0		0
Total %				0
Powder	*chy	15	H	40
			M	20
			L	40
Total %				100
Powder	*ty	2	H	50
			M	50
			L	0
Total %				100
Powder	*dy	3	H	34
			M	33
			L	33
Total %				100
Powder	*jy	2	H	0
			M	50

			L	50
Total %				100
Pydar	**chy*	6	H M L	0 50 50
Total %				100
Pydar	**ty*	7	H M L	71 0 29
Total %				100
Pydar	**dy*	2	H M L	50 50 0
Total %				100
Pydar	**jy*	2	H M L	50 0 50
Total %				100
Kerrier	**chy*	22	H M L	55 18 27
Total %				100
Kerrier	**ty*	5	H M L	60 0 40
Total %				100
Kerrier	**dy*	1	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
Kerrier	**jy*	7	H M L	43 29 29
Total %				100
Penwith	**chy*	25	H M L	21 59 20
Total %				100
Penwith	**ty*	3	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
Penwith	**dy*	1	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
Penwith	**jy*	2	H M L	0 0 100
Total %				100
Total **chy* names		108		

Table 4.15 *Chy *type settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	*jy 1	14	1	<100m		1			
West Wivelshire	*chy 1	13	1	100-149m		1			
	*dy 1	14	1	<100m					Woodland
Powder	*chy 1	No date	1	>200m				1	
	2	11	2	<100m		1		1	
	5	14	4	<100m		3	1		
			1	100-149m		1			
	1	15	1	100-149m		1			
	4	16	4	<100m		3	1		
	2	17	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
	*ty 2	11	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
	*dy 1	12	1	<100m		1			
	1	14	1	100-149m		1			
	*jy 1	13	1	<100m		1			
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
Pydar	*chy 1	13	1	<100m			1		
	3	14	3	<100m		2			Coastal RG
	2	16	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
	*ty 1	11	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
	3	13	2	<100m		1			Ornamental
			1	100-149m		1			
	1	14	1	<100m				1	
	1	15	1	100-149m		1			
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
	*dy 2	13	2	<100m		1	1		
	*jy 1	13	1	<100m		1			

	1	14	1	<100m					Dunes
Kerrier	*chy 3	13	3	<100m		2			Settlmt C20
	10	14	7	<100m		6	1		
			2	100-149m		2			
			1	150-199m		1			
	4	15	4	<100m		3		1	
	5	16	3	<100m				1	2xOrnamntl
			2	100-149m		2			
	*ty 1	11	1	<100m		1			
	1	13	1	<100m		1			
	3	14	2	<100m			1		Ornamental
			1	100-149m		1			
	*dy 1	12	1	<100m		1			
	*jy 2	13	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
	5	14	3	<100m		1	1	1	
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
Penwith	*chy 1	No date	1	100-149m	1				
	2	13	1	100-149m			1		
			1	150-199m	1				
	12	14	4	<100m		2	1		Upland RG
			7	100-149m	4	1	1		Settlmt C20
			1	150-199m	1				
	4	15	3	<100m			1		Settlmt C20
									Upland RG
			1	150-199m		1			
	6	16	2	<100m			1	1	
			4	100-149m				2	Plantation
									Settlmt C20
	*ty 1	13	1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
	1	14	1	<100m			1		
	1	16	1	150-199m		1			
	*dy 1	13	1	<100m		1			
	*jy 2	14	2	100-149m	2				
Grand total	108								

Table 4.16 Numbers of *chy-*type settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	Number **chy* type settlements	<1km from rivers	<2km from rivers	Total and overall percentage
East Wivelshire	1	0	1	1 (100%)
West Wivelshire	2	1	1	2 (100%)
Powder	22	20	2	22 (100%)
Pydar	17	13	4	17 (100%)
Kerrier	35	20	11	31 (89%)
Penwith	31	21	9	30 (97%)

Table 4.17 Percentage comparisons of *chy-*type names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	All **chy-* type	Topographical	Wood /Trees	Water	Habitative	Colours	Animals	Personal	Unknown	Other	Total
East Wivelshire	**jy* 1	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%
West Wivelshire	**chy* 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%	100%
	**dy* 1	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Powder	**chy* 15	27%	33%	0	0	7%	0	13%	20%	0	100%
	**ty* 2	50%	0	0	0	0	0	0	50%	0	100%
	**dy* 3	0	0	0	67%	0	33%	0	0	0	100%
	**jy* 2	0	0	50%	0	0	50%	0	0	0	100%
Pydar	**chy* 6	50%	17%	0	33%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
	**ty* 7	57%	29%	0	14%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
	**dy* 2	50%	0	0	50%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
	**jy* 2	0	0	0	50%	0	50%	0	0	0	100%
Kerrier	**chy* 22	0	50%	5%	15%	0	10%	5%	5%	10%	100%
	**ty* 5	20%	0	20%	40%	0	0	20%	0	0	100%
	**dy* 1	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%
	**jy* 7	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Penwith	**chy* 25	52%	4%	12%	0	4%	0	12%	8%	8%	100%
	**ty* 3	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
	**dy* 1	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
	**jy* 2	0	0	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	100%

*Caer/*ker/*gear *place-name elements*

Table 4.18 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *caer/*ker/*gear *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**caer/* **ker/* **gear*	12	H M L	58 25 17
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**caer/* **ker/* **gear*	11	H M L	27 63 10
Total %				100
Stratton	**caer/* **ker/* **gear*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				0
Lesnewth	**caer/* **ker/* **gear*	9	H M L	44 44 12
Total %				100
Trigg	**caer/* **ker/* **gear*	15	H M L	80 0 20
Total %				100
Powder	**caer/* **ker/* **gear*	40	H M L	65 18 17
Total %				100
Pydar	**caer/* **ker/* **gear*	16	H M L	63 31 6
Total %				100
Kerrier	**caer/* **ker/* **gear*	32	H M L	64 18 18
Total %				100
Penwith	**caer/* **ker/* **gear*	18	H M L	73 12 15
Total %				100
Total **caer/*ker/*gear* names	169			

Table 4.19 *Caer/*ker/*gear *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	2	12	1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	6	13	4	<100m		2		1	Settlmt C20
			2	100-149m		2			
	4	14	4	100-149m		4			
West Wivelshire	4	13	1	<100m		1			
			2	100-149m		2			
			1	>200m				1	
	4	14	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m				1	
			1	150-199m		1			
			1	>200m		1			
	2	15	2	150-199m		2			
	1	16	1	<100m		1			
Lesnewth	1	11	1	100-149m		1			
	2	13	1	100-149m				1	
			1	>200m		1			
	6	14	5	150-199m		3		1	Woodland
			1	>200m		1			
Trigg	2	No date	2	>200m				1	Upland RG
	5	13	2	<100m		2			
			2	100-149m		2			
			1	>200m		1			
	8	14	4	<100m		4			
			1	100-149m					Recreational
			3	>200m		2			Plantation
Powder	2	No date	1	<100m					Ornamental
			1	150-199m					Ind working

