

pp. 137-9); even so, a Brk origin for this very early surname is on balance more likely than any other. The failure to assign the surname to the place-name nearest the Isle of Man is nevertheless inconsistent with the author's general practice. Of course, what none of these criticisms do is to undermine the thesis that it was primarily Lancashire men who were colonising Man in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The final point is that perhaps only about forty per cent of English place-names are unique to one place, and thus the best way of reducing bias in calculating trends in migration using locative surnames is to use only surnames referring to uniquely named places. This is not to rule out the potential value of analysing all the locative surnames on the assumption that the most likely of several place-name candidates is the one nearest the place of immigration, but the conditions under which this method is sufficiently reliable need to be well understood and allowed for. (See the present writer's 'Surnames from English place-names as evidence for mobility in the Middle Ages', *Local Historian* 13 (1978), 80-6, and 'Patterns of migration in the late Middle Ages: the evidence of English place-name surnames', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. 32 (1979), 167-82.) One must therefore ask how far Professor Dolley was justified in assuming that the place on the English mainland nearest to Man was likely to have been the true origin of the Manx surname. It can be argued that the assumption was a risky one considering that much of the material occurs more than a hundred years after the establishment of hereditary naming amongst the majority of people living in the North of England (cf. McKinley p.45). On the other hand it must be granted that the drift of population movement was away from the north-western counties rather than into them, with the result that the surname stock in the North West remained remarkably stable and local even into the nineteenth century (McKinley pp.77-110, 441-53). The fact that such a high percentage of Manx immigrants from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries bore surnames putatively identical with place-names in the north-western counties (and Lancashire especially) would be difficult to explain in other than Professor Dolley's terms, that is to say that the majority of such families came to Man directly from those counties.

Taking this point about method together with the probability that a (small) proportion of the surnames has been doubtfully interpreted, one may conclude that the selection and analysis of the data could have been more rigorously conducted to the benefit of the argument. Nevertheless it is fair to say that such emendations as might have been made in the interest of greater statistical accuracy would have made little if any difference to the general conclusions. That Lancashire should have provided the dominant group of immigrants into Man in the period when the Stanleys were lords of the island is an entirely unsurprising proposition and one that, for all the qualifications that may be entered, has been convincingly demonstrated.

P. McC.

THE EARLY PERSONAL NAMES OF KING'S LYNN:
AN ESSAY IN SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORY

Part II - BY-NAMES

In NOMINA VI, 51-71, a study of the baptismal names recorded in certain documents concerning the King's (or rather, Bishop's) Lynn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries argued that the relative incidences there of the various types of name reflected the young town's mercantile, social and cultural history. Baptismal names reveal, however, only half the story; by-names too have their tales to tell, from their own multiple as well as complementary points of view.

Fortunately, the same partly-unpublished materials drawn upon for the previous article offer also a splendid range of by-names. All these materials have been collected by Mrs Dorothy Owen for her forthcoming volume in the British Academy's series of Records of Social and Economic History,¹ and most generously communicated to me in advance of publication; I should like again to thank her for her unflinching readiness to help with whatever problems have arisen in the course of my work upon them.

This further study devoted to by-names will concentrate on those of people flourishing before c. 1300. Because these items will require treating individually, rather than in terms of stocks and vocabularies, additional details must now be given of the major sources used. The list of burgesses' names found in the 1166 Pipe Roll, and previously exploited for its baptismal names, also offers by-names of all types.² The main chronological emphasis of this present study will, however, fall later than did that of the work on baptismal names, the richest stocks of which dated from the twelfth century. Now a principal source will be the first section, extant in a late-thirteenth-century hand, of the Trinity Gild Roll (King's Lynn Borough Archives GD 44), where no baptismal name is without a qualifier of some kind. The Gild was founded c. 1205, and cross-checks with other records show men listed in this section of its Roll as having flourished at dates ranging from the 1190s up to c. 1300; the marshalling of their names in the Roll, although partly chronological, is by no means strictly so.³ A still richer source of early by-names is the unpublished bede-roll of the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene at Gaywood (Norfolk Record Office: Bradfer-Lawrence MS IX b); its opening section was likewise compiled c. 1300. Here are brought together - seemingly with scant regard for chronological, or other, order - names dating from every period since the Hospital's foundation (allegedly, c. 1135); if attempting to date this material from purely onomastic evidence were less perilously circular, predominantly thirteenth-century origins might be suggested for it, on the grounds that few of the baptismal names involved, mostly belonging to people apparently of modest condition, are of the Insular types which Part I of this study has shown to have remained in frequent use here until late in the twelfth century. In contrast with the wide chronological spread of these Rolls, the unpublished Newland Survey (King's Lynn Borough Records BC 1), dealing with the town's northern sector, is datable to the 1270s, probably to 1279; but this is, unfortunately, extant only in a fifteenth-century copy whose orthographical detail is suspect.⁴ Apart from the intrinsic value of its entries, the Survey also affords cross-references that assist with the dating of entries in other documents.

Even so, many of the forms to be cited, although safely placed 'ante c. 1300', cannot at present be dated precisely; but, except for those taken from the 1166 Pipe

Roll and from a few individual charters, not many seem likely to date back far into the twelfth century. None of the records has the authority of a full census; not even the Survey, because (apart from being confined to one sector of the town) it deals only with major burgess-tenants, not with occupiers to whom they might have sublet some of their holdings, and is *a fortiori* unconcerned with subsidiary members of families. Nevertheless, the representativeness of the by-name corpus assembled from these disparate sources may be thought to be modestly confirmed by the re-appearance of many forms from it in, for instance, some early-fourteenth-century Norfolk Gaol Delivery Rolls recently published.⁵

To annotate each form individually would be impossible here; some indeed remain, at least in the current state of knowledge, impenetrable.⁶ The chief interest of such a corpus, firmly localized even though for the most part only approximately datable, lies in any event in the governing principles it may reveal and in whatever cultural bearings these may have.

i) Family-groups and their by-names

The first question, how far twelfth- and thirteenth-century Lynn by-names represented transmissible family-names, allows of no simple answer. In Norfolk, just as elsewhere in medieval England, the surnames of different families were being provisionally stabilized at differing dates between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, with those of the gentry as a rule the earliest to be passed from generation to generation and others following suit.⁷

The present materials prove not entirely helpful on this score. Apart from the frequent vaguenesses of dating, the Trinity Roll lists only men, entering each individually; the Gaywood Roll, although often marshalling its entries in apparent family-groups, specifies only sporadically the relationships concerned. Furthermore, styles and usages at first sight differ markedly from document to document. Partly, this seems attributable to differences in purpose and consequently in standards of identification. The Newland Survey, being a business document, aimed at clear specification, with some pretence to system. The Gaywood Roll, dealing at a more spiritual level, in prayers instead of rents, could on the other hand afford not only to veer between full descriptions like ('Pray for the soul of') Sabine uxoris Willelmi Le Kervile de Tilneye⁸ and bare mentions like those of Matildis et Ascili and of others left innocent of any kind of by-name, but even to allow entries to trail away in the generous inclusivity of et liberorum, et fratrum et amicorum; such inconsistencies might have seemed attributable to its having been compiled from miscellaneous older records, were it not that the different styles, far from occurring in compact blocks, are scattered throughout, as though at random. The Newland Survey too falls well short of consistency, even in referring to single individuals; and also has, as already noted, the more serious defect (from our point of view) of rarely naming more than one member of any family.

In any case, by no means all the patronymic, occupational and, especially, residential qualifiers found in this material seem to have represented forms in regular, everyday currency. Some bear signs of having been devised *ad hoc* by the scribe, constituting descriptions, potted biographies even, rather than 'names' as ordinarily understood: thus, beside the Gaywood Roll's already-quoted phrase identifying 'Sabine . . . of Tilney' may be set the Newland Survey's Elena uxore Radulphi de Suthmer apud Wigehal manente, varying with Helena que fuit uxor Radulphi de Suthmer - the individual concerned being a burgess-widow of fair

standing. Such periphrases are not, of course, unrelated to probable colloquial usages ('Helen, Ralph Southmere's widow, the one that lives over at Wiggenhall') and could be said to represent an embryonic stage in by-naming, before the distinguishing traits have been selected and given set expression. Locative phrases (which term will here be used to denote those involving proper place-names) may, when tacked on after the first, or 'primary' by-name, as often in the Gaywood Roll and sporadically elsewhere, have represented 'addresses' rather than alternative or supplementary names. When such a locative is added after a filius-formula, as with the Survey's Ricardus filius Ade de Wigehal and countless other instances there and elsewhere, its reference is ambiguous, and may sometimes have been appropriately so. But instances abound of such phrases supplementing by-names of every other kind: with appositional ('asyndetic') patronymics, as in, amongst others, the Survey's Petro Safrey de Wtton and the Gaywood Roll's Cecilie Kineman de Dersingham, Gocelini Hildebrand de Tyringtone, Walteri Swein de Munding, Willelmi Haldeyn de Gedeneye, and so on; with occupational by-names, as in the Gaywood Roll's Thome Pistoris de Geywude, Thome Le Taliur de Wlfretone, Willelmi Fabri de Grimestune, Willelmi Le Tronur de Lenna, and so on; with nickname-forms of all kinds, as in the Survey's Agnete Kid de Lenna and the Gaywood Roll's Alexandri Pipe de Mintlinge, Anne Le Bret de Dunham, Hawise Avenant de Northwicon, Iohannis Kide de Parva Dunham, Ricardi Sparwe de Estweniz, Rogeri Hotes de Brunham Sancti Clementis, Willelmi Woderoue de Geywude, and so on; and, most significantly, even after topographical by-names, vernacular or Latinized, as in the Survey's Iohannis de Vallibus de Westacre and the Gaywood Roll's Burdy atte Phorche de Tyringtone, Claricie atte Delhus de Walpol, Davidi de Dune de Snetisham, Henrici in Wode de Bodeham, Isabelle Wude de Bauseye, Ricardi filii Iohannis de Foro de Snetesham, Ricardi ad Pontem de Hecham, and so on. The sporadic occurrence of added locatives in the Newland Survey of c. 1279 shows that these were not necessarily, by the present criteria, an 'early' feature; their infrequency in the Survey as well as in the Trinity Roll may be linked partly with the fair incidence in both of primary locative by-names and partly with the pointlessness, in these contexts, of adding de Lenna. Yet, although locative phrases in documents may often have been functioning mainly as 'addresses', the widespread recourse to such aids to identification may help to explain the frequency with which those who moved from village to town succeeded in adopting a socially more distinguished by-name of such type.⁹

