

OPEN-FIELDS AND ENCLOSURES IN BRITTANY DURING THE LAST THOUSAND YEARS:
A SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC STUDY OF THEIR NAME-ELEMENTS*

Throughout the ages, Brittany has appeared as a wooded country, especially inland. The forest is omnipresent in the old Breton saints' Lives. In the ninth century, a wide central region bore the name of Poutrocoet, in Latin Pagus trans silvam. It was the Breton Transylvania. In this region there still remain large wooded areas, like the Paimpont Forest (the enchanted Brocéliande celebrated in Arthurian Romance),¹ the Lanouée Forest, the Loudéac Forest and the Quénécan Forest (the old Gnescan).² Even across central Léon, according to the Life of Saint Hervé, there stretched a great forest, the silva Duna, of which only scanty remnants survive.³ But, if the relevance of the appellation Argoat, meaning 'the wooded country', persists for inland areas (in contrast with the coastal fringe called Arvor, 'in front of the sea'), this is mainly because it is based upon the bocage (a French geographers' term for landscape with a wooded aspect, having small fields divided by wooded banks).

Nevertheless, since the middle of this century, Brittany has undergone, on this point, considerable and profound changes. They have affected not only the features of the landscape, but also the close relationship between the countryman and his surroundings. Nothing is more significant, in that respect, than the disappearance from the common usage of the peasantry, and even sometimes from the memory too, of names which had, often for centuries, individualized every plot of ground, however small it was. Heaven knows how numerous they were: in a parish like Plouguerneau, on the north-west coast, which contains a little more than 17,000 acres, there were almost 19,000 plots.

The reconstitution of the plots, with, as a corollary, the razing of numerous banks, has not only impoverished the place-name corpus. In destroying an intimate perception of the rural space, it has hit at the basis of that corpus. Fortunately the corpus is preserved, owing to the land-surveyors who, in the first half of the last century, scheduled and measured some 126,000,000 or more plots throughout France, leaving us a faithful portrait of the old countryside.

But, in spite of the richness of this material, a study of field-names must also be diachronic. We shall proceed in this way. Reducing the question to its simplest terms, we may consider that the Breton fields can be classified under two headings: one according to their pattern, the other to their nature. Under the first we shall distinguish the open-fields and the enclosures; under the second the ploughed land, the pastures, the meadows, the moorlands, the

marshes and the woods. We have chosen to concentrate on the first category.

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I. The open-fields and the rural landscape seen through the Redon charters

Today in Brittany, even if the bocage is prominent, large areas are still occupied by open-fields. According to Pierre Flatrès, the specialist in the rural geography of the Celtic countries, they cover

'all the islands of Brittany which have been cultivated, and important sectors of the [mainland] coast, the most important of these being the neighbourhoods of the river Couesnon, the marsh of Dol, the east bank of the river Rance estuary, the outer end of the Saint-Brieuc Bay, the minihi of Saint-Pol-de-Léon, the Crozon peninsula, the sea-shore of the Porzay, of the Audierne Bay, of the parishes of Trégunc, Névez, Moëlan, Clohars, and lastly the coastal region of Erdeven, Quiberon and Carnac'.⁴

In certain places, the regression of the open-fields was late, and sometimes swift: in the parish of Cléden-Cap-Sizun, the area occupied by the open-fields was in the eighteenth century still twice that of the enclosures. 'In the inland part of the peninsula', Pierre Flatrès says,

'between the enclosures of the classic bocage (in which each field corresponds to one single tenurial plot and more often to one single cultivated plot), there occurred, here and there, wider enclosures, hedged with banks, but containing several tenurial and cultural open-plots.'

These wider enclosures were 'numerous in Central Brittany, from the inland part of the Morbihan as far as the middle sector of the Vilaine river'.⁵

Thanks to the ninth- and tenth-century charters preserved in the cartulary of the abbey of Redon, we can get a glimpse of this region precisely a thousand years ago. The scattered settlement we discover is not very different from that nowadays, being rather dense in some places, as in the parish of Ruffiac (Morbihan), where, for example, six villae named Bronanauan, Fau, Lenguennoc, Bronharch, Piroit and Cherguedet (one of the very few ker-names we meet) cluster round one called Cleger.⁶ But, on taking a closer look, we soon perceive distinctive features.