	3	11	2	<100m		1	1		
			1	100-149m		1			
	1	12	1	100-149m		1			
	11	13	9	<100m		6			Ornamental
									Settlmt C20
									Settlmt OC
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	19	14	14	<100m		13			Woodland
	1	15	1	<100m				1	
	2	16	1	<100m					Plantation
			1	100-149m		1			
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
Pydar	3	No date	2	<100m		1			Military
			1	100-149m					Military
	2	11	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m					Ind disused
	4	13	2	<100m		2			
			2	100-149m		1			Military
	6	14	6	<100m		4	1		Settlmt C20
	1	16	1	100-149m		1			
Kerrier	1	No date	1	100-149m		1			
	3	11	3	<100m		3			
	6	13	4	<100m		2			2xOrnamentl
			1	100-149m					Settlmt OC
			1	150-199m			1		
	17	14	7	<100m		5	1		Settlmt C20
			6	100-149m		6	1		
			3	150-199m		3			
			1	>200m			1		
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
	4	16	2	<100m				1	Ind working
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
Penwith	7	13	3	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
									Plantation
			4	100-149m	2				2xSetlmt C20
	20	14	4	<100m		4			
			10	100-149m	7	2		1	

			6	150-199m	3	3			
	2	15	2	<100m	1	1			
	2	16	1	100-149m				1	
			1	150-199m					Settlmt C20
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
	1	18	1	<100m	1				
Grand total	169								

Table 4.20 Numbers of *caer/*ker/*gear *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	Number *caer/*ker/*gear settlements	<1km of rivers	<2km of rivers	Total and overall percentage
East Wivelshire	12	8	3	11 (92%)
West Wivelshire	11	6	5	11 (100%)
Lesnewth	9	8	0	8 (89%)
Trigg	16	12	4	16 (100%)
Powder	40	25	11	36 (90%)
Pydar	16	13	2	15 (94%)
Kerrier	32	23	8	31 (97%)
Penwith	33	24	9	33 (100%)

Table 4.21 Percentage comparisons of *caer/*ker/*gear *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	***Caer/*ker /*gear* names**	**Topographical**	**Wood /Trees**	**Water**	**Habitative**	**Colours**	**Animals**	**Personal**	**Unknown**	**Other**	**Total**
East Wivelshire	12	17%	16%	16%	17%	0	0	17%	17%	0	100%
West Wivelshire	11	18%	0	0	27%	10%	18%	0	27%	0	100%
Stratton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	9	22%	22%	0	34%	11%	0	0	11%	0	100%
Trigg	16	7%	7%		37%	7%		21%	14%	7%	100%
Powder	40	18%	10%	3%	26%	0	5%	5%	13%	20%	100%
Pydar	16	25%	19%	0	38%	6%	6%	0	6%	0	100%
Kerrier	32	6%	9%	6%	19%	9%	13%	3%	22%	13%	100%
Penwith	33	6%	6%	3%	37%	6%	6%	0	15%	21%	100%

Table 4.22 Tregear settlements: elevation, dates and HLC types

	Nos x first records		Nos & elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1	12	1	150-199m		1			
West Wivelshire	1	14	1	<100m		1			
Trigg	1	14	1	<100m		1			
	1	15	1	100-149m		1			
Powder	1	11	1	<100m			1		
	1	14	1	<100m		1			
	1	16		<100m					Plantations
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
Pydar	1	13	1	100-149m					Military
	1	14	1	<100m		1			
Kerrier	1	15	1	<100m		1			
Penwith	1	14	1	100-149m		1			
Total Tregear names	12								

*Bod *place-name elements*

Table 4.23 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *bod *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**bod*	13	H M L	46 46 8
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**bod*	28	H M L	29 50 21
Total %				100
Stratton	**bod*	1	H M L	100 0 0
Total %				100
Lesnewth	**bod*	6	H M L	17 50 33
Total %				100
Trigg	**bod*	16	H M L	25 12 63
Total %				100
Powder	**bod*	35	H M L	23 34 43
Total %				100
Pydar	**bod*	17	H M L	29 30 41
Total %				100
Kerrier	**bod*	30	H M L	43 43 14
Total %				100
Penwith	**bod*	92	H M L	23 53 24
Total %				100
Total *bod names	238			

Table 4.24 *Bod *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1	No date	1	100-149m		1			
	3	12	2	<100m		2			
			1	150-199m		1			
	4	13	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
			2	150-199m		2			
	2	14	1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	3	15	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
West Wivelshire	7	11	2	<100m		1			Ornamental
			5	100-149m		5			
	7	13	3	<100m		3			
			2	100-149m		1		1	
			2	150-199m		2			
	10	14	2	<100m					Settlmt C20
									Settlmt OC
			6	100-149m		6			
			2	150-199m		2			
	2	15	2	100-149m		2			
	2	16	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
Stratton	1	13	1	100-149m		1			
Lesnewth	2	No date	2	<100m		2			
	2	11	1	<100m					Recreational
			1	>200m		1			
	1	13	1	100-149m		1			
	1	14	1	150-199m		1			

Trigg	2	No date	2	>200m				1	Upland RG
	1	11	1	<100m					Settlmt OC
	2	12	1	<100m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	5	13	2	<100m		1	1		
			3	100-149m		2		1	
	6	14	4	<100m		4			
			2	100-149m		2			
Powder	1	10	1	<100m		1			
	4	11	2	<100m		1		1	
			2	100-149m		2			
	2	12	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
			1	150-199m		1			
	15	13	12	<100m		8		1	Ornamental
									Settlmt C20
									Recreational
			1	100-149m		1			
			2	150-199m		2			
	7	14	6	<100m		3	2		Woodland
			1	150-199m		1			
	2	15	2	<100m		2			
	3	16	1	<100m		1			
			2	150-199m		2			
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
Pydar	10	13	9	<100m		9			
			1	150-199m		1			
	7	14	7	<100m		6			Military
Kerrier	2	11	2	<100m		2			
	5	13	5	<100m		3			2xOrnamentl
	17	14	8	<100m		6		1	Ornamental
			7	100-149m		7			
			2	150-199m		1	1		
	3	15	2	<100m		2			
			1	100-149m					Upland RG
	2	16	1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m			1		
	1	19	1	100-149m		1			
Penwith	4	No date	1	<100m		1			

			3	150-199m	1		1		Upland RG
	4	10	3	<100m	3				
			1	100-149m	1				
	2	12	2	<100m		1			Settlmt OC
	26	13	9	<100m	4	1	1	2	Ornamental
			12	100-149m	8			1	2xSetlmt C20
									Upland RG
			5	150-199m	4	1			
	49	14	16	<100m	8	7			Settlmt C20
			22	100-149m	16	3		2	Settlmt C20
			11	150-199m	9	1	1		
	2	15	2	100-149m	2				
	3	16	2	<100m	1				Upland RG
			1	100-149m		1			
	2	19	2	<100m		2			
Grand total	238								

Table 4.25 Numbers of *bod *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	**Number **bod* settlements**	**>1km of rivers**	**>2km of rivers**	**Total and overall percentage**
East Wivelshire	13	9	4	13 (100%)
West Wivelshire	28	18	9	27 (96%)
Stratton	1	1	0	1 (100%)
Lesnewth	6	4	1	5 (83%)
Trigg	16	14	2	16 (100%)
Powder	35	25	8	33 (94%)
Pydar	17	13	4	17 (100%)
Kerrier	30	21	7	28 (93%)
Penwith	92	81	11	92 (100%)

Table 4.26 Percentage comparisons of *bod *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	***Bod* names**	Topographical	Wood /Trees	Water	Habitative	Colours	Animals	Personal	Unknown	Other	Total
East Wivelshire	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	23%	69%	8%	100%
West Wivelshire	28	7%	7%	0	7%	0	4%	25%	43%	7%	100%
Stratton	1	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Lesnewth	6	0	50%	0	17%	0	0	0	33%	0	100%
Trigg	16	13%	19%	0	31%	0	0	12%	25%	0	100%
Powder	35	6%	9%	0	13%	6%	6%	9%	49%	2%	100%
Pydar	17	6%	28%	0	6%	6%	12%	12%	24%	6%	100%
Kerrier	30	13%	11%	3%	11%	3%	0	6%	43%	10%	100%
Penwith	92	21%	12%	2%	5%	5%	10%	8%	22%	15%	100%

