

Gouldson or *Goulson*, for example, was one of the chamberlains in 1477, an auditor of the accounts of the south quarter and swinemarket in 1481 and 1489, and meat or fish taster in various years between 1478 and 1492. Mr William *Gibson*, who entered the gild merchant in 1466 and was then described as a *magister*, is another example. In the subsidy of 1492, he resided in the south quarter and contributed 32*d.*, described there as a notary. In the subsidy of 1492, he contributed 16*d.* for land and 10*s.* 8*d.* for goods, whilst he was assessed in 1505 for 4*d.* and 20*d.* respectively. He was elected mayor in 1492 and 1501, and was one of the auditors of the accounts for the south quarter in years between 1491 and 1507 (nine years). Less conspicuously, Hugh Tomson (occasionally *Tomkyngson*, *Tomkynson* or *Thomkynson*) acted as chamberlain in 1493 and 1507, auditor for accounts of the north quarter in 1495, 1497 and 1503, and for the east quarter in 1509, as a leather tester in 1487–1505 (six years), held a tenement in the parish of St Margaret in 1477, and had entered the gild merchant in 1474. This prosopography suggests that surnames in *-son* were no longer alien to the urban community.

4. Conclusion

Leicestershire and Rutland were situated on the boundary of the area of stronger Scandinavian influence. The border nature of these counties is reflected in the translation of Latin patronyms and metronyms into vernacular forms in the later middle ages. Forms with *-son* were reinstitutionalized through Scandinavian influence in north and east Leicestershire, but appositional and genitival forms were even there just as important. Patronyms and metronyms with the suffix *-son* entered into the formal written record at the local level, that is, in court rolls and survey-type documents, in the early fourteenth century, commonly in the 1340s, but the earliest forms seem to have been inherently unstable and associated with marginal social groups. The later formations were stable, although an element of instability persisted in these forms of bynames even into the later middle ages.

The Smalls, Hats and Barrels: Navigational and Toponymic Hazards

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The earliest surviving manuscript charts which include reasonably legible inscriptions around the more southerly coastlines of the British Isles are by Italian or Majorcan/Catalan cartographers of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.¹ The earliest surviving manuscript sailing directions including the same area are in Low German,² Italian,³ French,⁴ Portuguese⁵ and English.⁶ They date from the fifteenth century, but undoubtedly contain some matter copied,

This is a revised version of a paper given at the conference of the Society for Name Studies at Alston Hall, Longridge, on 4th April 1993. In addition to those acknowledged in the text and the notes, I am indebted to Roscoe Howells, Dr B. G. Charles, Dr Prys Morgan, Tomos Roberts, O. J. Padel, Jeff Davies, Hon. Sec. of the St. David's Station Branch of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, Flt. Lt. Alan Coy for superb photographs of The Smalls, Hats and Barrels, and to a number of other informants in Pembrokeshire.

¹ Tony Campbell, 'Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500', in *The History of Cartography*, edited by J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago, 1987), I, 371–463, especially pp. 449–56.

² *Das Seebuch*, edited by Karl Koppmann (Bremen 1876). (Contains a place-name glossary).

³ *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters . . .*, edited by Konrad Kretschmer (Berlin, 1909, reprinted Hildesheim, 1962). (Contains a place-name glossary).

⁴ *The Rutters of the Sea: the Sailing Directions of Pierre Garcie*, edited by D. W. Waters (New Haven and London, 1967). (Contains a place-name glossary.) The individual works reprinted are separately paginated in addition to Waters' overall pagination.

⁵ *Livro de marinbaria*, edited by J. I. de Brito Rebello (Lisbon, 1903).

⁶ *Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England*, British Library, MS Lansdowne 285, fols 136–140; published in Waters, 187–195; also, edited by James Gairdner, with a place-name glossary by E. Delmar Morgan, in Robert Hues, *Tractatus de Globis (1592)*, Hakluyt Society Series I, vol. 79 (London, 1889) (separately paginated, pp. 11–37).

probably several times, from originals perhaps a century or more older. A recent article on Wolf Rock emphasised the wealth of sparsely-exploited place-name source material on the British Isles, available on early charts and in early sailing directions, mainly of non-British origin.⁷ Details were given of the types of error to be found on charts, because of inaccurate information, uncritical copying and the misplacement of inscriptions. Incredible errors in sailing directions were due to frequent careless copying, especially by scribes with little or no knowledge of things maritime. Printed sailing directions (rutters), when they became available, were not necessarily much better, since the printers had to work initially from manuscript originals. Proof reading, if any, seems to have been remarkably ineffective.

