

論文

Vocabulary Acquisition—English Place-Names:

London (1)

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要旨

ロンドン、ニューヨーク、パリのような観光並びにビジネスにおいて国際的に有名な大都市でさえ、それらについての知識は共時的であって当然と普通見做されていて、世界地図やそれらの都市の地図の現代版には最新の情報以外何も見つからない。しかしながら、二次元的な地図の下には見えないけれども、多大な三次元的な興味深い情報があるということは明白なことである。それらの都市の共時的知識の背後にある情報は、学生ないしは生徒がそれらの都市名をより深く理解するのに役立つ重要な役割を果たすものと思われる。

本論では、“London”を語彙習得の観点から地名研究の対象とする。Tamoto (2017) 及び Tamoto (2018) において既に例証したように、Londonの語源学的分析が地名研究方法論の第一段階となる。そして、地名 London に関する教授についての考察と、教材としての地名 London の提案を試みる。橋（特に London Bridge）や通りの名称は補助的ではあるが London のイメージに資するのに必要な要素でありうる。教材として提案されるものは、リーディング用のサンプル・テキストであり、本論の最後に点線の枠で囲んで提示する。

紙面の都合上、本稿ではアングロ・サクソン時代のロンドンまでを論じ、第1部とする。

キーワード : vocabulary acquisition (語彙習得), methodology of place-name study (地名研究方法論), methodology of teaching place-name (地名教授法), suggestion of materials in teaching place-name (地名教材案), London (ロンドン), city names (都市名), the Thames (テムズ川), the Celts (ケルト人), the Romans (ローマ人), the Anglo-Saxons (アングロ・サクソン人)

Introduction: Methodologies employed for the present research

It was almost several years ago that I was stunned by an enigmatic utterance of a shop assistant. I was talking about electronic dictionaries with a young shop assistant over a showcase at an electronic appliance shop. He was very competent in the field of electronic appliances, and he fluently explained to me about electronic dictionaries. While we were talking about English dictionaries, I said that I needed a pocket electronic dictionary to be carried to England. Then the shop assistant said to me, ‘What language is spoken in England?’ As this instance aptly shows, what everybody would think as a matter of course could be beyond knowledge of some people. I wish this unfamiliarity with information supplementary to one of the most famous country names were a very rare case.

Usually, synchronic knowledge is regarded as a matter of course concerning even internationally famous big cities for sightseeing and business, such as London, Paris, New York, and there could be found nothing other than the latest information on the modern edition of world atlas or maps of those cities. However, it is indisputable that there is a good deal of three-dimensional interesting information behind a two-dimensional atlas or map. It appears that the information hidden beneath the synchronic knowledge of those cities or place-names plays an important role to help students or pupils acquire deeper understanding of those place-names.

In this article ‘London’ is the place-name researched from the viewpoint of vocabulary acquisition, and, as practiced in Tamoto (2017) and Tamoto (2018), etymological analyses of *London* will be the first step of the methodology of the place-name study, which will be followed by consideration of teaching of the place-name and suggestion of materials in teaching the place-name, London. Incidentally, it seems that names of bridges and streets may be supplemental but necessary elements to project an image of London. They are

worthwhile to discuss on this occasion. A passage suggested as the teaching material for reading will be illustrated within a frame of dotted line at the end of this article.

This is the first part of the study of London, dealing with London of Celtic, Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods.

1. Etymology of ‘London’, the Celts and the Romans (600 B.C.–A.D. 410)

1.1. Etymological explanations of ‘London’

Etymological theories of ‘London’, the earliest recorded form of which is the Latin *Londinium*, are classified as follows.

1) The bold one’s town. Ekwall (1st ed. 1936, 4th ed. 1960, 303) comments that ‘*Londinium* is no doubt a derivative of a stem **londo-* “wild, bold”, found in OIr *lond* “wild”, and that “the immediate base may be a pers. n. *Londinos* or a tribal name formed from the adjective”. He further shows the following forms which occur in Latin, Greek, OE and ME texts: *Londinium* 115–17 Tacitus, 4 IA, *Londinion* c 150 Ptolemy, *Lundin(i)um* Ammianus Marcellinus, *Lundonia* c 730 Bede, *Lundenburg* 457 ff. ASC, (in) *Lundenne*, *Lundenceaster* c 890 OEBede, *Lundres* 12 Fantosme,¹ *Lundin* 1205 Lay.² Partridge (1958, 363) follows Ekwall, suggesting that OE *Lundenne* or *Lundenburg* developed from Latin *Londinium*, which probably originates from Celtic *Londinos*, a personal name, meaning ‘the bold one’, deriving from **Londos* wild, bold (Cf OIr. *londos*). The theory of Cameron (1961, 35) is classified into this category: he states that ‘names wholly Celtic in origin include London, *Londinium*, “Londinos’s town”’.