The pervasive inconsistencies assist the study of family-naming practices. As to the hereditariness of by-names (best investigated through men's names), evidence foreseeably conflicts. On the one hand, the repeated, indeed regular reappearances, across several generations, of certain unusual forms like Kelloc¹⁰ (found at least from the mid-twelfth century until the late-thirteenth), imply that well before the end of the twelfth century some men's by-names were being conventionalized and carried over to later generations. On the other hand, mid- to late-thirteenth-century records often show true patronyms, sometimes elaborately phrased, as with the Newland Survey's Iohanne filio et herede Thome Galien, and sometimes even double forms like the Trinity Roll's Galf. fil. Will. fil. Mile and Thom. fil. Will. fil. Mile, based on the Will. fil. Milonis entered near the Roll's early-thirteenth-century beginning. Such forms suggest some continuing lack of acknowledged family-names, even among such prosperous burgesses as appear in both records. Other entries in the Trinity Roll confirm this impression: several, mainly but not exclusively near the beginning of it, specify a man in a way that had been common in the 1166 Pipe Roll, simply as frater of another, usually of the immediately preceding member

(straightforward when the earlier is given a patronymic or a locative by-name, less so when he is Henricus Parvus); a good few even show a man just as serviens or socius of another; others again use periphrases like Goscelin nepos W. de Hale, Will. nepos Sim. del Both and, vaguest of all, Hardeger cum Sim. de Botha. As for the Gaywood Roll, this - partly because it may include entries going back to the twelfth century but also partly perhaps because of the liber vitae tradition of relying on divine omniscience for the precise identification of those for whom prayers were offered - includes some groups of which no member at all bears a by-name, as well as others where only one is so distinguished, sometimes the first, as with Benedicti de Swafham at Ayliez et Agnetis, and sometimes the last, as with Wlasi et Radulphi et Willelmi de Penteneye; and such a locative phrase may, as already suggested, sometimes represent an 'address' rather than a by-name in daily use. Yet, despite this Roll's frequent silence about relationships, some groupings of individuals bearing identical by-names strongly suggest shared family-names, as, for instance, with Willelmi Woderoue de Geywode et Yngrie uxoris Johannis Woderoue (John having probably been William's father, or perhaps his brother). The Survey, datable and tempering its inconsistencies with clarity, offers some enlightening examples: Thomas filius Nicholai involves a true patronym, the father being Nicholas de Brecham; so apparently does Willelmus filius Angeri Spitelman, subsequently abbreviated to Willelmo filio Angeri; on the other hand, the evidently patronymic Ricardus filius Nicolai Ode gives place to the hereditary form Ricardus Ode, the same by-name being borne by several other individuals here; as for Robertus frater dicti Johannis, it specifies unambiguously, and according to accepted convention, but without recourse to any set form.

A special aspect of family-naming concerns transference of men's by-names to their wives. This, as Richard McKinley has shown, became the regular custom in England only after c. 1400.¹¹ So, with thirteenth-century attitudes to family-naming as unsettled as has just been shown, little consistency is, a fortiori, to be expected from women's by-names. Several instances of elaborate periphrasis have already been quoted; but women equally appear under more compact designations, such as the Survey's Agnete Culling, Agnes de Wirham, Christiana Ode, Constantia de Cibeceya, Juliana Champeneys, Katerina de Berneya, Katerina filia Brice, Katerina Dod, Mabilia Le Marchal, Margeria Derlyng, Matildis Wiz, Sibilla Banyard, and other similar forms. As to the relative frequencies of the various styles, the present material by no means lends itself to statistics; and seldom shows whether women's by-names were personal, inherited, or marital. Some women - like some men - apparently had no recognized by-name, being specified solely by a family-relationship, as with the Gaywood Roll's Agnetis sororis Geruasii de Tyringtone. The relationship most often invoked is marriage (or widowhood), with the husband sometimes figuring in the same record in his own right, as with the Gaywood Roll's Iohannis de Frengre et Alicie uxoris eius, but sometimes not, as with an early thirteenth-century charter's Agnes que fuit uxor Willelmi f. Willelmi de Wigehale and the Survey's Helena . . . de Suthmer. In contrast, other women had their own recognized by-names, which the Gaywood Roll shows them as keeping after marriage: Godman Le Chapman de Holcham et Agnetis Walet uxoris eius, Willelmi Le Glowere de Walsokne . . . Cecilie Colet uxoris eius, and Ricardi Osbern de Holkam . . . Heluyse le Meyre uxoris eius. How common such a practice was cannot be gauged, because often when masculine and feminine names are paired the Roll leaves the relationship unspecified: one such pair is Elene Kede et Radulphi Cheuere - seemingly, an Anglo-Scandinavian 'kid' with a French '(nanny-)goat'. Exceptionally, a wife might appear with a by-name but her husband apparently without,

as with the Gaywood Roll's Alexandri. et Margarete Godsaule uxoris eius. Other women, however, are shown as sharing their husbands' by-names: the Newland Survey of c. 1279 refers to the same person either as Matildis que fuit uxor Reginaldi Wiz or simply as Matilda Wiz. Evidence is likewise insufficient to allow the frequency of this usage to be estimated. Certainly, both the Gaywood Roll and the Survey show women bearing by-names either masculine in form or referring to trades or offices unlikely to have been their own - thus, Alicie Wisman and Felicie Wysman, Agnetis Dispenser, Alicia Aurifaber/Le Orfeuer, Emme Barbur, Juliane Ledbetere, Mabilia Le Marchal, Matildis le Meyre, also Mirielis Spileman (though this is more probably a simple patronym), and others; such forms must in some sort represent family-names, but it is seldom clear whether they had been inherited from the paternal line or transferred from husbands.

ii) Identifying and interpreting by-names

Taking analysis of by-names beyond mere distribution requires 'etymologizing' the forms concerned. That, as must time and again appear, is seldom simple: first, because by-names are less predictable than baptismal ones; and, secondly, because they lack the semantic contexts which ease recognition and interpretation of common vocabulary. Dictionaries are of limited help. A name may exemplify a term far earlier than does any extant 'literary' text and so supplement the usual reference-books rather than be explained by them:¹² thus, (Le) Mellow appears in the Gaywood Roll at least a century and a half before its first 'dictionary' record (interestingly, in the mid-fifteenth-century Latin dictionary from Lynn known as Promptorium Parvulorum¹³).

Lack of context aggravates the ambiguities of spelling always bedeviling attempts to get to grips with a medieval vernacular. To add to the universal problems with minim-letters, here u/v often interchanges with w: a tendency probably connected with Norfolk-dialect pronunciation.¹⁴ One or two forms in the Gaywood Roll seem, moreover, best explicable in terms of earlier spellings with wynn.¹⁵ With much of the material resulting from recopying, orthographical vagaries of these and other kinds - for instance, especially in the Survey, use of z (z) for p - and associated blunders (such as a misleading Selowd found, in a late-fourteenth-century copy of a thirteenth-century charter, for [filius] Seloue) may well have compounded any older corruptions due to oral transmission. A proportion of obscure forms is, therefore, to be expected.

Even when spellings are clear and consistent, etymology and/or meaning can often be in doubt: the Gaywood Roll's Bonet, for instance, although at first glance possibly a nickname for someone who either made caps or wore a remarkable one, more probably shows patronymic use of the (saint's) name Bonitus current throughout France;¹⁶ again, the surname Bakun found in the Trinity and Gaywood Rolls, although at first suggesting 'cured pork', probably represents patronymic use of CG Bac(c)o.¹⁷ For forms interpretable either as nicknames or as patronyms, statistical probability (for what that is worth) must favour the latter. When, however, two or more nickname-meanings conflict, principles to guide choice are less easily discoverable: the already-cited Alexander Pipe's by-name, for instance, although very likely referring to a musical instrument, might, alternatively, have been derived from a conduit, or a wine-measure, or a bobbin; at present there seems no way of knowing which.¹⁸

Even with the 'dictionary' meaning clear, the true sense of a nickname often

remains in doubt. The Gaywood Roll lists, separately, a John Ioie and an Alan Ioie: should one suppose the bearer of such a name, or the ancestor from whom he took it, to have been an uncommonly merry fellow, or a worry-guts and killjoy whose doleful countenance excited mockery? Study of modern nicknaming brings out the critical, often cruel, tone characterizing the genre; nor is there reason to suppose our medieval ancestors more mealy-mouthed. Hence, names like the Pipe Roll's Bonpain and Godchep and the Gaywood Roll's Trouthe are scarcely to be taken at face-value: most likely, they perpetuate ironical plays by neighbours (not to say, colleagues, competitors, and customers) on their bearers' habitual self-advertisement.¹⁹ Much, admittedly, remains speculative; but it will be wise to bear in mind how harsh demotic wit can be.²⁰

Amid such manifold uncertainties, nickname-interpretation hangs between the twin perils of fantasy and over-literalness. Special traps include unrecognized minor place-names such as, if no preposition is present, may look to the unwary like phrase-nicknames.²¹ 'Meanings' proposed can seldom be more than guesses; and all the following comments are to be read in the shadow of that warning.