Some practising mariners produced works of popular travel literature which were a strange combination of sketchy sailing directions, historical 'facts' and often hopelessly erroneous information from 'classical' authorities. One such was João Afonso, or Jean Alfonse, a renegade Portuguese pilot living in France and working for the French. In his *Les voyages auantureux* (1559) he includes a description of the coast of Wales. After leaving Bristol, he states that the coast turns west-north-west and west 'iusques a Marie spirituelle, qui est vne roche en la mer de Myneford, en la manche de Souange. D'icy court la coste au Nortest, iusques a la ville de Chichestere . . .' ('as far as *Marie spirituelle*, which is a rock in the sea of *Myneford*, in the channel of *Souange*. From here the coast runs north-east as far as the town of Chichester').⁸ It is not difficult to recognise Milford Haven or St George's Channel, which had been correctly rendered as 'la manche de S. George' a few lines earlier, while Chichester is obviously a careless mistake for Chester. But what is *Marie spirituelle*?

From its given position and its description as a rock, it is presumably what are now known as The Smalls, with their lighthouse and helicopter pad, and/or the Hats and Barrels (Map 1, p. 92). But the name bears no resemblance whatsoever to any of those names, nor to any other names just off the Pembrokeshire coast.

⁷ W. A. R. Richardson, 'Lyonesse and The Wolf: A Case Study of Place-Name Corruption', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 24 (1991-92), 4-29.

⁸ Jean Alfonse, *Les voyages auantureux* (Poitiers, 1559), fol. 21r.

B. G. Charles' scholarly studies of Pembrokeshire place-names⁹ provided no hint of a solution to the name, nor did F. J. North's articles.¹⁰ The latter provided a good introduction to manuscript maps and charts including Wales, but nowhere could I find any systematic study of place-names in Wales which made use of sailing directions.

Many of the rocks and islands off the Pembrokeshire coast and in the Bristol and St George's Channels bear names of Old Norse origin. They include Ramsey, Skomer, Caldey, Lundy, Skokholm, Grassholm, Middleholm (Midland) and Gateholm, and Flatholm and Steepholm much nearer Bristol. Each is composed of two Old Norse words, one specific, and one generic, either *ey* or *holmr*, both meaning 'island'.

Some of these islands have, or have had, Welsh names as well. Thus Ramsey is known in Welsh as *Ynys Dewi* and *Ynys Dyfannog*, after saints associated with it, St David and St Tyfannog; likewise, Caldey has been known as *Ynys Bŷr*, after another lesser-known saint, St Pyr(o).¹¹ Ramsey has also been known as *ynys yr hyrddod* 'the island of the rams', an interesting Welsh translation of the first element of its Old Norse name by someone who believed it to be the English word 'rams'.¹² A more elaborate form of the same mistaken identification is *Rams eyes* in an English translation of some French sailing directions of the first decade of the sixteenth century.¹³

Many of the lesser islands and rocks off the Pembrokeshire coast are now known only by Welsh names; notable exceptions are The Bishops and Clerks, and The Smalls, Hats and Barrels.

The first of these one might reasonably presume to be so called in reference to St David and his Clerics. However, another seemingly possible origin was suggested in an article in the Haverfordwest and

⁹ B. G. Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales* (London, 1938) and *The Place-Names of Pembrokeshire*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth, 1992).

¹⁰ F. J. North, 'The Map of Wales Before 1600 A. D.', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 90 (1935), 1-69, and 'Place-Names and Early Maps (with special reference to Wales)', *Antiquity*, 15 (1941), 176-93.

¹¹ Melville Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units* (Cardiff, 1969), p. 225.

¹² Lewis Morris, *Plans of Harbours, Bars, Bays and Roads in St George's Channel . . . 1748*, ([London?], 1748; facsimile reprint, Beaumaris, 1987), p. 21, a chart of Ramsey Sound.

¹³ Waters, p. 79/31.

