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# **Landscape and naming: Medieval personal names in two midlands regions**

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## Landscape and naming: Medieval personal names in two midlands regions

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**Abbreviations**

ANFr. – Anglo-Norman French

Cont. G – Continental Germanic

OE – Old English

OFr. – Old French

OScand. – Old Scandinavian

EPNS – English Place Name Society

MED – Middle English Dictionary [Online] (2023)

ODFNB – Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland (Hanks et al. 2016)

OED – Oxford English Dictionary [Online] (2023)

VCH – Victoria County History

Db – Derbyshire

Ch – Cheshire

Du – County Durham

K – Kent

L – Lincolnshire

La – Lancashire

Lei – Leicestershire

Nf – Norfolk

Nth – Northamptonshire

Ru – Rutland

Sa – Shropshire

Sr – Surrey

St – Staffordshire

YN – North Riding of Yorkshire

YW – West Riding of Yorkshire

We – Westmorland

Sh – Shenton

Si – Sibson

U – Upton

SSU – Shenton, Sibson, and Upton

## Introduction

In order to demonstrate the effect of landscape upon naming, two corpora of personal names have been created from 14th Century Poll Tax documents in topographically contrasting landscapes. A comparative study of these bynames and surnames by category reveals differences in the bynames and surnames that could be the result of the different landscapes in which these names have been created and developed over time.

### *The Selected Material*

The regions chosen for study are the Castleton Parish of High Peak Wapentake in Derbyshire and the historical parishes of Shepton, Sibson, and Upton in Sparkenhoe Hundred in Leicestershire (Figure 1). These have been chosen on the criteria of their contrasting landscape and relative geographic closeness and history, both being in East Midlands counties and approximately 20 km from their nearest cities (Sheffield and Leicester respectively). These locations have comparable entries in the 1381 Poll Tax record (Fenwick 1998). Castleton is represented by a corpus of 180 individuals, whilst the coalesced entries for Shenton, Sibson, and Upton (SSU) represent 175 people. The Poll Tax record has been chosen for its accessibility as a source and its period of record. Surnames as evidence for aspects of society are most useful



Figure 1: Castleton and SSU

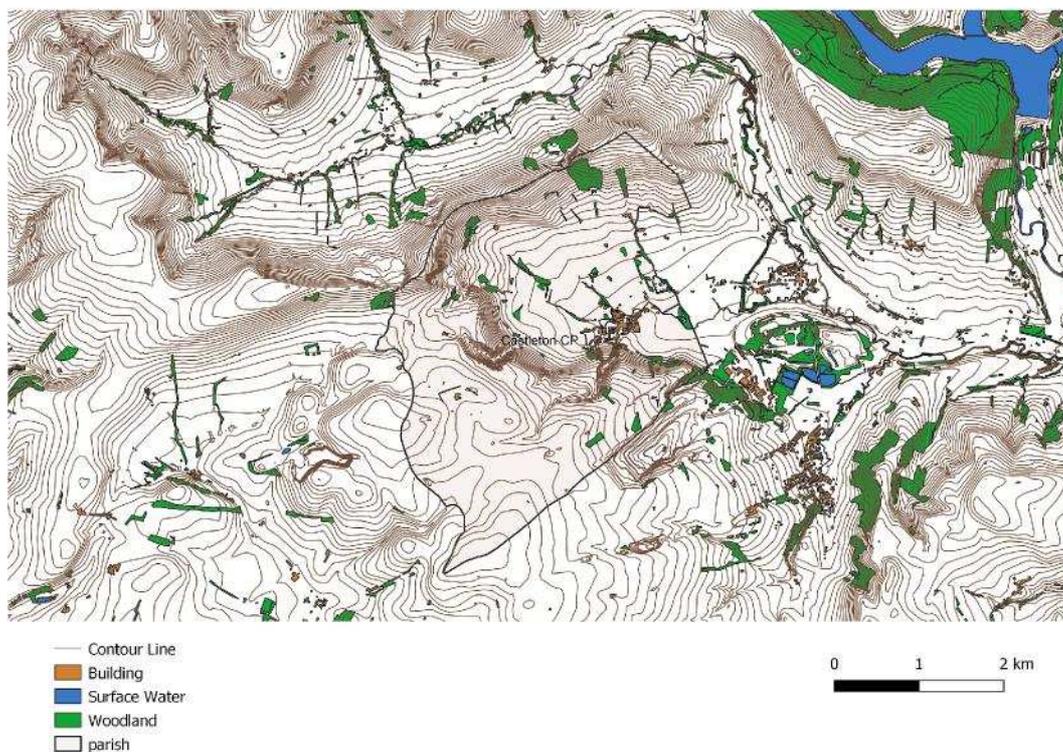


Figure 2: The Parish of Castleton

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in the medieval period before 1500, as at that time surnames had only recently become largely hereditary and new surnames were still being coined (McKinley 1990: 199). The frequency and distribution of surnames nationally would go on to change significantly before other national records, such as the 1881 population census, took place (Parkin 2015: 11). For this reason the Poll Tax record has already been applied in other studies of personal names across the country (e.g Postles 1998, Parkin 2014) and is suitable for a direct comparison of two concurrent corpora of names in different regions.

#### *The Landscape of Castleton*

Castleton is a town and civil parish in Hope Valley in the High Peak Wapentake of the Peak District, between the peak of Mam Tor in the West, Winnats Pass to the South-West, the Great Ridge to the North, and the neighbouring town of Hope in the East (outlined in Figure 2). The town lies on the flat bed of the valley, with surrounding farmland and forest on the slope of the ridgeway on all sides except East (Figure 3). Water runoff from the higher ground is managed around the settlement in man-made channels and streams, but is relatively unmanaged outside of the settlement, with few drains and ditches along field and woodland boundaries. Outside of the town, there are areas of wet bog and peaty soil which cover large areas of the upland ridgeway landscape (highlighted in Figure 4). This ground, as well as the clay soil of the valley floor, is relatively infertile and seasonally wet (LandIS 1999), making poor conditions for arable farming. South of the town are a series of caves

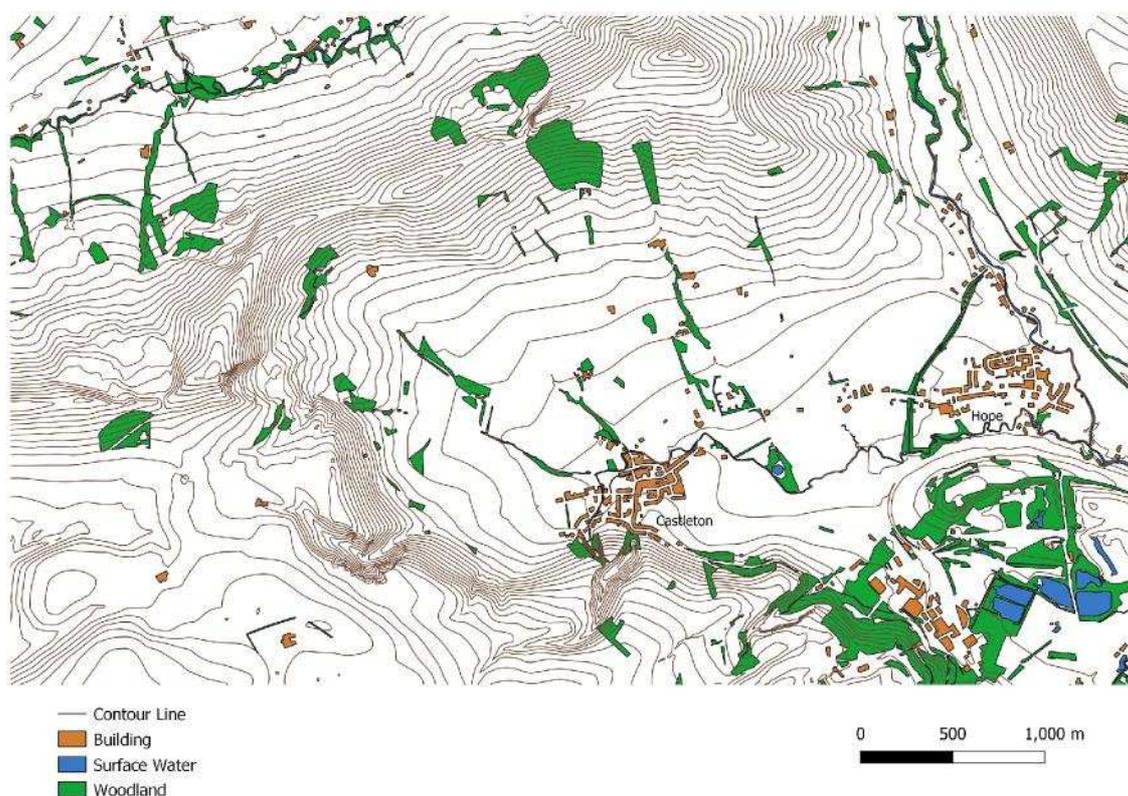


Figure 3: Castleton within Hope Valley

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and fissures in limestone rock. These caves were mined and expanded for mineral deposits, but only at a later period. Blue John, an important mineral for the local industry, was extracted from the 18th century onwards, and the cave space was used in the process of rope making (Ford 2013:, pp. 233 and 235).

Water from Peak Cavern joins with runoff around the town to form Peakshole Water, a small stream that runs into the River Noe and eventually the River Trent.

Access north to nearby Edale is limited by the terrain. The major crossing point for the Great Ridge is Hollins Cross, north of Castleton.

However, it can still be observed today that in cold weather the approach to the ridgeway can be easily impeded by the ice formed from runoff water on roads and footpaths (Figure 5). It may be that in the middle ages there was limited travel

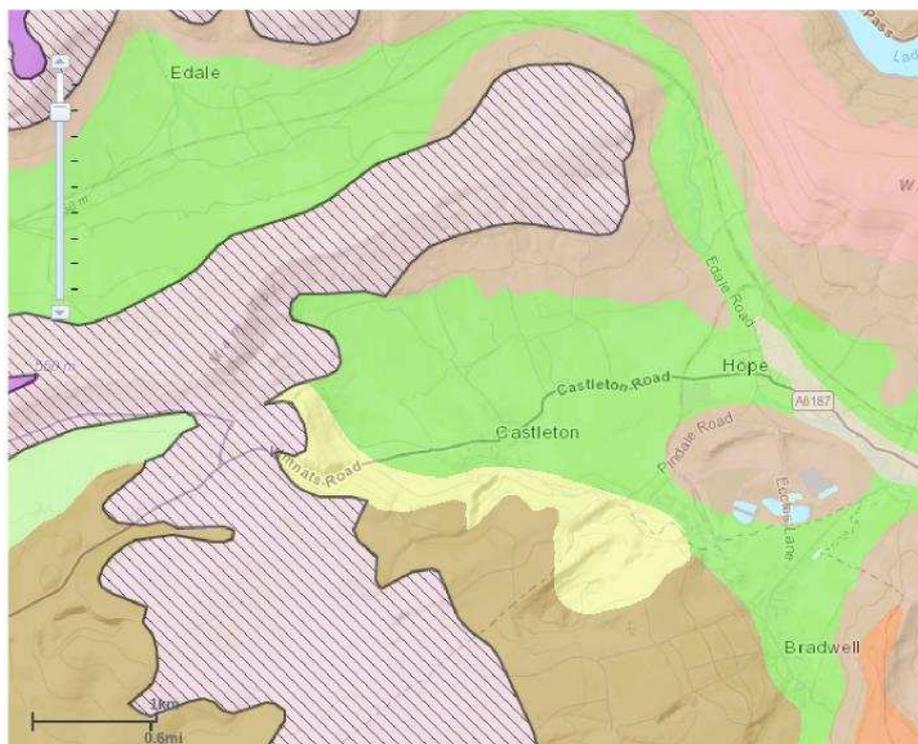


Figure 4: LandIS Soilsmap of Castleton

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across this pass in winter months, leaving Hope as the only easily accessible nearby settlement, but this is difficult to substantiate.