Once provisionally identified and interpreted, by-names may then, no less provisionally, be classified in various ways: semantically, for instance, or geographically.

iii) The meanings of some by-names

The meanings of by-names fall into four general categories: family relationships; place either of present domicile or of familial origins; occupation or rank; and miscellaneous characterizations. Each of these categories can, to some degree, be further subdivided.

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Family relationships allow of limited variation. As already-quoted periphrases have shown, an individual might on occasion be defined as 'brother' or 'sister' of another or as someone's 'grandson/nephew' (nepos being ambiguous); but such designations seldom evolved into set name-forms. Exceptionally, the 1166 Pipe Roll offers the compound Lellesmai 'Lelle's kinsman' (Lelle being probably a feminine short-form, perhaps from Lēofflæd²² - in this dialect the -s-genitive would by this date have been generalized); but when the Trinity Roll later shows the simplex Lelle figuring as a by-name, there is no way to tell whether the same family is involved.

For men the standard vernacular form of family-specification shows a simple apposition of the baptismal name of the father or some earlier male ancestor (or, less often, of the mother), with no -s or -son suffix.²³ The scribes, however, more usually render such by-names in Latin using the filius-formula, though only occasionally do the records oblige with an exemplificatory parallel: thus the 1166 Pipe Roll offers Rob. Tein apparently interchanging with Rob. fil. Thein. Whether the by-name appears only in the vernacular form (instances range from the 1166 Pipe Roll's Ric. Chelloc to numerous ones throughout all the thirteenth-century records), or whether it occurs only in the filius-form, there is rarely sufficient evidence to demonstrate if a particular name is a true patronymic, denoting actual parentage (as must very frequently have been the case), or had, as with the already-cited Ricardus Ode (alias filius Nicolai Ode), become hereditary.

For women, the commonest designation is as uxor, although filia and soror

(but not, in the material excerpted, neptia) also occur. Again it remains uncertain how far the Latin formulas corresponded to everyday usage. Women, like men, also appear with apparent appositional patronyms, as with the Gaywood Roll's Beatricis Guntard, Cecilie Kineman, Marie Lambert, Olive Dawe, and others. Whether such forms were true patronyms, inherited family-names, or husbands' by-names transferred is, without fuller evidence, impossible to tell.

Among the men listed in the 1166 Pipe Roll, a good few bear metronyms: clear cases are those involving Alfred, Ælueue (2x), Alswed, Alfware (2x), the appositional Chelloc,²⁴ Edilde and Leftred; to these should probably be added the ambiguous Amabil,²⁵ and some at least of the short-forms Biffe, Duve, Give, Gode, Tette (locally famous as the name of St. Guthlac's mother) and Titte, all of which look like Latinized (genitive) feminines.²⁶ The Gaywood Roll also offers several true metronyms, such as Iohannis filii Ysabelle and Radulphi filii Mariote, together with a fair number of appositional metronymic by-names, such as Godfridi Langlif, Reginaldi Sirith, Ricardi Hymeyn, Rogeri Hodierne, Willelmi Leverun, and others. Although no standard can be adduced for comparison, such an incidence of metronyms is certainly not low. Perhaps, as suggested elsewhere,²⁷ forms like this hint at one source for the peopling of new or expanding towns, in so far as the illegitimate (unlikely to succeed to land, but possibly compensated with cash) and the sons of widows might have been especially eager to try their luck there.

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The two, contrasting types of geographical by-name have already been noted in passing: 'locative', based on proper place-names; and 'topographical', based on common nouns denoting elements of rural or urban landscape. The two categories are distinct. Already it has been noted how locatives can freely be added, as secondary qualifiers, to primary by-names of all other types, topographical ones included; but the latter are never so used.

Furthermore, when primary by-names alone are considered, the two types can be seen to characterize different sorts of record. Of the present range of materials, the Gaywood Roll most often shows topographical forms, which in the Pipe Roll, the Trinity Roll and the Survey are relatively rarer; the latter, by contrast, show higher incidences of primary locatives. These distributions correlate with what can be deduced about the 'catchment areas' of the documents: as the citations of secondary locatives have already made clear, the Gaywood Roll, to a far greater extent than the Trinity Roll and by definition unlike the Newland Survey, lists not only residents in the town of Lynn but also, indeed more often, people from the villages of its hinterland. That is, topographical names are characteristic of people, mainly of modest condition, living in small settlements and on what were probably ancestral holdings, whereas locatives mark out those who have migrated from villages and small towns to larger centres. The 'meaning' of both sorts of by-name may be thus as much social as geographical.²⁸

At these dates, most topographical phrases probably still indicated their bearers' present homes. Examples, dating unless otherwise noted from the thirteenth century, include: the 1166 Pipe Roll's atte Bal, although this in fact probably involves a minor place-name;²⁹ atte Delhus, meaning either 'at the house in the hollow' or, alternatively, 'at the wooden house' (deal 'plank' - possibly also found on its own among the by-names here - being a Low-German loanword into Middle English); atte Gap, with a common Scandinavian loanword, and likewise atte Ling 'beside the heather'; atte Lode 'beside the watercourse'; atte Phorche, possibly

meaning 'beside the gallows';³⁰ atte Pinfolde; atte Sloye 'beside the slough'; the Pipe Roll's atte Was 'beside the Wash', again probably with the proper place-name; atte Wellehus; atte Wode and in Wode; over the Watere and be west half the Watere, that is, 'from West Lynn'. Often scribes wholly or partly Gallicized such phrases: del Both and de la Bothe 'of the booth or hut', again with a Scandinavian loanword; de la Castel; de (la) Corner 'from (North) Hurn'; del Hil; de la Launde; de la Verte Place; de la Winde 'of the twisty path'.³¹ Sometimes they thoroughly Latinized them: ad Aquam, ad Capud Pontis, ad Crucem, ad Ecclesiam, ad Pontem, de Angulo, de Ecclesia, de Foro, de Marisco, de Monasterio, de Puteo, de Vallibus, (de) ultra Aquam (the Trinity Roll's de Botha and the Gaywood Roll's de Fenne have only superficially been given the right look). Less often, residence might be shown by a simple appositional ('asyndetic') form, as apparently with Hovel, Kot, Wude. Alternatively, descriptive compounds were used, such as Daleman, le Border 'cottager' and (le) Hokere; but no -wine-formations based on topographical terms have been noted here.³²

By-names formed with place-names proper occur in all the materials. Usually they show Latinized de, and then the only problem is to identify the place concerned. A few, like the Trinity Roll's Will. Matelaske, are, however, asyndetic, in this probably reflecting colloquial usage; these, as already observed, can prove misleading. Some locative names denote domicile; those of the gentry often referred to a principal estate. With burgesses, on the other hand, and with some families of gentry as well, they functioned mainly as noms d'origine, personal or familial; locatives of this sort offer vital evidence about population-movements.³³ As already noted, this type of by-name, so frequent in Lynn's specifically urban records, seems to have been especially common among men who were mobile socially as well as geographically.³⁴

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Occupational by-names, like locative ones, appear in either primary or secondary position. Instances of the latter - always, presumably, indicating the actual trade practised - include the Gaywood Roll's Ricardi Hymeyn, calwere 'R.H., calf-herd (or -dealer)'³⁵ and the Trinity Roll's Alex. de Morle, tanour, Herveus de Geyton, fenur, Johannes de Acra, laner, Johannes de Tilneye, aurifaber, Radulphus de Riveshale, clericus, and so on. (As with other secondary by-names, those added after filius-formulas are ambiguous, and again often no doubt appropriately so.) Double forms are, however, rare in the present materials.

Occupational by-names standing in primary place are never to be uncritically accepted at face-value. Latinized ones fall - equally with filius-formulas and with some locative phrases - under suspicion of being scribal contributions: in which case their evidence is excellent for economic activities, less so for colloquial name-usage. Of course, because scribes simply systematized current attitudes and habits, all such forms must have reflected, generally when not specifically, colloquial modes of identification (as amply illustrated by modern family-names). With a vernacular form, less likely to have been scribally devised, the question is whether it recorded the bearer's own trade or that of a relative: some women have been noted as bearing occupational by-names that cannot have been their own, and with men's names too the possibility of inheritance is, although less obvious, ever-present. For individuals this question can seldom be answered. On the other hand, the fluidity evident in all the by-naming here encourages an assumption that most of the occupational terms found, whether or not accurately describing all their actual bearers, did represent trades currently - or, at worst, recently - practised in

this locality. Certain foreign terms must, however, for reasons to be explained,³⁶ be treated with caution.

Basic and universal trade-terms - like 'baker', 'hay-merchant', 'smith' and 'tailor' - need little comment. Other thirteenth-century forms - some antedating the present 'dictionary' record - more specifically reflect local patterns of life. Anger Le Spitelman, for instance, who flourished in the century's earlier half, must have been warden of one of the several hospitals here, probably of St. John's in Damgate. Especially apposite, as the Gaywood bidding prayer pro nautis maris underlines, are the by-names Schipman and (Le) Steresman. Another local trade appears in Salter, Gallicized as Le Sauner. Lynn's rôle as port, wool-staple, and general market, together with the consequent importance of revenues derived from the various sorts of toll, explain the frequency of by-names like Coliur 'tax-collector' (to be distinguished from coliere 'charcoal-burner'), Le Cuner 'market-inspector' (cf. ale-conner), Le Cuntur probably 'auditor',³⁷ and the very common (Le) Tronur/Tronator 'weigh-master' (tronage being among the most productive of the dues levied here). A minor trade-name found in the Survey, Oylman (the present record of c. 1279 being among the earliest known³⁸), links up with the known existence here of oil-mills. Local relevance also characterizes another compound - apparently hitherto unrecorded - Kirmetre 'fen-surveyor' (from the Scandinavian loanword ker 'swampy scrubland') found in the same Survey.³⁹

By contrast, the cloth-trades so prominent in Lynn's economic life are sparsely represented among the twelfth- and thirteenth-century by-names, and even then partly by Latinized ones: Le Chalunher, Le Comber, Fulere/Fullo, Laner, (Le) Lindraper, Le Teler/Telarius/Le Tistor/Textor. Perhaps the very frequency of these trades deprived the associated terms of great distinguishing power. The vigorous trade in dyestuffs is represented by Le Weyder, by the metonymic by-name Madyr, and probably by the apparent 'Shakespeare' compound Rouleweyd, which could refer to the rolling of woad-paste into balls.⁴⁰ The related industry, from which a whole street, Litisterisgate alias Vicus Tinctorum, took its thirteenth-century name,⁴¹ produced not only the by-name Le Litestere but also Le Blekestere 'bleacher', both being based on Scandinavian loanwords.