First, we can observe that the master-word of the rural structure is neither the term treb 'village', though this is not uncommon in village names here, occurring some twenty times; nor, as was to become the case two centuries later, the term caer, ker 'farm, hamlet', which hardly appears here; but the term ran. Usually glossed 'pars terrae', sometimes 'virgada', the ran designates the basic farm-unit, the cultivated surface of which needs quatuor modii of spelt-seed,

that is to say, a surface of about five acres. Though such a holding is normally suitable for one man and his family, it happens that on occasion we find two, three and even four colonists upon one such plot, without any partition occurring. Partition itself exists, for two Henterran (i.e., 'half ran') are mentioned, two others being implicit. Today, the village-name Anteren, in the parish of Plouguerneau, where we find also villages called Guéléran, Ranénezy, Rangrannoc, Ranorgat, Ranargroas, reminds us of such a half ran. We meet also two ran called cowenran, from Old Breton cowen 'kinship, lineage'.⁷ And some 24 ran are named tigran or tegran, from Old Breton tig, teg 'house', some of these being equal to two ordinary ran.

Throughout some 327 charters, the term ran appears about 180 times, including glossed forms, mainly as first element of a name. Eight times out of ten we find it qualified by a man's name. In two instances, the colonists' own names are given to the ran: so, Ran Anaumonoc cum colonis Anaumonoc, cum filiis suis Drecon et Rietoc ... Ranworanau cum colonis suis Woranau et Wethenau et Driwaloe et Johan.⁸ In the second case, we can notice that two of the colonists bear names with identical endings. In four other examples, the endings of the associated colonists' names are again the same: for example, villa Burbrii cum manentibus Rufiu, Aerwui, Rinuii, Ricwui; Ranhocar ... cum manentibus Tanetcar, Hirdcar.⁹ In one charter, the Breton mab 'son' is used before the man's name: Ran Mab Encar, Ran Mab Discebiat, Ran Mab Achibvi, Ran Mab Omni.¹⁰ These examples, in addition to the fact that the man might be sold or given with his holding, point out the close bonds between the colonist and the ran.

At the level of the agrarian structure, the specific features are less obvious, mainly because the stress is laid upon the arable land. Pastures and moorlands are rarely mentioned.¹¹ It is unusual to meet such detailed information as: donavit totum Bronaril cum prato et omnibus fossis ... et locis ad mansiones faciendas et tertiam partem lande et pascue que sunt in circuitu.¹² Meadows are not often recorded: but the few instances we find seem to suggest that one meadow was part and parcel of any estate. We can observe that the word pratum (in Old and Modern Breton prat) is used in the singular: villam et pratum; ... cum prato; ... cum ipso prato; ... ipsius terrae et prati.

In the Redon charters, the ditches begin to appear as an important feature of the rural landscape, already sketching the outline of the bocage, as pointed out by André Guilcher.¹³ They are often mentioned in the delimitations of the estates: for example, in that of Ran Riantcar, given in two charters, with

variants, one in Latin, the other in Latin mixed with Old Breton:¹⁴

a fine Rannelan ad rocham, a roca ad fossatam Matwor,
 a fine Rannelan don roch do fos Matwor
 a fossata ad ripam, a ripa per landam, ad finem Randofion,
 cohiton fos do Imhoir ultra Imhoir per lannam do fos fin Randofhion
 secundum finem Randofion et ortis Sulwoion usque ad finem Ranhaelmorin,
 do fin Ranhaelmorin
 per finem fossatellam usque ad rubeam fossatam, per rubeam fossatam
 cohiton hi fosan do rud fos per lannam
 usque ad pontem Loutinoc.
 do fin Ranludinoc.

As we can see, the boundaries of this ran, containing about five acres, are partly composed of ditches. A notional line runs between the boundary of Rannelan to the ditch called Matwor, with a rock as a land-mark. We are not told whether there is a ditch along Rannelan as for Randofion. The comparison between the two versions seems to indicate that the 'red ditch' crosses the moorland.

Ditches were not indeed used only around the arable land. A charter tells us that a machtiern - that is, a local chief - had usurped a portion of a moorland belonging to the monks, by running a ditch across it.¹⁵ In this case, the ditch appears as a mark of ownership. According to their names, those called fosa Catwallon, fosata Ruunet, fosa Maenworet, fossata Budwere (the latter quoted in a charter mentioning the estate of Ranbudwere),¹⁶ certainly belonged to the men so called, and were part and parcel of their estates.