2) The place of a river which requires a boat to cross it. Richard Coates introduced an etymological theory in 1998 in his article entitled ‘A New Explanation of the Name of London’. The starting point of Coates’ theory is OEur **plowonidā*, meaning ‘river which requires a boat, as opposed to fording, to cross it, at least at the point where the name applies’, or ‘river which requires swimming, as opposed to fording, to cross it, at least at the point where the name applies’, the river being ‘the Thames at London in pre- and early Roman or even pre-Celtic times’.³ Coates (1998, 218) further states that ‘the lowest fording point ever claimed for the Thames is at Westminster, nearly two miles further upstream than London Bridge, the place at which the name *Londinium* originally applied’. Coates (1998, 221, 222) illustrates Celtic **lowonid-on-jon* as yielded

by loss of the bilabial plosive consonant /p/ and suffixation of **-on-jon*, which occurs in Celtic place-names with Celtic river-names, **lowonid-on-jon* thus denoting ‘place at **plowonidon-*, which develops into Late British **Lōndonjon*’. Concerning occurrence of *Londinium*, Coates (1998, 225) mentions as follows:

RB *Londinium* is aberrant on any account because of its *-in-*, which the evidence of the other languages involved in its history does not corroborate; we now see that its *-nd-* cluster may also be aberrant, at least at the date when it is first recorded; it arises through syncope by Latin-speakers, not British-speakers.

3) A hill with defensive palisades. Mount (2015, 12) does not make mention of the origin of the former element, Celt *lon*, whereas he directs our attention to the latter element, Celt *don*, which he considers as ‘a defensive constructon, usually consisting of circular earthworks with palisades, as Hillingdon, Croydon, etc’. Hillingdon and Croydon are London boroughs; Hillingdon is located in the west of London, its original meaning being ‘Hilda’s or Hilla’s hill’, and Croydon is to the south of London, originally meaning ‘dean, or hill, of saffron’. Mount (2015, 12) further states that ‘Cornhill or Ludgate Hill would have provided a ready-made foundation with handy water supply of the Walbrook running between’. Cornhill is the highest hill in the City of London. Ekwall (1954, 193–94) comments that Walbrook means ‘the stream of the Britons’, the first element originating from OE *Wealas*, ‘the Welsh’. Ekwall (1954, 194, footnote 1) adds that ‘this is the only London name that points to a British element in the early London population’. These statements lead to the proposal of Mount (2015, 12) that ‘perhaps it was the Celts, living in this *dun* (probably the Catuvellauni tribe), who faced the first Roman Legion’. The Catuvellauni were a Celtic tribe, who inhabited southeastern Britain, and, according to Cassius Dio (Greek: Δίων Κάσσιος; c. 155–c. 235), they resisted against the Roman conquest in A.D. 43.

4) Origin uncertain. *The Century Dictionary*, Vol. IX (1894) records the Latin form *Londinium*, stating only ‘origin uncertain’, and compares the Latin form uselessly with F. *Londres*, It. *Londra*, Sp. *Lóndres*. *The Encyclopedia Americana* (1998, first published in 1829, s.v. ‘London’) contains a short comment about *Londinium*, mentioning that the Roman name is ‘an adaptation of a Celtic word, but there is no agreeing about its meaning’. The 15th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1989; hereafter the *Britannica* 15th) has a thirty-seven line column under the title ‘Foundation and early settlement’, which

begins with the sentence, ‘the history of London begins with the Roman period’, and the account following it mentions the situation of London under the Roman control, with one exceptional description of the revolt of the Icenian tribesmen under Queen Boudicca. However, when we go back to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1875–1889), we find the account on *Londinium* entitled ‘British and Roman (To 449 A.D.)’, comprising two and a half pages, or five columns. Although the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* also does not give any etymological explanation, it affirms a Celtic origin of the name of London and the British dwellings in the place at the time of the reconnaissance of Julius Caesar. The account about the British and the Romans is deleted a great deal in the *Britannica* 15th.

1.2. The Celts and the Romans

As mentioned in the above section, the etymological explanation of *Londinium* in the *Century Dictionary*, Vol. IX (1894), is simply that the origin is uncertain, but it states that ‘London was probably an ancient British town’. It, however, tends to be partial to the Romans, proposing Roman resettlement in *Londinium* about 43 A.D., the year of the Conquest by Claudius. It also adds that ‘*Londinium* (called also *Augusta*) was the capital of *Britannia* in the last part of the Roman period’. With regard to the name *Augusta*, Weinreb and Hibbert (1983, 466) mentions that the title ‘*Augusta*’ was granted to *Londinium* in the 4th century.

The ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1875–1889; the *Britannica* 9th ed.), as mentioned above, contains much detailed information under the sub-title ‘British and Roman (To 449 A.D.)’. The account begins with the description of London cited from Stillingfleet (1685, 43), who mostly depends upon Roman sources such as Cæsar, Tacitus, Dio, and states that ‘upon the best enquiry I can make, I very much incline to believe it of a *Roman Foundation*, and no elder than the time of *Claudius*’.⁴ Stillingfleet, following Tacitus, also relates that ‘in the time of *Suetonius Paulinus*⁵ it was inhabited by *Romans* and *Britains* together (which)⁶, is evident from Tacitus’. The account of Stillingfleet (1685, 43) further mentions Boudica’s revolt⁷ against the Romans led by Suetonius. It reads as follows.

When *Suetonius Paulinus* drew out the *Inhabitants*, the City not being then defensible against the *Britains*, who in that Revolt *destroyed LXX thousand*

Romans *and their Allies*, saith Tacitus; But Dio⁸ saith, *two Cities (London and Verulam; for Camalodunum was destroyed before) and Eighty thousand Men.*

Stillingfleet's account on ancient London continues further on, but the above comment would suffice to prove his attitude toward Roman London.

The next source in the *Britannica* 9th ed. is cited from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.⁹ In this work Geoffrey of Monmouth tells how a great British city of Troynovant, an old name of London, meaning 'New Troy', was founded by Brut,¹⁰ a descendant of Æneas¹¹ and the legendary progenitor of the Britons. The writer of the account in the *Britannica* 9th ed. comments that although Troynovant founded by Brut is a vision of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and it should be 'relegated to the limbo of myths', 'we need not necessarily dispute the existence of a British London'. He states that there may be a little doubt about the Celtic origin of the name of London, and that there is probably 'a grain of truth' in Geoffrey's description of Troynovant. He refers furthermore to Geoffrey's *Historia* on foundation of a quay and a gate by Belinus the Great, a legendary king of the Britons. Geoffrey's *Historia* contains the following passage.

In the city of Trinovantum made he a gate of marvelous workmanship upon the banks of Thames, the which the citizens (the Anglo-Saxons) do still in these days call Bellingsgate (Belinesgade) after his name. He builded, moreover, a tower of wondrous bigness, with a quay at the foot whereunto ships could come alongside.¹²

(Evans (1904), 44)

Even though Geoffrey's work may be full of fanciful references, it seems that at least this gives a vivid description of Troynovant, which commands the banks of the River. Later the Trinobantes came to be placed under protection of Caesar.

Further description of a British town (especially that of Cassivellanus) is provided by the writer of the account of London's history in the *Britannica* 9th ed., who consults Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, v, 21 (Hender & Edwards, 1917, 260–61). Caesar learns about the town from deputations from the troops of the Cenigami, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, who were tribes of Iron Age Britain in the first century B.C. and surrendered to Caesar.

Ab his¹³ cognoscit¹⁴ non longe ex eo loco¹⁵ oppidum Cassivellauni¹⁶ abesse

silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt. (From them he learnt that the stronghold of Cassivellaunus was not far from thence, fenced by woods and marshes; and that he had assembled there a considerable quantity of men and cattle. Now the Britons call it a stronghold when they have fortified a thick-set woodland with rampart and trench, and thither it is their custom to collect, to avoid a hostile inroad.)

This description of a British town (the strong hold of Cassivellanus) in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* makes the writer of the account of London's history in *the Britannica* 9th ed. imagine the existence of 'a clearing out of the great forest of Middlesex, extending probably from the site of St Paul's Cathedral to that of the Bank of England, with the dwellings of the Britons spread about the higher ground looking down upon the Thames'. Concerning Cassivellaunus, the *Britannica* 9th ed. also refers to an article written by Lewin (1866, 59–70), according to which London was, *ab origine*, a British city,¹⁷ it was probably the capital of Cassivellaunus,¹⁸ and London, the British town, was seated on the hill situated between the river Fleet on the west and the Wallbrook on the east, the names of Ludgate, its western gate, and Dowgate, the eastern, being of British origin.¹⁹ Ekwall (1954, 91 and 191), however, regards the names of these two gates as of Old English origin, *ludgeat* 'a back door' or *lutgeat* 'gate where one has to bow one's head in order to enter', and *dounegeat* 'dove gate', respectively. The writer of the account of the London's history in the *Britannica* 9th ed. further describes progress of British London before the Roman occupation as follows:

London could scarcely have come to be the important commercial centre described by Tacitus if it had only been founded a few years previously, and after the conquest of Claudius. Now there can be no doubt that the Britons made considerable progress during the period between Julius and Claudius, and it seems upon the whole highly probable that London as a British settlement may have come into existence then.