Milford Haven Telegraph in the latter part of the last century.¹⁴ It claimed that three hundred years previously a fleet of merchant ships returning from Spain was wrecked on those rocks just west of Ramsey. Supposedly there were only three survivors, Miles Bishop, and James and Henry Clerk, whence the name of the rocks concerned. The source of the story is not given, and the surnames of the survivors are so suspiciously convenient that it seems probable that this is a typical example of popular etymology. This would seem to be confirmed by the fact that the rocks figure as *the Bisshoppis and his clerkis* in the anonymous *Sailing directions for the circumnavigation of England* which date from at least as early as the middle of the fifteenth century.¹⁵ The existence of another Bishop and his Clerks in the Isles of Scilly suggests that the term was used for a large rock surrounded by smaller ones.¹⁶

Further doubt is cast upon this story by George Owen who, in a strangely punctuated passage written in 1594, obviously relying on local informants, makes quite clear the ecclesiastical associations of the name at that time. It reads:

A seeboord this Iland *Ramsey* rangeth in order the Bushop and his clearkes being vij^{en} in Nomber, all wayes seene at lowe water who are not wthout some small Quiristers, who shewe not themselves, but at spring tydes, and calm seas,

The chiefest of theis ys called of the inhabitantes the Bushops rocke one other *Carreg y rossan*, the third *Divighe*, the 4th *emskir*, the rest as yet I haue not learned their names if they have anye . . . The Bushop and those his clerkes preach deadly doctrine to their winter audience . . .¹⁷

The second component of the *emskir* he mentions, now *Em-sger* or South Bishop on modern charts, with its prominent lighthouse, would clearly seem to be Old Norse *sker* 'skerry'; the first part looks as though it is a corruption of *Enis* (Modern Welsh *ynys*) 'island', the *ni*

¹⁴ Newspaper cutting kindly provided by Mr Thomas H. Bennett of Newport. Unfortunately I have been unable to trace the issue number and date.

¹⁵ Waters, p. 193/196 and Gairdner, p. 20.

¹⁶ See O. J. Padel, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names* (Penzance, 1988), pp. 53-54; the form *the bisshopp & his clarkes* also appears, misplaced north of the Scillies instead of south-west, on Nowell's map of Ireland, mid-1560s (n. 31, below).

¹⁷ George Owen, *The Description of Penbrokeshire*, edited by H. Owen, 4 vols (London 1892-1936), I, 113.

having been miscopied as *m*, and the final *s* having merged with the initial *s* of *sker*.

If not merely all the major Pembrokeshire islands have names of Old Norse origin, but also at least one of the Bishops and Clerks, it seems strange that The Smalls, Hats and Barrels all appear to be English names.

Since The Smalls are a group of very 'small' islands or rocks, the origin of their name would appear to be self-evident. However, there are good grounds for believing this to be another case of popular etymology at work. It is most unusual to find any place-name consisting of an adjective alone, without a following noun to indicate the nature of the feature concerned. Furthermore, in English place-names, at least, the size-indicating adjectives are nearly always 'little' and 'great', or the Latin *parva* and *magna*, and are only used when two nearby places with the same name need to be distinguished. This is clearly not the case here. 'Small', when an element in English place-names, is almost always traceable back to OE *smæl* 'narrow'.¹⁸ The related modern Norwegian, Swedish and Dutch words *smal*, and the German *schmal*, all retain the meaning 'narrow'.

As for the Hats and Barrels, one might well think them names bestowed on account of the sighting of flotsam in their vicinity. If so, the wreck responsible must have occurred in the late 1600s, for that is when some form of both names first appeared. The latter name, for some 40 years after its first appearance, was always spelled without a final *s*; this is possibly of some significance.

If we look back to the earliest names recorded in rutters in the vicinity of The Smalls, Hats and Barrels, we find what are evidently three different names, though their spellings vary significantly.

One name appears as *ismael* in Italian sailing directions attributed to Alvise Cadamosto and published by Rizo in 1490. It appears once on its own, its position being indicated as 150 miles north-north-east of *Sorlenga* (the Scilly Isles), once as *ismael e astronal*, and once as *ismael e stronal*.¹⁹ In Low German sailing directions of the mid-fifteenth century or possibly rather earlier, the name figures as *dat eylant van Ysmal*, *de eylande Hysmal*, and *de undeypte* ['shoal'] *het Hysmal unde*

¹⁸ A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, English Place-Name Society, vols 25-26 (Cambridge, 1956), II, 130.