Among the then luxury trades, rabbit-breeding is denoted by Le Warner;⁴² others include Habertasker (= -dasher) - the instance found here in the Survey being among the earliest known⁴³ - and also Le Orfevere/Aurifaber, Le Peyntour/Pictor, and Vinetarius. Professional aid seems promised by the Trinity Roll's Le Parlur 'pleader';⁴⁴ and also, more crucially, by Apothecarius and Le Leche/Medicus. The town's need to cater for visiting seafarers is reflected by the frequency of (le) Tavern(i)er, one of the few trade-terms which the thirteenth-century records show in secondary as well as primary position, as in the Survey's Eadmundi de Sutton, taverner/tabernarii (the Gaywood bidding prayer specifically requests supplications pro omnibus pandaxatoribus Lenne). The same context explains the Joculator of the 1166 Pipe Roll; but Gluman, found there in a filius-formula, and Spileman, found later as a by-name, although they had etymologically the same sense, were at these dates probably functioning simply as personal names.⁴⁵ The likeliest interpretation of the Trinity Roll's Vilour/Le Viliur is 'fiddler', these instances again being amongst the earliest so far noted.⁴⁶

As well as reflecting Lynn's considerable import-trade in wax, the previously-unnoted term Candelwif found in the Gaywood Roll (cf. the masculine Kandeler also found there) supplements the tiny corpus of specifically feminine Middle-English trade-terms.⁴⁷ Another form apparently so far uncollected is the Chesewoman

found in a court-roll of 1301 (cf. the Gaywood Roll's Cheseman). It is, as explained, often hard to tell whether occupational by-names attributed to women were their own or transferred from father or husband; given the family basis of much early 'industry', the distinction may be partly irrelevant.

The comparative paucity of occupational names proper may to some extent have been counterbalanced by use of metonymic 'nicknames' - like Candel and like the Madyr already cited - referring to characteristic tools or wares.⁴⁸ The feminine Le Koyfe found in the Gaywood Roll, rather than alluding to its bearer's own attire, probably reflected the existence in Lynn of a coifmakers' gild.⁴⁹ Such forms are, however, too uncertain of interpretation to have great value for economic and social history: thus, the Pipe Roll's Baril (a French form) might have denoted a tubby man rather than one who made casks or shipped his wares in them, and the Gaywood Roll's Peper, a hot-tempered man rather than either a spicer or someone who paid or collected 'peppercorn rents'; the Survey's Portehors 'breviary' (portiforium) and Primer might have denoted either dealers in religious texts or people of ostentatious piety. Several by-names refer to seafaring matters or to fish, as with the Gaywood Roll's Schip and perhaps with its Slingge, if correctly interpreted as 'lifting-gear',⁵⁰ and likewise in the same Roll as well as in the Survey, with Codling⁵¹ (with which name the Codlingelane figuring in a 1577 list of streets may, or may not, be linked), with Haddoc, frequent in the Trinity Roll, and also with the Herryng borne in the late fourteenth century by a man paying dues pro iure unius naviculi. Some phrase-names too may have been occupational: Rouleweyd has already been mentioned; another is the Survey's Wendut(h) 'fare out', an apt name for a seafarer and indeed given in Havelok the Dane to one of the hero's fishermen foster-brothers.⁵² Other by-names suiting a mercantile community include some taken, like the Trinity Roll's Besaunt and Schyllyng, from coinage.

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True nicknames, characterizing the bearer personally rather than by trade, by residence or by origin, constitute the most varied range of all, in form as well as in meaning, varying as they do from simple epithets (often Latinized in the records, thus, Juvenis, Parvus) to complex phrases. As previously observed, this category not only merges confusingly into the occupational one but is, of its own nature, beset with obscurities and ironies of all kinds.

Epithets like the Gaywood Roll's Freman and (Le) Neuman are scarcely noteworthy. The same might be supposed of commonplace physical descriptions, like the Blak, Blund, Brun, Crul, Le Longe, Le Rede, Le Rus, Le Wyte/Albus, found throughout our thirteenth-century records, but especially characteristic of the Gaywood Roll. On the other hand, experience suggests the likelihood of crude ironies (here unverifiable) like calling a bald man Curly or a huge one Tiny.

As soon as character is in question, irony must constantly be suspected: the Gaywood Roll's Joie has been discussed, and the Trinity Roll's Blithe, Swift and Scherewynd are analogous. A crucial aspect of nicknaming - admittedly impossible to treat with any exactitude in a non-contemporary context - is its use to express, and so obliquely to enforce, standards of behaviour.⁵³ One vice constantly harped on in medieval naming is stinginess, here alluded to by the 1166 Pipe Roll's Locheburs 'lock purse' and probably also by its Pilecat 'skin a cat'. From another point of view, the latter and several other forms, like the Milnemus 'mill-mouse' (the opposite of 'church-mouse') found in two charters datable to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, can be seen as encapsulating popular sayings.⁵⁴

As yet, such interpretations are too uncertain, as well as too few, to afford usable evidence about our ancestors' attitudes and beliefs, or even about their colloquial usages.⁵⁵ In time, however, medieval nicknames will undoubtedly have a great deal to tell about such matters, not least through such allusions and colloquial puns as seem embalmed in the Trinity Roll's Simon Magus, for a man whose original by-name seems to have been Mager, and the Gaywood Roll's Philippi Makebeus.

iv) The provenances of certain by-names

In an historical context special interest attaches to the geographical analysis applicable, in varying degrees, to all except topographical by-names. For Lynn, the outside contacts and the consequent immigration - from overseas as well as from other parts of England - which the town experienced are well documented; and already the baptismal names found here have been argued partly to reflect them.⁵⁶ So it seems worthwhile to investigate whether by-names can likewise be made to throw light on the social and cultural repercussions of these foreign contacts.

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The most obvious material for geographical analysis consists of the noms d'origine so dominant in the specifically urban records like the Trinity Roll and the Newland Survey; these by-names have already been noted as typical of people socially as well as physically mobile. Some locative names - especially in the Gaywood Roll's secondary additions - refer to Lynn itself and to places near-by: these may indicate current residence. Many, on the other hand, refer to places much farther afield, from Lindsey to Lilbeck; and these must point to sources of the growing town's population.

About the English noms d'origine recognizable in these records little will be said here. Mrs Owen herself has made a study of this material and its implications, and hopes to publish it in due course.

The epithets and noms d'origine referring to continental localities are, by contrast, central to a main present purpose: that of exploring the possible range of foreign influences impinging upon such a port as Lynn. These items will therefore be considered as pointers to potential sources for other sorts of apparently foreign by-name found here.

Various epithets found throughout the thirteenth-century records imply French extraction, often but not invariably from the north and north-east quarters: (Le) Fraunceis and Frankis, perhaps Le Bret if meaning 'Breton' rather than 'Welsh', (Le) Burguliun, Champeneis, Picard, Poer (that is, probably Po(i)hier 'from Poix, near Amiens'⁵⁷). Many noms d'origine found here, in the Trinity Roll especially, point the same way: de Amiens, de Bavent (dép. Calvados), de Bek, de Beauveys/de Belvaco (the name of a principal merchant dynasty here), de Berneye, de Creci, probably Cundi (if representing the Condé common in Normandy and in NE France), probably the so-far-unidentified de Gailencourt,⁵⁸ de Hauville (perhaps Hauville, dép. Eure), de Ispania (if correctly identified as Epaignes, dép. Eure),⁵⁹ de Lanvale (compare, perhaps, Lanvallay, dép. Cotes-du-Nord), de Lysewys (Lisieux), de Paris, probably Robeis (if representing Roubaix),⁶⁰ de Saint Lo, de S. Omero, the unexpected de Runcival (perhaps reflecting Gascon trade in wine and in salt), and de Viane (alluding probably to one of several northern Viennes rather than to the ancient city on the Rhône).⁶¹ The repeated references to places in Picardy and

thereabouts recall the brisk commerce between Lynn and Amiens, then the centre of the woad-trade;⁶² they can be set against the resemblances already noted between some baptismal names found in Lynn records and forms characteristic of north-eastern France.⁶³

Lynn also had a vigorous trade along the Dutch and North German coasts, and with the future Hanseatic ports in particular. This too is sometimes reflected in thirteenth-century geographical by-names, both epithets and *noms d'origine*: *Flandrensis*/(*Le*) *Flemyng*, *de Flandria*, *de Alos(t)*, *de Stavere* (*Stavoren* in Friesland), also *Caron de Suris* (if rightly taken as 'Wainwright from Surice, near Namur'); *Aleman*, *Estrich*/*Estreis*/*Estrensis* (another surname belonging to a leading merchant dynasty),⁶⁴ *le Ger*', *de Almayne*/*de Almania*, *de Coloigne*/*de Colonia*, *de Lubyk*. And, be it noted, just as in the early fifteenth century a son of Margery Kempe's was to marry in Dantzic, so at least one thirteenth-century 'Easterling' in Lynn married into a prominent local family: the Trinity Roll's *Folcardus Estrensis qui duxit in uxorem fil. Roberti de Cybeceye*.

