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anis may represent a British *i*-stem nominative singular, as in the Scottish Leven and Irish Laune, from **Lemanis*; but understood by the Romans as a locative plural, and by the Anglo-Saxons following them.

Perhaps if the base **lim-* with plural termination and a sense 'marshes, flooded areas' (discussed in the previous entry) is borne in mind, the question of the plural to which Jackson alludes is answered.

IDENTIFICATION. The Roman fort of Stutfall Castle, Lympne, Kent (TR 1134). The Royal Military Canal, which runs past it and was constructed during the Napoleonic wars, follows the old course of the East Rother (formerly Lympne) river.

LEMANNONIUS SINUS

SOURCE

Ptolemy II, 3, 1: Λεμαννόνις κόλπος (= LEMANNONIUS SINUS), vars. Λελασανόνις (= LELAANONIUS), Λεμασανόνις (= LEMAANONIUS), Λαλμασανόνιος (= LELMAANONIUS)

II, 3, 8: τοῦ Λεμαννονίου κόλπου (= a LEMANNONIO...SINØ) (with further vars.)

DERIVATION. The name is based on one of the roots discussed under LEMANA, traditionally **lem-*/*lim-* 'elm' but possibly **lim-* 'marsh' or a further sense connected with water in some form. The closest analogue is *Lemannus Lacus* (Lake Geneva), both having the *-*an(n)*- suffix. The present name has a further suffix which is a latinisation of British *-*onio-* (see CANONIUM). Bradley thought the name had left a descendant in that of Loch Lomond, and that both the *sinus*

and the Loch reflected a tribal name. Watson CPNS 119 supports part of this, observing that 'the name of the river from Loch Lomond is *Leamhain*, genitive *Leamhna*, Leven, meaning "Elm-water". Its plain, the Vale of Leven, was *Magh Leamhna*, and Loch Lomond was of old *Loch Leamhna*.' On p. 71, Watson gives *Argoed Llwyfain* as the Welsh name for a similarly named bay in Scotland (i.e., also originally bearing a name like *Lemannonius*).

IDENTIFICATION. Loch Long which, as Watson CPNS 19 points out, bounds Lennox (*Leamhnacht*) on the west.

LECTOCETUM

SOURCES

AI 470 (lter II): ETOCETO
Ravenna 106₄₈ (= R&C 94):
LECTOCETO

Of AI's form the editor notes 'ante *etoceto* una littera (fortasse *e*) erasa' in one MS. *Ravenna*'s form shows a copyist's assimilation to Latin *lectus* 'bed'.

DERIVATION. Jackson in *Britannia*, I (1970), 74, gives the name as British **Lētocēton*, earlier **Leitocaiton*; the meaning is 'grey wood'. The first element is **leito-* 'grey' (Welsh *llwyd*, Irish *liath*), seemingly not present elsewhere in ancient toponymy. The second is **caito-* 'wood' (Welsh *coed*, Cornish *claz*, Breton *koat*), cognate with Germanic **haitha*, German *Heide*, English *heath*, and probably with *-cetum* as in Latin *quer[cu]cetum* 'oakwood', etc. (Holder I. 1002). The element is not common in ancient toponymy: examples are *Cetobriga* > *Xetubre* > *Setúbal* (Portugal), **Borvo-cetum* > *Borcetum* > *Burtscheid* (near Aachen, Germany); but it is found in more recent

names in Wales, Scotland, and in England Pencoed, Penketh, etc. (Ekwall, EPN). For the development of the name of Anglo-Saxon (*Lyccid*, later *Lyccid-feld* > Lichfield) see Jackson LHEB 332, 563, etc. The Welsh name is *Caer Lwytgoed* (Jackson), but Bede mentions the bishopric under the name of *Licidfelth* (iv, 3) and its bishop as *Alduino Lyccitfeldensi* (v, 23).

IDENTIFICATION. The Roman town at Wall, Staffordshire (SK 0906), 2½ miles south of Lichfield. On the difficult problems surrounding the transfer of the centre of settlement from Wall to Lichfield in post-Roman times see C. C. Taylor, *Transactions of the South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, x (1968-69), 43-53.

LEUCA

SOURCE

Ravenna 108₂₉ (= R&C 246): LEUCA
108₃₀ (= R&C 248):
LEUGOSENSA

Ravenna's second entry conflates *Leuca* and *Sena*; the latter follows as an independent name in the list at 108₄₁ (SENUA), so the muddle involves double duplication as well as conflation. However, it is remotely possible that Ravenna's entries might be correct after all, the two above relating to different rivers: one perhaps the upper reaches or a tributary (*Leuca*), the other a broader or a main stream (*Leucosena* 'senior partner, old one (of the pair)').

