

Editorial

The Editorial Board are sorry for the late appearance of the present issue, which we had hoped would appear in autumn 1991. The illness and untimely death of Miss Clark, a sad blow to all her friends and to onomastic and linguistic scholarship, has however meant that Volume XIV has been produced under very difficult circumstances. The Editorial Board would like to thank the two Editorial Assistants, Miss Fiona Duncan and Mr Peter Jackson, as well as the Subscriptions Secretary Mr Gordon Anderson, for their invaluable help with the volume. A full obituary of Miss Clark will appear in Volume XV.

Parts of Volume XV (1991-92) are already typeset and we expect it to be issued early in 1992. It is still our intention to return to a punctual publishing schedule as soon as we can.

Volume XV will be the last to be issued under the auspices of the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland. Thenceforth *Nomina* will constitute the journal of the newly-formed Society for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland and will be issued to members of that body against an annual subscription. All readers who are not already members are urged to join this new society: write to Jennifer Scherr, Hon. Secretary, SNSBI, Queen's Building Library, University of Bristol, University Walk, Bristol, BS8 1TR. A report of the inaugural meeting, held at the University of Manchester in October 1991, will be included in Volume XV.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

Except where otherwise indicated, abbreviations throughout this volume are those listed *ante* X, 210-15, and XI, 212-13. Pronunciations are shown, when necessary, by means of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Medieval Latin Translations of English Personal Bynames: Their Value for Surname History

Richard McKinley

TWELFTH- and thirteenth-century English administrative documents often represent vernacular bynames by Latin translations. After c.1300 the practice tends to become less frequent, but during the fourteenth century it is still not particularly rare; many examples can be found in, for example, the late-fourteenth-century poll-tax rolls. Even in the sixteenth century such usage is not totally extinct. Bynames employing occupational or topographical terms are often translated by Latin equivalents, e.g., *tinctor* for 'dyer' (ME *deier*, *dextere*, *litestere*), *sub bosco* for *under wode*. Nickname-type by-names are also often Latinized: sometimes literally, e.g., *rufus* for *the rede*;¹ sometimes, as will be considered in more detail below, on a basis of folk-etymology. Much less often, Latin forms of toponymical bynames are found, but these are mainly confined to the well-established Latin forms of a restricted number of place-names, e.g., *de Wintonia* or *Wintoniensis* for *of Winchestre*. Latin forms of baptismal names are of course frequently used, and these sometimes, although not very often, occur in bynames.

Latin forms of bynames have generally been left on one side by scholars studying Middle English names; self-evidently, the Latin forms are unproductive for the study of Middle English itself. For some other purposes, however, it is necessary to take these forms into account. For the period before 1300 especially, they constitute important evidence for the distribution of certain names, and also for the tracing of genealogies. Many individuals appear with their names given sometimes in Latin, sometimes in the vernacular. If evidence about a family's pedigree is being assembled, it is essential to have regard to occurrences of the family name in Latin as well as in vernacular forms; and tracing the early history of surnames in this way may well be crucial also for discovering how they arose. There are also questions about the identification of individuals which may be important for historical purposes, even though not for linguistic ones. Where an individual is repeatedly mentioned in a set of sources, it is common to find the name given sometimes in a Latin form, sometimes in a vernacular one. This can readily be seen in the Pipe Rolls, where the same persons often figure year after year in successive rolls. At times a confusing array of Latin forms may be used to represent the name of one and the same person: Tengvik pointed out many years ago that a Domesday Book tenant *TRW*

named as Robert *Flavus* was apparently the same man as the Robert *Albus*, Robert *Blancardus* and Robert *Blundus* mentioned in the same record, all these various epithets alluding to flaxen hair.² It is difficult to be sure what the presumably Old French form of this man's name was, although it may have been *Blanchard* or *Blund*.

Identifying just which vernacular name is being translated by any given Latin form is not always straightforward. In most cases the literal meaning of the Latin is clear enough. This is not, however, invariably the case: for example, the Latin words *gigator* and *diffibulatus* all occur as translations of bynames.³ More commonly, the meaning of the Latin words employed is obvious, but instances of vernacular equivalents have not yet been found: e.g., William *tonsus* ('shorn, tonsured') 1103x1104,⁴ Richard *de Mala Palude* ('from the salt marsh' or a rendering of a proper place-name like *Fulmarsh*) 1219,⁵ Walter *de Albo Equo* (no doubt from the well-known Vale of the White Horse in Berkshire) 1219,⁶ Alfred *factor navium* ('boatwright, cogger') 1219,⁷ or William *Malus Nepos* (with which may be compared Old French bynames such as *Malfille*, *Malfilastre*) 1166x1167.⁸ Further research might reveal the vernacular forms concerned in some of these instances, but it is unlikely that all such cases can be solved.