Lynn's equally flourishing Norwegian trade has left disappointingly few recognizable traces among extant thirteenth-century names. The most remarkable character, Siglan Susse of Gotland, who first appears as an alien fallen foul of the law and later as a 'king's merchant', belongs to the early fourteenth century.⁶⁵ The *Thur(u)ndeyn* dynasty, one of whose members appears in the Trinity Roll, is believed to have taken its name from Trondheim; and probably the by-name *Le Noreys* found several times in the Trinity Roll meant here, as it sometimes did elsewhere in Middle English, 'Norwegian' rather than 'northerner' in a more general sense.⁶⁶

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Geographical analysis applies also, although more impressionistically, to patronyms, whose distributions naturally follow those of baptismal names,⁶⁷ but with some twists. Being less subject than baptismal names to Latinization and thus oftener recorded in their true shape, patronyms are more readily referred to their likely provenances. With certain Lynn by-names of continental form, corresponding baptismal ones seem rare not just locally but in Middle English usage generally. True, the lack of any comprehensive Middle English onomasticon precludes dogmatism on such matters; but, on present evidence, foreign forms recorded in England mainly as 'patronyms' may reasonably be supposed often to have been imported as established surnames. In individual cases, verification is seldom possible; but the probabilities can to some extent be assessed through comparison with known usages in the appropriate areas of the Continent. At the moment such comparisons can, unfortunately, be no more than approximate, because for certain of the areas the only secondary studies as yet available deal with periods somewhat later than those of the present Lynn materials.⁶⁸

Predictably, many patronyms found in these Lynn materials show characteristically French linguistic forms, backed by French, or Franco-Flemish, distributions. Mostly, however, these involve baptismal names common also throughout medieval England, such as *Andru*, *Austin*, *Davi*, *Drewe*, *Hunfrey*, and so on. But all the records, and not least the Gaywood Roll, despite its more rural 'catchment area', equally offer 'patronyms' for which corresponding baptismal forms are, if not totally absent from English records, at all events rare. These potentially more significant forms include: *Aubin* (cf. the Trinity Roll's *fil. Albini*), which represents either the saint's name *Albinus* or else a hypocoristic of *Albert* or of *Aubrey* - in either case

showing a characteristically French vocalization of preconsonantal [ɛ] - and which was current in Evreux, Eu, Beauvais, Corbie, Arras and Artois; *Bon(n)et*, probably, as noted, representing *Bonitus* and recorded, for instance, in Eu and in Picardy, as well as in the Arras by-name *Bonete*; *Boselin*, a double-diminutive, current in Flanders as well as in France, of the CG short-form *Boso*, of which *Buzun* shows the French reflex;⁶⁹ *Fubert*, resembling the *Foubert* noted in Artois, and elsewhere, as a French reflex of CG *Folcher(h)t*; *Galien*/*Galiun* (also *fil. Gallone*), found as a baptismal name as well as as a by-name in many parts of France including Arras,⁷⁰ and also in Calais and Ieper; *Gubilliun*, probably a French double-diminutive of *Gobaut* or *Gobert* (from CG *Gode-*);⁷¹ perhaps *Howardyn*, if representing a double-diminutive of CG *Hugo*; *Hulin*, which seems to correspond either to the double-diminutive *Hugelinus* noted in Artois and also, as *Huelin*, in Eu and in Arras, or else to the Picard *Heulin* conjecturally attributed to an etymon in *Hilde-*;⁷² *Moyse*,⁷³ comparable with the *Mois* found, for instance, at Calais; *Polard*, a derivative of *Pol* (*Paul*) seen at Eu, for instance, as *Polart*, and likewise *Poligraund* (also *Porigrand*, with assimilation of -l- to -r-), which latter evidently shows patronymic use of the compound *Pol li grand* 'Tall Paul', thus incorporating one of the commonest French nicknames;⁷⁴ *Ruffin*, from *Rufinus*, found as a baptismal name in Picardy and in other French-speaking areas as well as being current as a by-name in Corbie, Arras and Ieper; *Turpin*,⁷⁵ found in Picardy, and especially at Beauvais, Corbie and Arras; *Yvori*, perhaps a metronym based on *Yvoria*, as noted at Calais, rather than a nickname-use of the common noun. One difficult form is the Trinity Roll's *Sykard*: on the one hand, *Sicardus* was a typically southern form,⁷⁶ but, on the other, *Siquart* was also proper to Picardy and Flanders. None of the quoted distributions pretends to completeness; and, as already stated, for some localities the evidence available post-dates the present records by a century or so (a shortcoming which may be partly counterbalanced by the often-distinctive linguistic forms involved). No more is claimed than the establishment of some general parallels, in keeping with what is known of Lynn's trading contacts.

Identifiably Low German patronyms seem less plentiful in our thirteenth-century Lynn records than do French ones. Forms such as *Vertekin* apparently show the characteristically Flemish form of diminutive.⁷⁷ Other items seemingly linked with that area include: *Damet*, found as a baptismal name in the Low Countries and in Saxony;⁷⁸ *Gerberge*, a metronym involving a phonologically-continental name current, for instance, in Ghent; *Guntard*, found in Ghent and also, as a by-name, in Picardy and in Wallonia; and *Her(e)brand*, current in Kortrijk (Courtrai), Ghent, Cologne, Saxony and Lübeck.

Even though the provenances cited are not only incomplete but also possibly unrepresentative (depending as they do on the availability of reference-books: apart from gaps in the record, several of the studies consulted were, unhappily, loaned too briefly to be fully exploited), they join with those already noted, under similar cautions, for baptismal names, to reflect some of the social and cultural influences which Lynn assimilated from its multifarious trading contacts fanning out across the North Sea from Picardy to the Baltic.

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Extending the geographical perspective reveals some occupational terms and nicknames as likewise apparently traceable - no less than *noms d'origine*, baptismal names and patronyms - to Lynn's varied continental contacts. Nicknames might have been especially responsive to any mingling of vernaculars in the market-places. But, the further the topic is explored, the more complex the problems appear. Of

these, the progressive stabilization of family-names throughout most of Western Europe is among the least, in so far as it bears only on chronology and thus freshness of coinage. The crucial questions concern provenances and their cultural implications.

As for Scandinavian forms, although by-names of such etymology have been noted elsewhere in Norfolk,⁷⁹ the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Lynn records offer only a few common loanwords, distributed throughout the name-categories: the occupational Blekestere 'bleacher'; del Both 'stall, hut'; atte Gap; the nickname (occupational or characteristic) Galt 'boar'; perhaps Gris if here it means 'pig';⁸⁰ the frequent Kide; the occupational Kirmet(e)re with ker 'scrubby marshland'; atte Ling; Litesterre; and perhaps the adverb taite 'briskly' (unless Pistaite is a meaningless corruption of the Flemish by-name Pasteit 'pie'; if, however, it were a humorous deformation, the evidence for the adverb would be as good as from a native coinage).

By-names of obviously French form - superficially far more distinct than Low German ones from the native English - are frequent. At first they may seem straightforward; but they are in fact by no means so. Descriptions like Le Iuene and Le Vius were usually scribal alternatives for Iuennis and Senex; de la Verte Place renders atte Grene. By-names based on terms early adopted into Middle English, like Curteis and Large, have no necessary bearing either on the presence of French immigrants in Lynn or on the currency of French speech here. Uncertainties crystallize with occupational terms found as by-names in France itself as well as being adopted into the general Middle English vocabulary. Each case needs individual assessment: (Le) Tavern(i)er, for instance, already noted as sometimes found here in secondary position, must be a living, 'English', occupational term, not a fossilized imported surname; but the status of other foreign forms, and especially of those, like Le Weyder, connected with French trade, remains uncertain. On the other hand, here as in other bodies of medieval English by-names,⁸¹ some French forms occur that never figured in the general Middle English vocabulary: Blanchard, Boivin, Durdent, Hurel, Morel, and so on. By-names like these, abounding in parts of France with which other evidence links the Lynn name-stock, presumably had been imported as ready-made surnames: the Trinity Roll's Mal(h)erbe, for instance, was the name of a thirteenth-century woad-merchant hailing from Amiens.⁸² Yet not all bearers of such names seem to have been of purely French extraction: when the 1166 Pipe Roll shows French by-names qualifying Insular first names - Sum[erli]da Cusin, Staingrim Bonpain, Saman Passelewe (this last oddly tautologous, as well as seeming to prefigure the later by-names like de ultra Aquam) - the questions are whether the Westminster scribe had Gallicized native forms, whether native Englishmen had adopted fashionable French by-names even while keeping their Insular baptismal ones, or whether these name-bearers had perhaps been born of mixed marriages. Although similar hybrid combinations are recorded elsewhere, and in records free of 'central' taint,⁸³ they do not as yet enable those questions to be answered. So, frequent though they are, the 'French' by-names here offer little clue as to how current that language was in the Lynn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some scribes were equal to simple translation; others stuck at del Both and del Hil. One form seemingly based on a characteristically French relative-clause by-name, the Trinity Roll's Quipvait, would, if its interpretation as Qui puait 'who used to stink' is correct, imply a scribe nimble enough among the tenses to respond to the obituary context with an ironical imperfect.⁸⁴ On the other hand, the treatment of the phrase-name Poligrand,⁸⁵ already in the thirteenth century sometimes garbled to Porigrand, suggests general unawareness of, and

indifference to, its structure.

In any event, not all names French in form need have been either direct imports or Middle English coinages. Not only England but also the Low Countries and even Northern Germany, with all of which areas Lynn's commercial ties were at least as strong as with Normandy and Picardy, had likewise been touched by French name-fashions; therefore some 'French' by-names might have arrived via Flanders or Cologne, their exact provenance remaining open. Again the varying dates of the comparative materials available do nothing to reduce the tentativeness of the findings; it seemed nevertheless a pity to omit fourteenth-century parallels when for certain localities these happened to be the only ones so far published. Among these 'international' French forms are: Argent, current as a baptismal name in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Cologne; Bayhard, for Baiard,⁸⁶ current in Ghent before the mid-thirteenth century and in Ieper from at least the later thirteenth century on; the 1166 Pipe Roll's Cusin, as recorded somewhat later in Ieper, North Holland and Cologne; Joie, current in Ieper and in Ghent, and perhaps to be compared with Cologne's Makejoie; (Le) Meyre, current in Ghent as well as in thirteenth-century Kortrijk (Courtrai) and in the Artois of c. 1300; Morel, current in Ieper, Kortrijk and Ghent; Pipe, current by 1300 in Kortrijk; Purdeu, probably comparable with the Pardiu seen in Ieper and Ghent; and Saphir, current in Ghent and in Cologne.