¹⁹ Kretschmer [see n.3 above], p. 432/24.

Ostermal unde Gransol (Grassholm).²⁰ In English sailing directions, also of the mid-fifteenth century or earlier, the same name occurs, as *smal* of *skidwale*, *kidwall* and *small*, and *the smale* and *Skidwhalles*.²¹ From the contexts in Pierre Garcie's *Le grant routtier et Pyllottage* there would seem to be no doubt that *la malle* and *la male* are also versions of the same name.²² In the same contexts the name appeared as *la Malle* in André Thevet's *Le grand insulaire et pilotage* (1586).²³

The second name recorded in sailing directions in the same area before 1500 we have already seen as *skidwale*, *kidwall* and *Skidwhalles*, in association with *smal*, *small* and *smale* respectively in the above-mentioned English manuscript. The names *astronal* and *stronal* that appear on two occasions in association with *ismael* in the Italian sailing directions do not look at first glance as though they have any connection with *skidwale* etc. However, if one bears in mind that the *n* in both spellings could well be an example of the very frequent confusion between *n* and *u* in early manuscripts, and similarly the *t* in each case an example of the common *c* and *t* confusion, the recognition difficulty is considerably lessened. When one looks at the Low German text, one finds *Oestermael* (referred to almost certainly incorrectly as *de huek van Oestermael* 'the cape of Oestermael') associated with *dat eylant van Ysmal*, and *Ostermal* placed between *de undeypte het Hysmal* and *Gransol* [Grassholm]. It looks very much as though the *m*, *r* and *t* in each case are misreadings respectively of *w*, *t* and *c*, all three being very frequent copying errors. In any case the consistent context association would seem to eliminate any doubt regarding the identification of the Italian, English and Low German versions as indicating one and the same feature.

The third name appears only in anonymous early French sailing directions, *Le routtier de la mer* (1502–1510), almost certainly by Pierre Garcie, in Robert Copland's English translation, *The Rutter of the See* (1st edn 1528), in Pierre Garcie's *Le grant routtier et Pylottage* (1st edn 1520),²⁴ and in one other collection, *The booke of the Sea Carte, or*

²⁰ Koppmann [see n.2 above], 20/VI/15, 20/VI/22 and 21/VI/27 respectively.

²¹ Waters, pp. 192/146, 192/163 and 193/195 respectively; and Gairdner, pp. 17, 18, and 20 respectively.

²² Waters, 328/124/G.46.

²³ A. Thevet, *Le grand insulaire et pilotage* (1586): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS français 15452, fol. 86v.

Rutter, an anonymous sixteenth century work clearly deriving in part from a French source.²⁵ The fact that no version of this third name appears in either the surviving Italian, Low German, English or Portuguese manuscript sailing directions mentioned above, inevitably suggests that it is of French origin.

In *Le routtier de la mer* the name appears as *nasquin gouales*, *masquin goales* and *Masquin goales*,²⁶ and in Copland's translation as *Naskingecoles*, *Maskin geeles* and *Maskin goales*.²⁷ In Garcie's *Le grant routtier*, in the same contexts, it appears as *nasquyn goulles*, *masquyn goalles* and *Masquyn goalles*.²⁸ In *The booke of the Sea Carte* it figures as *Maskyn goles*, *Maskyn geolis* and *Maskyn geolis*.²⁹ These last sailing directions also give the name *Maskyn* alone, in a context quite different from any of the others mentioned; there will be cause to comment on this later.

In each of the sets of French, or French-derived sailing directions, the feature is mentioned first along with two islands, *Fel*, *fer*, *ffer* etc. (almost certainly versions of Caldey's Welsh name, *Ynys Bŷr*), and *Colomps*, *coulomps*, *coulompz*, or variants thereof (almost certainly Skokholm), in connection with the moon and tides. The loss of the initial *s* in the latter name is possibly a 'correction' by a copyist or printer under the impression that it was named after St Columba, or perhaps a 'correction' by someone who believed it to be a mistake for some spelling of *colombes* 'pigeons'. The second mention in each case places the feature 33 leagues north of Cape Cornwall. The third mention locates the feature west-south-west of some version of the name Grassholm.