But, if ditches are not uncommon, the open-field is beyond contest the dominant characteristic of this rural landscape. It is significant that throughout more than 300 charters, the word claudum occurs only once: dedit Iarnworet claudum unum jurnalem.¹⁷ Since a field of duo jurnale needed (according to another charter)¹⁸ duo modii and quatuor sextarii of seed, this claudum represents a little more than the fourth part of a ran. It seems difficult to envisage it as an hortus. It is a precocious example of a parcus or, in Breton, park.

Beside this, we can count some 36 occurrences of the word campus (or, in Breton, camp), sometimes as common noun, sometimes as place-name, as in Grancampus (today Grandchamp, north of Nantes), Campcaubalhint 'the camp of the boat-way', Campcoet 'the camp of the wood', Wingamp 'the white camp',¹⁹ etc. Several times, this term is associated with ran, as in Rancampbudan, Rancampthur, if not indeed sometimes used interchangeably with it, as suggested by the name

Campgratias beside Rangratias.²⁰ The diminutive campulus occurs once, the acreage it denotes being unknown. But we never meet the word campania, used by Gregory of Tours in the sixth century, the etymon of the Modern French generic term champagne. The Gesta Sanctorum Rothonensium (i.e., of Redon), also written in the ninth century, speaking of a colonist, shows him going ad campum cum aratro et bobus.²¹

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II. The names of the open-fields in Western Brittany

The Old Breton term camp was formerly used in Western Brittany, as shown by names like Grand-Champ, near Vannes (in Breton Gregam), Guingamp, in Central Brittany (in Breton, Gwengam(p)), Camlez near Lannion, etc. But it is not a very common place-name element. The campi mentioned in the Redon charters seem to have disappeared, or are difficult to identify according to the present meaning of the French champ, namely 'enclosure'. One called campus Wingamp in the parish of Comblessac may be now Le Domaine du Champ Blanc. The word domaine is an appellative for an open-field in this region.

Beside domaine and champagne, in Eastern Brittany there have been used other words like couture (from Latin cultura), landelle (diminutive of the French lande 'moor'), quartier (from Latin quartarium 'fourth part'), bande (that is, a strip of land),²² long réage or longues-raies ('long furrows', corresponding to Breton ervet-hir), gagnerie ('gained ground', corresponding to Breton gounidou, but with a different meaning). At Pénestin, a parish where the Breton tongue was used till the eighteenth century, an open-field is called île 'island': it is significant to observe field-names like Ile-de-Meazenne, Ile-de-Mesturet, in which we recognize the Breton generic term maez, and to notice also such a tautological compound as Ile-de-Ninize, that is 'Island of the island'. This usage may throw light on the inland place-names containing the Breton word enez, though it is not sufficient for a general explanation.

Two Breton generic terms may have been borrowed from the French, though they are not used with the relevant senses in the French zone: maréz and paléz. In fact, their origin is not very clear. They are given as Vannetais words. In his dictionary of this dialect, published in the eighteenth century, Cillard de Kerampoul mentions maraes (pl. maraezeu) as the name of 'a large field, a plain'.²³ In Western Vannetais we find the variant maléz. Joseph Loth risked an explanation: a compound of mar, weakened form of meur (from Celtic māros

'big'), and aes (which he compared with Welsh aes 'shield').²⁴ Émile Ernault thinks that the word is simply French marais 'marsh'. He seems to be right. Instead of palud or geun, the word maréz is commonly used in south-east Vannetais in the sense of 'marsh'. From this usage, it may have taken the meaning of 'open-field'. Ernault quotes the use of the Breton plural ar yûniou (from geun) with the meaning 'the plains'.²⁵

Paléz is given by P. Le Goff, in his supplement to Ernault's dictionary of Vannetais, as meaning 'a large field divided into plots' at Plouhinec, near Lorient.²⁶ But the word is to be found in a wider area: we have found it at Surzur, south-east of Vannes, and as far west as Quimperlé. The oldest of the Breton dictionaries, the Catholicon, compiled in the fifteenth century, gives a word palaes, but that represents the French palais 'palace'.²⁷ Comparison instead with the Old French palais, pales 'opened' would be more satisfactory.

In his dictionary of Vannetais, Ernault mentions also the word tennad 'large field', used at Carnac.²⁸ At Erdeven near by, where several plots bear this name, it is applied to 'une succession de parcelles', according to a local informant. It is a derivative from the verb ten 'to pull': thus it is 'a stretch of ground'.