The Britannica 9th ed., however, acknowledges that the origin of London is always disputable because of want of decisive facts, and that 'a negative fact is that few if any remains of an earlier date than the Roman occupation have been discovered'. This remark

may remind us of the above-mentioned Stillingfleet's inclination to belief that London was founded by the Romans, and its foundation is 'no elder than the time of Claudius'. It seems that those views negative about the British origin of the foundation of London may have emerged as theories of modern scholarly approach, such as Weinreb and Hibbert (1983, 466–67) and the *Britannica* 15th ed. (1989); the comment of the latter was discussed previously, in section 1.1.4). Weinreb and Hibbert (1983, 466) take a skeptical view of the British foundation of Londinium, stating that 'there is no strong evidence of any occupation on the site before the conquest in AD 43'. Describing the circumstances of London in those days, Weinreb and Hibbert (1983, 466) quote from Tacitus (*The Annals*, Book XIV, Cap. xxxiii), which reads, London 'did not rank as a Roman settlement, but was an important centre for business-men and merchandise'.²⁰ From excavated materials such as potteries and coins Weinreb and Hibbert (1983, 466) make an assumption that a possible foundation date of Londinium is 'late in the reign of Claudius (41–54) or early in the reign of Nero (54–68)'. After further description of archaeological findings from Londinium Weinreb and Hibbert (1983, 466–67) give an account of the city's importance as a commercial center.

The archaeological evidence of recent years shows that there was a basic plan from the beginning for the growth of Londinium, ultimately to extend over the 330 acres it was to occupy when walled in the late 2nd century. Fine wares, glass, jewellery and other objects from the Mediterranean testify to the city's importance as a commercial entrepôt. In the rebuilding after the disaster²¹ priority seems to have been given to business premises, . . .

After 367 years since the Conquest by Claudius in A.D. 43, the Roman army had to withdraw from Britain. The Roman army left in A.D. 410, but retired veterans stayed behind in Britain, which was now their home. Mount (2015, 16) states that 'Londinium was as much a city of ethnic diversity then as it is today'.

1.3. 'Londinium' referred to in documents

The place-name London occurs in the extant documents of this period in the Latin form *Londinium* (or its oblique forms) and the Greek form *Λονδίνιον* (or its oblique forms). Examples are quoted from Tacitus (55?–120?), *The Annals*, Claudius Ptolemaeus or Κλαύδιος Πτολεμαῖος, (c. 83–c. 168), *Geographia* or *Γεωγραφία*, and Ammianus

Marcellinus (c. 330–c. 391–400), *Res Gestae*. An example of *Augusta*, the title granted to Londinium, is also illustrated.

1) **Tacitus** (55?–120?), *The Annals*, Book XIV, xxxiii, reads as follows (boldface by the present writer):

At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostis **Londinium** perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatumum maxime celebre.

(Suetonius, on the other hand, with remarkable firmness, marched straight through the midst of enemy upon **London**; which, though not distinguished by the title of colony, was none the less a busy centre, chiefly through its crowd of merchants and stores.)

The *hostis* here is the British force. London occurs in the form *Londinium*, a typical Latin form of this period.

2) **Κλαύδιος Πτολεμαῖος** or **Claudius Ptolemaeus** (c. 83–c. 168) is an Alexandrian geographer, mathematician and astronomer, and is famous for his *Γεωγραφία* or *Geographia*. The book contains the following passage (Lib I, Cap.15, Sect. 6: boldface by the present writer):

Καὶ **Λουονδίνιον** τῆς Βρετανίας Νοιόμαγον εἰπὼν νοτιωτέραν μιλίοις νθ, βορειοτέραν αὐτὴν διὰ τῶν κλιμάτων ἀποφαίνει.

(And while Noiomagos is said to be located 59 miles south of **London** in Britain, it is shown a little northward when explained in *klimata* (the possible duration sunshine).)

The nominative form of this word in Greek is *Λουδίνιον*. The word occurs here with a genitive ending, *Λουονδινίου*. Furthermore, our attention should be paid to the stem vowel –*ou*- [-u:-], which occurs instead of a simpler –*o*-.