Such pervasive affinities, time and again appearing between Lynn by-names and those of north-eastern France and of the Franco-Flemish area, encourage an attempt at further, even more tentative rapprochements. One or two of the obscurer forms found in thirteenth-century Lynn teasingly resemble by-names found, for instance, in Artois and in some of the Flemish towns: the Gaywood Roll's Burghet seemingly parallels the Artois forms of c. 1300, Burget and dou Bourghet; the Trinity Roll's Pugeis - although possibly representing pujois 'from (one of the various places called) Le Puy', also current as the name of a proverbially worthless small coin - might more convincingly be compared with the Artois by-name de Pugieus, taken as 'from Puisieux';⁸⁷ Pugeman and Picemain could be boss-shots at a by-name resembling Ghentish Pucemain (from puteus magnus) or the Kortrijk Putsemeyn; and Struyere strongly suggests the thirteenth-century Calais by-name Stroiere 'thatcher'.⁸⁸ Less convincingly, the Gaywood Roll's Begeney partly resembles the Artois form (de) Beghenes, taken by some modern scholars to refer to Bientques (dép. Pas-de-Calais).⁸⁹ The Trinity Roll's Caylleweit, instead of being taken to represent a place-name such as Caillouet, might instead be compared with forms like the Calewart/Kaellewart found in Kortrijk, Ieper and Ghent.⁹⁰ Although none of the instances in this paragraph (the last two least of all) allows of establishing any firm etymology, the repeated resemblances may be thought to suggest lines for future English surname-study.

These resemblances between Lynn's by-names and French and Franco-Flemish ones suggest that links at least as strong ought to appear between Lynn names and those of the Low German areas with which trading ties were so close. Difficulties, however, intervene. Although occupational terms and nicknames might a priori have been expected to reflect Lynn's German contacts at least as amply as its French ones, in practice the shared Germanic background which at times blurs the provenance of other name-forms⁹¹ here proves an especial handicap. Apart from the similarities persisting between Middle English and Middle Low German, imported names seeming outlandish, but recognizable, to English ears might well have been normalized by English tongues, in particular by those of any local people - wives, virtuous apprentices, sons-in-law, and the like - who borrowed the incomers' names.

(Recent studies stress a need, when tracing name-histories, to allow for folk-etymologizing of unfamiliar forms.)⁹² However that may have been, few forms here can in the event be singled out as incontrovertibly Flemish or Low German. Teasing resemblances, on the other hand, again appear. One probable case is that of Timberman, the by-name of the thirteenth-century holder of the plot where the Steelyard now stands; for, whereas from Calais to Rostock this word (or its variant in Timmer-) was throughout the Middle Ages the regular term and by-name for 'carpenter', its English counterpart seems not to have become current until much later. The Newland Survey's Berdekin looks like the Brabant Berdeken.⁹³ For the Gir(re) frequent in the Gaywood Roll, no compelling native etymology presents itself (depending upon pronunciation, the best candidate might be gire, later jeer, 'item of ship's tackle'; but so far that seems unnoted until the fifteenth century); but it does resemble the by-name Gir, meaning either 'rapacity' or 'vulture', borne by a family prominent in thirteenth-century Cologne, and current also in Lübeck and in Rostock (a similar form, Le Ghier, appears also in Ieper).⁹⁴ Another possibly Low German form seems to be the Gaywood Roll's Scele, which might be compared with Sc(h)ele 'squinting', a name current from Cologne to Rostock (alternatively, it might perhaps represent an aphetic derivative of Askell).

So much for some apparently un-English forms. Even more perplexing are the apparently native ones which nevertheless find abundant Low German analogues. (With the 'meanings' of by-names so seldom verifiable, even for contemporaries, 'parallelism' will here, just as with some examples already cited, be limited to form.) Whereas with French by-names, linguistic form establishes the direction (although not necessarily the mode) of borrowing, with the English/Low German ones nothing can be relied on: Germans frequented Lynn, Lynn men travelled overseas, so that, in theory at least, influence might have gone either way. Equally, similar forms might have been independently evolved in each community. Some of these ambiguous forms are nonetheless worth citing; the most telling parallels will be with Calais, for which the material available dates from the late thirteenth century, with Ghent, for which it antedates 1252, with Cologne, for which it dates from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and with Hamburg and with Rostock, for both of which it dates from the thirteenth century or before. Such by-names - found in all the Lynn materials, the partly rural Gaywood Roll included - include: Blome, paralleled in Kortrijk, Ieper, Ghent, Hamburg, Lübeck and Rostock, and perhaps comparable with Cologne's Blume; Brun, current at least from Kortrijk to Rostock; Crul, found also in Lübeck; Dingel, exactly paralleled in Brabant;⁹⁵ Flicke, possibly an Anglo-Scandinavian patronym but alternatively, and especially because here coupled with Hermannus, to be linked with Flikken from Cologne and Vlicke from Lübeck; Hengest, possibly an English nickname or even patronym (for an Engistus is named in a late-twelfth-century Norfolk record⁹⁶) but alternatively to be linked with the Flemish by-name Hincst and the Cologne Henxt; Hot, paralleled in Calais and in Rostock; Kempe, universally common from Calais to Rostock; (de) Krane, likewise paralleled from Calais to Rostock; Mast, similar to forms found in Calais, Ieper and Lübeck; Pape, another form current from Calais to Rostock; Peper, current in Kortrijk, Lübeck and Rostock; Rust, found in Cologne and in Lübeck; Schyllyng, current in Cologne and in Rostock; perhaps the Pipe Roll's Tripel, if allowed to be comparable with the Rostock form Tribel.⁹⁷ It is constantly difficult to know how far the undeniable analogies have resulted from influence (whether in one direction or the other) and how far from common habits of mind. This is especially so with the compound forms, like the Trinity Roll's Bendedevel, with its similarities to Ieper's Bauduinus die den dievel bant and Cologne's Bunzzeduvil, and also the Gaywood Roll's Swetmuth,⁹⁸ paralleled

in sense although not in form by Ieper's Zoutemond. These scrappy notes on possible Low German analogues (rather than sources) for some of Lynn's thirteenth-century by-names cannot therefore pretend to disentangle direct influences from the pervasive legacy of common tradition; most emphatically, they by no means assert continental origins for every form discussed. What is argued is that in a busy, cosmopolitan port like Lynn not all apparently English-looking forms can safely be taken as purely native in inspiration. Some at least might have represented Low German names which, just because so easily adjusted to English usage, survived their bearers' settlement in England: a probability reinforced by the clearer findings about French forms. That being so, the pervasive affinities between Lynn's name-patterns and those of places at least as far east as Rostock (for practical reasons the limit of the present survey; there is no saying whether or not an expert on Balto-Slavonic dialects and names might find anything of interest here) suggest something about the social and cultural openness of this East-Coast port. In particular, they may explain the adoption at Lynn of the Middle Dutch loan lufcop 'toll',⁹⁹ and also perhaps the Low German loanwords found not only in Lynn's own fifteenth-century Promptorium Parvulorum but also in the thirteenth-century Genesis and Exodus provisionally localized in Norfolk.¹⁰⁰ They chime in too with the traditions of intellectual and spiritual, as well as mercantile, commerce with Germany later to be implied throughout the early-fifteenth-century Book of Margery Kempe.

* * *

This exercise in name-study, far from being carried out blind, has endeavoured constantly to take account of available findings in other spheres, those in commercial history especially. Some might therefore feel that using its results to throw light back on social history smacks of circularity. Apart, however, from certain Low German analogues no more than tentatively proposed, the linguistic findings prove strong enough to stand without external support. They testify that Lynn's trade was carried on in an atmosphere of cultural openness and receptivity, with marked lack of xenophobia.

Perhaps, however, the sharpest lesson here concerns name-study itself and its methodology. Viewing the recorded forms, not in isolation, but in relation to the place that produced them and to its known circumstances and activities has enabled etymological questions to be put into a fresh, and truer, perspective. Names, and above all nicknames, ought never to be studied without reference to the social and economic life of the communities which use them.