Not so clear is the origin of the generic term trest. Grégoire de Rostrenen, in his dictionary published in the eighteenth century, says it means 'a large field, a stretch of enclosed land where several parts can be found, distinguished by boundary stones'.²⁹ As a field-name, the word is very common south-west of Quimper (especially at Plonéour-Lanvern and Tréogat), but we have found it also in the Crozon peninsula and on the south bank of the mouth of the River Aulne. The earliest record of the term is in the parish of Quimperlé. Two charters in the cartulary of Quimperlé, dating from the end of the twelfth century, mention a field named campus an Trest or agrum an Trest.³⁰ It seems difficult to relate this word to the Breton treust, Vannetais trest 'beam' (corresponding to Welsh trawst and Old Cornish troster), from the Latin tra(n)strum.

More common, by far, is the term maez, meaz, mez (pl. maeziou, maezeier and, with palatalization, mechou and mejou). It is the plural form mechou which is used by geographers as the generic name for the open-field. A derivative maeziad is also employed meaning 'the extent of a large field'. West of Quimper, the last syllable being unstressed, it becomes meziet or mechet: so, at Plozévet, where mechou means 'the country', we find field-names like Meziat-

Kerguinaou, Meziet-Corn-Coet, Mechet-Kerdrézec. East of Lorient, the form in use is mezat, mechat: so, at Nostang, Mezat-en-Douareu, at Plouhinec, Pen-Mechadou.

Today, in a large part of Brittany, mez is understood only in the meaning 'outside'. At the end of the last century, at Loth's request, the school-teacher of Noyal, near Vannes, sent him a copy of the cadastral register of that parish, supplying translations for some place-names: he gave nothing for the word mezat, but he translated mez wrongly by 'acorns' (confusing Breton mez 'acorns' with m(a)ez 'open-field'): so a place-name like Peh-Bihan-Mez-er-Lann meant for him 'little piece of acorns of the moor-land'. His colleague and neighbour from Surzur explained the field-name Mezel-Vilien as involving the word mez 'outside'.

Like Welsh maes and Cornish mes,³¹ Breton maez comes from an old Celtic form *magestu-, derivative of mago-, well attested in Gaulish place-names. In his dictionary of the Old Breton glosses, Léon Fleuriot quotes the adverbial compound i-maes glossed 'sub aere' and the plural maessid glossed 'plana'.³² But in the Redon charters of the ninth and tenth centuries, the word does not appear, the only equivalent term used being camp. As a place-name element, maez is attested for the first time in the eleventh-century charters of the cartularies of Landévennec and Quimperlé: one mentions a place-name Ran Maes,³³ the other the place-name Caer Maes (today Kervez, denoting a village near Quimperlé).³⁴ The Latin campus is used in the thirteenth century to gloss or to qualify this term: so we find, in the cartulary of the church of Quimper, Campus episcopi, today Ménescop, a variant of Mes-an-Escop, the name of a village in Plomodiern, near the Crozon peninsula,³⁵ and in the Beauport charters, Campus qui dicitur Le Maiscam, today Ar Maez-Cam, the name of a field in Ploubazlanec, near Paimpol.³⁶

There is no doubt that the word maez was in use before the tenth century. However, we can observe that it is not often associated with ancient terms like tré- or lez- in place-names: we can point to only a few examples like Lezmeze, at Gouézec, Lesmaes, at Plestin, Trémeze, at Plévin. In view of the meaning of the word, it is very significant to find it in the Middle Breton compound quemaes or quevae, used for a special type of estate held by colonists belonging to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers. The word means literally a 'holding that included a maez'.

As an equivalent to maez and trest, Grégoire de Rostrenen gives the word parou.³⁷ In fact, this is a plural form of Breton parr, different from Breton park. A parr is a strip of land inside a maez, as shown by field-names like Bar-Meziat-Kergolier, in Plozévet, Bar-Creis-ar-Mechet, in Mahalon, Bar-Mejou-Kerhua and Douar-Pemp-Bar, in Plonéour-Lanvern, three parishes west of Quimper, in the sector extending to the Cap-Sizun, where the term is very common. There, it is even used as a square measure: one barr-douar is equal to 1600 square metres, one barrennad (a derivative) to 400 square metres. In French texts, the word appeared in gallicized form: thus, in 1651, 'une parée de terre chaude appelée Bartourlanchoat, contenant 6 a 7 sillons de terre chaude';³⁸ in the eighteenth century, 'parée de terre chaude nommée Corn March de 9 sillons ... au champ de Brémoguer'.³⁹