Figure 5: A frozen road leading to Hollins Cross

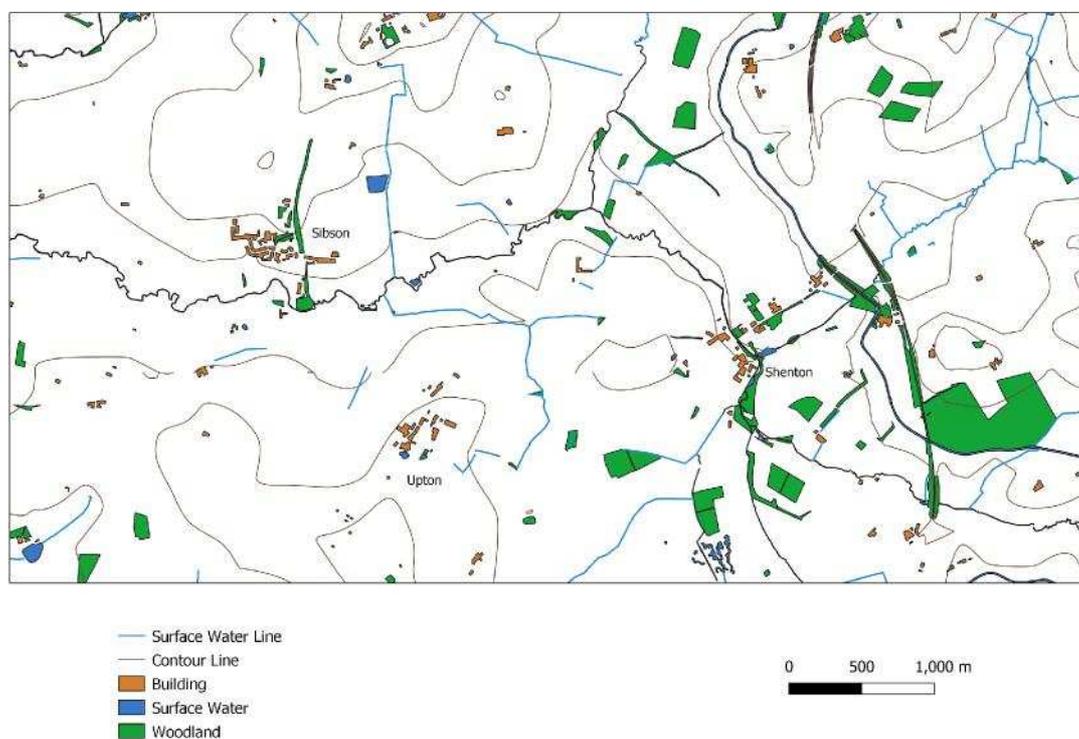


Figure 6: Shenton, Sibson, and Upton

### ***The Landscape of SSU***

Shenton, Sibson, and Upton are three small adjacent villages in the Sparkenhoe Hundred of Leicestershire, near the border with Warwickshire. The topography of the area is different to that of the High Peak. The land is flatter, more fertile, and accessible than in Castleton, which has a different history of land use and management (Figures 6 and 7). The soil in this area, in modern soil surveys, is largely fertile and suitable for pasture and arable farming (LandIS 1999), though some areas have poor drainage and large bodies of perpetually standing water (Figures 8 and 9). This has led to comparatively high number of man made drainage channels, as can be seen above in Figure 6. This area of South-Western Leicestershire stands in contrast to the surrounding county, with fewer boulder clay deposits than the Soar Valley and none of the rocky outcrops and woodland coverage of nearby Charnwood, providing distinctly good arable quality (Lewis et al. 2001: 41).



Figure 7: The Landscape of Sibson

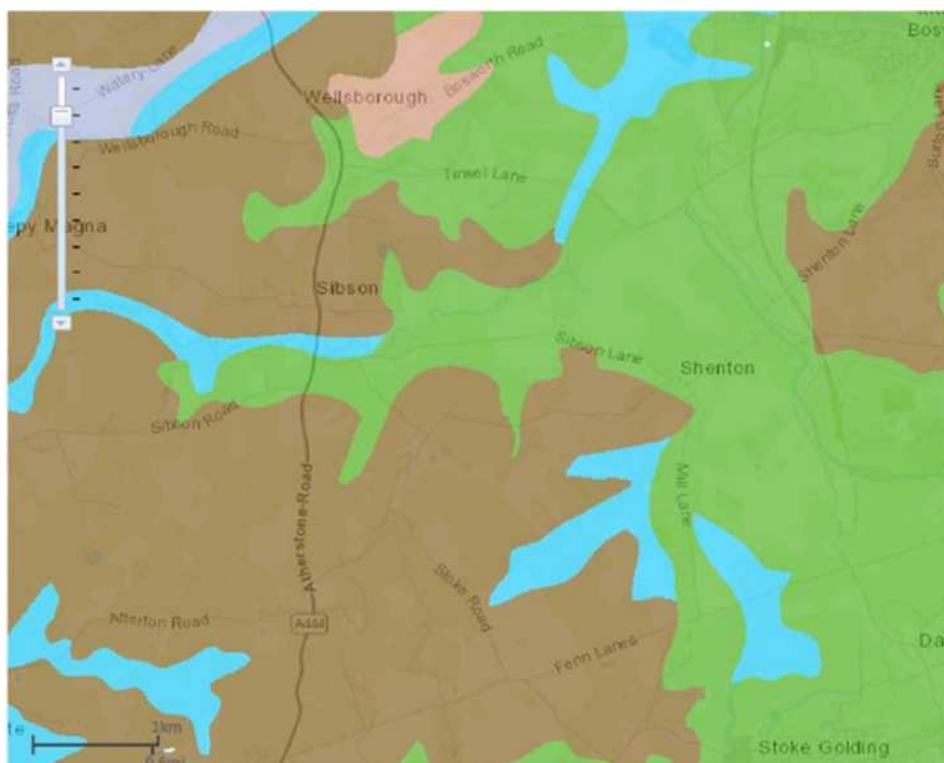


Figure 8: LandIS Soilsmap of SSU



Figure 9: Standing water at Upton

Sence Brook is a minor river that passes through Shenton before joining the River Sence as one of its major tributaries. Whilst too small to function as a thoroughfare for river traffic, the brook was clearly an important feature of the village landscape as it is the qualifying element in the Shenton place-name. First appearing in *Scenctune* in 1002 (Cox 2014: 295), the embedded OE river name perhaps means ‘drinking cup’, referring to a reliable source of clean drinking water (Ekwall 1928: 357), though whether this river name was coined around Shenton is questionable.

### ***The Forest of the High Peak***

Peveril Castle was built by William Peveril prior to 1086, when the site was recorded as *castellum* in Domesday Book (Barnwell 2007: 25). It lies on the south side of the town on a cliff face above the settlement which allows the fortifications to be visible from almost everywhere within the town (Figure 10). The castle was developed further over the next two centuries, and by the late 14th century belonged to John O’Gaunt the Duke of Lancaster. A ditch was built around the exposed north and east sides of the town in 1196 after Henry II acquired the castle (Historic England: 1018868), providing a defensive border to the settlement that can still be seen today (Figure 11).

The purpose of the castle was for the maintenance of the royal hunting grounds of the Peak Forest. The castle and the town were host to regular royal hunting parties throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, which may have been an economically important influence in the development of the town. A decline in these visits might have coincided with an economic downturn for the town in the later middle ages (Barnwell 2007: 29), proving the town’s dependency on the hunting ground as a stimulant for visitors and commerce. The town did have a market, founded c.1196, though it was not commercially successful and declined in activity with the rest of the town over the 14th century (Beckett 1988: 60-1).



Figure 10: Peveril Castle above Castleton



Figure 11: The Defensive Bank and Ditch at Castleton

The forest district of the High Peak was an area of 40 1/2 square miles, including the parishes of Castleton, Hope, Glossop, Chapel en le Firth, and Tideswell, with portions of the parishes Bakewell and Hathersage (VCH Db: 397). This area was divided further into three sub-districts, of which Hopedale was the easternmost area with Peveril Castle as an administrative centre. It was the seat of the Chief Local Official for the management of the

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forest, though forest pleas would be heard in Derby rather than at the castle, perhaps an indicator of its remoteness relative to other administrative bodies.

The fauna of the Hopedale district of the forest was noteworthy in the middle-ages. An unusual abundance of both deer and wolves were mentioned in documents on the management of the forest (VCH Db: 398-400). This required a highly developed local practice of wolf trapping and game keeping, which might suggest a high supply of skin and fur byproducts available in Hope Valley. As a consequence of the value placed upon the deer of Hopedale district, there were strict limitations on the keeping of animals and the construction of buildings near the forest. Sheep were limited in their number, and goats were not permitted. However, horse breeding and horse studs were common in the High Peak forest from a relatively early point (p. 400). The building of new dwellings within the forest was strictly prohibited, and termed 'purpresture'. This does not mean, however, that no new dwellings were built. The charge of purpresture was commonly brought up at forest pleas, demonstrating that there were those who were still attempting to clear and settle new areas of the forest despite the purpresture legislation (p. 403).

This consistent flouting of forestry law may support Christopher Dyer's position that woodland societies were, on the whole, freer and more rebellious than regular villages. Distinctive woodland society characteristics were a higher number of freeholders and a lighter obligation to local lords (Dyer 1991: 48). This came with a greater range of freedom in occupation and more people working outside of agriculture, thanks to a greater range of resources from the woodland and the greater flexibility of personal time that came with pastoral rather than arable subsistence.

#### ***The Etymology of Upton***

The place-name Upton may provide some perspective upon the history of the village. The etymology of the name OE *upp + tun*, 'upper enclosure', has some ambiguity in meaning. It may be similar to Sibson in referring to a marginally elevated area. The land does descend and then rise again between Upton and Sibson, allowing each village to be clearly visible from the other. However, there are cases of Upton names across the country in which this topographic interpretation makes little sense. Richard Jones (2012) explores the possible meanings of Upton, and finds that an abstract geographical model of the name, with 'up' being an eastward orientation from the nearest settlement or dependant manor, also cannot be supported by the location of Uptons and their nearby settlements (p. 308).

One possible meaning, supported by the high number of Uptons associated with Royal Forests, is that the relatively infertile land of an 'upper' region was left barren for use in hunting. Upton (Lei) is not associated with a Royal Forest, and in modern soil surveys (Soilscape 1999) does not have a marked difference in fertility from nearby villages. Jones' hunting hypothesis is also strongest with Upton names recorded pre-conquest, which does not include Upton (Lei). However, it is still possible that this was a less fertile region at the time Upton was coined, and was thus an area used for hunting. In this case, some occupations and topographic features (such as sparse woodland and scrub land cover) may have been closer to the style of Castleton and Hope Valley than they at first seem to be.