CHAPTER 5 – HIGHER STATUS PLACE-NAMES

*Dinas *place-name elements*

Table 5.1 *Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of* *dinas *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number**	**Land scape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**dinas*	3	H M L	67 0 33
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**dinas*	4	H M L	50 0 50
Total %				100
Stratton	**dinas*	1	H M L	100 0 0
Total %				100
Lesnewth	**dinas*	4	H M L	75 0 25
Total %				100
Trigg	**dinas*	5	H M L	60 0 40
Total %				100
Powder	**dinas*	8	H M L	38 12 50
Total %				100
Pydar	**dinas*	8	H M L	25 25 50
Total %				100
Kerrier	**dinas*	4	H M L	50 50 0
Total %				100
Penwith	**dinas*	11	H M L	18 55 27
Total %				100
Total *dinas names		48		

Table 5.2 *Dinas *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1 1 1	11 13 15	1 1 1	<100m 100-149m <100m		1 1	 1		
West Wivelshire	2 2	13 14	2 1 1	100-149m <100m 100-149m		2 1			 Settlmt C20
Stratton	1	15	1	100-149m		1			
Lesnewth	1 1 1 1	No date 12 13 14	1 1 1 1	<100m <100m >200m >200m		 1 1 1			Coastal RG
Trigg	1 1 2 1	11 12 13 14	1 1 2 1	<100m <100m <100m 100-149m		 1 1 1	 1	1	
Powder	1 2 1 3 1	11 12 13 14 19	1 2 1 1 1 1 1	100-149m <100m 100-149m <100m 100-149m 150-199m <100m		1 1 1 1 1 1			 Plantation Settlmt OC
Pydar	1 4	12 13	1 4	<100m <100m		 3			Upland RG Recreational

	3	14	1 2	<100m 100-149m		1 2			
Kerrier	1 1 1 1	11 13 14 15	1 1 1 1	<100m <100m <100m <100m		1 1 1 1			
Penwith	1 1 8	10 13 14	1 1 4 4	<100m 100-149m <100m 100-149m	1 1 2 3	 1 1			Settlmt C20
Grand total	48								

Table 5.3 Numbers of *dinas *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	**Number *dinas settlements**	**<1km of rivers**	**<2km of rivers**	**Total and overall percentage**
East Wivelshire	3	3	0	3 (100%)
West Wivelshire	4	1	3	4 (100%)
Stratton	1	1	0	1 (100%)
Lesnewth	4	2	0	2 (50%)
Trigg	5	3	2	5 (100%)
Powder	8	4	4	8 (100%)
Pydar	8	6	2	8 (100%)
Kerrier	4	3	1	4 (100%)
Penwith	11	11	0	11 (100%)

Table 5.4 Percentage comparisons of *dinas *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	***Dinas* names**	**Topographical**	**Wood /Trees**	**Water**	**Habitative**	**Colours**	**Animals**	**Personal**	**Unknown**	**Other**	**Total**
East Wivelshire	3	34%	0	0	33%	0	33%	0	0	0	100%
West Wivelshire	4	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Stratton	1	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Lesnewth	4	50%	0	0	0	0	50%	0	0	0	100%
Trigg	5	20%	0	0	60%	0	0	0	0	20%	100%
Powder	8	13%	12%	0	50%	0	12%	13%	0	0	100%
Pydar	8	0	0	12%	50%	0	0	13%	13%	12%	100%
Kerrier	4	0	25%	0	50%	0	0	25%	0	0	100%
Penwith	11	9%	0	0	82%	9%	0	0	0	0	100%

*Lys *place-name elements*

Table 5.5 *Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of* *lys *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**lys*	1	H M L	100 0 0
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**lys*	2	H M L	50 50 0
Total %				100
Stratton	**lys*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				0
Lesnewth	**lys*	5	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
Trigg	**lys*	1	H M L	100 0 0
Total %				100
Powder	**lys*	5	H M L	60 40 0
Total %				100
Pydar	**lys*	5	H M L	0 40 60
Total %				100
Kerrier	**lys*	11	H M L	0 82 18
Total %				100
Penwith	**lys*	7	H M L	29 57 14
Total %				100
Total **lys* names		37		

Table 5.6 *Lys *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1	14	1	<100m		1			
West Wivelshire	1 1	11 16	1 1	100-149m 100-149m				 1	Settlmt OC
Lesnewth	2 2 1	11 13 16	2 1 1 1	150-199m 150-199m >200m >200m		2 1 1 			 Upland RG
Trigg	1	16	1	150-199m		1			
Powder	1 1 1 2	11 13 14 16	1 1 1 1 1	<100m <100m <100m <100m 100-149m		1 1 1 1			 Upland RG
Pydar	1 1 2 1	11 12 13 14	1 1 2 1	<100m <100m <100m <100m		1 1 1 1		 1 	
Kerrier	1 2 2 4 1 1	10 11 13 14 15 16	1 2 1 1 1 1 2 1 1	<100m <100m <100m 150-199m <100m 100-149m 150-199m <100m <100m		 1 1 1 1 2 1 1			Ornamental Settlmt C20 Settlmt OC

Penwith	3	13	1	<100m					Settlmnt C20
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m				1	
	3	14	1	<100m	1				
			2	100-149m				1	Settlmt C20
	1	16	1	<100m					Settlmt OC
Grand total	37								

Table 5.7 Numbers of *lys *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	**Number **lys* settlements**	**<1km of rivers**	**<2km of rivers**	**Total and overall percentage**
East Wivelshire	1	0	1	1 (100%)
West Wivelshire	2	0	1	1 (50%)
Lesnewth	5	4	1	5 (100%)
Trigg	1	1	0	1 (100%)
Powder	5	2	2	4 (80%)
Pydar	5	5	0	5 (100%)
Kerrier	11	7	2	82 (100%)
Penwith	7	6	1	7 (100%)

Table 5.8 Percentage comparisons of *lys *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	***Lys* names**	**Topographical**	**Wood /Trees**	**Water**	**Habitative**	**Colours**	**Animals**	**Personal**	**Unknown**	**Other**	**Total**
East Wivelshire	1	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%
West Wivelshire	2	0	0	0	0	0	50%	0	50%	0	100%
Stratton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	5	20%	0	0	0	0	0	20%	0	60%	100%
Trigg	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%	100%
Powder	5	40%	0	0	20%	0	20%	0	20%	0	100%
Pydar	5	60%	0	0	0	20%	20%	0	0	0	100%
Kerrier	11	18%	9%	0	9%	0	18%	28%	0	18%	100%
Penwith	7	0	29%	0	0	14%	14%	14%	0	29%	100%

*Lan *place-name elements*

Table 5.9 *Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of* *lan *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**lan*	16	H M L	25 50 25
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**lan*	17	H M L	23 53 24
Total %				100
Stratton	**lan*	1	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
Lesnewth	**lan*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				0
Trigg	**lan*	5	H M L	0 80 20
Total %				100
Powder	**lan*	25	H M L	16 40 44
Total %				100
Pydar	**lan*	16	H M L	12 25 63
Total %				100
Kerrier	**lan*	13	H M L	38 46 16
Total %				100
Penwith	**lan*	10	H M L	30 40 30
Total %				100
Total *lan* names		103		