3) **Ammianus Marcellinus** (c. 330–c. 391–400) was a last major Roman historian and served as a soldier in the army of Constantius II in Gaul. He was born of a noble Greek family and his mother tongue was Greek. Latin was his second language. His *Res Gestae* covers the years 353 to 378. Three instances of *Londinium* are found in this work; Vol. II, XX, 1, 3; Vol. III, XXVII, 8, 7; Vol. III, XXVIII, 3, 1. *Res Gestae*, Vol. III, XXVII, 8, 7 (A.D. 368) begins with the following line (boldface by the present writer):

Unde cum consecuti Batavi venissent et Heruli, Ioviique et Victores, fidentes viribus numeri, egressus tendensque ad **Lundinium**, vetus oppidum quod **Augustam** posteritas appellavit, . . .

(When the Batavi, Heruli, Jovii, and Victores, who followed him, had arrived, troops confident in their strength, he began his march and came to the old town of **Lundinium**, which later times called **Augusta**.)

Here ‘Augustam’, occurring in the accusative singular form, is mentioned as the title granted to Lundinium. Our attention should be paid to the date of this account, A.D. 368. As mentioned in the previous section, Weinreb and Hibbert (1983, 466) mention that the title ‘Augusta’ was granted to Londinium in the 4th century. Although John C. Rolfe, the translator of this work, states in the footnote that ‘probably in honour of some emperor, but the date is uncertain’, it seems that the ground for dating the title ‘Augusta’ by Weinreb and Hibbert (1983, 466) can be found in the above account by Ammianus. This conjecture may be confirmed by another example of ‘Augusta’ in Ammianus’ *Res Gestae*, which occurs in Vol. III, XXVIII, 3, 1 (A.D. 369) (boldface by the present writer).

Theodosius vero dux nominis incluti, animi vigore collecto, ab **Augusta** profectus, quam veteres appellavere **Lundinium**, cum milite industria comparato sollerti, versis turbatisque Britannorum fortunis opem maximam tulit, . . .

(But Theodosius, that leader of celebrated name, filled with courageous vigour sallied forth from **Augusta**, which was earlier called **Lundinium**, with a force which he had mustered with energy and skill, and rendered the greatest aid to the troubled and confused fortunes of the Britons.)

As Rolfe (1952, 130) comments in the footnote, the above narrative is taken up from XXVII, 8, which is cited above, and if we concentrate our attention to ‘**Lundinium**, vetus oppidum quod **Augustam** posteritas appellavit’ in XXVII, 8, 7 (A.D. 368) and ‘**Augusta** profectus, quam veteres appellavere **Lundinium**’ in XXVIII, 3, 1 (A.D. 369), we may be seduced to guess that the title must have granted to Lundinium sometime between A.D. 368 and A.D. 369, because in the account of A.D. 368 Lundinium is described as later called Augusta, but in that of A.D. 369 Augusta is referred to as earlier called Lundinium.

The form of Lundinium deserves brief mention. One more instance of this place-name occurs in Vol. II, XX, 1, 3, where its form is Lundinium also. To put it briefly, the

stem vowel is ‘-u-’ in all the instances of this place-name in *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus.

1.4. Numismatic Evidence

Coins found at the sites of archaeological excavation are important historical relics, and the study of coins and medals is called numismatics in technical nomenclature. It is an academic field deeply connected with archaeology, history, and epigraphy. It was by way of the Romans that the art of coining passed to Britain. Concerning the earliest mint in Britain, Weinreb (1983, 727) states that ‘native coins inscribed as in the Roman fashion have been identified bearing names of ancient British chiefs, but their use died out as they were superseded by Roman coinage’. The Romans left a number of medals and coins. One gold medallion and one bronze coin are discussed in this section.

Barber (2012, 4) contains, the following picture, which is the reverse of a gold medallion produced in A.D. 297. As its mark *PTR* at the bottom shows, it was struck, in Trier, a city on the River Mosel in Rhineland-Palatinate. Its diameter is 4 cm. It was excavated in Arras hoard in 1922, and is preserved in Musée des Beaux Arts, Arras. The letters struck from the left side to the top read *REDDITOR LUCIS AETERNAE*, meaning ‘restorer of eternal light’, which indicates Constantius I Chlorus (c.250–306). On the medallion Constantius is depicted as the Roman Emperor on horseback with spear in one hand and scepter in the other. A galley is on the Thames. Before Constantius kneels down the personification of London with the city wall in the Roman way, under which the



(Gold medallion of A.D. 297)



(Bronze coin of c. 310)

letters *LON*, the first element of London, are struck. This signifies Constantius' saving of London from being sacked. Barber (2012, 4) states that 'this medal contains the earliest known representation of London', and that 'it commemorates London's surrender to Constantius I Chlorus, whose forces had just defeated the usurper Allectus in 296'.