## Surname Typology

Analysis of surnames has often employed distinct categories of names in order to compare names between different places and times. Differences in typology, the method of categorisation, can make comparisons between studies problematic. Parkin (2013) performs a quantitative analysis on the effect of categorisation within two major studies, that of Reaney (1967) and McKinley (1990), and with a chi-squared test found conclusively that the comparable results of a study depend upon the categories used by the researcher.

Furthermore, the two studies take different approaches to what constitutes the 'meaning' of a name when categorising. When a surname has been placed into two different categories by the two studies, Reaney broadly considers the motivation of a name at the time of it being coined and how it may have been applied, whilst McKinley takes the etymology of a name as the most important characteristic for categorisation (Parkin 2013: 206).

Parkin suggests a standardised methodology of categorisation (Figure 12) to form comparable results across studies of personal names. Parkin's method has been followed in this study in assigning surnames to categories of *Occupation*, *Relationship*, *Nickname*, *Multiple Possibilities*, and *Uncertain*. However, the category of *Location* has been further divided into Topographic and Toponymic names. The conclusions that can be drawn from comparison of these categories across topographies are different, and the methods for their analysis within each category are distinct.

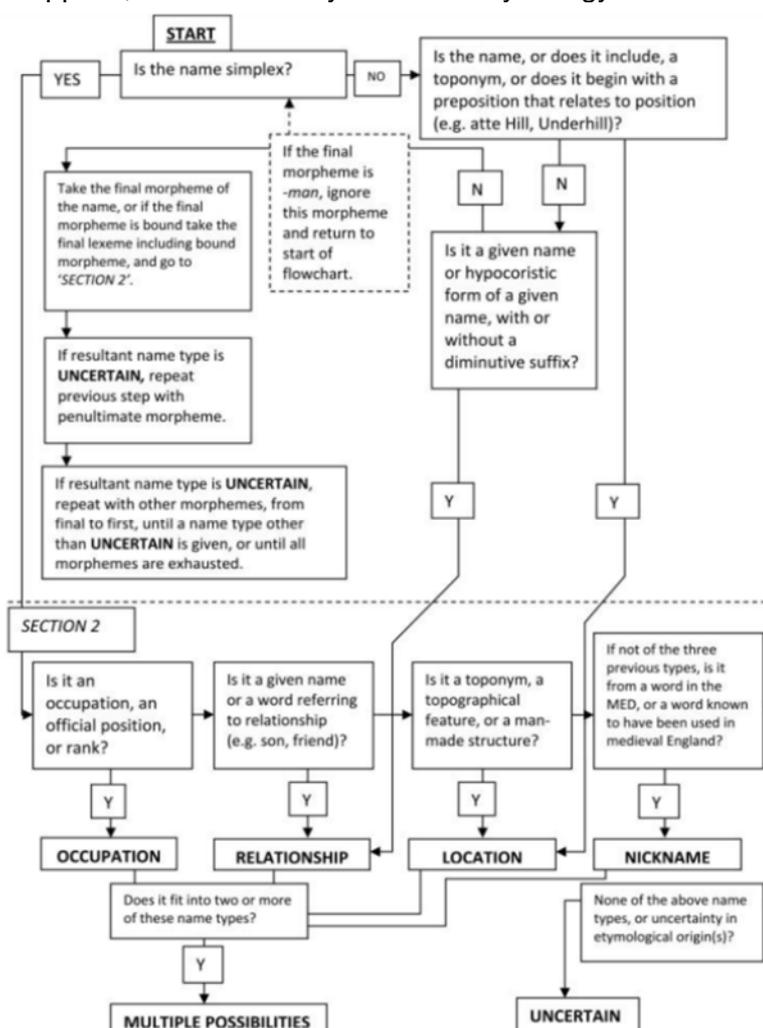


Figure 12: Method of Categorisation (Parkin 2013)

## Topographic Names

The topographic names of the corpora reflect the different landscapes of the two study regions. There are an almost equal number of likely topographic names in the two study regions, nine in Castleton and eight in SSU. These names can be broadly treated in subcategories of those which denote an aspect of the settlement and those that denote an aspect of the landscape outside of the settlement.

## Topography of Settlement

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Some topographic names refer to features of a settlement. *Hall(e)*, *Kyrkeyerth*, *Touneshend*, and *Tounrowe* in Castleton and *Hall* in SSU all describe places within a settlement in which the bearer lived. These names can provide information about the structure of a settlement, such as the existence of a hall, the nucleated shape suggested by the town edge in *Touneshend*, and the row of houses denoted by *Tounrowe*.

The names *Bale*, *Brigg*, *Cros*, and *Dyche* in SSU and *Croft* in Castleton all refer to man-made structures, but it is unclear if they are within their respective settlements. *Bale* is particularly ambiguous, as this is referring to the outer wall of a castle. There is no record of a castle in Upton where this name is recorded. With no accompanying grammatical particle, it might be that this name has migrated from elsewhere and is no longer denotative. All other topographic names in SSU except *Dyche* have an accompanying grammatical particle.

Richard *del Croft* is one of a number of Castleton names with accompanying occupational prosopography. He is recorded as a *Swynherd*, from which it would be reasonable to assume that the topographic name is still denotative at this time, and that the croft in question is one that keeps pigs.

#### **Topography of Landscape**

In the landscape of the High Peak, the names *Clyff* and *Tor* are in agreement with the local topography. John and Roger *del Tor* may even have lived near what is now called Mam Tor, though the **tor** element is first recorded in *Mantaur* in 1630 (EPNS Db). This is perhaps evidence of *Tor* being used lexically rather than toponymically, before the name of the hill was coined, though it may have referred to one of a number of rocky peaks around Castleton. In the late 14th century Mam Tor was likely referred to by its previous name of *Manhill*, first attested in 1577.

The name Green has been defined in ODFNBI as referring to a village green, with no other topographic origin provided. However, Hooke (2012: 84) considers instances of *atte Green* as denoting people living besides a patch of former common waste near the Forest of Arden in Warwickshire. This explanation for John *othe Green* in Upton may be more suitable than that of a village green. Upton is a very small settlement, without a church or clear centre, and village greens were rare in the East Midlands at this time (Beckett 1988: 35). This hypothetical green area may have been insignificant, such as the green centre of a cross roads, but if a region of the parish was former common waste then this may support Jones (2012) in his hypothesis for the place-name Upton. A patch of common waste may have been intentionally left as a hunting ground for a nearby manor. *Heth(e)*, though recorded in Shenton, is also perhaps referring to the same area of waste land if it crossed the administrative border of Shenton and Upton. There is no means to draw a conclusion from these names alone, but they may provide some support to any other evidence for Jones' theory of Upton applying to this particular village.

There are four bearers of the name *Parke* in Castleton. This is an unusually high number of bearers for one name in the Castleton corpus. Given that all of the names bear a *de* particle, it might be likely that these bearers are a family or a group of people all still living at a nearby park. There is no evidence for a medieval park in the vicinity of Castleton, but many parks in the High Peak are unrecorded and may never be identified

with archeological methods (Wiltshire and Woore 2007: 116). Parks at this time were typical in forests and would be bounded by wood or stone to preserve deer (Grant 1991: 27), the materials of which would easily disappear over time if the park did not survive into modernity. The wooded landscape of the Hope Valley and the abundance of deer at this time makes Castleton a reasonable place to expect a medieval deer park.

William *atte Walle* may have been someone who lived by a wall if the Anglian OE form of the word wall is the etymology of this name. However, a Mercian OE dialect word *wælle*, cognate with Anglian OE *wella*, 'spring or well', may be a more likely origin for the name, given the wet landscape and lack of evidence for any notable wall in the small village of Upton. In Kristensson's survey of ME dialects (1987), this Mercian *wælle* is well represented in textual sources in the West Midlands, including nearby Warwickshire, but not in Leicestershire (p. 107). The dialect feature does, however, appear in place-names and field names in the extreme west of Leicestershire (EPNS Lei VIII: 86). A meaning of 'spring' or 'well' rather than 'wall' would fit the trend for topographic names in Leicestershire. Postles (1998: 215) considers *well* to be the most frequent topographic feature in Leicestershire surnames in both 1327 and 1381. *Wall* does not feature in Postles' list of the 15 most frequent features, and is not included anywhere in his survey of surnames in Leicestershire and Rutland.

There is a precedent for personal names bearing the phonology of the West Midlands dialect outside of Kristensson's established region for certain phonemes. Parkin (2014) studied two dialect features of the West Midlands in personal names from the Poll Tax record of the Midlands and bordering counties, and demonstrated a different distribution of phonology than Kristensson's survey (Parkin 2014: 57). It might be that medieval personal names represent a broader influence of dialects than that which is recorded in other textual records.

### Toponymic Names

An analysis of the Toponymic bynames of the corpus, those referring to the name of a place or region, can be modelled as the distance and direction of migration in a region. Many people migrating to these regions in this period may not bear a toponymic name, and the trends of the toponymic data may be used as a sample of the whole population of migrating people.

Some of this migration is 'step-wise', where the toponym does not imply that there has been direct migration from another settlement, but the appearance of these 'step-wise' toponymic names is a growing phenomena in the late middle ages in the East Midlands. Many of the toponymic names at this time will still represent a direct migration (Postles 1998).

### Methodology

McClure (1979) in his application of toponymic names to the study of migration identifies two major shortcomings in prior toponymic analysis (i.e Reaney 1967 and McKinley 1975). These are the use of overlarge and irregular units of measurement for movement of people (such as attributing origin of a name to an entire county) and the use of ambiguous or erroneous material where names may refer to many original places with similar names (McClure 1979: p. 173).

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In order to address McClure's first concern, and establish as precise a measurement of movement as possible, a distance in kilometres has been measured from the parish church of the toponymic origin to the church of the settlement under study, as represented on OS Maps. There are cases where this has led to the arbitrary selection of a church. *Salforde, Kent*, and *London* are each names that had to be diminished to a single point rather than an area for a comparative measurement, and so have introduced a degree of inaccuracy into any subsequent numerical treatment of distances. In these cases, the most locally prominent medieval church or cathedral has been selected (e.g. Canterbury, Westminster) though this still a largely arbitrary selection.

Ambiguous names that may refer to a range of original places, such as *Thornhull* (Thornhill), *Hawlton* (Halton), and *Barundon*, can be problematic in establishing a sample of migration. In the case of *Thornhull* the origin can still be established with reasonable certainty. With the possibilities being Thornhill Db, 4.7 km from Castleton, and Thornhill in Cu, W, and Ha, which are a distance away of 170 km, 204 km, and 272 km respectively, the closer origin seems almost certain. *Hawlton*, however, cannot certainly be said to be from any one location. Of the many places named Halton across the country, the nearest is Halton YW, 54 km from Castleton, which does not support the same certainty as nearby Thornhill. Names such as *Barundon* and *Cakton* have an even less certain origin. Not included in ODFNBI, Brundon Sf would be the only similarly named settlement. At 222 km, the hamlet of Brundon is not a likely origin for the name, even if an early form with a *Barun-* element could be established. And *Cakton*, despite appearing to contain a generic place-name element and being found as *de Cakton* in another 14th century document in Norfolk (National Archives SC 1/45/219), cannot be said to belong to any one phonetically similar location at all. The toponymic origin of the name has been lost.