In Copland's translation of *Le routtier de la mer*, *Maskin goales* is stated to be 2 leagues from *grashormes*,³⁰ but that is not stated in the French original or in Garcie's work. Since all three of these versions state that the *yle de Fer* etc. and *Mylforde* etc. are two leagues apart, it

²⁴ All three works are reprinted in facsimile in Waters; the first is of the sole surviving copy (first edition?), the other two in editions of 1557 and 1521 respectively.

²⁵ *The booke of the Sea Carte, called the Rutter*, British Library, MS Add. 37024.

²⁶ Waters, 147/20/A.12, 147/21/A.13 and 147/21/A.13 respectively.

²⁷ Waters, 79/31/C.12, 80/32/C.13 and 81/33/C.13 respectively.

²⁸ Waters, 308/104/G.35, 326/122/G.42 and 326/122/G.42 respectively.

²⁹ *The booke of the Sea Carte*, fols 25v–26r.

³⁰ Waters, 81/33/C.13.

looks suspiciously as though Copland's eye strayed, and that he applied the two leagues figure to the distance between *Maskin geoles* and *grashormes*, as well as to that separating *Fel* (Caldey) from *Mylforde*.

The first cartographical appearance of any rendering of *small* seems to be on Laurence Nowell's map of Ireland of the mid-1560s, where one finds *Smalle*.³¹ An anonymous chart of c. 1508 does show an island named *stual* just west of *gaxol* (Grassholm), but this could be some corrupt rendering of some version of the *skidwale* name such as *estotual*.³² From Waghenauer's *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt* (1584-5)³³ onwards some version of *Small* is common, but fairly early in the seventeenth century, versions began to appear with a final *s* added, possibly because it was by then known that there was more than one rock there. Thus, in Willem Jansz Blaeu's *The Sea Beacon* (1645) we find such renderings as *I. Smeals*, *the Smalles* and *the Smaels*.³⁴

An interesting example of the misplacement of names occurred in connection with The Smalls in a number of Dutch sea atlases sometime during the first half of the seventeenth century, and continued in them until at least the end of the century. See, for example, Jan van Keulen's sea atlas (Map 2, p. 93).³⁵ *Scakum* is undoubtedly a version of Skokholm, found elsewhere as *Skahum* and *Skakum* (cf. *Grassum* for Grassholm and *Gettum* for Gateholm) reflecting popular pronunciation. *Kamey*, or *Camey*, as it sometimes appears, is either a version of Ramsey, or more probably of Skomer, originally *scalmey*. Neither name, of course, really has anything to do with The Smalls; both were shifted from their proper positions as a result of the mistaken copying of a chart by someone ignorant of their true positions, and were subsequently described in sailing directions as being where the cartographer concerned had placed them. Sailing directions were sometimes partially descriptions of charts, and some

³¹ Laurence Nowell, [Maps of the British Isles], British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.xviii, fol. 97r.

³² Anonymous chart, British Library, MS Egerton 2803, fol. 6v.

³³ L. J. Waghenauer, *Spieghel der Zeevaerdt* (Leyden, 1584-85; facsimile reprint, Amsterdam, 1964), chart [1].

³⁴ W. J. Blaeu, *The Sea Beacon* (Amsterdam, 1643; facsimile reprint, Amsterdam, 1973), chart 74 and pp. 57 and 63 of the Third Part.

³⁵ J. van Keulen, *De Nieuwe Groote Lichtende Zee-Fakkell* (1716-53; facsimile reprint, Amsterdam, 1969), II, chart 15.

charts were composed from descriptions in sailing directions. Thus, in the text of Blaeu's *The Sea Beacon* one reads:

Southeast and by south about ten leagues from the Tuskar [a rock off the south-east coast of Ireland], ly two little Ilands close one by another, about foure leagues from Grassholme, called the Smaels . . . the northermost is called Skakum, and the southermost is called Camey.³⁶

By about 1700 the name Smalls had become fairly firmly established in that spelling, sometimes preceded by the definite article. Its origin will be examined later.