DERIVATION. The base is Celtic **leuco-* 'bright, shining, white', documented by Holder II. 195, with derivatives in Welsh *llug* and Irish *luach*. Cognates include Latin *lux*, *lucere*, also *lucus* 'small wood',

Greek *λευκός* 'light', etc. From Gaulish **leuca* and from **leuco-* of the Celtic of Spain there was formed in late Latin (St Jerome: in *Ioel* III, 18) *leuco*, which has left Romance descendants: French *lieue*, Spanish dialectal *lleco*, *lieco* 'clearing, clear land, treeless land left uncultivated' (a sense which is important for British *Leucomagus*); one may compare the English cognate *lea*. (See Bottin LG 265, J. Hubschmid ELH I. 141).

In addition to the three following British names and *Verlucio*, Celtic **leuco-* is widespread in Continental toponymy: e.g. *Leuciana* AI 438₅, now Santa Cruz del Puerto (Toledo, Spain), *Τρίλευκον* a promontory in N.W. Spain (Ptolemy II, 6, 4), *Λευκάριστος* in Germania Magna (Ptolemy II, 11, 13). *Leucus* is known as a personal name. The *Leuci* people of Gallia Belgica had their capital at *Tullum Leucorum* > Toul (Meurthe-et-Moselle, France). The root is also present in the divine name *Leucetios*, god of lightning, equated with Mars in e.g. a Bath inscription to *Loucetio Marti* (RIB 140); see Ross (1967) 174-75. A number of place-names in S. Italy, the Aegean, etc., are formed from Greek *λευκός* and cognates: *Leucopetra*, *Leucadia*, *Leucae*, etc.

The sense of the British river-name is thus 'shining one'.

IDENTIFICATION. The river Loughor, south Wales.

LEUCARUM

SOURCE

AI 484₁ (Iter XII): LEUCARO

DERIVATION. This name, basically that of a river **Leucara* transferred to a fort on its banks with change of declension, consists of British **leuco-* (as in the

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P(*arisorum*). This is conjectural, and not universally accepted, but has an important bearing on the vexed question of the status of PETUARIA (q.v.).

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DERIVATION. The name is identical with that of the Gaulish *Parisii*, which survives as that of the capital of France: for a discussion of the connection, see I. M. Stead, *The La Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire* (York, 1966), and H. G. Ramm, *The Parisi* (London, forthcoming). Holder n. 932 explains their name by comparison with an assumed **Quār-īsiī* in Q-Celtic, based on a verb-stem **qari-* **qariu-*, citing as a derivative Old Irish *cuirim* 'ich setze, stelle', a cognate being Old Welsh *peri*, infinitive of *param*, *paraf* 'würke'; with suffixes *-is-īo-. To this O'Rahilly *EIHM* 147-48 adds the parallel of the *Quariates* people of the Alps, whose name in P-Celtic would be **Pariatis*, a precise forerunner of Welsh *peiriad* 'one who causes'. Senses suggested for the ethnic name are 'efficaces, strenui' (Zeuss) and 'gens dont les actes produisent des effets' (d'Arbois de Jubainville); but O'Rahilly thinks the *Quariates* have the name of a deity which means 'the shaper, maker'. Any one of these might have applied to the *Parisi*; the suggestion about a base in a divine name is that most in accord with modern thinking about many ethnic names.

IDENTIFICATION. A people of eastern Yorkshire to whom Ptolemy, placing them next to the *Brigantes* and near *Gabrantovicum Sinus*, ascribes only *Petuaris* (q.v.).

PENNOCRUCIUM

SOURCE

AI 470₁ (Iter II): PENNOCRUCIO

DERIVATION. The first element is British **pennō-* 'head, hill; end; (as adj.) chief', represented now by Welsh *penn*, Cornish and Breton *pen*, and presumably related to **pen-* of wide Mediterranean (Ligurian?) currency, in names all meaning 'hill, height'. In Q-Celtic **quenno-s* gave Irish *cen*, *cen*, *teann*. Older **pennō-* or Welsh and Cornish *pen(n)is* abundantly represented in the toponymy of modern Wales, Cornwall and adjoining areas. Zachrisson (1927) 49 collected many of them; he has interesting early forms for Pentridge (Dorset), evidently identical in origin to the present name. Ancient place-names include *Pennelocos* of AI 351₇ (= *Pennolucos* of TP) 'head of the lake' (Lake Geneva) now Villeneuve (Switzerland), and a **Pennovindos* (= Welsh Penwyn) 'white hill' > Pavant (Aisne, France), noted by Dottin LG 75. The second element is British **crōco-*, older **crouco-*, for which see CROCOCALANA; with *-īo- suffix. AI's form with -u- (-*crucio*) might show that the name was adopted from British not earlier than the late third century, or that the recorded Latin form reflects the late third-century evolution of the British vowel (*ou* > *ō* > *ū*); but it is more likely that AI's form is not altogether trustworthy, and that the *u* represents *o*, as often.