The word seems to be used throughout Brittany: in Plouha, north-west of Saint-Brieuc, a field formerly named Mez-Bras-Bihan 'the little big mez' is now called Barenihern; in Brandivy, north-west of Vannes, a field called Er-Barre-Hir was found. The earliest mentions of the word as a place-name element appear in the cartulary of Quimperlé in the first half of the twelfth century: one charter speaks of terra infra Maukell [today Moguel, in Querrien, north of Quimperlé] quae vocatur Par Restalt; another mentions the Hanter par Argantken, near Fouesnant, south-east of Quimper.⁴⁰ The word is well attested in Old Breton: L. Fleuriot quotes the phrase in deou parou glossing 'in marginē rubri maris' and the word gupar glossed 'remotis', etc.; the word, he says, would be connected with the Welsh peri 'to do, to carry out'.⁴¹ For his part, J. Loth indicates that par exists in Welsh with the meaning 'enclosed place'.⁴² In Breton place-names, the lenited form bar is the one most frequently found. Beside the plural parrou, parriou, parreier, we must note the form perri, with vowel-affection: as, for instance, in the field-names Perri-Banal (with banal 'broom'), at Beuzec-Cap-Sizun, and the village-name Beri-vanel (with banell 'little lane'), at Goulien.

The word tachenn (pl. tachennou) has also been used with the same meaning: thus, for example, Tachen-Creiz-ar-Mezo, at Pleumeur-Bodou, near Lannion, Tachen-an-Dauzec-Erve (that is, 'tachenn of the twelve furrows'), at Plouaret, south of Lannion, Tachen-Hoar-Herve, substituted for the former name Les Long-Sillons 'the long furrows', at Plouha. We even find fields called Tachen-an-Tachennou, at Ploubazlanec and Langoat. There are numerous instances of tachenn in Perros-Guirec, near Lannion, and also in Plouescat, near Saint-Pol-de-Léon.

In the fifteenth century, the Catholicon translates tachenn by the word placen 'place'.⁴³ Indeed that is the usual sense of the word. In some parts of Brittany, it is also used for a farm. This is the meaning given to the simple form tach, in Loth's cadastral documents, by the school-teacher of Surzur, who translates the field-name Tache-Glaz by 'green farm', which is wrong, for the meaning is 'green place'. The word is said to have been borrowed from the Old French tache 'blemish'; but a connection with a dialectal Romance word tasse, from German tasca, today Tasche 'pocket', seems more satisfactory. We find the diminutive taset meaning 'pocket' in the linguistic atlas of Western Brittany,⁴⁴ used at Saint-Allouestre in the Vannetais. The meaning is probably 'piece of stuff', and, for tachenn, 'piece of ground'. Likewise we can observe the use of the word takon, from the Old French tacon 'piece', as a field-name: so we find An Tacon-Plat, at Tréboul, near Douarnenez; Takon-Vanden-Lan, at Pont-Scorff, near Lorient; and even Perh-an-Taconne 'piece of the piece', at Quéven, in the same region.

This brings us to another term, the Breton pez (pl. peziou), in Vannetais peh. The word is used throughout Brittany, but its frequency varies and it is not necessarily linked to an open-field. We meet a great number of fields so called at Loqueltas, north of Vannes, and at Noyal and Damgan, south-east of Vannes. The same remark may be applied to the word lod, lodenn, very common as a field-name in the Island of Hoëdic and at Sauzon in the Island of Belle-Isle, which is taken from French lot 'share, portion'.

More significant are the field-names referring to furrows. The main word here is ero (pl. eroiou, irvi). In the fourteenth century the cartulary of the church of Quimper speaks of quadam erua terrae (perhaps here in its older sense 'measure of land', as in Cornish and Welsh).⁴⁵ This word, attested in Old Breton in the compound erublobion glossed 'proletarios',⁴⁶ is very frequent as a field-name. Sometimes it is preceded by a number: so, Nao-Ero 'nine-furrows', Cant-Erve 'a hundred furrows', Anter-Cant-Ero 'fifty furrows', etc. [or acres?] Even when the original field has been divided into two parts, such a numerical name can remain, the distinction being made by using an adjective, as for the fields called Tregont-Ero-Bian and Tregont-Ero-Bras, at Plouaret, near Lannion, meaning 'the little' and 'the big thirty furrows'. Sometimes the word ero is qualified by an adjective, like hir 'long' (as in Nervir, the name of a village of Milizac), kamm 'curved' (as in Gamerf, the name of a village of Camors), treuz 'crooked' (as in An-Irivy-Treus, a field-name in Telgruc), c'hwil 'crooked' (corresponding to Welsh chwil) (as in An Ero-C'houil, a field-name in Plonevez-

Porzay). Sometimes a collective suffix, corresponding to Latin *-etum*, is added to it: as in *Nervoet*, the name of a village of Clohars-Carnoet, *Nerhouit*, that of a village of Plumergat; when this form is combined with the adjective *hir*, as in *En-Herhuitir*, at Pontivy, and in *Nair-houet-Ir*, at Bourbriac, we meet the exact counterpart of the French *Long-Réage*.