Names such as the above with multiple or unclear toponymic origins can be found across both corpora. Those such as *Thornhul* and *Hawlton* with multiple origins have still been included within numerical treatments of the toponymic names, with the caveat that subsequent conclusions about migration must come with a degree of uncertainty. *Barundon*, and several other unclear toponymic names, have been excluded as to not further distort the picture of migration formed from these names. This leaves 26 relatively certain toponymic names in Castleton and 15 names in Shenton, Sibson, and Upton.

#### **Analysis of Toponymic Names**

The trend of the distances in these names is that the origins of toponymic names from SSU are more likely to be from further away, suggesting a longer distance of migration for people coming to Shenton, Sibson or Upton than those coming to Castleton. 50% of the names from Castleton come from within 27.5 km of the town, whilst 50% of names in SSU come from within 49.5 km. The distribution of distances for SSU is in general flatter more inclusive of a further distance of migration, meaning that even the distances of 223 km for *Warcop* and 226 km for *Kent* fit within the statistical trend of the rest of the names. The trend is smooth and at no point do the distances dramatically decrease. In a similar analysis of toponymic name distances from London, Peter McClure (1979) describes the shape of his data as 'long and flat', and ascribes the trend to the greater pull factors for migration to London compared to other cities. It may be that the shape of distribution for SSU likewise suggests strong pull factors driving migration to the SSU region.

In contrast, Castleton has a distinct distances in distances after a point. This difference in distribution can be expressed graphically, as shown below in Figure 13, and can be described statistically. The standard deviation (sd), the amount by which most values of data differ from the mean average, is remarkably different; for Castleton  $sd = 37.3$  km and for SSU  $sd = 80.2$  km. These expressions show how much greater the dispersal of toponymic distances are for SSU, as

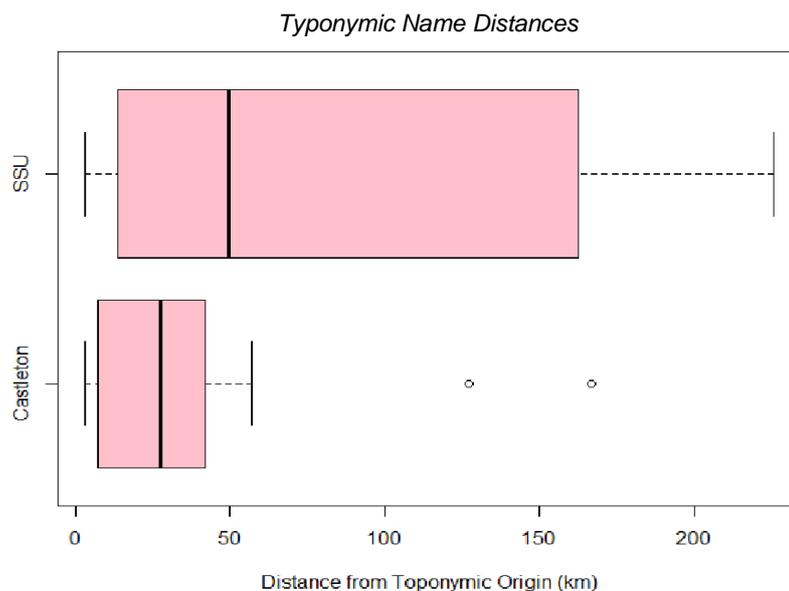


Figure 13: Box-Plot showing Median and Interquartile Ranges of migration distance for SSU and Castleton

distances for Castleton diminish more rapidly than distances for SSU. Standard deviation can be further used to demonstrate the statistical importance of an individual name in the sample for the trend of migration as a whole. A standard score (Z-score) can be calculated to show the number of standard deviations a value is above or below the mean. If the Z-score is high for the distance value of a name then that name is likely to be anomalous to the data set. It will have little value for describing the overall trend of migration to a location, and will in fact skew any such conclusions. In testing the upper bound of the toponymic data, the Z-score further shows the stark difference between Castleton and SSU. The most extreme SSU distances, *Warcop* and *Kent*, have Z-scores of 1.77 and 1.81 respectively. Whilst the highest values for Castleton are much lower, 127 km for *Kendal* and 167 km for *Dockyng*, their Z-scores are much higher; 2.45 and 3.53 respectively. There is no absolute Z-score threshold for what can be considered an outlier or anomaly, but these Z-scores above 2 and especially 3.5 suggest the migrations from Kendall and Docking are not regular for Castleton. These distances would not be expected to be found in the population of migrating people not represented by the sample. The highest Z-scores of SSU are not so extreme, and so suggest that the migration of those long distances are more regular for the location and are not rare and anomalous movements of people. This statistical analysis of distribution supports the conclusion that toponymic personal names demonstrate a greater distance of migration in SSU than in Castleton.

### ***Landscape and Migration***

One possible reason for this difference in the corpora of toponymic names may be the landscape of the area that people are migrating into. The relatively open, fertile landscape of Leicestershire may provide for easier travel and incentive to migrate. The remote and infertile Hope Valley may not provide the same incentives or ease of movement. A similar effect of landscape barriers can be demonstrated in the medieval toponymic names of cities such as York and Norwich, where the effect of nearby difficult terrain can be shown in the extent and direction of the migration inferred from surnames (McClure 1979: 179).

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David Postles finds in a long term study of Toponymic names in Rutland that the average distances of names increases over time (Postles 1998: 134). As names become hereditary surnames and continue to move from place to place in step-wise migration, an increase in the distance of this migration over generations is to be expected. It may be that hereditary surname creation began earlier in southern Leicestershire than in the High Peak of Derbyshire, leading to a perceived greater distance of migration. The hypothesis of an earlier process of hereditary surname creation is in agreement with the national trend that hereditary surname creation came later in the north of England than in the south for all but the largest landowners (McKinley 1990: 36), which may suggest a difference in the chronology of the process between Derbyshire and Leicestershire. There may be evidence for this difference in other categories of names and their hereditary status.

Some toponymic names are difficult to distinguish in category from ethnonym nick-names. *Johanne Pycard* is unlikely to be an individual who has migrated to Shenton from Picardy in the 14th century, especially with no denotative *le* as is often found in early bearers of the name in the 13th century (ODFNBI *Pickard*). This suggests that the name has become hereditary and refers to the family rather than an individual from Picardy.

### Occupation Names

Drawing conclusions about the local importance of an occupation from occupational names can be problematic. McKinley (1990: 203) asserts that there is often little connection between them. But the comparative information found across occupational surnames of different regions, especially when considered in the context of what is known about landscape and economy at the time of their recording, may be useful in describing the effect of landscape upon naming.

In general, the process of denotative bynames becoming non-denotative surnames is slowest with occupational names, and new denotative occupational bynames were still being created in the mid-15th century (McClure 2010: 171-172). This may suggest that many of the occupational names at the time of the Poll Tax record were still denotative, though there is some evidence in this analysis to suggest otherwise.

### Condensation of Occupation Names

In Castleton there are 15 likely occupational surnames, three of which are held by two individuals; *Walker*, *(le) Pedder*, and *(le) Herdeman*. In the SSU corpus there are 11 occupational surnames. The dispersal of these names, however, is quite different. Many more individuals share an occupational name, with *Herdeman*, *Milner*, and *Thacher/Yacher* being shared by 2 people, *Taylor* by 3 people, *Carter* by 4, and *Smyth* being held by 8 individuals.

This difference can be quantified as the condensation of naming, or the average number of individuals per name in a given group (Chareille 2002: 17). There are 1.2 people per name (PPN) for Castleton and 2.4 PPN for SSU. The reason for the higher condensation value of SSU may be a higher proportion of hereditary surnames. For instance, it may be more likely that the 8 bearers of *Smyth* are a family rather than 8 practising blacksmiths in such a small area, even if the profession is hereditary within a family.

Another factor may be a real difference in the proportion of occupations to individuals in the population. Dyer (1991: 48) proposes that medieval woodland and pastoral societies are more likely to have a wider range of non-agricultural professions, and therefore a lower number of people per occupation in general. This is due to the resources provided by a woodland landscape, such as timber and skins, and the more flexible and varied working schedule of people subsisting on pastoral agriculture. They are more likely to be able to take up other professions alongside the rearing of animals. As Castleton is a woodland landscape and likely a mostly pastoral farming area, this region may fit Dyer's hypothesised range of occupations. This is supported by the substantially smaller PPN figure when compared with SSU.

### ***Trends in Occupation***

Some of the occupation names of the corpora suggest something about agricultural and manufacturing processes that are informed by the landscape. A high proportion of the occupations found in Castleton names work with leather or textiles. *Barker*, *Glover*, *Skinner*, *Taleour*, *Walker*, and *Webster* are all names suggesting occupations of textile, leather, or garment manufacturing. These represent 40% of the occupational names in Castleton. The occupations of *Barker*, *Glover*, and *Skinner* may involve the skins of animals. This perhaps suggests a local supply of cattle for leather making, which is supported by the herding names discussed below. These might also be occupations that benefit from the high number of deer and other such animals in the Forest of the High Peak with valuable skins. The hunting of deer was likely highly controlled by the forest administration, but the practise of hunting may still have had an effect on the local industry. *Taleour*, *Walker*, and *Webster* suggest an availability of cloth that may suggest the nearby production of wool, and therefore the keeping of sheep.

In contrast, the only name of the same textile quality in SSU is *Taylor*, forming 9.1% of the occupational names. The name is held by three people with consistent orthography. This may suggest that involvement in the textile industry was not as prevalent in this region. Given the relatively high condensation of names, it may even be that this represents one family with the hereditary name of *Taylor*, further diminishing the perceived importance of the profession locally.

As well as the leather and skin-based occupation names discussed above, the two (*le*) *Herdeman* names in Castleton suggest the keeping of livestock, and *Le Dey* could be a dairy maid but is possibly more generically 'the owner of cattle'. The denotative *le* and the given name Richard might suggest that the name is yet to be hereditary and holds the latter meaning, but Richard *Le Dey* is one of a few individuals with accompanying prosopographical information in the Castleton corpus. He is described in Latin as *Textor*, suggesting that he worked with textiles. This provides further evidence for the importance of textiles to the local area but also raises the question of how far grammatical particles such as *le* can be shown to demonstrate names as denotative rather than hereditary at this time.

Pastoral herding names are also present in the SSU corpus, these being *Herdeman* and *Harde*. However, these names are also joined by occupations that suggest arable farming. The name *Milner* suggests the presence of a mill and a grain product processed there. The type of mill can not be established, but a water-mill is perhaps likely in the wet landscape of the region. *Thresser/Thressar* possibly suggests the threshing of

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grains, though it could also be a nickname from 'thrashing', and so has been categorised under Multiple Possible Origins.

The lack of arable names in the Castleton corpus does not suggest that no such farming took place, but perhaps that the landscape was more suited to pastoral occupations. The same can be said for the secondary pastoral professions inferred from the leather and textiles occupations. The hilly topography, relative infertility of the soil, and the wooded landscape may have created better conditions for these occupations than arable agriculture.

#### **Status Names and the -man Morpheme**

There are four names directly describing social status in the corpora; three in SSU and one in Castleton. Each end with the *-man* morpheme, but this can be treated in different ways depending on the preceding morpheme.