Table 5.10 *Lan *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1	10	1	100-149m		1			
	4	11	2	<100m		1			Ornamental
			2	100-149m		1			Settlmt OC
	4	12	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
			2	150-199m		1			Settlmt C20
	3	13	2	<100m		1			Ornamental
			1	100-149m		1			
	3	14	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	1	15	1	150-199m		1			
West Wivelshire	1	10	1	<100m		1			
	4	11	1	<100m		1			
			2	100-149m		1			Settlmt OC
			1	150-199m					Upland RG
	7	13	4	<100m		2			Plantation
									Coastal RG
			3	100-149m		3			
	2	14	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m			1		
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
	1	16	1	<100m		1			
	1	17	1	100-149m		1			
Stratton	1	11	1	<100m			1		
Trigg	1	11	1	<100m		1			
	3	13	1	<100					Plantation
			1	100-149m				1	
			1	>200m		1			
	1	14	1	<100m		1			

Powder	1	10	1	<100m		1			
	4	11	2	<100m		1		1	
			2	100-149m		2			
	5	12	3	<100m		2			Settlmt C20
			2	150-199m				1	Ind working
	9	13	8	<100m		2	1		Ornamental
									Coastal RG
									2xSetlmt C20
									1xSetlmt OC
			1	150-199m					Ind disused
	4	14	3	<100m		2		1	
			1	150-199m		1			
	2	15	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m			1		
Pydar	1	10	1	<100m					Settlmt OC
	3	11	3	<100m			1		Dunes
									Settlmt C20
	5	13	3	<100m		1	1		Settlmt OC
			2	100-149m			1		Ornamental
	5	14	5	<100m		3	1		Settlmt C20
	1	15	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
	1	17	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
Kerrier	2	11	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
	1	12	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
	5	13	4	<100m		1		2	Settlmt C20
			1	100-149m		1			
	5	14	2	<100m			1		Settlmt C20
			3	100-149m		3			
Penwith	1	No date	1	150-199m	1				
	1	9	1	100-149m					Settlmt OC
	1	11	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
	1	12	1	150-199m					Settlmt C20
	4	13	3	<100m					3xSetlmt C20
			1	100-149m	1				
	2	14	2	<100m	1				Settlmt C20
Grand total	103								

Table 5.11 Numbers of *lan *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	Number **lan* settlements	<1km of rivers	<2km of rivers	Total and overall percentage
East Wivelshire	16	9	7	16 (100%)
West Wivelshire	17	9	5	14 (82%)
Stratton	1	1	0	1 (100%)
Trigg	5	3	2	5 (100%)
Powder	25	15	7	22 (88%)
Pydar	16	12	3	15 (94%)
Kerrier	13	10	2	12 (92%)
Penwith	10	9	1	10 (100%)

Table 5.12 Percentage comparisons of *lan *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	*Lan names	Topographical	Wood /Trees	Water	Habitative	Colours	Animals	Personal	Unknown	Other	Total
East Wivelshire	16	6%	13%	6%	0	13%	6%	43%	0	13%	100%
West Wivelshire	17	13%	6%	0	18%	0	12%	35%	13%	13%	100%
Stratton	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%	0	100%
Lesnewth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trigg	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	80%	0	20%	100%
Powder	25	24%	12%	0	12%	0	0	44%	4%	4%	100%
Pydar	16	0	19%	0	6%	0	0	56%	13%	6%	100%
Kerrier	13	0	0	0	23%	0	0	38%	8%	31%	100%
Penwith	10	0	10%	0	20%	0	0	40%	20%	10%	100%

**Seynt place-name elements*

Table 5.13 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *seynt *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**seynt*	10	H M L	60 20 20
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**seynt*	10	H M L	40 30 30
Total %				100
Stratton	**seynt*	4	H M L	50 50 0
Total %				100
Lesnewth	**seynt*	7	H M L	57 43 0
Total %				100
Trigg	**seynt*	6	H M L	67 0 33
Total %				100
Powder	**seynt*	14	H M L	29 21 50
Total %				100
Pydar	**seynt*	15	H M L	27 23 50
Total %				100
Kerrier	**seynt*	19	H M L	10 53 37
Total %				100
Penwith	**seynt*	18	H M L	22 39 39
Total %				100
Total **seynt* names	103			

Table 5.14 *Seynt *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1	No date	1	<100m		1			
	1	10	1	100-149m					Settlmt OC
	2	12	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
			1	100-149m			1		
	5	13	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
			2	100-149m		1			Settlmt C20
			1	150-199m			1		
	1	16	1	>200m					Settlmt C20
West Wivelshire	1	No date	1	<100m		1			
	4	11	1	<100m					Intertidal
			3	100-149m		1			2xSetlmt C20
	1	13	1	>200m					Settlmt C20
	3x14	14	3	100-149m		3			
	1	16	1	100-149m		1			
Stratton	1	11	1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
	1	12	1	100-149m		1			
	2	13	2	100-149m		1			Settlmt C20
Lesnewth	1	No date	1	>200m		1			
	2	11	2	100-149m		2			
	1	12	1	>200m		1			
	3	13	1	150-199m		1			
			2	>200m		2			
Trigg	1	12	1	>200m					Settlmt C20
	4	13	2	<100m		1	1		
			2	100-149m			1		Settlmt C20
	1	15	1	<100m					Ind working

Powder	1	No date	1	<100m		1			
	2	11	2	<100m					Ornamental
									Settlmt C20
	1	12	1	<100m					Settlmt OC
	8	13	6	<100m		3			2xSetlmt C20
									Settlmt OC
			2	100-149m		1			Settlmt C20
	1	14	1	150-199m					Settlmt OC
	1	15	1	100m					Settlmt OC
Pydar	2	No date	2	<100m		1			Ind working
	1	12	1	<100m		1			
	10	13	9	<100m		2	1		4xSetlmt C20
									Settlmt OC
									Military
			1	100-149m		1			
	1	14	1	<100m					Coastal RG
	1	15	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
Kerrier	3	11	3	<100m		1			2xSetlmt C20
	2	12	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
	11	13	9	<100m		5	1		Intertidal
									2xSetlmt C20
			2	100-149m					2xSetlmt C20
	3	14	3	<100m		1			Plantation
									Ind working
Penwith	1	No date	1	100-149m		1			
	2	11	2	<100m					2xSetlmt C20
	1	12	1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
	7	13	6	<100m					5xSetlmt C20
									Settlmt OC
			1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
	5	14	3	<100m					2xSetlmt C20
									Coastal RG
			1	100-149m					Settlmnt C20
			1	150-199m	1				
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
	1	16	1	<100m					Plantation
Grand total	103								

Table 5.15 Numbers of *seynt *and* *merther *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	**Number *seynt* settlements**	**<1km of rivers**	**<2km of rivers**	**Total and percentage *seynt***	**Number *merther* settlements**	**Total and percentage *merther***
East Wivelshire	10	8	2	10 (100%)	1	1 (100%)
West Wivelshire	10	7	3	10 (100%)	0	0
Stratton	4	1	2	3 (75%)	0	0
Lesnewth	7	4	3	7 (100%)	0	0
Trigg	6	3	3	6 (100%)	0	0
Powder	14	10	2	12 (86%)	2	2 (100%)
Pydar	15	10	5	15 (100%)	0	0
Kerrier	19	16	1	17 (89%)	3	3 (100%)
Penwith	18	9	6	15 (83%)	3	3 (100%)