Instances where the vernacular equivalents are unidentifiable are nevertheless uncommon, and mostly concern bynames which were always rare, often ones found each as the name of one individual only. What is more troublesome is that some quite common Latin terms are used for translating more than one vernacular name and that, as already noted, some common bynames are translated by more than one Latin term. The only way to be sure which surname is being translated by any particular Latin form is to discover examples where the same individual is mentioned more than once, with his or her name given both in the vernacular and in translation. It is only by paying attention to such cases that worthwhile evidence can be obtained about which vernacular names were in fact being translated. As observed, many examples can be found in the Pipe Rolls, where the same persons often appear in successive years, often over long periods, with their names given sometimes in the vernacular, sometimes in Latin. Instances also occur in a wide range of other sources. Thus, Gilbert *Barrer*, a thirteenth-century resident in Sussex, is also named as Gilbert *Barrarius*: his byname is derived by means of the suffix *-er* from the topographical term *barre* 'gate', a type of formation very common in Sussex, but the Latin form makes the byname look as though it were an occupational one.⁹ A family who were tenants at

Modbury in Devon during the same century are referred to in manorial records sometimes as *atte Trawen* (from a place-name, now *Traine*, in Modbury), sometimes as *de Arboribus*.¹⁰ One of the rarer bynames is that of Roger *Deus Salvat Dominas*, a 1086 tenant in Essex, who seems to have had some link with the nunnery of the Holy Trinity at Caen, so that the *Dominas* figuring in his byname were probably the nuns of that house; his Essex lands were later in the hands of William *De Salt les Dames*, whose byname is obviously that translated by the Latin phrase used in 1086.¹¹ Many other examples could be given where the vernacular form of a byname sometimes given in Latin translation proves to be securely identifiable.

It is only by observing such cases that reliable guidance can be obtained about what Middle English or Old French name was translated by any given Latin form. Although it is possible, by proceeding in this way, to find a good deal of firm ground about Latin translations, not all the problems can be solved. As noted, instances can be found where the name of one and the same individual is rendered by a variety of Latin terms and, if none can be identified of the name given in a vernacular form, it may often be impossible to determine what the latter was. Thus, Geoffrey *Blundus*, a late-twelfth-century Londoner, is also referred to as Geoffrey *Albus*, and likewise Edward *Blundus*, another twelfth-century Londoner, is also called Edward *Albus*; their vernacular name was probably 'White' (Reynold *Albus*, at Lavant in Sussex c.1285, is alternatively called Reynold *le Wite*), but other bynames, such as *Blundell*, *Blount*, or *Fairfax* might be concerned.¹² William *de Foro*, at Ormesby in Norfolk in the late thirteenth century, is also called William *de Mercato*; the vernacular form was probably *atte Market*, which occurs at the same place at the same period, but it is difficult to be sure.¹³

Thirteenth-century sources, which often furnish multiple references to a single individual, provide many instances of this sort of thing. In most cases, it is possible to be reasonably confident about what the vernacular name involved was. What is more confusing is the way in which a single Latin term might be used to translate more than one byname. Thus, the widely-used Latin *carpentarius* is used for translating both *Carpenter* and *Wright*, and occasionally, although not often, it is used for rendering compounds like *Arkwright*.¹⁴ Likewise, *parvus* is used for translating *Little*, *Small*, *Petty*, and *Short*.¹⁵ It is often uncertain what vernacular forms Latin words such as *crassus* or *rufus* did represent. For the problems raised by these circumstances, there is no satisfactory

solution.

Latin translations of Middle English or Old French bynames do at least show what contemporaries thought to be the meanings of the names concerned. Such beliefs were of course not always correct, and may at times have been based on folk-etymology. Nevertheless, Latin translations may give clues as to how some bynames, and so ultimately the corresponding family-names, especially the ones derived from nicknames, came to be created. A careful comparison of Latin and vernacular forms will further show what vernacular bynames lie behind some Latin ones. Thus, the byname *aculeus* found in the 1086 stratum of Domesday Book has been rendered in the Phillimore edition as 'goad', and the Latin term does indeed mean 'goad' or 'insect sting'.¹⁶ In Domesday Book no vernacular equivalent seems to occur, but when the Latin form occurs later, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it can then be seen to be translating the Old French name *Aguillon*, an hereditary name found in Sussex from the twelfth century on; and in all probability this is the name involved in the Domesday Book references.¹⁷ The evidence of Latin forms is also worth taking into consideration in the case of surnames or bynames whose origins are difficult to deduce, perhaps because of a confusing variety of forms. Thus, there occurs in London during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a byname taking forms such as *Buccuinte*, *Bekcunte*, *Buicuinte* and so on, which was already hereditary by about 1200; this is Latinized as *Bucca Uncta* 'oily mouth'.¹⁸