The earliest chart I have been able to examine with any inscription somewhere in the vicinity of The Smalls is by the Genoese cartographer, Petrus (Pietro) Vesconte.³⁷ Dated c. 1325, it has the name *dala* against an island west of a promontory evidently intended to be St David's Head, which is identified as *cauo de la dala*; it has *milfort* and *lenbich* (Tenby) immediately east of it. The name *dala* is misplaced, for it really refers to the little harbour of Dale, just inside Milford Haven. Vesconte's outline of the Bristol Channel and Wales is a vast improvement on that given on another of his charts dated 1318, where the Bristol Channel does not exist, and what presumably is meant to be St David's Head is named *costa | bristo*; north-east of it is *cep'sto* (Chepstow).³⁸ Evidently the two names were known, but not the shape of the coast. One may presume that the improvement on the later chart indicates Vesconte's acquisition of more accurate information from one or more Genoese vessels going to Bristol at that time. The earliest actual mention that I have found of a Genoese ship in the area dates from 1383, when 'certain of the king's subjects of Tenby' are stated to 'have seized a great ship of Genoa laden with two barrels of gold plate and other merchandise'.³⁹

Early Portuguese sailing directions mention Dale (*a dala*), but seem correctly to identify it as a port; they also mention Milford Haven (*mira forda*). The only islands they mention in the vicinity, besides *caldey*, are *as Ilhas de saltey* (the Saltee Islands off Ireland's south-east

³⁶ Blaeu, p. 63 of the Third Part.

³⁷ Petrus Vesconte, [Chart of the NE Atlantic], British Library, MS Add. 27376, fols 180v-181r.

³⁸ Vesconte, [Chart of the NE Atlantic], Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 594, fols 9^v-10.

³⁹ Quoted in R. Howells, *Caldey* (Llandysul, 1984), p. 48.

coast), *graxol* (Grassholm), and *as Ilhas de Romtasey que sam em gualéz* ('the Islands of Ramsey which are in Wales').⁴⁰

The earliest known surviving charts that I have seen which contain names sufficiently legible for us to be sure that they identify a feature in the immediate vicinity of The Smalls are fifteenth-century Italian ones. One finds, for example, *estotual* (Nicolo de Pasqualini, 1408),⁴¹ *schitoal* (Mecia de Viladestes, 1413),⁴² *estotual* (Petrus Roselli, 1456) (Map 3, p. 94),⁴³ *schitual* (Grazioso Benincasa, 1467),⁴⁴ and *stual* (anon., c. 1508),⁴⁵ while a miscellaneous collection of charts in the British Library includes *ascotual*, *stotual*, *estotual* and *storual*.⁴⁶ All these forms would seem to be variants of the *astronal* and *stronal* which we saw in connection with *ismael* in the Italian sailing directions, and of the *Oestermal* and *Ostermal* associated with the Low German *Ysmal* and *Hysmal*. They are also obviously related to *skidwale*, *kidwall* and *Skidwhalles* in the English sailing directions.

This name was still surviving as *Skillwall* on charts of 1651 and 1666 by Nicholas Comberford,⁴⁷ and as *Skitwell* on a chart of 1665 by John Burston.⁴⁸ It appeared as '*Skittle bottom, Low | Water*' between '*Hatts and Barrels | Low Water* and *Gresholm.I. | Dry*', on a chart of 1748 by Lewis Morris (Map 4, p. 95).⁴⁹ Samuel Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (1844), has the following very relevant passage:

⁴⁰ Rebello [see note 5, above], p. 96.

⁴¹ N. de Pasqualini, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 410, fols 1'-2.

⁴² Mecia de Viladestes, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. [Ge.AA.566.

⁴³ P. Roselli, Chicago, Newberry Library, Ayer MS, map #3.

⁴⁴ G. Benincasa, British Library, MS Add. 11547, chart 4; partially reproduced in Richardson, 'Lyonesse and The Wolf' (see n. 7), Fig. 3 (p. 20).

⁴⁵ See note 32, above.

⁴⁶ British Library, MS Egerton 73.

⁴⁷ N. Comberford, Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, G.213:3/1 MS (1651) and G.215:1/3 MS (1666).

⁴⁸ J. Burston, Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, G.215:1/2 MS (1665).