*Eglos *place-name elements*

Table 5.16 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *eglos *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**eglos*	1	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**eglos*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				0
Stratton	**eglos*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				0
Lesnewth	**eglos*	4	H M L	0 100 0
Total %				100
Trigg	**eglos*	4	H M L	25 50 25
Total %				100
Powder	**eglos*	5	H M L	40 60 0
Total %				100
Pydar	**eglos*	4	H M L	50 50 0
Total %				100
Kerrier	**eglos*	7	H M L	43 43 14
Total %				100
Penwith	**eglos*	5	H M L	20 60 20
Total %				100
Total *eglos names		30		

Table 5.17 *Eglos *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1	14	1	100-149m		1			
Lesnewth	1	No date	1	>200m		1			
	1	12	1	>200m		1			
	1	14	1	>200m		1			
	1	15	1	>200m		1			
Trigg	1	11	1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
	2	12	2	100-149m					2xSetlmt C20
	1	14	1	100-149m		1			
Powder	1	11	1	<100m					Setlmt C20
	3	13	3	<100m		1			2xSetlmt C20
	1	14	1	<100m		1			
Pydar	1	11	1	100-149m		1			
	1	12	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
	2	14	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
			1	100-149m		1			
Kerrier	1	No date	1	100-149m		1			
	1	12	1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
	3	13	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
			1	100-149m		1			
	1	14	1	<100m					Military
	1	16	1	<100m		1			
Penwith	1	11	1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
	2	12	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
			1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
	2	14	2	100-149m					Ornamental
									Settlmt C20
Grand total	30								

Table 5.18 Numbers of *eglos *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	Number ****eglos*** settlements	<1km of rivers	<2km of rivers	Total and overall percentage
East Wivelshire	1	1	0	1 (100%)
Lesnewth	4	3	1	4 (100%)
Trigg	4	3	1	4 (100%)
Powder	5	4	1	5 (100%)
Pydar	4	2	2	4 (100%)
Kerrier	7	7	0	7 (100%)
Penwith	5	5	0	5 (100%)

Table 5.19 Percentage comparisons of *eglos *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	****Eglos*** names	Topographical	Wood /Trees	Water	Habitative	Colours	Animals	Personal	Unknown	Other	Total
East Wivelshire	1	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%
West Wivelshire	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stratton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	4	50%	0	0	50%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Trigg	4	25%	0	0	25%	0	0	50%	0	0	100%
Powder	5	20%	0	0	20%	0	0	40%	0	20%	100%
Pydar	4	0	0	0	75%	0	0	25%	0	0	100%
Kerrier	7	29%	0	0	29%	0	0	42%	0	0	100%
Penwith	5	20%	0	0	20%	0	0	60%	0	0	100%

CHAPTER 6 –TOPOGRAPHICAL PLACE-NAMES

*Pen *place-name elements*

Table 6.1 *Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of* *pen *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**pen*	30	H M L	64 18 18
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**pen*	32	H M L	59 22 19
Total %				100
Stratton	**pen*	3	H M L	100 0 0
Total %				100
Lesnewth	**pen*	15	H M L	27 47 26
Total %				100
Trigg	**pen*	29	H M L	41 41 18
Total %				100
Powder	**pen*	68	H M L	57 26 17
Total %				100
Pydar	**pen*	26	H M L	38 42 20
Total %				100
Kerrier	**pen*	45	H M L	60 20 20
Total %				100
Penwith	**pen*	31	H M L	30 35 35
Total %				100
Total *pen names		279		

Table 6.2 *Pen *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	5	11	3	100-149m		1		1	Ornamental
			2	150-199m				2	
	9x13	13	3	<100m		2			Ornamental
			5	100-149m		4		1	
			1	150-199m		1			
	14	14	8	<100m		5		1	Military Settlmt C20
			3	100-149m		2			Settlmt C20
			3	150-199m		2		1	
	2	15	1	<100m			1		
			1	100-149m		1			
West Wivelshire	1	11	1	<100m		1			
	2	12	2	<100m		1	1		
	11	13	2	<100m		1			Plantation
			5	100-149m		5			
			4	150-199m		4			
	15	14	3	<100m		3			
			7	100-149m		7			
			3	150-199m		3			
			2	>200m		2			
	3	15	1	<100m		1			
			2	150-199m		2			
Stratton	1	No date	1	100-149m		1			
	1	11	1	150-199m		1			
	1	13	1	100-149m		1			
Lesnewth	1	No date	1	100-149m		1			
	4	11	2	<100m		1		1	
			2	150-199m		2			

	1	13	1	100-149m		1			
	8	14	1	100-149m					Upland RG
			2	150-199m		2			
			5	>200m		5			
	1	16	1	>200m		1			
Trigg	2	11	2	100-149m		1			Settlmt C20
	17	13	6	<100m		5			Settlmt C20
			7	100-149m		5		1	Plantation
			3	150-199m		3			
			1	>200m		1			
	10	14	1	<100m		1			
			3	100-149m		3			
			2	150-199m		1		1	
			4	>200m		2			2xSetlmt C20
Powder	1	No date	1	<100m		1			
	2	10	2	<100m		2			
	2	11	2	<100m		2			
	5	12	2	<100m		2			
			2	100-149m		1			Ornamental
			1	150-199m		1			
	18	13	15	<100m		10	1		2xSetlmt C20
									Ornamental
									Plantation
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
			1	>200m		1			
	34	14	26	<100m		13	4	4	2xOrnamntal
									Plantation
									2xSetlmt C20
			4	100-149m		3	1		
			3	150-199m		3			
			1	>200m		1			
	2	15	1	<100m			1		
			1	150-199m					Ind disused
	2	16	2	<100m		2			
	2	19	2	<100m		2			
Pydar	1	12	1	<100m		1			
	10	13	7	<100m		7			
			2	100-149m		2			

			1	150-199m		1			
	13	14	9	<100m		8			Settlmt C20
			3	100-149m		3			
			1	150-199m		1			
	1	15	1	100-149m		1			
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
Kerrier	3	No date	3	<100m		2			Settlmt C20
	1	10	1	<100m		1			
	1	12	1	<100m					Settlmt C20
	12	13	10	<100m		9			Settlmt C20
			1	100-149m			1		
			1	150-199m		1			
	19	14	13	<100m		7	3		3xOrnamntal
			3	100-149m		1			Woodland
									Settlmt C20
			3	150-199m		2			Upland RG
	3	15	3	<100m		1	1	1	
	4	16	4	<100m		2	1		Ornamental
	2	19	2	<100m			2		
Penwith	4	No date	1	<100m					Ornamental
			3	100-149m					Upland RG
									Settlmt C20
									Ornamental
	1	12	1	<100m		1			
	11	13	7	<100m		2		2	2xSetlmt C20
									Settlmt OC
			4	100-149m	2	1			Settlmt C20
	11	14	3	<100m	1			1	Settlmt C20
			6	100-149m	1			1	Ornamental
									Settlmt C20
									Upland RG
									Ind working
			1	150-199m	1				
			1	>200m					Settlmt OC
	4	15	3	<100m	1	1			Settlmt C20
			1	150-199m	1				
Grand total	279								

Table 6.3 Numbers of *pen *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	Number ****pen* settlements	<1km of rivers	<2km of rivers	Total and overall percentage
East Wivelshire	30	19	9	28 (93%)
West Wivelshire	32	21	10	31 (97%)
Stratton	3	2	1	3 (100%)
Lesnewth	15	12	2	14 (93%)
Trigg	29	19	9	28 (97%)
Powder	68	44	21	65 (96%)
Pydar	26	19	7	26 (100%)
Kerrier	45	29	13	42 (91%)
Penwith	31	28	3	31 (100%)