Constantine I (274–337) is portrayed on the above bronze coin, called 'follis', and was struck in London, as the letters *PLN* at the bottom shows, in *c.* 310.²² Its diameter is 2.5 cm.

Concerning the mint in London, Barber (2012, 5) comments as follows:

London was important enough to merit the establishment of an imperial mint in 285 but physical decay and a loss of the technological skills necessary to maintain the all-important port facilities followed the withdrawal of Roman forces from Britain in 407.

2. The Anglo-Saxons (449–1066)

Shortly before the withdrawal of the Roman army from Britain, Stilicho (365–408), the great general under the emperor Honorius (395–423), ordered in 396 to restore the London wall. Stilicho successfully held the Visigoths at bay in Italy, but he was executed as a result of conspiracy in 408, which left Honorius helpless at Ravenna. Thus the Visigoths sacked Rome in 410, and Honorius had to recall the Roman army from Britain. According to Weinreb (1983, 467), even half a century later the walls of London were still high and strong enough to protect against the Anglo-Saxons. The Anglo-Saxons did not like walled towns, calling the Roman buildings 'the work of giants',²³ and they destroyed the walled towns that they conquered. However, in the *Britannica* 9th ed. the writer of the relevant account states that the demolition 'was not done in London, and it is just possible that the Britons may have been able to purchase their freedom from destruction', adding that there is 'little or no data upon which we can form an opinion'. On the other hand he introduces a view held by Guest (1862, 193–218) in his article entitled 'On the English Conquest of the Severn Valley', Guest (1862, 217) includes the following paragraph:

Of the circumstances under which the British towns came into possession of our ancestors we know but little. That little, however, directly contradicts Mr. Wright's statements. We know that they wasted many of these towns—

Pevensey, Silchester, Verulam, Cambridge, Chester, &c.—and good reasons may be given for the belief that even London itself for awhile lay desolate and uninhabited.

The first mention of London in the *Ango-Saxon Chronicle* is found in a passage of the year 457, which describes how Hengist, one of the two Jutish leaders who had been invited by Vortigern, the leader of chieftains of the British tribes, to stop the incursions of the other aggressive British tribes like the Picts and the Scots.

457. Her Hengest ⁊ Æsc fuhton wiþ Brettas in þære stowe þe is gecueden Crecganford, ⁊ þær ofslogon · IIII · wera, ⁊ þa Brettas þa forleton Centlond, ⁊ mid micle ege flugon to **Lunden byrg**. [A text]²⁴

(A. 457. This year Hengist and Æsc his son fought against the Britons at the place which is called Crecganford, [Crayford,] and there slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent, and in great terror fled to **London**.)

As mentioned above, the writer of the relevant account of the *Britannica* 9th ed. is inclined to favour the view that London was not demolished, adding that ‘the vanquished fled to London in great terror, and apparently found a shelter there’. In the above sentence, *Brettas* is used for ‘the Britons’. In the following account of the year 465, *Walas* (n.) and *Wilisce* (adj.) are used for ‘the Welsh’ and ‘Welsh’.

465. Her Hengest ⁊ Æsc gefuhton uuip Walas neah Wippedes fleote, ⁊ þær · xii · Wilisce aldormen ofslogon, ⁊ hiera þegn an þær wearþ ofslægen, þam wæs noma Wipped.

(A. 465. This year Hengist and Æsc fought against the Welsh near Wippidsfleet, [Ebbsfleet?] and there slew twelve Welsh ealdormen, and one of their own thanes was slain there, whose name was Wipped.)

Thus the Britons, wherever they lived, came to be called *Wælisc*, meaning Welsh, or ‘foreigners’. Thereafter the Anglo-Saxons, who were the newcomers, referred to the indigenous British peoples as being ‘the foreigners’. However, Mount’s reference to recent research by DNA profiling seems to be noteworthy: he states that more recent research ‘suggests the native Welsh and the incomers probably lived in parallel until intermarriage combined the separate peoples’.²⁵ They lived in relative harmony with each other.

The following passage is included in Pope Gregory’s letter to Augustine in Bede’s

Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Colgrave 1969, 104–5; boldface mine).²⁶

the bishop of **London** shall however, for the future, always be consecrated by his own synod and receive the honour of the pallium from that holy and apostolic see which, by the guidance of God, I serve. We wish to send as bishop to the city of York one whom you yourself shall decide to consecrate; yet, always provided that if this city together with the neighbouring localities should receive the Word of the Lord, he is also to consecrate twelve bishops and enjoy the honourable rank of a metropolitan: for it is our intention, God willing, if we live, to give him the pallium too; nevertheless, brother, we wish him to be subject to your authority: but, after your death, he should preside over the bishops he has consecrated, being in no way subject to the authority of the bishop of **London**.