The sense presents a problem. 'Chief mound' or perhaps 'tumulus on the hill' seems obvious, but M. Gelling (1978, p. 334) finds this 'inexplicable in terms of the modern topography', since the crossroads at which the Romano-British settlement stands is not on a hill, and there is no trace of a tumulus. G. Webster in Wachter (1966), 44, thought that the name 'may originally have derived from a native hill-fort on the higher ground to the south-west' (for a similar transference, compare perhaps BANNAVENTA¹),

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and in *The Cornovii* (1975, p. 78) speculates that alternatively the name 'could signify a special assembly point for the tribe, or a place of some local importance'. Gelling suggests 'that there might have been a great tumulus called the chief mound/ on the site of the town, of which no trace remains, or that the name was that of a large district and the mound lay elsewhere'. These views seem to cover all the diverse possibilities.

IDENTIFICATION. The Roman settlement (succeeding forts) at Water Eaton, Staffordshire (SJ 9010), on the river Penk and 2½ miles south of modern Penkridge. The nearest known hill-fort to the southwest is Chesterton Walls, 10 miles distant; Castle Ring (9 miles to the east) is nearer to *Letocetum* than to *Pennocrucium* and even the nearest hill-fort, Berry Ring (6½ miles to the north), is too remote. No tumulus is known near here.

Note. The name survives in that of the village of Penkridge, via Anglo-Saxon *Pencric* (A.D. 958); this was taken from speakers of Brittonic with the second *c* intact as a velar (*LHEB* 260). The name of the river Penk derives by back-formation (with wrongly perceived division) from that of the village.

PETRIANIS

SOURCE

*ND XL*₄₅: Praefectus alae Petrianae, PETRIANIS (thus in Seeck's edition) This name is a 'ghost'. See Chapter VI, p. 221 | *oed.*

PETUARIA

SOURCES

Ptolemy II, 3, 10: Πετουαρία (= PETUARIA), the polis of the Parisi

Inscription: *RIB* 707, the dedication-slab of the theatre at Petuaria, the new stage being presented by an AEDILIS VICI PETU[AR(IENSIS)], A.D. 140-44.

Ravenna 107₁₅ (= R&C 138): DECUARIA

*ND XL*₃₁ gives an adjectival form for the unit stationed at *Derventio*¹: Praefectus numeri supervenientium Petueriensium ...

Ravenna's form is explained as simple miscopying; compare the reverse, *P* for *D*, in its *Purocoronavis* at 105₄₈.

DERIVATION. The name is a feminine of British **petuarjo-* 'fourth' (Welsh *pedwerid* (*pedwyr-yd*)), based on **petor-* 'four', in compounds *petru-*, cognate with Latin *quattuor*. The element is found abroad in the place-names *Petromantium* *AI* 382₅, 384₁₀ 'four roads, crossroads'; *Pedeverius* (A.D. 979) perhaps for earlier **Petuarios* > Pithiviers (Loiret, France); and in the ethnic names *Petrucorii* 'four hosts' (*BG* VII, 75, etc.) > Périgueux (Périgord, France), *Petranioi* at Lamas de Moledo (Pontevedra, Spain; *ELH* I. 120). For the formation *Petrucorii* Whatmough *DAG* 402 compares *Tricorii*, *Tetrapolis*, *Novempopuli*, etc. The suggested sense of *Petuaria* is, then, 'fourth (part)', the Parisi being perhaps divided into four *pagi*; for a discussion of the similarly organised *Petrucorii*, see C. E. Stevens in his chapter 'Roman Gaul' in J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *France* (2nd ed.) 1970, 22. See further on the ordinal forms of '4' in Celtic E. P. Hamp in *BBCS*, xxvi (1974-76), 309-11.

IDENTIFICATION. This is usually taken as Brough-on-Humber, Yorkshire (*SE* 9326), and if the *Praetorio* of *AI* 466₅ (*Iter* 1) is accepted as a corruption of the name this is the easiest identification, since the