Some Latinized forms seem based on false etymologies. Thus, the name *Quatremars* has generally been thought to mean 'four marks'; similar names, such as *Dismars* and *Quinzmars* existed in England.¹⁹ On the other hand, *Quartermars* has been found Latinized as *Quattuor Maris*. This latter probably represents a mistaken etymology, although it should be noted that the surname *Quatremers* also exists in France.²⁰ Another case where the Latin form is confusing is that of a landed family in the south west of England whose name usually appears, from Domesday Book onwards, in the vernacular form *de Lestre*, probably referring to the place Lestre (*dép.* Manche).²¹ In certain sources it is, however, consistently Latinized as *de Atrio*; this apparently arises from use of Latin *atrium* in its usual medieval sense of 'room' and to the belief that the name derived from the word *être*, which was borrowed from Old French into Middle English and sometimes used in the sense 'room'.²²

This last example shows how much confusion can arise from Latin translation of bynames and surnames. It is hoped that enough

has been said here to indicate both a need for caution in dealing with Latin translations and also what great value such translations may in some circumstances have.

LEICESTER

NOTES

This is a revised version of the paper delivered on 31 March 1990 at the XXIInd Annual Study conference organized by the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland, held at the College of Ripon and York St John, Ripon.

¹ Thus, e.g., *Adam Rubeus* beside *Adam Ryede* 1305x1306, in B.C. Redwood and A.E. Wilson, eds and transs, *Customals of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury*, Sussex Record Society LVII (Lewes, 1958), 136, 137.

² GDB, fo.73b (Wilts., 60/1, and n. *ad loc.*) *Robertus flauus*; fo.130c (Middx 17/1, and n. *ad loc.*) *Rotbertus blundus*; fo.225c (Nthants., 33/1 and n. *ad loc.*) *Robertus alb(us)*; LDB, 76b, 103a (Essex, 35/5 and n. *ad loc.*, 90/83) *Robert blund(us)*; cf. *OEB*, 293, 294, 313, and 319 s.n. *se Hwita*; also *DBS*, s.nn. *Blanchard*, *Blunt* and *White*, and A. Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France*, rev. M.-Th. Morlet (Paris, 1969), s.nn. *Blanc++* (*Leblanc*, etc.), *Blanchard/Blancard*, and *Blond++* (*Leblond*, etc.)

³ C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne, eds, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannum*, II (Oxford, 1956), 286; H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, eds, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, III (Oxford, 1968), 43, 143, 212, 259. As for the Latin terms themselves, see, e.g., R.E. Latham *et alii*, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London, for the British Academy, 1975—in progress), s.vv. *diffibulare* 'to loosen', *gigator* 'minstrel' (for the latter, cf. A. Tobler and E. Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, later Wiesbaden, 1936—in progress), s.v. *giguëor*, and *MED*, s.v. *gigour*; also, more generally, R. McKinley, *Norfolk and Suffolk Surnames in the Middle Ages* [Chichester, 1975], 52, on bynames taken from terms denoting musicians (cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Fidler*).

⁴ J.H. Round, ed., *Calendar of Documents preserved in France illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, I: A.D. 918-1206 (London, 1899), 437, no.1210.

⁵ B.E. Harris, ed., *PR 3 Henry III*, PRS n.s. XLII (London, 1976), 197 (Holderness).

⁶ *PR 3 Henry III*, 33 (Hants). For the place-name, see *PN Berks.*, 380, where a 1221 record of a man's name as *Stephanus de Blanc Cheval* is cited.

⁷ *PR 3 Henry III*, 143 (Sussex). Cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Boatwright*; for *cogger*, see, e.g. McKinley, *Sussex*, 241, 244.

⁸ H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, eds, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, III

(Oxford, 1968), 224. For OFr nicknames such as *Malefille*, *Malfillatre*, see A. Dauzat, *Les Noms de famille de France* (Paris, 1945), 178-9, also 222, 316, and M.-Th. Morlet, *Etude d'anthroponymie picarde* (Amiens, 1967), 207, 433.

⁹ C. Pauline Ebdon, ed., *PR 2 Henry III*, PRS n.s. XXIX (London, 1972), 19 (Sussex); L.F. Salzmänn, ed., *Abstract of the Feet of Fines relating to the County of Sussex*, 2 vols, Sussex Record Society II (Lewes, 1903) and VII (London, 1908), I, 58, 68; II, 96. Cf. *DBS*, s.n. For this type of -er compound, see further G. Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation, with an Excursus on Toponymical Surnames*, Lund Studies in English III (Lund, 1935), 192-202, and McKinley, *The Surnames of Sussex* (Oxford, 1988), 152-61.