The Latin forms equivalent to London in the above account are *Lundoniensis ciuitatis* and *Lundoniensis*, respectively. Colgrave (1969, 104–5, footnote 3) comments in consideration of the above account that clearly ‘Gregory expected Augustine to make his seat at London rather than Canterbury’, and that Gregory might have seen ‘documents which recorded the presence of British bishops in London and York at councils of the church and so considered these two cities the important centres of ecclesiastical life’.

London’s importance began to increase again with the arrival of Saint Augustine’s papal mission at the end of the 6th century, and the city and its port slowly revived. As will be discussed in Section 2.2., the Anglo-Saxons called their new village *Lundenwic*, which is combination of *Lunden*, originating from the old Celtic name of their neighbours, and Anglo-Saxon *-wic*, meaning ‘dwelling place, or village’; the latter element ‘indicated a market town, according to one source, or a trading port, according to another’.²⁷ The description of *Lundenwic* two centuries later in Mount (2015, 21) is as follows:

By the eighth century, now under Mercian rule, the population of Lundenwic was small, probably around 8,000 people compared to 60,000 in second-century Roman Londinium, yet it is now that we get our first glimpse of living, breathing Anglo-Saxon Londoners.

2.1. OE *Lundenceaster* and *Lundenwic* for Latin *Lundonia ciuitas* in documents

The historian Bede (673?–735) writes in the account for the year 604 of his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (731), II, ii, 3, that in those days London was a trading

centre for many nations coming by land and sea (Colgrave, 1969, 142–43):

Anno dominicae incarnationis DCIII Augustinus Britanniarum archi-episcopus ordinavit duos episcopos, Mellitum uidelicet et Iustum: Mellitum quidem ad praedicandum prouinciae Orientalium Saxonum qui Tamense fluuio dirimuntur a Cantia, et ipsi orientali mari contigui, quorum metropolis **Lundonia ciuitas** est, super ripam praefati fluminis posita et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique uenientium;

(In the year of our Lord 604 Augustine, archbishop of Britain, consecrated two bishops, namely Mellitus and Justus. He consecrated Mellitus to preach in the province of the East Saxons, which is divided from Kent by the river Thames and borders on the sea to the east. Its chief city is **London**, which is on the banks of that river and is an emporium for many nations who come to it by land and sea)

Lundonia ciuitas, ‘the city of London’, in the above Latin version is rendered as *Lundenceaster*, ‘Lunden + ceastrer (fort or town)’ in its Old English version, II, ii, 3 (Miller, 1978, 104–5), and it occurs as *Lundenwic*, ‘Lunden + wic (dwelling-place or town)’ in the equivalent account of the year 604 of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Earl 1892, 21, 23). The other forms occurring in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are *Lundone* (656 E), *Lundenne* (839 A), *Lundene* (839 E), *Lunden* (992 E), *Lundenes* (1052 C), *Lundonie* (App. B, p. 289), *Lundoniensi* (App. B, p. 290), *Lundoniae* (App. B, p. 290); *Lundenbyrg* (457 A), *Lundenburg* (851 A), *Lundenburh* (886 E); *Lundenburg* in 886 A).

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Notes

- 1 An Anglo-Norman historian, died c. 1185.
- 2 Layamon, an English poet fl. 1200.