The final morpheme *-man* can be etymologically ambiguous in some bynames and surnames, and can act as a bound morpheme with the preceding morpheme (Parkin 2013: 210). Names such as *Herdeman* can be treated with the occupation denoted by the preceding occupational morpheme, *Herde*, someone who cares for a herd of livestock. There may be no semantic difference between the *Harde* name found in Upton and the *Herdeman* names found in Castleton, Shenton and Sibson. *Freman* may also belong to this sub-category. Whilst the ME *freman*, a 'free born man', is a word in use at the time of the name's creation, the existence of the synonymous surname *Free* (ODFNBI) may suggest that the *-man* morpheme is bound and does not add any semantic information. The name would have the same meaning without it.

This is not the case for *-man* with the preceding morpheme of a given personal name. These likely referred to the servants, tenants, or vassals of the holder of the given name, and were more commonly produced in the north of England (McKinley 1990: 147-148). *Symkynman* in Castleton suggests service to a man named Simkin, a diminutive form of Simon. Other morphemes denoting institutions and feudal titles suggest a similar status of servitude for the bearer. Such is the case for the church in *Kyrkeman*, suggesting someone in service to the church, and *Hurleman* which may suggest service to an Earl.

It may be that the fewer number of status and *-man* type names in Castleton represents a general lack of these names in the High Peak, in which case the remoteness of the landscape may be a reasonable explanation for the resistance to the national trend of more *-man* type names in the North of the country. Given the small sample size of status names and the differences in the type of preceding morpheme in the recorded names, it may be problematic to draw conclusions on the trends of these names between the two study regions.

#### **Relationship Names**

There are 38 names in the study bearing a relationship to an earlier member of a family that may be considered relationship bynames or developing surnames; 14 are recorded in Castleton and 24 in SSU, excluding the Latin patronymic names discussed below.

The origins of given names represented by these corpora are similar across the regions of the study, with the Welsh patronym *Maddok* in Sibson being the only exceptional name in its origin. Otherwise, there are a mix of names from OE, OScand., and Cont. G

(with a French influence), and they are all represented in a Middle English form. None are so obsolete as to not have this ME form, which suggests their recent use in the given name stock of late medieval England. This makes a distinction between relationship byname and surname problematic, as no name is sufficiently archaic as to suggest it being hereditary.

### ***Morphology of Relationship Surnames***

Relationship surnames can form with three distinct morphological structures. Surnames with no morpheme besides the given name, or 'unmarked' surnames, and names ending with a genitive -s were more likely to develop in the Southern England. Surnames ending with a genitive -son morpheme were more likely to develop in Northern England, and at a later date (Postles 1998: 267).

All three forms of surnames are likely to appear in the East Midlands at this time, and all three are found in the SSU corpus. However, the Castleton corpus has far fewer -son names than SSU, and an almost equal number of unmarked names (Figure 14).

Relationship Names

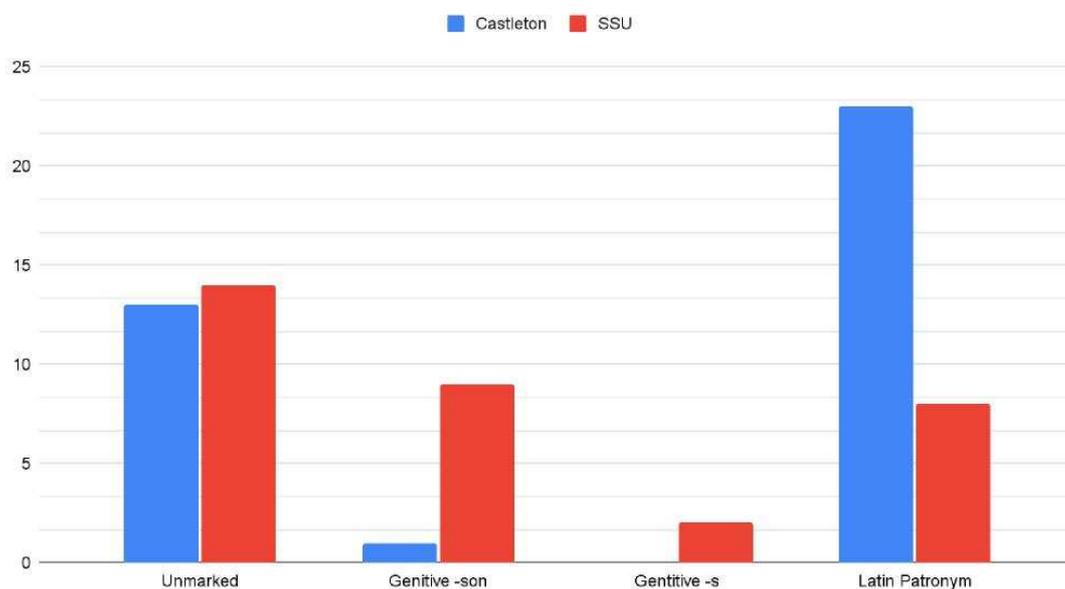


Figure 14: Frequency Graph of the Relationship Name Types

The lower number of relationship names in Castleton in general may suggest a later development of relationship names, but were that the case then the number of -son names would likely be greater, as these names tended to be developed later than the unmarked surnames. This apparent break with the national geographic trend may be due to the topographic isolation of Castleton. As demonstrated by the corpus of toponymic names, migration into the Castleton region tended to be from closer origins than migration into the SSU area. Perhaps this closer range of movement of people lead to a slower adoption of the -son form of relationship naming, and the total absence of -s forms originating from the south.

### ***Latin Patronyms***

As well as the relationship bynames, there are 23 Latin 'patronyms' in Castleton, and 8 in SSU. These take the form of *filius/filia* followed by a latinised given name, denoting the son or daughter of an individual. These names do not always represent an emerging byname,

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and it is unclear if they record (in Latin) a common form of address used in Middle English speech.

The difference in number of Latin patronyms is perhaps indicative of the more general development of relationship surnames in the different corpora. The high number of Latin patronyms in Castleton is perhaps because a higher number of patronymic surnames are yet to develop. It may also suggest a larger number of denotative bynames in general. As the number of Latin patronyms is lower in SSU, hereditary surname development of patronymic surnames may have already taken place to a greater extent.

In explaining the absence of *-son* forms in Castleton, this evidence for later adoption of patronymic names may compound the effect of topographic isolation on the naming system, but it cannot explain why the proportion of *-son* names to unmarked names is lower in Castleton.

### Nicknames

There are thirteen nicknames in Castleton and twelve in the SSU corpus. Though the corpora of nicknames are small, some differences can perhaps be drawn between them.

There are nicknames describing negative personal characteristics in Castleton (Jacob *Fox*, Emma *Kay*, and William *Triket*) and none in SSU. Derisive nicknames are less likely to be accepted as hereditary surnames by families, so the difference might be the product of a different chronology of hereditary surname creation. The proportion of nickname bynames to nickname surnames might be higher in Castleton than in SSU.

Nicknames and ethnonym names suggesting travel and foreignness are more common in SSU than in Castleton. There are five in SSU; *Forion*, *Neucome*, *Pycard*, *Scot*, and *Walsh*. The only such nickname in Castleton is *Northorn*. This may suggest a higher rate of migration into SSU than Castleton, a conclusion that supported by the same trend in the Toponymic name data.

### Conclusion

Differences between Castleton and SSU can be found in all categories of bynames and surnames. It can be difficult to attribute these differences to the landscape with certainty, but there are some trends that can be observed across different name categories that may be best suited to this conclusion.

Hereditary surnames appear to develop later in Castleton than in SSU. This can be seen as a possible explanation for the condensation of occupation names, the greater distance of migration denoted by toponymic names, the greater number of Latin patronyms in Castleton, and the lower number of derogatory nicknames in SSU. The lateness of hereditary naming may be explained in part by the north-south distance between Castleton and SSU, but Castleton does not agree with some north-south morphological trends. This is demonstrated by the lack of *-son* names, and possibly also *-man* names, when compared to SSU. If Castleton is isolated not just from the surname trends of the South of England but also the rest of the Midlands and the North, then perhaps the remoteness of the landscape is a reasonable explanation for these trends in naming. Furthermore, the remoteness by migration can be demonstrated in the toponymic bynames and foreign nicknames. They

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show that people originally bearing these names did not travel as far to migrate to Castleon as they did to SSU. As well as surname semantics and morphology, the landscape may have affected the regional phonology of names, such as in the unusual presence of West Midlands dialect in South West Leicestershire, where the landscape is more continuous with the neighbouring region in Warwickshire than the rest of Leicestershire.

These differences in the corpora of personal names altogether suggest that landscape has such an effect on bynames and hereditary surname creation that the history of these names cannot be treated just in terms of broad north-south continua, or division by administrative region. The landscape of a region can be a highly influential factor in the development of bynames and surnames.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Corpus of Castleton Names

#### Nicknames

**Johannes Best and Henricus le Best:** from Middle English *best(e)* (OE *betst*) 'best, finest (person)' or from Middle English *best(e)* (OFr. *beste*) 'beast, animal'. ODFNBI *Best*.

**Henricus Dun:** from Middle English *dun* 'dark' (OE *dunn* 'dull brown') for a dark-complexioned person. ODFNBI *Dun*.

**Nicholaus, Johannes, Johannes, Robertus and Robertus le Eyre:** from Middle English *eir* or *eyr* (ANFr. *heyr* and Latin *heres*) 'heir'. ODFNBI *Ayre*.

**Jacobus Fox:** from Middle English *fox* 'fox'. Probably chiefly a nickname for a cunning or sly person. ODFNBI *Fox*.

**Robertus Hodde:** from Middle English *hod*, *hood*, or *hodde* 'hood', for someone who wore a hood (like the medieval folk hero Robin Hood) or worked with hoods. ODFNBI *Hood*.

**Emma Kay:** from Middle English *kei* or *ka* 'left-handed' or 'clumsy' (Old Scandinavian *kei* 'left-handed'). ODFNBI *Kay*.

**Ricardus del Lofft:** from Middle English *lofte* 'upper chamber, attic', possibly used to denote a 'servant of the upper chamber', or someone who lived at a house with an upper floor. ODFNBI *Loft*.

**Filot' Northorn and Robertus and Johannes Northron':** from Middle English *northern* or *northren* (OE *norðerne*) 'northern', for someone 'from the north', particularly as an English nickname for someone from Scotland or Scandinavia, or a southern English nickname for someone from the north of the country. ODFNBI *Northern*.

**Nicholaus Scharpe:** from Middle English *sharp(e)* (OE *scearp*) 'sharp, quick, smart'. ODFNBI *Sharp*.

**Robertus Schorth:** from Middle English *shorth* 'short'. ODFNBI *Short*.

**Willelmus Triket:** from a Norman-Picard form of OFr. *trichet* or *trichot*, perhaps a variant of *trichard* 'cheat, deceiver'. ODFNBI *Trickett*.

**Johanna Woderoue:** from Middle English *woderove* (OE *wudurofe*) 'woodruff', a sweet-scented plant. The surname might have been for someone who used the plant as a perfume. Often confused with Middle English *wode* 'wood' + *reue* 'row, row of houses', but *Roger Woderove* in 1285 was recorded as a woodsman living in Castleton (National Archives OD/962) which might suggest that Woodruff is a more likely etymology. ODFNBI *Woodruff*.