Table 6.4 Percentage comparisons of *pen *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	****Pen* names**	Topographical	Wood /Trees	Water	Habitative	Colours	Animals	Personal	Unknown	Other	Total
East Wivelshire	30	20%	33%	13%	10%	3%	10%	0	11%	0	100%
West Wivelshire	32	31%	19%	22%	9%	0	3%	3%	6%	7%	100%
Stratton	3	67%	0	0	0	0	0	0	33%	0	100%
Lesnewth	15	27%	7%	20%	13%	13%	0	7%	7%	6%	100%
Trigg	29	41%	28%	7%	14%	3%	3%	3%	0	0	100%
Powder	68	41%	22%	15%	10%	0	7%	0	0	5%	100%
Pydar	26	50%	27%	4%	11%	4%	0	4%	0	0	100%
Kerrier	45	51%	13%	16%	11%	2%	0	0	4%	3%	100%
Penwith	31	42%	23%	6%	26%	0	0	0	0	3%	100%

*Pol *place-name elements*

Table 6.5 *Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of* *pol *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**pol*	12	H M L	33 33 34
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**pol*	17	H M L	71 18 11
Total %				100
Stratton	**pol*	0	H M L	0
Total %				0
Lesnewth	**pol*	4	H M L	25 25 50
Total %				100
Trigg	**pol*	11	H M L	27 27 46
Total %				100
Powder	**pol*	32	H M L	40 32 28
Total %				100
Pydar	**pol*	12	H M L	25 25 50
Total %				100
Kerrier	**pol*	21	H M L	40 30 30
Total %				100
Penwith	**pol*	14	H M L	14 50 36
Total %				100
Total *pol* names	123			

Table 6.6 *Pol *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1	No date	1	100-149m				1	
	3	11	3	100-149m		2		1	
	3	13	1	<100m		1			
			2	100-149m		1		1	
	4	14	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
			2	150-199m		1		1	
	1	15	1	100-149m				1	
West Wivelshire	1	11	1	<100m		1			
	1	12	1	<100m		1			
	3	13	2	<100m		1			Plantation
			1	100-149m		1			
	7	14	4	<100m		4			
			2	100-149m		2			
			1	>200m		1			
	2	15	1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	3	16	2	100-149m		2			
			1	150-199m		1			
Lesnewth	4	14	1	150-199m		1			
			3	>200m		3			
Trigg	2	11	1	<100m					Plantation
			1	>200m					Settlmt C20
	2	13	1	<100m					Woodland
			1	>200m		1			
	4	14	2	<100m					Plantation
									Coastal RG

			2	100-149m		1		1	
	1	16	1	150-199m		1			
	1	17	1	>200m		1			
	1	19	1	<100m				1	
Powder	2	No date	1	<100m			1		
			1	150-199m		1			
	1	11	1	<100m		1			
	5	13	4	<100m		3			Ornamental
			1	100-149m		1			
	17	14	13	<100m		10	1		Settlmt C20
									Settlmt OC
			4	100-149m		3	1		
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
	5	16	5	<100m		4			Settlmt C20
	1	17	1	<100m				1	
Pydar	1	10	1	<100m				1	
	7	13	7	<100m		5			2xPlantation
	4	14	3	<100m		2	1		
			1	100-149m		1			
Kerrier	1	10	1	<100m		1			
	1	12	1	<100m				1	
	3	13	2	<100m		2			
			1	100-149m				1	
	7	14	5	<100m		4	1		
			2	150-199m			2		
	2	15	2	<100m			1	1	
	7	16	5	<100m		3	1	1	
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
Penwith	3	13	3	<100m		2			Settlmt C20
	7	14	5	<100m	1	2	1		Plantation
			2	100-149m		2			
	3	15	1	<100m		1			
			2	100-149m		2			
	1	18	1	150-199m		1			
Grand total	123								

Table 6.7 Numbers of *pol *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	Number **pol* settlements	<1km of rivers	<2km of rivers	Total and overall percentage
East Wivelshire	12	8	3	11 (92%)
West Wivelshire	17	12	4	16 (94%)
Stratton	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	4	2	2	4 (100%)
Trigg	11	8	3	11 (100%)
Powder	32	25	6	31 (97%)
Pydar	12	12	0	12 (100%)
Kerrier	21	15	5	20 (95%)
Penwith	14	13	1	14 (100%)

Table 6.8 Percentage comparisons of *pol *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	**Pol* names	Topographical	Wood /Trees	Water	Habitative	Colours	Animals	Personal	Unknown	Other	Total
East Wivelshire	12	25%	0	18%	25%	8%	8%	8%	8%	0	100%
West Wivelshire	17	29%	0	29%	0	12%	12%	6%	12%	0	100%
Stratton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	4	50%	0	0	25%	0	0	0	0	25%	100%
Trigg	11	9%	9%	9%	9%	27%	9%	0	9%	19%	100%
Powder	32	13%	16%	0	9%	31%	16%	0	9%	6%	100%
Pydar	12	42%	0	0	25%	0	8%	0	17%	8%	100%
Kerrier	21	19%	10%	0	14%	19%	19%	0	5%	14%	100%
Penwith	14	36%	21%	0	0	0	7%	21%	0	15%	100%

**Fenten place-name elements*

Table 6.9 *Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of* *fenten *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**fenten*	3	H M L	33 67 0
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**fenten*	7	H M L	43 29 28
Total %				100
Stratton	**fenten*	2	H M L	50 50 0
Total %				100
Lesnewth	**fenten*	8	H M L	38 38 24
Total %				100
Trigg	**fenten*	5	H M L	40 40 20
Total %				100
Powder	**fenten*	15	H M L	53 27 20
Total %				100
Pydar	**fenten*	7	H M L	43 43 14
Total %				100
Kerrier	**fenten*	5	H M L	60 20 20
Total %				100
Penwith	**fenten*	4	H M L	25 25 50
Total %				100
Total **fenten* names		56		

Table 6.10 *Fenten *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	3	14	2 1	<100m 100-149m		1			Settlmt C20 Settlmt C20
West Wivelshire	1 4 1 1	13 14 15 16	1 3 1 1 1 1	150-199m 100-149m 150-199m 150-199m 150-199m 150-199m		1 3 1 1 1 1			
Stratton	1 1	13 15	1 1	100-149m 100-149m		1 1			
Lesnewth	2 4x14 1 1	13 14 15 16	1 1 3 1 1 1	100-149m >200m 100-149m >200m 150-199m 150-199m		1 2 1 1		 1 	 Upland RG
Trigg	1 3 1x16	12 14 16	1 2 1 1	100-149m <100m 100-149m 100-149m		1 1 1 1	 1 		
Powder	1 5 7 2	11 13 14 15	1 4 1 7 2	<100m <100m >200m <100m <100m		1 1 1 5 1	 2 2 1	 1 	
Pydar	1 2	No date 13	1 2	<100m <100m		1 1	 1		

	3 1	14 16	2 1 1	<100m 150-199m <100m		2 1 1			
Kerrier	1 1 2 1	No date 13 14 15	1 1 2 1	100-149m <100m <100m <100m		1 1 2			 Plantation
Penwith	1 1 1 1	No date 13	1 1 1 1	100-149m <100m <100m <100m		 1 1			Settlmt C20 Settlmt OC
Grand total	56								

Table 6.11 Numbers of *fenten *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	**Number **fenten* settlements**	**<1km of rivers**	**<2km of rivers**	**Total and overall percentage**
East Wivelshire	3	1	2	3 (100%)
West Wivelshire	7	3	2	5 (71%)
Stratton	2	2	0	2 (100%)
Lesnewth	8	5	3	8 (100%)
Trigg	5	2	2	4 (80%)
Powder	15	12	3	15 (100%)
Pydar	7	6	0	6 (86%)
Kerrier	5	4	1	5 (100%)
Penwith	4	3	1	4 (100%)