- 3 Coates (1998), p. 218.
- 4 Claudius (10 B.C.–A.D. 54); Roman Emperor (41–51); invaded Britain in 43 A.D.
- 5 Gaius Suetonius Paulinus (fl. 1st century): a Roman general who defeated the rebellion of Boudica.
- 6 Parenthesised insertion mine.
- 7 Boudica (died c. 60 or 61 A.D.): a queen of the British Celtic Icenic tribe, who revolted against the Roman forces in 60 or 61, and died after its failure. Tacitus relates as follows (*Annals*, Lib. XIV, cap. xxxi): Rex Icenorum Prasutagus, longa opulentia clarus, Caesarem heredem duasque filias scripserat, tali obsequio ratus regnumque et domum suam procul iniuria fore. Quod contra vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut capta vastarentur. Iam primum uxor eius Boudicca verberibus adfecta et filiae stupro violatae sunt: praecipui quique Icenorum, avitis bonis exuuntur, et propinqui regis inter mancipia habebantur. Qua contumelia et metu graviorum, quando in formam provinciae cesserant, rapiunt arma, commotis ad rebellionem Trinobantibus et qui alli nondum servitio fracti resumere libertatem occultis coniurationibus pepigerant, acerrimo in veteranos odio. (The Icenian king Prasutagus, celebrated for his long prosperity, had named the emperor his heir, together with his two daughters; an act of deference which he thought would place his kingdom and household beyond the risk of injury. The result was contrary—so much so that his kingdom was pillaged by centurions, his household by slaves; as though they had been prizes of war. As a beginning, his wife Boudicca was subjected to the lash and his daughters violated: all the chief men of the Icenians were stripped of their family estates, and the relatives of the king were treated as slaves. Impelled by this outrage and the dread of worse to come—for they had now been reduced to the status of a province—they flew to arms, and incited to rebellion the Trinobantes and others, who, not yet broken by servitude, had entered into a secret and treasonable compact to resume their independence. The bitterest animosity was felt against the veterans.) Quoted from Henderson and Jackson (1937, 156–57).
- 8 Cassius Dio, or Δίων Κάσσιος (c. 155–c.235); ‘Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία, *Historia Romana*’; Xiliphilinus p. 168: in this and Tacitus (*Annals*) are written Roman sources which record the revolt of the British led by Boudica in 60–61 A.D.’.
- 9 Geoffrey of Monmouth (c. 1100–c. 1155); a Welshman, born somewhere in the region of Monmouth, located in eastern Wales. The Latin version used in this article is Hammer’s edition of 1951, and modern English version is Evans’ translation of 1904.
- 10 Hammer (1951, 40–41) contains the following passage: Potitus tandem regno Brutus || affectavit civitatem aedificare. Ad quam aedificandam congruum quaerens locum, pervenit ad Tamensem fluvium locumque nactus est proposito suo perspicuum. Condidit itaque ibidem civitatem eamque Novam Troiam vocavit, quae postmodum per corruptionem vocabuli Trinovantum dicta est.

Translation by Evans (1904, 20: with my adjustments) reads as follows: After that he had seen his kingdom, Brute was minded to build him a chief city, and following out his intention, he went round the whole circuit of the land in search of a fitting site. When he came to the river Thames, he walked along the banks till he found the very spot best suited to his purpose. He therefore

- founded his city there and called it New Troy, and thereafter, at last, by corruption of the word, it came to be called Trinovantum.
- 11 Æneas is a Trojan warrior, son of Anchises and Aphrodite; the hero of Aeneid.
 - 12 Hammer (1951, Lib iii, Cap 9; 61): Fecit etiam in urbe Trinovantum portam mirae fabricae, super ripam Thamensis fluvii, quam postea Saxones Angli Belinesgade || appellaverunt. Desuper vero portam turrim aedi || ficavit mirae magnitudinis, portumque subtus ad pedem applicantibus navibus idoneum.
 - 13 deputations from the troops of the Cemigami, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci.
 - 14 ‘he (= Caesar) learnt’.
 - 15 ‘from the place along the Thames where Caesar was’.
 - 16 Cassivellaunus, also spelled Cassivelaunus, (flourished 1st century BC), was a powerful British chieftain, who was defeated by Julius Caesar during his second expedition into Britain (54 BC). Cassivellaunus led his tribe, the Catuvellauni, a Belgic people who lived in modern Hertfordshire.
 - 17 Lewin (1866, 59).
 - 18 Lewin (1866, 64): ‘I venture here to propound a theory which may be fairly open to question, but has much argument in its favour, viz., the British London was the very capital of Cassivellaunus, taken and sacked by Caesar’.
 - 19 Lewin (1866, 63).
 - 20 ‘coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatum maxime celebre’.
 - 21 The British revolt against Suetonius.
 - 22 Barber (2012, 5).
 - 23 Weinreb (1983, 467).
 - 24 The bold face is mine. The account is dated 456 in the E text.
 - 25 Mount (2015, 18).
 - 26 quatinus **Lundoniensis ciuitatis** episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac sancta et apostolica, cui Deo auctore deseruio, sede percipiat. Ad Eburacam uero ciuitatem te uolumus episcopum mittere, quem ipse iudicaueris ordinare, ita dumtaxat ut, si eadem ciuitas cum finitimis locis uerbum Dei receperit, ipse quoque XII episcopos ordinet, et metropolitani honore perfruatur; quia ei quoque, si uita comes fuerit, pallium tribuere Domino fauente disponimus. Quem tamen tuae fraternitatis uolumus dispositioni subiacere: post obitum uero tuum ita episcopis quos ordinauerit praesit, ut **Lundoniensis** episcopi nullo modo dicioni subiaceat.
 - 27 Mount (2015, 19). The etymological explanations of *-wic* is cited from Milne (2003), p. 31, and Clark (1989), p. 13.