**Henricus Wysman:** from Middle English *wise* ‘wise, discreet’ + *man*, also *wise-man* (OE *wīs* + *mann*) ‘wise, thoughtful, rational, skilled, or intelligent person, a cunning man’. The name may also have been used ironically. ODFNBI *Wiseman*.

### Relationship Names

**Johannes and Henricus Alot:** appositional metronym from the Middle English female personal name *Alot* (OFr. *Aalot*). ODFNBI *Allott*.

**Johannes Batesoune:** from the Middle English personal names *Bate* or *Batt* + *-son*. ODFNBI *Bateson*.

**Walterus Colyn:** patronym from the personal name *Colin*, a diminutive of *Col*, itself a pet form of Greek *Nicholas*. ODFNBI *Collin*.

**Johannes Cut:** patronym from a pet form of the personal name *Cuthbert*, or less often of the Middle English reflex of OE *Cūðbeald*. ODFNBI *Cutt*.

**Hugo, Willelmus and Mag' Davy:** patronym from Middle English *Davy*, originally an OFr. vernacular form of *David*, and the commonest form of that name in medieval England. ODFNBI *Davey*.

**Johannes, Robertus and Ricardus Elot:** appositional metronym from the Middle English female personal name *Elot*, a pet form of *Ellen* using the diminutive suffix *-ot*. ODFNBI *Ellett*.

**Robertus and Adam Hardyng':** patronym from the Middle English personal name *Harding* (OE *Harding*). ODFNBI *Harding*.

**Matilda and Johannes Judde:** patronym from the Middle English personal name *Judde*, a pet form of *Jordan*. ODFNBI *Judd*.

**Johannes Mayot:** from a diminutive form of the Middle English personal name *May* (a pet form of *Matthew*, *Mary*, or *Margaret*). ODFNBI *Mayot*.

**Willelmus Pelle:** patronym from the Middle English personal name *Pell*, a pet form of *Peres*, or *Peter*. ODFNBI *Pell*.

**Alisia Raulot:** patronym from a diminutive form of the personal name *Rol(l)and*, *Ralph*, or *Rolf*. ODFNBI *Rowlett*.

**Johannes Seman:** patronym from the Middle English personal name *Seman* or *Semon* (OE *Sæmann*). The occupational origin of the name is highly unlikely in Derbyshire. ODFNBI *Seaman*.

**Ricardus Siward:** from the Middle English personal name *Siward* (OE *Sigeward*, OScand. *Sigwarth*). ODFNBI *Seward*.

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**Rogerus Was and Johannes Wasse:** from the OFr. personal name Wace (Continental Germanic *Waz(z)o*), a pet form of any of the various Continental Germanic personal names beginning with *Wad-*. It was common among Normans. ODFNBI *Wass*.

#### Topographic Names

**Stephanus del Clyff:** from Middle English *clif*, commonly in the sense 'slope' (not necessarily a steep one) or 'bank of a river', or 'seashore'. Likely the slope of a hill in this case. ODFNBI *Cliff*.

**Ricardus del Crofth:** from Middle English *croft*, for someone who lived '(at the) croft'. ODFNBI *Croft*.

**Thomas Hall', Thomas de Hall', and Henricus de Halle:** from Middle English *hall(e)*, for someone who lived or worked at a hall. ODFNBI *Hall*.

**Johannes de Kyrkeyerth:** Not in ODFNBI. Likely a form of ME *kirkegærd* 'church yard', referring to someone living near a church yard. (MED s.v. *kirk-garth*).

**Johannes, Ricardus, Thomas, and Adam de Parke:** from Middle English *parc* or *parke* (OFr. *parc*) 'park, enclosure' referring to someone living in or near a park. ODFNBI *Park*.

**Agnes del Prasse:** perhaps from Middle English *pas(e)* (OFr. *pas*) 'path, passage', likely signifying someone who lived at or near a passage or a place so named. ODFNBI *Pass*.

**Johannes and Rogerus del Tor:** from Middle English *tor(re)* (OE *torr*) 'rocky peak, hill'. ODFNBI *Tor*.

**Robertus atte Touneshend and Thomas de Touneshend:** from Middle English *toun(es)ende*, for someone who lived on the edge of a settlement. ODFNBI *Townsend*.

**Hugo de Tounrowe:** from Middle English *toun* 'town' + *row(e)* or *raw(e)* 'row', denoting a row of houses in a settlement. ODFNBI *Towndrow*.

#### Toponymic Names

**Robertus, Willelmus, Anabella de Abbonay:** From Abney Db, 5.7 km from Castleton. *Abbeneia* recorded in 1200 is a closer form of the place-name. ODFNBI *Abney*.

**Willelmus de Aschchope:** Not in ODFNBI. May refer to a number of nearby similarly named places, such as Ashopton (5.7 km from Castleton), Ashop Farm in nearby Hope Woodlands Parish, Ashop Moor in Edale Parish, or the river Ashop which joins the Derwent at Ashopton. All are likely derived from the valley name OE *æsc* + *hop* 'ash-tree valley' (EPNS Db).

**Willelmus de Aston':** From one of numerous places named Aston. Most likely Aston Wa, 57 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Aston*.

**Ricardus de Bagschagh:** From Bagshaw Db, 7.3 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Bagshaw*.

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**Willelmus de Barlay:** Could be from one of a number of settlements named Barley or Barlow, though none are relatively near Castleton. It may possibly refer to Barely Hill Db, though this is 36 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Barley*.

**Adam de Barundon':** Not in ODFNBI. Likely Toponymic with the **dun** element, but does not refer to any known place.

**Johannes de Baunford:** From Bamford Db, 5.8 km from Castleton, though the name could belong to Bamford La. ODFNBI *Bamford*.

**Walterus, Petrus, Thomas de Bradwell':** From one of numerous places named Brawdell, the most likely being Bradwell Db, 3.1 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Bradwell*.

**Ricardus, Ricardus de Burgh':** Could be from one of a number of places named Burgh, though none are relatively near Castleton. The name appears popular in Scotland and the North East in 1881, where there are several Burgh places. ODFNBI *Burgh*.

\*\*\* **Dockyng':** From Docking Nf, 167 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Docking*.

**Johannes de Eynsworth:** From Ainsworth La, 47 km from Castleton.

**Beatrix de Hawlton':** Not in ODFNBI or EPNS, but may be a form of Halton, from any of the many places called Halton, the nearest of which being Halton YW, 54 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Halton*.

**Nicholaus de Hokelowe:** Not in ODFNBI. The form matches an early form of Little Hucklow in High Peak Db; *Parva Hokelowe* 1285 and 1382 (EPNS Db), 5.8 km from Castleton.

**Thomas Kendale:** From Kendal We, 127 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Kendal*.

\*\*\*, **Symon de Melner:** From Mellor Db, 18 km from Castleton. *Melner* is an early form (1282) of the place name (EPNS Db). ODFNBI *Mellor*.

**Johannes de Murcaston':** Not in ODFNBI. Probably Mercaston Db. Some early forms contain the *Murc-* spelling (EPNS Db); 42 km from Castleton.

**Robertus de Nedham:** From High Needham Db, 18 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Needham*.

\*\*\* **Rollworth' and Johannes de Rouworth':** From Rowarth Db, 15 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Rowarth*.

**Johannes de Salforde:** From Salford La, 38 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Salford*.

**Johannes de Slake:** Could be from a number of places named Slack, meaning 'slope'. Most likely Slack Db, 27 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Slack*.

**Ricardus de Spath':** Not in ODFNBI. Possibly from The Spath Db, 40 km from Castleton.

**Nicholaus de Stopporde:** From Stockford Ch, 26 km from Castleton. Early forms of the place-name include the **-ford** element, such as *Stopford* in 1347. ODFNBI *Stockford*.

**Rogerus de Thornhull':** From Thornhill Db, 4.8 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Thornhill*.

**Simon de Tipschelf:** Not in ODFNBI. Likely from Tibshelf Db, 37 km from Castleton.

**Johannes de Turton':** From Turton La, 53 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Turton*.

**Thomas de Ullay:** From Ulley YW, 32 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Ulley*.

**Robertus, Johannes, Ricardus Wetton':** From Wetton St, 28 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Wetton*.

**Henricus de Wortlay:** Could be from a number of places named Wortley. Most likely Wortley YW, 23 km from Castleton. ODFNBI *Wortley*.

### Occupational Names

**Robertus sen' Barker:** from Middle English *barkere* 'tanner'. ODFNBI *Barker*.

**Ricardus Chapman:** from Middle English *chap(pe)man* or *chepman* (from OE *cēapmann*) 'merchant, trader'. ODFNBI *Chapman*.

**Johannes Clerke:** from Middle English *clerk* (from OFr. *clerk*), first associated with a 'cleric' of the church and later a 'clark or writer' from the scholarly duties of clerics. ODFNBI *Clark*.

**Ricardus le Dey:** from Middle English *day(e)* or *dey(e)* 'dairy maid', though later it was also applied to men in charge of cattle. With a denotative French *le*. ODFNBI *Day*.

**Henricus Glover:** from Middle English *glover* (from OE *glōf*) 'glover; maker or seller of gloves'. ODFNBI *Glover*.

**Willelmus Herdeman and Willelmus le Herdeman:** from Middle English *herdeman* (from OE *hierdeman* or *heordman*) 'herdsman, one who tends sheep, goats, cattle, etc.'. ODFNBI *Hardman*.

**Johannes Pedder and Nicholaus le Pedder:** from Middle English *peddare* or *peddere* 'pedla', a trader who went on foot from door to door, carrying his wares in a ped, a lidded wickerwork basket. With denotative French *le*. ODFNBI *Pedder*.

**Willelmus Skynner:** from Middle English skinner 'skinner' (OScand. *skinn*), for someone who stripped the hide from animals to be used in the production of fur garments, or to be tanned for leather. ODFNBI *Skinner*.

**Robertus Smyth'**: from Middle English smith 'smith' (OE *smið*), a worker in metal such as a blacksmith or farrier. ODFNBI *Smith*.

**Robertus Taleour**: from ANFr. or Middle English *tailour* 'tailor'. ODFNBI *Tailor*.

**Willelmus and Margareta Walker**: from Middle English *walker* (OE *wealcere*) 'one who trampled cloth in a bath of lye or kneaded it, in order to strengthen it'. ODFNBI *Walker*.

**Willelmus Ward**: from Middle English *ward* (OE *weard*) 'watchman, guard'. ODFNBI *Ward*.

**Henricus Webster**: from Middle English *webbester* (OE *webbestre* 'female weaver') 'weaver'. ODFNBI *Webster*.

**Robertus Wryght**: from Middle English *wriht* or *wright* (OE *wyrhta* or *wryhta*) 'craftsman', especially 'carpenter, joiner'. ODFNBI *Wright*.

'-man' suffix and status names:

**Johannes Symkynman**: Not in ODFNBI. From the Middle English personal name *Sim(e)kin*, a compound of *Sim(m)* or *Sime* + the diminutive suffix *-kin*, with the added *-man* occupational suffix, perhaps denoting a 'servant of Simkin'.

### **Multiple Possible Meanings**

**Ricardus Bagger**: perhaps a locative name from Badger Sa, or an occupational name from Middle English *bagger* 'bag-maker, maker of small sacks'. ODFNBI *Bagger*.