Table 6.12 Percentage comparisons of *fenten *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	***Fenten* names**	**Topographical**	**Wood /Trees**	**Water**	**Habitative**	**Colours**	**Animals**	**Personal**	**Unknown**	**Other**	**Total**
East Wivelshire	3	67%	0	33%	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%
West Wivelshire	7	43%	0	43%	0	0	0	14%	0	0	100%
Stratton	2	0	0	50%	0	0	0	50%	0	0	100%
Lesnewth	8	25%	13%	38%	0	12%	0	0	0	12%	100%
Trigg	5	20%	0	20%	20%	0	20%	0	0	20%	100%
Powder	15	20%	13%	13%	0	13%	13%	28%	0	0	100%
Pydar	7	57%	0	29%	0	0	0	0	0	14%	100%
Kerrier	5	80%	0	20%	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Penwith	75%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25%	100%

**Coys place-name elements*

Table 6.13 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *coys *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**coys*	23	H M L	35 35 30
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**coys*	14	H M L	57 22 21
Total %				100
Stratton	**coys*	0	H M L	0
Total %				0
Lesnewth	**coys*	4	H M L	50 25 25
Total %				100
Trigg	**coys*	11	H M L	54 46 0
Total %				100
Powder	**coys*	31	H M L	40 30 30
Total %				100
Pydar	**coys*	14	H M L	22 57 21
Total %				100
Kerrier	**coys*	20	H M L	60 25 15
Total %				100
Penwith	**coys*	12	H M L	67 17 16
Total %				100
Total **coys* names		129		

*Table 6.14 *Coys settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	2	12	1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	7	13	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
			3	100-149m		3			
			2	150-199m		2			
	12	14	8	<100m		6		1	Woodland
			1	100-149m		1			
			3	150-199m		3			
	2	15	1	<100m		1			
			1	>200m		1			
West Wivelshire	1	11	1	<100m		1			
	1	12	1	<100m		1			
	7	13	1	<100m					Ornamental
			4	100-149m		4			
			2	150-199m		2			
	1	14	1	<100m		1			
	3	15	2	<100m		1		1	
			1	>200m		1			
	1	17	1	<100m			1		
Lesnewth	1	No date	1	100-149m		1			
	1	13	1	>200m					Upland RG
	1	14	1	150-199m		1			
	1	15	1	>200m					Communctns
Trigg	2	11	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m					Ornamental
	2	13	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m				1	
	7	14	2	<100m		1		1	

			2	100-149m		1		1	
			3	>200m		2			Settlmt C20
Powder	2	No date	1	<100m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	2	11	2	<100m		2			
	1	12	1	100-150m		1			
	6	13	4	<100m		2	2		
			2	100-149m		1	1		
	16	14	16	<100m		9	2	2	3xSetlmt C20
	2	15	2	<100m			1		Plantation
	1	16	1	<100m		1			
	1	19	1	<100m		1			
Pydar	1	11	1	<100m		1			
	5	13	4	<100m		3		1	
			1	100-149m			1		
	6x14	14	5	<100m		2	1	1	Ornamental
			1	150-199m		1			
	1	15	1	<100m				1	
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
Kerrier	1	No date	1	<100m		1			
	3	11	1	<100m		1			
			2	100-149m		2			
	6	13	5	<100m		3	1		Ornamental
			1	100-149m		1			
	7	14	6	<100m		5			Plantation
			1	100-149m					Ornamental
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
	2	16	2	<100m		1	1		
Penwith	3	13	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
			1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
	7	14	5	<100m	1	4			
			1	100-149m	1				
			1	>200m					Settlmt C20
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
	1	16	1	<100m		1			
Grand total	129								

Table 6.15 Numbers of *coys *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	Number **coys* settlements	<1km of rivers	<2km of rivers	Total and overall percentage
East Wivelshire	23	15	8	23 (100%)
West Wivelshire	14	8	4	12 (86%)
Stratton	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	4	3	0	3 (75%)
Trigg	11	9	2	11 (100%)
Powder	31	22	9	31 (100%)
Pydar	14	13	1	14 (100%)
Kerrier	20	17	3	20 (100%)
Penwith	12	12	0	12 (100%)

Table 6.16 Percentage comparisons of *coys *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	**Coys* names	Topographical	Wood /Trees	Water	Habitative	Colours	Animals	Personal	Unknown	Other	Total
East Wivelshire	23	43%	9%	13%	9%	9%	4%	0	0	13%	100%
West Wivelshire	14	21%	8%	0	21%	14%	14%	0	14%	8%	100%
Stratton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	4	25%	0	0	50%	0	0	0	25%	0	100%
Trigg	11	64%	0	0	27%	9%	0	0	0	0	100%
Powder	31	23%	3%	3%	42%	3%	0	0	0	26%	100%
Pydar	14	21%	7%	7%	43%	0	0	7%	0	15%	100%
Kerrier	20	40%	0	0	35%	0	0	5%	5%	15%	100%
Penwith	12	50%	0	0	17%	17%	0	8%	8%	0	100%

*Kelli *place-name elements*

Table 6.17 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *kelli *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**kelli*	10	H M L	50 0 50
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**kelli*	11	H M L	50 50 0
Total %				100
Stratton	**kelli*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				0
Lesnewth	**kelli*	2	H M L	0 0 100
Total %				100
Trigg	**kelli*	9	H M L	67 11 22
Total %				100
Powder	**kelli*	24	H M L	54 42 4
Total %				100%
Pydar	**kelli*	8	H M L	25 25 50
Total %				100%
Kerrier	**kelli*	10	H M L	60 20 20
Total %				100%
Penwith	**kelli*	9	H M L	44 44 12
Total %				100
Total *kelli names		83		

Table 6.18 *Kelli *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1	11	1	150-199m				1	
	5	13	2	<100m			1	1	
			3	150-199m		1			Settlmt C20
									Upland RG
	1	14	1	<100m					Military
	2	15	1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m			1		
	1	17	1	100-149m				1	
West Wivelshire	1	11	150-199m	150-199m		1			
	5	13	2	100-149m		2			
			3	150-199m		2	1		
	3	14	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	>200m		1			
	1	15	1	150-199m		1			
	1	16	1	150-199m					Plantation
Lesnewth	2	14	1	150-199m				1	
			1	>200m		1			
Trigg	1	12	1	<100m				1	
	6	13	2	<200m		2			
			1	100-149m				1	
			3	150-199m		3			
	2	14	2	>200m		1			Settlmt C20
Powder	2	12	2	<100m		2			
	7	13	4	<100m		2			2xOrnamntal
			1	100-149m			1		
			1	150-199m		1			
			1	>200m		1			

	12	14	7	<100m		6		1	
			4	100-149m		3			Plantation
			1	150-199m					Ind disused
	2	16	1	<100m					Ornamental
			1	100-149m					Ornamental
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
Pydar	2	13	1	<100m			1		
			1	100-149m		1			
	5	14	3	<100m		3			
			1	100-149m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
Kerrier	3	13	3	<100m		1	1	1	
	6	14	3	<100m		3			
			2	100-149m		2			
			1	150-199m		1			
	1	17	1	<100m		1			
Penwith	1	11	1	<100m	1				
	1	12	1	<100m	1				
	3	13	2	<100m		1			Settlmt C20
			1	100-149m		1			
	2	14	2	<100m		1	1		
	2	15	2	<100m		1	1		
Grand total	83								