The frequency of all these types of name throughout Western Brittany shows that the present *bocage* is the result of a long and slow evolution. Pierre Flatrès places its greatest extent between the years 1920 and 1930.⁴⁷ This evolution has not been a regular one. Some periods have been more active, like the 'great clearing era', between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, marked by a proliferation in Western Brittany of place-names in *Ker-* 'village, farm', with a corresponding Romance form in *Ville-* in Eastern Brittany. A statistic based upon the charters of the Beauport abbey, about 330 in number, written in the thirteenth century,⁴⁸ reveals the evolution of the rural landscape: in the Redon charters we meet 36 occurrences of the word *campus* and a single one of the word *claudum*, while in those of Beauport, similar in number, the word *campus* occurs some 26 times and the word *clausum* some 23 times.

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III. The names of enclosures in Western Brittany

Throughout the Redon charters of the ninth and tenth centuries, we meet no specific Breton term relating to enclosures. Those used today are very restricted in number, appeared much more recently, and are, with one exception, borrowed from French. What terms might be used in Old Breton for an enclosure?

One is well-known through the modern Breton word *liorz*, in Vannetais *liorh* (pl. *liorzou*, *liorheu*), 'garden'. This term, in Middle Breton *luorz*, usually translated by French 'courtil', goes back to an Old Breton **lub-gorth*, corresponding to the Old Irish *lubgort*. It is a compound of *lub* 'herb' and *gorth* 'enclosure': etymologically, it is, as the early *Life* of Saint Gwennolé says, an *ortus ad holera sumministranda*.⁴⁹ The word *gorth* can also be identified in place-names like *Camors*, belonging to a parish north-west of Vannes, in which it is combined with Breton *kamm* 'curved'; *Buors*, denoting several villages of Lothey (*Buorht* in the eleventh century), *Lanhouarneau*, *Plougasnou* and *Plounevez-Lochrist* (Finistère); and *Biord*, the name of a village of Saint-Jacut-de-la-Mer, north-west of Dinan, written *Buort* in the sixteenth century and containing the Old Breton *bu* 'ox'. This word is to be distinguished from the weakened form *gorz* or *korz* 'reeds', which underlies place-names like *Gors*, *Gorsfang*, *Gorzit*,

and also *Penhors*, a village-name at Pouldreuzic, as shown by the spelling *Pencorz* in the fifteenth century.

Beside *gorth*, Old Breton also knew a word *cor*, which we can recognize in the derivative *coret*, today *gored* 'weir, fishing-place': *exclusa quae dicitur Coretloencras*, says a Redon charter.⁵⁰ The term *cor* occurs in place-names like *Bangor*, homonym of *Bangor* in Wales, which means 'plaited hedge',⁵¹ and *Corlay*, written *Corle* in the twelfth century, a compound with Old Breton *le* 'place'. More specific in meaning is the compound *avalgor*, with Breton *aval* 'apple' or 'apple-trees', from which are derived the village-names *Avaugour* (in Saint-Péver, near Guingamp, and in Taden, near Dinan), and the field-name *Parc-Avalgor*, in Lanrodec, near Saint-Péver. *Avalgor* may have been the Old Breton word for 'orchard' before the French *verger* (today in Breton *berjez* or *gwerjez*) was borrowed.

It seems to be this same element *cor* or a variant *scor*, attested in Irish, meaning 'enclosure for horses', and in Welsh, written *ygor*, meaning 'fort, rampart, enclosure', which appears in a Middle Breton word *rascor*. Altered today, in the form *rascol*, we find it especially in Léon as a village-name, but mainly as a field-name. The village-name *Rascol*, at Louargat, far to the east of Léon, near Guingamp, gives evidence for its wider use. The formula found in a ducal rent-roll of the fifteenth century: 'in the *rascor* of the aforesaid village', suggests a specific field tied to a farm or a village. From the investigations we have made in the parish of Plouzané, near Brest, it appears that these fields are enclosures, near the dwellings, of two acres or more, and always of a very good soil. It seems that this soil has determined the settlement. Unfortunately, the first element of the word is not clear. It would be hazardous to suggest Old Breton *ran* 'share of land'.