**Johannes Bower**: either a status or locative name from Middle English *bour* or *bor(e)*, (OE *būr*) 'cottage, chamber, bower', hence either 'cottager' or 'chamber-servant', or denoting someone who lived at one of the minor places named from the word in Somerset, Sussex, Peebles, and elsewhere. Or a variant of occupational Bowyer, a maker of bows. ODFNBI *Bower*.

**Nicholaus Carles**: a status name or nickname from Middle English *carl* 'free peasant', later 'bondman', also 'bloke, knave, rascal' (from Old Scandinavian *karl* 'man'), or relationship name from the Scand. personal name of the same origin. ODFNBI *Carl*.

**Ricardus and Robertus Coke and Johannes sen' Coke**: perhaps occupational from Middle English *cok* or *coke* (OE *cōc*) 'cook' or 'seller of cooked foods' (ODFNBI *Cook*). Or a relationship name perhaps from the Middle English personal name *Cok*, of uncertain origin, or a locative name from Middle English *cok* (Old English *cocc*) 'hillock, haycock, heap', denoting someone who lived by a hillock or mound. Or an occupational name from Middle English *cok* or *cok(k)e* 'ship's boat', and used for a boatman. ODFNBI *Cock*.

**Nicholaus and Johanna Douners**: possibly a topographic name for someone who lived on the hill or down, from Middle English *douner*. The *-s* suggests a denotative meaning, and perhaps suggests a status name for someone working for the people on the down, or a plural meaning for a group of people on the down. ODFNBI *Downer*.

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**Agnes Hayle:** from Middle English *hale* (OE *halh*), for someone who lived ‘at the hale’ or who came from a place so named, such as Hale in Cheshire, Hants, Lancs, Lincs, Holme Hale (Norfolk), Hale Street (Kent), and Haile (Cumb). In the South and Midlands this denoted a nook of land (a recess or remote valley). ODFNBI *Hale*.

**Cisilia de Howe:** from Middle English *hoze* (OE root *hōh*) ‘spur of a hill, steep ridge, or slight rise’ and denoted someone who lived in such a place. It may also be from OScand. *haugr* ‘mound, hill’. Without other evidence, this cannot be distinguished from *howe* ‘spur of a hill’. It may also be a toponymic name from one of the many places named with the above etymologies. ODFNBI *Howe*.

**Adam de Leghus:** Not in ODFNBI. Perhaps toponymic from the name of a field in the Parish of Hopton and Griffe Grange, Wirksworth Hundred Derbys (EPNS) 35 km from Castleton, though the field name may suggest a closely associated topographic word.

**Johanna de Milne:** from Middle English *milne* ‘mill’. Could be from a number of places containing the word as a place-name element, or could be a topographic name suggesting someone who lived by a mill. Unlikely to be an occupational name with the *de* particle. ODFNBI *Milne*.

**Margareta Norys:** from either the occupational Middle English *norice* ‘nurse; foster parent’ (from OFr. *norrice* or *nurric*). ODFNBI *Nurse*. Or from the regional nickname of Middle English *norreis*, *noreis*, or *norais* (from ANFr. *noreis*) ‘northerner’. Used of Norwegians and of inhabitants of northern England and Scotland. ODFNBI *Norris*.

**Ricardus Pake:** relationship name or a nickname from Middle English *Paske* or *Pake* (OFr. *Pasques* or *Paque*) ‘Easter, Passover’, probably originally used as a personal name or nickname for someone born at Easter. ODFNBI *Pask*.

#### Unknown Origin

**Willelmus and Thomas Balgy:** Not in ODFNBI. Perhaps related to a number of French place-names which have early attested forms with a *Balg-* element, such as Bâgé-la-Ville, recorded as *Balgiaco* in the early 11th century (Dauzat and Rostaing eds. 1963: 45).

**Thomas de Brodbothum:** Not in ODFNBI. Likely topographic or toponymic in origin, perhaps referring to a broad valley, but is not found in any recorded place-names.

**Johannes Burdikan:** unknown origin, perhaps from an unrecorded Middle English *\*burdekin*, a diminutive of *burde* ‘young lady, maiden’, but the absence of medieval forms in *-kin* and the change of *-kin* to *-can* would be unexpected. ODFNBI *Burdikan*.

**Matilda de Goddesgraunt:** Not in ODFNBI. Likely topographic or toponymic in origin, though the *Godde-* morpheme, likely ‘God’ or ‘good’, does not make sense in this context. The name is not found in any recorded place-names.

**Cisilia Kireol:** Not in ODFNBI. Unknown origin.

**Johannes de Malkane:** Not in ODFNBI. Likely topographic or toponymic in origin, but is not found in any recorded place-names. *Mal-* may be ‘bad’, an ‘apple tree’ from Middle English

*māl* (MED S.v. *māl(e)* n.3), or 'sack or bag' from OScand. *malr* or OFr. *male* (MED S.v. *māl(e)* n.(2)).

**Agnes del Prasse:** Not in ODFNBI. *del* suggests a topographic name perhaps from Middle English *pass(e)*, referring to someone living at a narrow passage or strait. There are no forms with <pr>, which leaves this meaning uncertain (MED S.v. *pā s(e)*). ODFNBI *Passe*.

**Willelmus Raunckell':** Not in ODFNBI. Perhaps a form of the OScand. personal name *Hrafnkell*.

**Rogerus Tillyng':** Unknown origin. ODFNBI *Tilling*.

### **Appendix B: Shenton, Sibson, and Upton Names**

The Poll Tax record for Sparkenhoe Hundred in Leicestershire survives in a series of separate rolls (Fenwick ed. 1998: 482). Many of the entries are duplicated across the rolls, and sometimes this leads to names being recorded differently in different manuscripts. These have been represented here with a '/' for variants of names where they can be shown to belong to the same individual.

### **Nicknames**

**Agn' and Henrico Frere:** from Middle English *frere* or *frier* (OFr. *frere*) 'brother, friend, comrade'. ODFNBI *Frere*.

**Johanne, Willelmo, and Agn' Forion:** Not in ODFNBI. Perhaps from Middle English *forein* (OFr. *forain*) 'foreign', for someone who was not a member of society, or perhaps a newcomer. MED *forein*.

**Johanne Genty /Gentil:** from Middle English and OFr. *gentil* 'high-born, noble'. ODFNBI *Gentle*.

**Katerina Hauke:** from Middle English *havoc*, *havek* or *hawk*, (OE *hafoc*) 'hawk or falcon'. It may have been given to a professional falconer or to someone of a savage or cruel disposition. ODFNBI *Hawke*.

**Radulpho Kynch':** perhaps from Middle English *kinche* or *kenche*, a metathesized side-form of *kniche* or *kneche* 'bundle, bunch, sheaf, parcel'. ODFNBI *Kinch*.

**Matilda Kyng:** from Middle English *king* (OE *cyning* or *cyng*) 'king', perhaps acquired by someone with kingly qualities or as a pageant name by someone who had acted the part of a king or had been chosen 'king' of an event such as a tournament or in some folk ritual. ODFNBI *King*.

**Johanne de Neucome and Thoma Neucome:** from Middle English *newe-comen* or *newe-come* 'newly arrived, recently come'. ODFNBI *Newcome*.

**Johanne Pycard:** ethnic name from OFr. *le picarde* 'the Picard', for a man from Picardy. ODFNBI *Pickard*.

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**Johanne de Scot and Johanne Scot:** ethnic name from Middle English *Scot* 'a Scot', denoting 'a man from Scotland', not necessarily a Gael. ODFNBI *Scott*.

**Johanne Smart:** from Middle English *smert* or *smart* (OE *smeart*) 'brisk, vigorous', for a brisk or active person. ODFNBI *Smart*.

**Agn' and Johanne Walsh':** ethnic name from Middle English *welshe* (OE *wēalisc*, *wēlisc*) 'foreign, Welsh'. ODFNBI *Welsh*.

**Ricardo Wegge:** from Middle English *wegge* 'wedge, nail, coin' in some undetermined sense, perhaps also used as a personal name. ODFNBI *Wedge*.

### Relationship Names

**Roberto Amisson' /Amysson':** from the personal name Amice or Ami + *-son*. ODFNBI *Amison*.

**Henrico Dauson':** from the Middle English personal name *Daw(e)* which can be a pet form of David but more generally of *Rauf* or *Raw* (i.e. Ralph), of which *Dawe* is a rhyming form, + *-son*. Dawson is one of the most numerous patronymic surnames, and Ralph was a much commoner personal name than David, especially in the north Midlands and north of England. ODFNBI *Dawson*.

**Johanne and Roberto Ede:** from the Middle English female personal name *Eda*, a pet form of Edith (Old English *Ēadgȳð*) or from the Middle English personal name *Ed(d)*, a pet form of a name such as Edga, Edmund, Edward or Edwin. ODFNBI *Ede*.

**Johanne Elynson':** Not in ODFNBI. Likely from the Middle English female personal name Elen or Helen (OFr. *Helene*, from Latin *Helena* and Greek *Elenē*) + *-son*. (ODFNBI *Ellen*)

**Willelmo Gefson':** from the Middle English personal name Geff + *-son*. ODFNBI *Jephson*.

**Roberto, Johanna, and Johanne Godson' /Godeson':** from the Middle English personal name *Godsone*. It may be composed of OE *god* 'God' or *gōd* 'good' + *sunu* 'son', or it may be an original patronymic 'son of God' used as a given name. *God* was a pet form of names like *Godric* and *Godwine*, and their other Middle English pet form *Gode* (OE *Goda*) may account for the alternative Middle English spelling *Godesone*. ODFNBI *Godson*.

**Johanne and Thoma Huwet and Matilda Hewet /Huet:** from the Middle English personal name *Hewet*, a pet form of Hugh (Middle English *Hewe* or *Hue*). ODFNBI *Hewett*.

**Johanne and Henrico Jakys:** from the Middle English personal name Jak or Jakke, a Picard-Flemish denasalized variant of Old Picard and Middle Dutch *Janke*, a pet form of *Jan* (John). With a genitive *-s*. ODFNBI *Jack*.

**Johanne and Willelmo Jaukynson':** from the personal name Jack, from the Middle English personal name *Jak* or *Jakke*, a Picard-Flemish denasalized variant of Old Picard and Middle Dutch *Janke*, a pet form of *Jan* (John). + *-son*. ODFNBI *Jackson*.

**Henrico, Roberto, and Willelmo Jonson'**: patronym from the personal name John + *-son*. ODFNBI *Johnson*.

**Simone Julian**: from the Old French and Middle English personal name Julian , which in the medieval period was both masculine and feminine. ODFNBI *Julian*.

**Agn' Kemme**: from the Middle English female personal name *Kemme* (OE \**Cymme*, perhaps a pet-form of OE *Cyneburh*). ODFNBI *Kemm*.

**Willelmo Maddok**: from the Welsh personal name *Madawc* or *Madog* (Old Welsh *Matōc*, meaning 'goodly'). ODFNBI *Maddock*.

**Simone Mochet**: probably from an unrecorded Middle English personal name \**Moket*, a diminutive of *Moke* (Matthew). ODFNBI *Mockett*.

**Roberto Nicol**: from the Middle English personal name *Nic(h)ol*, the vernacular form of Nicholas. ODFNBI *Nichol*.

**Johanne Parterych'**: from the Anglo-Norman French and Middle English personal name *Patrick* (Latin *Patricius*). ODFNBI *Patrick*.