Table 6.19 Numbers of *kelli *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	Number ****kelli*** settlements	<1km of rivers	<2km of rivers	Total and overall percentage
East Wivelshire	10	9	0	9 (90%)
West Wivelshire	11	7	4	11 (100%)
Stratton	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	2	0	2	2 (100%)
Trigg	9	4	4	8 (89%)
Powder	24	16	6	22 (92%)
Pydar	8	6	2	8 (100%)
Kerrier	10	7	3	10 (100%)
Penwith	9	5	4	9 (100%)

Table 6.20 Percentage comparisons of *kelli *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	*Kelli names	Topographical	Wood /Trees	Water	Habitative	Colours	Animals	Personal	Unknown	Other	Total
East Wivelshire	10	40%	10%	0	30%	10%	0	0	10%	0	100%
West Wivelshire	11	36%	27%	0	19%	0	0	9%	0	9%	100%
Stratton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	2	50%	0	0	50%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Trigg	9	44%	22%	0	22%	0	0	0	0	12%	100%
Powder	24	29%	21%	8%	13%	0	8%	8%	0	13%	100%
Pydar	8	50%	13%	0	25%	0	0	0	0	12%	100%
Kerrier	10	30%	30%	0	10%	0	0	10%	10%	10%	100%
Penwith	9	22%	33%	0	33%	0	0	0	0	12%	100%

**Gwyth place-name elements*

Table 6.21 Landscape positions (H=high, M=mid slope, L=low) of *gwyth *place-name elements in each hundred*

Hundred	**Place-name element**	**Number of names**	**Landscape position**	**% of names**
East Wivelshire	**gwyth*	6	H M L	50 50 0
Total %				100
West Wivelshire	**gwyth*	6	H M L	50 33 17
Total %				100
Stratton	**gwyth*	0	H M L	0 0 0
Total %				100
Lesnewth	**gwyth*	4	H M L	25 50 25
Total %				100
Trigg	**gwyth*	6	H M L	50 17 33
Total %				100
Powder	**gwyth*	11	H M L	55 27 18
Total %				100
Pydar	**gwyth*	7	H M L	29 29 42
Total %				100
Kerrier	**gwyth*	13	H M L	62 23 15
Total %				100
Penwith	**gwyth*	5	H M L	20 40 40
Total %				100
Total *gwyth names	58			

Table 6.22 *Gwyth *settlements: dates of first recording, elevation and HLC type*

	Nos x first records		Nos x elevation		HLC type				
Hundred	**Numbers**	**Century first recorded**	**Numbers**	**Elevation**	**Prehistoric farmland**	**Medieval farmland**	**Post medieval enclosed land**	**Modern enclosed land**	**Other**
East Wivelshire	1	10	1	100-149m				1	
	1	12	1	150-199m		1			
	3	13	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m					Settlmt C20
			1	>200m		1			
	1	14	1	150-199m		1			
West Wivelshire	3	13	1	<100m		1			
			2	150-199m		1	1		
	2	14	1	<100m		1			
			1	150-199m		1			
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
Lesnewth	1	No date	1	100-149m		1			
	1	11	1	>200m		1			
	1	13	1	>200m		1			
	1	14	1	100-149m		1			
Trigg	1	No date	1	<100m					Upland RG
	3	13	3	<100m		2		1	
	2	14	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
Powder	1	No date	1	<100m		1			
	1	11	1	<100m		1			
	1	12	1	<100m					Settlmt OC
	3	13	2	<100m					Ornamental Communctns
			1	100-149m		1			
	4	14	3	<100m		1	1		Ornamental

			1	>200m					Settlmt C20
	1	15	1	<100m		1			
Pydar	1	11	1	100-149m		1			
	2	13	2	<100m		1			Ornamental
	4	14	3	<100m		2			Upland RG
			1	100-149m		1			
Kerrier	2	13	1	<100m		1			
			1	100-149m		1			
	8	14	5	<100m		5			
			3	100-149m		2			Ind disused
	2	15	2	<100m		2			
	1	16	1	<100m		1			
Penwith	4	14	2	<100m					2xSetlmt C20
			1	100-149m	1				
			1	150-199m	1				
	1	16	1	100-149m					Plantation

Table 6.23 Numbers of *gwyth *settlements within 2km of rivers*

Hundred	**Number **gwyth* settlements**	**<1km of rivers**	**<2km of rivers**	**Total and overall percentage**
East Wivelshire	6	3	3	6 (100%)
West Wivelshire	6	4	2	6 (100%)
Stratton	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	4	2	1	3 (75%)
Trigg	6	4	2	6 (100%)
Powder	11	8	2	10 (91%)
Pydar	7	5	2	7 (100%)
Kerrier	13	11	1	12 (92%)
Penwith	5	3	2	5 (100%)

Table 6.24 Percentage comparisons of *gwyth *names in combination with other elements*

Hundred	***Gwyth* names**	**Topographical**	**Wood /Trees**	**Water**	**Habitative**	**Colours**	**Animals**	**Personal**	**Unknown**	**Other**	**Total**
East Wivelshire	6	33%	0	0	67%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
West Wivelshire	6	17%	33%	17%	33%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Stratton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lesnewth	4	25%	0	0	75%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Trigg	6	0	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	100%
Powder	11	27%	0	0	45%	0	0	0	0	28%	100%
Pydar	7	57%	0	0	29%	0	0	0	0	14%	100%
Kerrier	13	15%	8%	0	62%	0	0	0	0	15%	100%
Penwith	5	20%	20%	0	60%	0	0	0	0	0	100%

CHAPTER 7 – DISCUSSION

Table 7.1 *Percentage of Cornish habitative place-name elements recorded from the 13th century onwards*

Cornish habitative place-name element	**Overall number**	**Number/% recorded 13th century onwards**
**tre*	1365	1208/88%
**hendre*	54	53/98%
**havos*	11	8/72%
**chy*	108	80/74%
**ker/*caer/*gear*	169	159/94%
**bod*	238	208/87%

Table 7.2 *Cornish place-name elements from the 13th century onwards combined with terms for rough ground* (*goon, *hal, *ros*)*

Cornish hundred	**Overall 13th century onwards**	**Number/% rough ground terms**
East Wivelshire	289	9/3%
West Wivelshire	343	10/3%
Stratton	31	3/10%
Lesnewth	253	35/14%
Trigg	250	22/9%
Powder	719	65/9%
Pydar	444	35/8%
Kerrier	653	56/9%
Penwith	622	49/8%

Table 7.3 Domesday vills at elevations across Cornwall

Hundred	Domesday vills	Number/% <100m	Number/% 100-149m	Number/% 150-199m	Number/% >200m
East Wivelshire	52	16/31%	26/50%	9/17%	1/2%
West Wivelshire	49	20/41%	22/45%	5/10%	2/4%
Stratton	32	11/34%	13/41%	8/25%	0
Lesnewth	41	7/17%	11/27%	8/20%	15/37%
Trigg	28	16/57%	7/25%	3/11%	2/7%
Powder	55	42/76%	11/20%	2/4%	0
Pydar	26	19/73%	7/27%	0	0
Kerrier	34	29/85%	5/15%	0	0
Penwith	14	11/79%	3/21%	0	0

Cornish Place-Names in the Landscape

Volume 4 of 4
Appendix B : Place-Name Data Tables (on disc)

Submitted by Joanne Pye to the University of Exeter
as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology
In September 2018

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature: ……..

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