More common is the word *logell*, from Latin *locellus*, diminutive of *locus* 'place'. From *locus* is derived Breton *lok*, very frequent in place-names in Western Brittany, meaning a 'place consecrated to a saint', a 'priory'. The Latin *locellus* means 'small place', also 'small manor; small monastery', and even 'coffin'. In the cartulary of Redon, it appears twice, applied to probable estates. In Breton, the equivalent word is attested in the meaning 'piece of land' as early as the thirteenth century: in the *Life* of Saint Hervé, it is recorded that a wolf, having eaten the saint's ass, was forced to replace it in the agricultural work, and in consequence the native people called the *ager* near the monastery *Locellus Lupi*: today it would be *Logell-Bleiz*.⁵² Place-names

of the form Loguella are found in the charters in the thirteenth century, one being now Noguella (that is, an-Logella), the name of a village in Kervignac, east of Lorient; and in a French charter of the end of the fourteenth century we meet the phrase 'une loquelle de terre'.⁵³ In some places, the form used is ogell, as in Pleumeur-Bodou, near Lannion, where we find numerous fields called Oguell, but not Loguell. The loss of the l appears in sixteenth-century documents: one mentions 'le parch appelé an Oguel Hir, avec ses appartenances de fossés tout entour'.⁵⁴

But the master-word for the enclosed field in Western Brittany is park. This is used only sporadically in the Romance zone, where the main terms are champ and clos. It is borrowed from the French parc, which comes from late Latin parricus, derivative of *parra 'pole'. According to Niermeyer, parricus is attested as meaning 'fence' in the seventh century, 'cattle-park' in the ninth century, 'enclosure, fenced-field' in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and 'coppice' in the eleventh century.⁵⁵ This last meaning has also been used in Brittany: the name of the parish Le Tour-du-Parc, south-east of Vannes, refers to an 'enclosed wood'. Near Châteaulin, Park-an-Dug was a ducal forest surrounded by a dry-stone wall called Mur-an-Dug or Mur-an-Diaoul (i.e. 'Devil's wall'), measuring several miles. The wood named Parc-de-Carnoet, near Quimperlé, was fenced in by such a wall, measuring seven leagues. The attestations given by Niermeyer speak for a late borrowing into Breton. In the sense of 'enclosed field', we have found the word for the first time in the middle of the thirteenth century. In the Beauport charters we never find it, the only word being clausum. Judging by the extreme scarcity today of fields called Cloz in the area covered by these charters (one among more than 300 plots in Kérity, three among more than 5000 plots in Ploubazlanec, etc.), the word clausum in these charters may chiefly correspond to the word park and perhaps also to liorz elsewhere.

The term kloz seems to have been borrowed from French at a later date. We can observe, for example, that the field-names Clos-Tanguy, in Plouézec and Clos-de-la-Lande, in Plouha, in the aforesaid region, have replaced respectively Parc-Person and Parc-Trelaouen. The common form of the word is kloz (pl. kloziou, klezier, in Vannetais klézer, klézier), but we find a nasalized variant klonz around Lorient and in the island of Belle-Ile.

As we can see, the terms used for enclosures are limited and belong to a more recent stratum than to those for open-fields, except for the word liorz,

which has now more to do with the nature of the fields than with their pattern. These linguistic facts are significant for the evolution of the landscape. We have tried to sketch and understand it through this paper, too short to cover all its historical and geographical implications.

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NOTES

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1. '... Brecheliand, concerning which the Bretons tell many fables. It is a forest long and broad much famed throughout Brittany', says Robert Wace in his Roman de Rou (Paris, 1971), lines 6373-6.
2. A. de Courson, ed., Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon, en Bretagne (Paris, 1863) [hereafter Redon], 198-9, no. CCXLVII, dated 871.
3. The Life was edited by A. de La Borderie, in Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes-du-Nord, XXIX (1891), 251-304.
4. 'L'évolution des bocages: la région de Bretagne', Norois, CIII, juillet-septembre 1979, 303.
5. Ibid., 304.
6. Redon, 136, no. CLXXVII, dated 837.
7. L. Fleuriot, Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux-breton (Paris, 1964), 112.
8. Redon, 218, no. CCLXIX, dated 878.
9. Ibid., 21, no. XXVI, dated 857; 209, no. CCLX, dated 876.
10. Ibid., Appendix, 372, no. XLV, ad ann. 854.
11. With the exception of formulae like cum terris, silvis, pratis, pascuis, aquis aquarumve decursibus, mobilibus et immobilibus.
12. Redon, 20, no. XXIII, dated 859.
13. 'Le finage des champs dans le Cartulaire de Redon', Annales de Bretagne, LIII (1946), 140-4.
14. Redon, 113, no. CXLVIII, dated 859; 112, no. CXLVI, dated 821.