**Alicia Peres**: from the Middle English personal name *Piers*, *Peres* or *Peris*, from an OFr. nominative of Pierre or Per, the French form of Peter. ODFNBI *Pearce*.

**Johanne Perys**: A variant of Pearce, from the Middle English personal name *Piers*, *Peres* or *Peris*, from an OFr. nominative of Pierre or Per, the French form of Peter. ODFNBI *Pearce*.

**Matilda Robyn**: from the Middle English (OFr.) personal name *Robin*, a pet form of Robert, composed of the short form *Rob* + the hypocoristic suffix *-in*. ODFNBI *Robin*.

**Ricardo and Johanne Roger**: from the Middle English personal name *Roger* (OFr. *Roger*, *Rogier*, Cont. G *Hro(d)ger*). ODFNBI *Roger*.

**Matilda Rose**: from the Middle English female personal name *Rohese* or *Roese*, later *Rose* or *Royse* (Cont. G *Hrodohaidis* or *Rothaid*). Not related to the flower, from Latin *Rosa*. ODFNBI *Rose*.

**Johanna Saunson' and Roberto Saunson' /Saunsonne**: from the Middle English and Older Scots personal name *Swan*, an anglicized form of Old Scandinavian *Sveinn*, + *-son*. ODFNBI *Swanson*.

**Elizabetha Tyme**: from a Middle English personal name \**Timme*, which may be a survival of an unrecorded OE \**Tima*. ODFNBI *Timm*.

**Johanne Wilkenson'**: from the personal name *Wilkin*, a common Middle English pet form of William, + *-son*. ODFNBI *Wilkinson*.

**Thoma Wilkyns**: from the Middle English personal name *Wilkin* , a pet form of William. ODFNBI *Wilkin*.

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### Topographic Names

**Johanne Bale:** from Middle English *bail(e)* 'wall of the outer court of a castle', which came to be used to denote the court itself. ODFNBI *Bale*.

**Willelmo at Brigg':** from Middle English *brig(g)* (OScand. *bryggja*), the northern word for bridge, for someone who lived by a bridge. ODFNBI *Brigg*.

**Roberto othe Cros:** from Middle English *cross*, denoting someone who lived by a cross. ODFNBI *Cross*.

**Matilda Dyche:** from Middle English *dich(e)* or *deche* (OE *dīc*) 'ditch, dike'. ODFNBI *Ditch*.

**Johanne othe Grene:** from Middle English *grene* (OE *grēne*) 'green', denoting someone who lived by the village green (ODFNBI *Green*) or perhaps a patch of green wasteland (Hooke 2012: 84).

**Thoma atte Hall':** from Middle English *hall(e)*, for someone who lived or worked at a hall. ODFNBI *Hall*.

**Ricardo ate Heth' /ate Hethe:** from Middle English *he(a)th* or *haith* (OE *hæð*) '(on the) heath'. ODFNBI *Heath*.

**Willelmo atte Walle:** Could be from Middle English *wall* (OE *wall* or *weall*) 'wall', or from a West Midlands dialectal form of *welle*, so here the reference may alternatively be to residence by a stream. ODFNBI *Wall*.

### Toponymic Names

**Roberto Barewell' (Si) and Roberto de Barwell /Barewell' (Sh):** From Barwell Lei, 9.9 km from Sibson, though also present in Shenton. ODFNBI *Barwell*.

**Agn' Bradleze (U):** Likely from Bradley Db, 48 km from Upton, though could also be Bradley St. ODFNBI *Bradley*.

**Willelmo Carleton' (Sh):** From one of many places named Carlton. Most likely Carlton Lei, 4.7 km from Shenton. ODFNBI *Carlton*.

**Agn' de Corley (Sh):** Likely from Corley Wa, 17 km from Shenton, though could be Corley Sa. ODFNBI *Corley*.

**Johanne Horpol (U):** Likely from Harpole Nth, 51 km from Upton, or Harpole K. ODFNBI *Harpole*.

**Roberto Katton' (Si):** *Katton* Not in ODFNBI, DES, or EPNS. Perhaps a form of *Ketton* (ODFNBI), in which case likely from Ketton Ru, 63 km from Sibson, or Ketton Du.

**Willelmo de Kent (Sh):** From the county of Kent. Measured from Canterbury, it is 226 km from Shenton. ODFNBI *Kent*.

## Ben Marshall

**Willelmo and Amicia London' (Sh):** From London, approximately 150 km from Shenton. ODFNBI *London*.

**Johanne de Mordon' /Morton (Si):** From one of many places named Morton or Moreton, most likely Moreton St, 35 km from Sibson. ODFNBI *Morton*.

**Willelmo Nothall' /Notehall', Thoma Nutthale, and Thoma Notale (Sh):** From Nuthall Nt, 46 km from Shenton. ODFNBI *Nuthall*.

**Johanne de Paunton' (U):** From either Great or Little Ponton L, 63 km from Upton. ODFNBI *Ponton*.

**Johanne Radclyff (Si):** From one of many places named Ratcliffe or Radcliffe, most likely Ratcliffe Culey Lei, 3.1 km from Sibson. ODFNBI *Ratcliffe*.

**Willelmo de Reygate (Si):** From Reigate Sr, 175 km from Sibson. ODFNBI *Reigate*.

**Thoma de Schepey /Shepey and Henrico Shepey (Sh):** Most likely from Sheepy Magna (or Parva) Lei, 6.1 km from Shenton. ODFNBI *Sheppey*.

**Willelmo Slingsby /Slyngesby (Si):** From Slingsby YN, 176 km from Sibson. ODFNBI *Slingsby*.

**Roberto Warcop /Warcoppe (Si):** From Warcop We, 223 km from Sibson. ODFNBI *Warcup*.

### Occupational Names

**Adam, Thoma, Willelmo and Willelmo Carter:** from Middle English *carter(e)* (OFr. *charetier*) 'carter'. ODFNBI *Carter*.

**Alicia Harde:** Variant of Heard, from Middle English *herd(e)* or *hird(e)* (OE *heorde*) 'herdsman, one who looked after cattle, sheep, or goats'. ODFNBI *Hard*.

**Clemente and Johanne Herdeman:** from Middle English *herdeman* or *herdemon* (OE *hirdeman* or *heordman*) 'herdsman, one who looked after cattle, sheep, or goats'. ODFNBI *Hardman*.

**Johanne and Willelmo Milner:** from Middle English *milnere* (OE *\*mylnere*, OSca. *mylnari*, or a derivative of Middle English *mylne* 'mill') 'miller'. ODFNBI *Miller*.

**Agn', Agn', Agn', Alicia, Henrico, Matilda, Ricardo, and Simone Smyth':** from Middle English *smith* 'smith' (OE *smið*), a worker in metal such as a blacksmith or farrier. ODFNBI *Smith*.

**Isabella, Ricardo and Ricardo Taylour:** from ANFr. or Middle English *tailleur* 'tailor'. ODFNBI *Tailor*.

**Henrico and Alicia Thacher /Yacher:** from Middle English *thac(c)her(e)* (OE *\*þæcere*) 'thatcher'. ODFNBI *Thatcher*.

**Johanne Warde:** from Middle English *ward* (OE *weard*) 'watchman, guard'. ODFNBI *Ward*.

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'-man' suffix and status names:

**Ricardo Freman:** from Middle English *freman* (OE *frēomann*) 'freeman, free-born man', denoting free status within society.

**Adam Hurleman:** Not in ODFNBI. Possibly someone in survive to someone with a nickname from Middle English *e(o)r/* 'earl', often found with a prosthetic *H-* (ODFNBI *Earl*), or perhaps in service to an Earl.

**Willelmo Kyrkeman:** Not in ODFNBI. Possibly someone in service to someone with the locative name Kirk for someone who lived by a church (ODFNBI *Kirk*), or someone in service to a Church. From Middle English *kirk* (OScand. *kirkja*) 'church' + 'man'.

### Multiple Possible Meanings

**Radulpho Bacun':** Possibly a relationship name from the Norman French personal name *Bacun*, derived from Continental Germanic *Bacco*, which may be from a word ancestral to German *Backe* in either of the senses 'back, rump' or 'cheek'. Or a nickname or occupational name from OFr. or Middle English *bacon* or *bacun* 'side of bacon', perhaps a name for a curer or seller of bacon or for someone having a supposed similarity to the meat. ODFNBI *Bacon*.

**Roberto, Roberto and Johanne /Thoma Balle:** Possibly a nickname from Middle English *bal*, *ball(e)* 'ball, sphere, globe, round body' (OFr. *balle* or OE *\*beall(a)*). Or a nickname possibly from a Middle English adjective *\*ball* in the sense 'bald', from *ball* 'a white streak, a bald place'. Could also be topographic name referring to a round hill. ODFNBI *Ball*.

**Johanna de Burgh' /de Borow:** from Middle English *burgh*, (OE *burh*, *burg*) 'fortified place, borough, manor'. For someone who lived by a castle or manor house, or who came from a place so named because it was a fortified town or near an ancient fort. ODFNBI *Burrow*.

**Waltero de Estyngton' (Si):** Could be from a topographic phrase describing 'east in town'. However the inclusion of 'de' and the relative size of Sibson may suggest a toponymic origin from one of the numerous minor places named Astington from this phrase, none of which are close enough to Sibson to warrant a strong origin. ODFNBI *Astington*.

**Willelmo Gyme:** Perhaps a nickname from Middle English *yeme* (OE *gyme*) 'to pay attention to or take heed' (ODFNBI *Veme*). Or could be a relationship name from the OFr. personal name *Guimar* (Cont. G *Wigmar*). ODFNBI *Guymer*.

**Johanne Hebcassel:** Not in ODFNBI. Likely from Middle English *castel* (OE *castel*) 'castle or fortress', but the *Heb-* morpheme is of unknown origin. The name may be topographic or toponymic.

**Ricardo Thresser and Johanne Thressar:** Occupational name or nickname from Middle English *thresher(e)* (OE *erscan* or *rescan*), denoting someone who threshed cereal crops, or someone who beat a person, thing, or animal. ODFNBI *Thresher*.

### Unknown Origin

**Roberto Cakton'**: Not in ODFNBI. Appears to be a toponym with the **tun** element, but the suspension mark and lack of any record of the place-name makes this uncertain.

**Ricardo Gurvey**: Not in ODFNBI. Unknown origin, unrelated to the later Irish *Garvey*.

**Johanne and Johanne Henrad /Henrod**: Not in ODFNBI. Perhaps from an OE personal name with *Hen-* 'high' + *-rēd* 'counsel', though this name is unrecorded and requires two recorded vowel shifts for *rēd*.

**Henrico Keneth'**: Not in ODFNBI. Unknown origin, unrelated to the later Irish and Scottish *Kenneth*.

**Johanne Petlyngton' /Peytlyngton'**: Not in ODFNBI. Appears to be a toponym with the **tun** element, but the suspension mark and lack of any record of the place-name makes this uncertain.

**Thoma Wodbre**: Not in ODFNBI. Unknown origin.

**Emma and Johanne Wystart**: Not in ODFNBI. Perhaps from an OE personal name with *wig-* 'war, battle' as the first morpheme, but *start* is not a recognisable morpheme in pre-conquest personal names.

**Radulpho Yrmubel**: Not in ODFNBI. Unknown origin.