OLD CHESTERTON, CAMBRIDGE

NOTES

1. Because the British Academy volume will include a full Index nominum, only summary references will be given here; the volume is now in proof.
2. The Great Roll of the Pipe for 12 Henry II, A.D. 1165-1166, Pipe Roll Society IX (1888), 21-9. Cf. Part I (NOMINA VI, 51-71), 55-6.
3. Previously edited, not entirely accurately but with some suggested identifications and datings, by R. Howlett in Walter Rye's rare Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany, 2nd ser., part III (Norwich, 1908), 45-79. See also C. Clark and D. Owen,

- 'Lexicographical notes from King's Lynn', Norfolk Archaeology XXXVII (1978), 56-69, esp. 56 and n. 5 on 66.
4. See E. and P. Rutledge, 'King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth: two thirteenth-century surveys', Norfolk Archaeology XXXVII (1978), 92-114, esp. 92-110.
 5. See, for instance, B. Hanawalt, ed., Crime in East Anglia in the fourteenth century: Norfolk Gaol Delivery Rolls, 1307-1316, Norfolk Record Society XLIV (n.p., 1976), esp. Index.
 6. For some tentative treatments of individual names, see 'Lexicographical notes', passim, noting that some suggestions there have since been modified (cf. below nn. 46, 88, 90, 95 and 97).
 7. See R. A. McKinley, Norfolk and Suffolk surnames in the Middle Ages, English Surname Series [ESS] II (London and Chichester, 1975), 3-22; cf. idem, The surnames of Oxfordshire, ESS III (London, 1977), 7-30, and also G. Fellows-Jensen, 'The surnames of the tenants of the Bishop of Lincoln in nine English counties', in T. Andersson, ed., NORNA-Rapporter VIII: Binamn och Släktnamn, avgränsning och ursprung (Uppsala, 1975), 39-60.
 8. All names in the Gaywood Roll are in the genitive, after Pro anima.
 9. See below nn. 28 and 34.
 10. See Part I, n. 74, s.n. Ke(ti)llog; the reference there to Part II, n. 19 should be revised to Part II, n. 24, which see below.
 11. See McKinley, Oxfordshire, 181-91.
 12. Cf. 'Lexicographical notes', passim, esp. references given on 65-6; also various instances below.
 13. A. L. Mayhew, ed., The Promptorium Parvulorum: the first English-Latin Dictionary, &c., Early English Text Society [EETS]: Extra Series 102 (London, 1908), col. 284; cf. 'Lexicographical notes', 61.
 14. Cf. B. Sundby, 'Middle English overlapping of v and w and its phonemic significance', Anglia LXXXIV (1956), 438-44, and B. Seltén, The Anglo-Saxon heritage in Middle English personal names, East Anglia 1100-1399, Part I: Lund Studies in English [LSE] XLIII (Lund, 1972), 167-8.
 15. See 'Lexicographical notes', 66 n.9.
 16. See, for instance, A. Vallet, Les noms de personne du Forez . . . aux xii^e, xiii^e et xiv^e siècles, Publications de l'Institut de linguistique romane de Lyon XVIII (Paris, 1961), 70, also 87. Cf. above p.77.
 17. For Bac(c)o, see W. Schlaug, Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000, Lunder Germanistische Forschungen [LGF] XXXVI (Lund, 1962), 56, and M. - Th. Morlet, Les noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du vi^e au xii^e siècle, 2 vols (Paris, 1968-1972), i.50a. As the surname of

- (amongst others) a feudal family, this was in any case probably imported rather than created on English soil: see L. C. Loyd et alii, The origins of some Anglo-Norman families, Harleian Society CIII (Leeds, 1951), 10-11.
18. A by-name Pipe was current not only in England but also in Franco-Flemish areas (cf. above p. 79): French meanings offered by Godefroy and by Tobler-Lommatzsch include 'tube', 'whistle', and 'fluid-measure'; for 'bobbin' as a Flemish meaning, see G. de Poerck, La draperie médiévale en Flandre et en Artois: technique et terminologie, 3 vols (Bruges, 1951), i. 69 and iii. 108. Cf. also MED, s.vv.
 19. For fuller discussion of nicknaming-modes, see P. McClure, 'Nicknames and petnames', NOMINA V (1981), 63-76, together with his two reviews, ibidem, 95-104 and 121-3; also my own review of J. Jönsjö, Studies on Middle English nicknames, Part I: Compounds, LSE LV (Lund, 1979), in English Studies LXIII (1982), 168-70. [The reference to this note 19 in NOMINA VI (1982), 71, n. 74, should be deleted, and a reference to n. 24 below substituted.]
 20. A point repeatedly made over the last half-century by Dauzat (see, for instance, Les noms de personnes [Paris, 1925], 75-6, 96-7, 165) and by his disciples, but by others too often unheeded (cf. n. 19 above).
 21. Gillian Fellows-Jensen made this point in her review of Jönsjö, Nicknames, published in Namn och Bygd LXVIII (1980), 102-15.
 22. See Part I, n. 74.
 23. Exceptionally, the Gaywood Roll offers Alicie Cakardes (cf. 'Lexicographical notes', 59) and also Rogeri Hotes; alternatively, these might represent a sporadic scribal over-zealousness in putting names into the genitive.

The normal usage here is compatible with McKinley's findings that suffixal forms appear later than appositional ones: see his Norfolk and Suffolk, 3, 129-38, and Oxfordshire, 216-35, also Fellows-Jensen, 'Surnames', 54.
 24. The name, in Anglo-French versions of the Havelok story, of one of the fisherman Grim's daughters: see A. Bell, ed., Le lai d'Haveloc (Manchester, 1925), 264. For non-fictional instances, see E. Björkman, Nordische Personennamen in England, Studien zur englischen Philologie [St EP] XXXVII (Halle, 1910), 181, and idem, Zur englischen Namenkunde, St EP XLVII (Halle, 1912), 53. A surname Kellock still occurs in East Anglia.
 25. See Part I, n. 52.
 26. See Part I, n. 74.
 27. See 'Battle c. 1110: an anthroponymist looks at an Anglo-Norman New Town', Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies II: 1979 (Woodbridge, 1980), 21-41 and 168-72, esp. 31.
 28. See McKinley, Oxfordshire, 41-4, 65, 68, 199-207; cf. below n. 34.

29. For topographical terms in general, see M. T. Löfvenberg, Studies on Middle English local surnames, LSE XI (Lund, 1942), and G. Kristensson, Studies on Middle English topographical terms, Acta Universitatis Lundensis Sect. E: 13 (Lund, 1970); also A. H. Smith, The elements of English place-names, 2 vols, English Place-Name Society XXV and XXVI (Cambridge, 1956), plus each of the county volumes. For several terms found here, see also McKinley, Norfolk and Suffolk, 109-16.

For the term bal, see Löfvenberg, Local surnames, 5-6, and cf. MED, s.v. Here (as also with atte Was 'beside the Wash') a proper place-name seems involved, that of the Bal(le) or open space at Cold Hurn in South Lynn.

30. See 'Lexicographical notes', 62.
31. See Löfvenberg, Local surnames, 232.
32. For hokere, see 'Some early Canterbury surnames', English Studies LVII (1976), 299. For formations in -er and in -man, cf. McKinley, Norfolk and Suffolk, 119; for -wine-compounds see Seltén, Heritage, I, 20-2.
33. For the methodology involved in interpreting evidence of this kind, see P. McClure, 'Surnames from English place-names as evidence for mobility in the Middle Ages', Local Historian XIII (1978), 80-6, and idem, 'Patterns of migration in the late Middle Ages: the evidence of English place-name surnames', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. XXXII (1979), 167-82.
34. See McKinley, Norfolk and Suffolk, 141-9, and idem, 'Social class and the origin of surnames', Genealogists' Magazine XX (1980), 52-6, esp. 52-4; cf. above, n. 28.
35. See 'Lexicographical notes', 58.
36. See above pp. 78-80.
37. See MED, s.v. cōuntōur n. (1), sense 1.(a); also B. Thuresson, Middle English occupational terms, LSE XIX (Lund, 1950), 140. An alternative sense is 'pleader in law-court' (MED, sense 1.(c); cf. also J. Mann, Chaucer and medieval estates satire [Cambridge, 1973], 158-9 and 280-1, followed by N. Saul, in Medium AEvum LII [1983], 10-26, esp. 19).
38. G. Fransson, Middle English surnames of occupation, 1100-1350, LSE III (Lund, 1935), 70, cites his earliest example from c. 1275. Cf. below n. 43.
39. For ker (cf. the modern surname Carr), see especially McKinley, Norfolk and Suffolk, 110; also MED, s.v. The spelling kir might have resulted from confusion of its e, derived from Viking Norse (equivalent to later ja), with the reflex of OE y, which in Norfolk varied between e and i, but with i-forms usually dominant (see Seltén, Heritage I, 113-16; also S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen, eds, The Book of Margery Kempe, EETS: Original Series 212 [London, 1940], xvii-xxi). The Survey spelling interestingly finds a later parallel in the aldyrkyr in Promptorium Parvulorum, 9.

40. No English or continental parallel has yet come to light. For the probably relevant process in the manufacture of woad-paste, see de Poerck, La draperie médiévale, i. 152-3.
41. See E. and P. Rutledge, 'Two surveys', 104-5, where they note that few of the named landholders in this area are, however, described as dyers.
42. Cf. E. M. Veale, 'The rabbit in England', Agricultural History Review V (1957), 85-90.
43. The earliest instance cited by MED, s.v. haberdasher, is dated 1280; Thuresson, Occupational terms, 212, had offered none from earlier than the fifteenth century. Other early instances of tradenames - not especially significant in meaning - include those of Survey's Mustardman, of the Gaywood Roll's Feccher, not in Thuresson and not noted by MED until the fifteenth century, and of the Fetherman in the Tallage Roll of c. 1290.
44. Absent from MED and apparently not a term of common vocabulary but a scribal Gallicism; not listed by Thuresson, Occupational terms.
45. Spilemann (but not *Glēowmann) is classed as a personal name by B. Seltén, Heritage, Part II: Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis LXXIII (Lund, 1979), 149.
46. See Thuresson, Occupational terms, 186 ('Lexicographical notes', 65, is therefore now superseded).
47. See 'Lexicographical notes', 58.
48. Cf., for instance, P. H. Reaney, The origin of English surnames (London, 1967), 176, 245-8 and 274.
49. Cf. 'Lexicographical notes', 59.
50. See 'Lexicographical notes', 63.
51. A conjectural etymology of cod(fish) is proposed by W. B. Lockwood, in Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik XVII (1969), 252-3. For Codfish and for Codling, by-names afford the earliest attestations known.
52. A common nickname: cf. (ignoring the interpretation suggested) Jönsjö, Nicknames, 186.
53. Cf. J. Morgan et alii, Nicknames: their origins and social consequences (London, 1979) - reviewed by P. McClure in NOMINA V, 121-3.
54. See 'Lexicographical notes', 61, also 57.
55. A line whose exploration has often been mooted - for instance, by G. Tengvik, Old English by-names, Nomina Germanica IV (Uppsala, 1938), 23-7; Reaney, Origin, 223-9; and O. von Feilitzen, 'The personal names and bynames of the