15. Ibid., 198, no. CCXLVII, dated 871.
16. Ibid., 15, no XVI, dated 833; 203, no. CCLII, dated 827; 201, no. CCL, dated 820.
17. Ibid., 62, no. LXXXI, dated 832x868.
18. Ibid., 179, no. CCXXXI, dated 833.
19. Ibid., 26, no. XXXIII, dated 808; 160, no. CCVII, dated 866; 152, no. CXCVI, dated 830; Appendix, 353, n.2, dated 832.
20. Ibid., 69, no. XCI, dated 828x850; 155, no. CXCVIII, dated 840x850; 152, no. CXCVI, dated 824x830.
21. Dom Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne, 3 vols (Paris, 1742-6), I, col. 237.
22. This word is used in the Breton zone, in the south-east, on the linguistic frontier (particularly in the parishes of Bohal and Berric).
23. L'Armerye, Dictionnaire françois-breton ou françois-celtique du dialecte de Vannes (Leiden, 1744), 51.
24. Revue celtique, XXIV (1903), 293-4.
25. Ibid., XXV (1904), 272-3. Cf. O. J. Padel, Cornish Place-Name Elements, English Place-Name Society LVI/LVII (Nottingham, 1985), 108.
26. Supplément au Dictionnaire français-breton du dialecte de Vannes par E. Ernault (Vannes, 1919), 53.
27. Ed. Abbé Jean Feutren (Mayenne, 1977), 251.
28. Dictionnaire français-breton du dialecte de Vannes (Vannes, 1904), 223.
29. Dictionnaire françois-celtique ou françois-breton (Rennes, 1732), 149.
30. L. Maître and P. de Berthou, eds., Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé (Rennes, 1904), 236 and 237, nos. LXXXIII and LXXXIV, dated 1163x1186.
31. Padel, Cornish Place-Name Elements, 165.
32. Op. cit. in n.7, 218, 250.
33. Eds. R. F. L. Le Men and E. Ernault in Mélanges historiques, V (Paris, 1886), 568, no. 39.
34. Op. cit. in n.30, 135, no. II, dated 1029.
35. Ed. Abbé Peyron (Quimper, 1909), 85, no. 45, dated 1229.
36. J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélémy, Anciens évêchés de Bretagne (Saint-Brieuc, 1864), IV, 121, no. CLXIX, dated 1245.

37. Op. cit. in n.29, 149.
38. Abbés H. Pérennes and J. Thomas, Sainte-Marie du Méné-Hom (Brest, 1928), 50.
39. Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère, XCII (1966), 157.
40. Op. cit. in n.30, 214, no LXX, dated 1084x1131; 196, no. LVII, dated 1126.
41. Op. cit. in n.7, 221, 200.
42. Mélanges H. D'Arbois de Jubainville (Paris, 1905), 226-7.
43. Op. cit. in n.27, 192.
44. P. Le Roux, Atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne (Rennes, 1937), III, map 229.
45. Op. cit. in n.35, 212, no. 154, dated 1303; 230, no. 172, dated 1313. Cf. Padel, Cornish Place-Name Elements, 95.
46. Cf. Fleuriot, op. cit. in n.7, 165.
47. Op. cit. in n.4, 305.
48. J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélémy, op. cit. in n.36, IV, 45-221.
49. Ed. R. Latouche, in Mélanges d'Histoire de Cornouaille (V^o-XI^o siècle) (Paris, 1911), 105.
50. Redon, 151, no. CXCIV, dated 841.
51. Padel, Cornish Place-Name Elements, 65.
52. Op. cit. in n.3, 262.
53. Dom Morice, op. cit. in n.21, II, col. 649, dated 1395.
54. H. Lesaulnier, La seigneurie de Kerouzéré au bas Moyen-Age (1378-1540) (Brest, 1981), II, 87, dated 1538.
55. J. F. Niermeyer, Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus (Leiden, 1976), 766.