¹⁰ *Terricus de Arboribus*, Terry atte Trawen mid 13th cent., in Devon R.O., ECR 1/32, fos 8, 18; cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Train* (iii). For the place-name, see *PN Devon*, 261.

¹¹ A. Rumble, ed., *Domesday Book: Essex* (Chichester, 1983), 72 (Roger's holding in chief), 15:1 (lands of La Trinité de Caen), cf. *OEB*, 389; H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *Charter Rolls*, I, 422.

¹² W.O. Hassall, ed., *Cartulary of St Mary, Clerkenwell*, Camden Third Series LXXI (London, 1949), 7, 160 (late 12th cent.), 18, 199 (mid 12th cent.); cf. E. Ekwall, *Early London Personal Names*, Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis XLIII (Lund, 1947), 171. Redwood and Wilson, *Custumals*, 13 (c.1265), and W.D. Peckham, ed. and trans., *Thirteen Custumals of the Sussex Manors of the Bishop of Chichester*, Sussex Record Society XXXI (Cambridge, 1925), 55 (c.1285).

¹³ B. Dodwell, ed., *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, PRS, n.s. XLVI (London, 1985), II, 180, 265 (1270x1300).

¹⁴ Cf. *DBS*, s.nn. *Arkwright*, *Carpenter*, *Wright*.

¹⁵ Cf. *DBS*, s.nn. *Little*, *Petty*, *Short*, *Smale*.

¹⁶ *DB*, fo. 117; *OEB*, 372; Latham, s.v. *acus*.

¹⁷ McKinley, *Sussex*, 45-6, and 79, n.151.

¹⁸ For the Buccuinte families of London, see, e.g., Hassall, *Clerkenwell*, 107-17, 141, 161, 209-10; and, for the Latinization, see B.E. Harris, ed., *PR 4 Henry III*, PRS n.s. XLVII (London, 1987), 148 (Cambs. and Hunts.).

¹⁹ J. Jönsjö, *Studies on Middle English Nicknames*, I (Lund, 1979), 80, 148.

²⁰ For the French place-name *Quatremare*, see F. de Beaurepaire, *Les Noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de l'Eure* (Paris, 1981), 162.

²¹ See, e.g., [H.C. Maxwell-Lyte et alii, eds.] *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill*, 2 vols in 3 (London, PRO, 1920-1931), II, 782. Cf. *DBS*, s.n. *Lester* (i). For *Lestre* (dep. Manche), see, e.g., F. de Beaurepaire, *Les Noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de la Manche* (Paris, 1986), 146.

²² See, e.g., *Book of Fees*, II, 769. Cf. *MED*, s.v. *estre*, sense 3 (c).

Locative Surnames in Wales: A Preliminary List

Prys Morgan

IT has long been assumed that all Welsh surnames are based on patronymics, and it is true that the great majority are. But that gives a misleading impression, for several hundreds of place-names in Wales have, over the centuries, given rise to surnames, as will be made clear by the list printed here. First compiled to illustrate a paper presented at the Annual Study Conference held by the Council for Name Studies at Ripon in 1990, it is meant to show that locative (*viz.* toponymical) surnames—with a very small number of topographical forms as well—have been unjustly neglected, although they do admittedly form a far smaller proportion of the total number of Welsh surnames than do similar formations in England. Secondly, it is hoped that the lists will help students of names and genealogists to trace both names and families, especially since many Welsh locative surnames such as *Broughton*, *Horton* or *Walterston* appear misleadingly English,¹ although they demonstrably arise in Wales. The situation is, however, complex, because—as the present list shows—even with a small store of locative surnames several forms, such as *Kyffin*, *Coydmore*, *Maysmore* and *Blayne*, each prove to originate from several places which have identical names. What will, moreover, not be clear from the list, but must always be kept in mind when looking for the origin of a family, is that a considerable number of Welsh locative surnames are very similar to English ones: for example, *Britton*, *Flint*, *Holt*, *Martell*, *Moss*, *Nash*, *Newport*, *Pool(e)* and *Delapole*, *Stanton*, and *Sully* may all have origins outside as well as inside Wales, and several of them may not even be locative or topographical at all.²

The list has been laid out according to the pre-1974 historical shires of Wales. First, the commonest form of the surname is given as headword, then its present-day geographical equivalent, as nearly as possible, and, third, either an early example of the surname or else an easily accessible printed source for the family or genealogy concerned. Where it has been possible to check that the name survives in the modern electoral registers or telephone directories, this is noted. The strange and irregular distribution pattern of Welsh locative surnames will be discussed elsewhere.³