- Winton Domesday', in M. Biddle et alii, eds and trss, Winchester in the early Middle Ages, Winchester Studies I (Oxford, 1976) [PNWD], 143-229, esp. 229.
56. See Part I: NOMINA VI (1982), passim.
57. P. H. Reaney, A Dictionary of British Surnames, 2nd edn (London, 1976) [DBS], s.n. Poor (&c.), gives simply 'Picard'. For the narrower sense, 'from Poix and, by extension, from Ponthieu', see F. Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française (Paris, 1881-1902), s.v. pohier (cf. Mod. Fr. poçais), followed by M.-Th. Morlet, 'Les noms de personne à Eu du xiii^e au xv^e siècle (suite)', Revue internationale d'ononastique [RIO] XI (1959), 174-82, esp. 177, and by M. Gyseling and P. Bougard, L'Onomastique calaisienne à la fin du xiii^e siècle, Anthroponymica XIII (Leuven, 1963). On the other hand, A. Dauzat and M.-Th. Morlet, Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France (Paris, 1969), give Poher 'breton'.
58. No exact parallel for this name has so far been found; but a place-name element Gaillon- occurs in NE France, and fourteenth-century Beauvais offers an apparently unidentified de Gallencourt (M.-Th. Morlet, 'Les noms de personne à Beauvais au xiv^e siècle', Bulletin philologique et historique . . . 1955 et 1956 [Paris, 1957], 295-309, esp. 300).
59. See Loyd, Origins, 51-2; such a name need not indicate immigration directly into Lynn.
60. See 'Lexicographical notes', 65.
61. See 'Lexicographical notes', 67 n.17.
62. See E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'La guède française en Angleterre: un grand commerce du Moyen-Age', Revue du Nord XXV (1953), 89-105, esp. 98-9.
63. See Part I, 57.
64. See 'Lexicographical notes', 60.
65. See Calendar of the Close Rolls (PRO, 1982-), 1307, 514, and Calendar of the Patent Rolls (PRO, 1891-), 1315, 260 and 280, and 1320, 431.
66. See MED, s.v. norreis.
67. See Part I, passim, and esp. 56-8.
68. The secondary studies consulted for French and Franco-Flemish usages are, in roughly west-to-east order: M. Le Pesant, 'Les noms de personne à Evreux du xii^e au xiv^e siècle', Annales de Normandie VI (1956), 47-74; Morlet, 'Eu', RIO XI (1959), 131-48, 174-84, and XII (1960), 62-70, 137-48, and 205-19; eadem, 'Beauvais'; eadem, Etude d'anthroponymie picarde (Amiens, 1967); eadem, 'Les noms de personne à Corbie au xiv^e siècle', Bulletin philologique et historique . . . 1967 (Paris, 1969), 739-78; P. Bougard and M. Gyseling, L'Impôt royal en Artois (1295-1302), Anthroponymica XVIII (Leuven, 1970); R. Berger, ed., Le nécrologe de la confrérie des

jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194-1361), 2 vols (Arras, 1963-1970); H. Jacobsson, Etudes d'anthroponymie lorraine (Göteborg, 1955); Gyseling and Bougard, L'Onomastique calaisienne.

Secondary studies consulted for Dutch and German usages are: C. Marynissen, Hypokoristische suffixen in oudnederlandse persoonsnamen, 2 vols (Diss. Leuven, 1971); F. Debrabandere, Persoonsnamen in het Kortrijkse (1300-1350), Anthroponymica XIX (Leuven, 1971), and idem, Kortrijkse Naamkunden 1200-1300, Anthroponymica XXII (Leuven, 1980); W. Beele, Studie van de ieperse persoonsnamen uit de stads- en baljuwsrekeningen 1250-1400, 2 vols (Handzame, 1975); C. Tavernier-Vereecken, Gentse Naamkunde van ca. 1000 tot 1252 (Tongeren, 1968); J. Lindemans, Brabantse persoonsnamen in de xiii^e en de xiv^e eeuw, Anthroponymica I (Leuven, 1947); M. Gyseling, Overzicht over de noordnederlandse persoonsnamen tot 1225, Anthroponymica XVI (Leuven, 1966); S. Hagström, Kölnner Beinamen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, Nomina Germanica VIII (Uppsala, 1949); F. Wagner, Studien über die Namengebung in Köln im zwölften Jahrhundert, I: Die Rufnamen (Diss. Göttingen, 1913); W. Schlaug, Studien zu den altsächsischen Personennamen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, LGF XXX (Lund, 1955) [cf. n.17]; K. Carstens, Beiträge zur Geschichte der bremischen Familiennamen (Diss. Marburg; Bremen, 1906); G. Mahnken, Die hamburgischen niederdeutschen Personennamen des 13. Jahrhunderts (Dortmund, 1925); A. Reimpell, Die lübecker Personennamen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Familiennamenbildung bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts (Diss. Hamburg, 1928); H. Brockmüller, Die rostocker Personennamen bis 1304 (Diss. Rostock, 1933).

Cf. Part I, n. 63. Because these studies are mostly alphabetically arranged and/or well indexed, detailed references will not be given.

69. See Marynissen, Hypokoristische suffixen, 132-4 (cf. Bozo, 129-30).
70. As well as the studies of naming in NE France, see also Vallet, Le Forez, 87.
71. See Jacobsson, Anthroponymie lorraine, 33, 175.
72. See Morlet, Etude, 96.
73. Current as personal name and as by-name in Suffolk also: see McKinley, Norfolk and Suffolk, 129.
74. See 'Lexicographical notes', 64.
75. See, for instance, PNWD, 175; cf. 'Battle', 40.
76. The citations in Morlet, Gaule, i.198a, show no clear geographical pattern; but for the currency of Sicardus in SW France, see, for instance, F. Michel and C. Bémont, eds, Rôles gascons, 3 vols (Paris, 1885-1906), index-entries on i.185 and iii.763, and Ch. Samaran and Ch. Higounet, eds, Recueil des actes de l'abbaye cistercienne de Bonnefont-en-Comminges (Paris, 1970), 321.
77. Cf. Part I: NOMINA VI, 57.
78. See Marynissen, Hypokoristische suffixen, 142, for a feminine Dameta noted

- at Cambrai; also Schlaug, Personennamen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, 185. In England similar forms have been noted, as it happens, among Jews: see V. D. Lipman, The Jews of medieval Norwich (London, 1967), index.
79. See B. Seltén, Early East-Anglian nicknames: 'Shakespeare' names, *Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* 1968-69/iii (Lund, 1969), 20, and idem, Early East-Anglian nicknames: bahuvrihi names, *Scripta Minora* 1974-75/iii (Lund, 1975), 46. Cf. K. I. Sandred's notes on the currency in Norfolk of a good few topographical terms of Scandinavian origin: 'Scandinavian place-names and appellatives in Norfolk: a study of the medieval field-names of Flitcham', Namn och Bygd LXVII (1979), 98-122.
80. Cf. 'Battle', 37.
81. Cf. 'Thoughts on the French connections of Middle English nicknames', *NOMINA* II (1978), 38-40; also 'Lexicographical notes', 57-8, and my article, 'Quelques exemples de l'influence normanno-picarde sur l'anthroponymie cantorbérienne du xii^e siècle', forthcoming in Nouvelle revue d'onomastique.
82. See Carus-Wilson, 'La guède', 98-9.
83. See 'People and languages in post-Conquest Canterbury', Journal of Medieval History II (1976), 1-33, esp. 21.
84. Cf. 'Lexicographical notes', 64-5 (no *Qui pue has yet been found in any source consulted).
85. See n. 74.
86. Originally, one of the many medieval names for horses derived from colour-terms. As a human by-name too it has often, in French and English contexts alike, been taken to refer to colouring; but, unless bai/bay (now 'reddish-brown of body, with black mane, tail and legs') has undergone substantial semantic change, that seems unlikely. More probably, it alludes to the temperamental characteristics, rashness especially, associated with the horse-name: see the literary discussions (i) by J. D. Burnley in Notes and Queries, April 1976, 148-52, and (ii) by A. Renoir in Orbis Litterarum XXXVI (1981), 116-40; cf. also A. Carnoy, Origines des noms de familles en Belgique (Louvain, 1953), 388, and DBS s. n. Bayard.
87. See Bougard and Gysseling, Artois, 261; but for the modern surname Putseys, Carnoy, Origines, 118, suggests a different place-name origin.
88. This suggestion supersedes that in 'Lexicographical notes', 61.
89. See Bougard and Gysseling, Artois, 173.
90. Cf. 'Lexicographical notes', 63.
91. See Part I (*NOMINA* VI, 51-71), 57, 58.

92. Cf. G. Ruckdeschel, 'Secondary motivation in English family-names' [abstract of thesis], *NOMINA* IV (1980), 64-6 (but for serious methodological shortcomings in this study, see the review by J. Insley, ibidem, V [1981], 117-20).
93. See Lindemans, Brabantse persoonsnamen, 54.
94. See especially Hagström, Kölnner Beinamen, 101; cf. 'Lexicographical notes', 64.
95. See Lindemans, Brabantse persoonsnamen, 53; this supersedes the suggestion in 'Lexicographical notes', 59.
96. Quoted in Seltén, Heritage, II, 106.
97. A suggestion now preferred to that in 'Lexicographical notes', 65.
98. For further instances of Swetemouth, see Jønsjød, Nicknames, 174.
99. See D. Owen, 'Bishop's Lynn: the first century of a New Town?', in Battle Conference 1979, 141-53, esp. 149. MED cites lōve-cōp 'tax or toll' first in 1299, and chiefly from Lynn records.
100. See O. S. Arngart, ed., Genesis and Exodus (Lund, 1968), 43. More generally, see also M. S. Serjeantson, A history of foreign words in English (London, 1935), 170-5, and, with special reference to Promptorium Parvulorum, 173-5; and E. C. Llewellyn, The influence of Low Dutch on the English vocabulary, *Publications of the Philological Society* XII (Oxford, 1936), ch. iii.