⁴⁹ L. Morris, 'A Chart of the Coast of Wales, drawn from an actual survey ... made between 1737 and 1744' (London, 1748), British Library, 1104. (18.); reproduced in O. Caradoc Evans, *The Maps of Wales and Welsh Cartographers*, (London, 1964), Map Collectors' Circle, no. 13, pl. 10, and in A. H. W. Robinson, *Marine Cartography in Britain* (Leicester, 1962), pl. 32.

Between this island [Grassholm] and the 'Smalls' but nearer the latter, is a ledge of rocks, about a mile long, which are visible at low water, and are named the 'Hats and Barrels'; and about a league from Gresholm, nearly in the same direction, are others, called 'Skettle' or 'Kettle bottom'.⁵⁰

No version of this name exists on modern charts. However, *Skitwell*, *Skittle*, *Skettle*, *Kettle* etc. are all evidently derived from the same source as *estotual*, *schitual* etc., but what was it?

George Owen, in c. 1600, provided a possible clue. He stated that *lly wennol* was the Welsh name for The Smalls, and his editor, Henry Owen, made the obvious suggestion that *Smale* indicated a 'small' rock. Henry Owen also suggested that *lly* was perhaps a corruption of *llyw* 'a rudder', or 'an eel's tail', or *llun* 'shape', and stated correctly that *gwennol* meant either a 'swallow' or a 'shuttle'.⁵¹ Lewis Morris also made a potentially relevant observation: 'The main Rock of the Smalls appears, at a Distance like the hull of a large Ship overset'.⁵² By no stretch of the imagination could any of the Smalls look like a swallow, and they seem an unlikely place to be visited by migrating swallows. 'Shuttle' is a different matter. One type of shuttle used by weavers is called a 'boat shuttle' because of its shape, and in several European languages the word for 'shuttle' is derived from words meaning 'ship'. Thus there is German *Weberschiff* (literally 'weaver's ship'), Italian *navetta*, Portuguese *naveta* and French *navette*. Samuel Purchas, writing in 1614, observed in one place that 'The Fishers Boats are made like a Weauers Shuttle'.⁵³

The ON word *skutill*, derived from a verb cognate with English 'to shoot', meant a 'harpoon',⁵⁴ and doubtless also a 'shuttle', the modern Norwegian word for which is *skytte* (cf. OE *scytel*). Some of the

⁵⁰ S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 2 vols (London, 1844), I, 384. His material on this area was culled mainly from Lewis Morris, and from Nicholas Carlisle's privately printed *A Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales* (London, 1811); in the latter see the entry under 'GRESHOLM, ISLAND', where 'Skittle or Kettle Bottom' and 'The Mascus' (see p. 87, below) are both mentioned.

⁵¹ British Library, MS Egerton 2586, fol. 405a. See also Owen, *Description of Penbrokeshire*, I, 113, n. 4, and II, 554-55, n. 17.

⁵² Morris, *Plans of Harbours* [see n. 12, above], p. 16.

⁵³ S. Purchas, quoted under *shuttle* in the OED.

⁵⁴ Richard Cleasby and Gudbrand Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1957), p. 561, s.v. *skutill*.

apparent ancestors of Skittle etc., such as *estotual*, seem to show the very common confusion between *c* and *t*, and also the acquisition of an initial *e*, a prefix sometimes added by Italians to words which would otherwise begin with *s* + consonant (cf. modern Spanish *escuela* 'school' and *estado* 'state').

It therefore looks as though Norsemen bestowed the name *skutill* upon the Smalls, because the largest one, in profile, resembled a 'shuttle', and that the Welsh merely translated it as (*g*)*wennol*. The well-attested presence of Norsemen off the coast of south-west Wales received physical confirmation in 1992, in the immediate vicinity of The Smalls, through the discovery by divers there of the lower guard of a Viking sword.⁵⁵

Professor Gwynedd Pierce kindly drew my attention to another possible explanation of *wennol*. The Welsh adjective *ewynnol*, from the noun *ewyn* 'foam, spume, froth', appears in the original Welsh name of the famous Swallow Falls near Betws y Coed, namely (Y) Rhaeadr Ewynnol '(the) foamy waterfall'. In usage this became transformed into *Rhaeadr y wennol*, the last word meaning 'swallow' (the bird). Pierce points out that the meaning 'foamy' accords well with the meaning of *maesgwyn* 'white field' (cf. English 'white water'), and with Breton *maez gwenn*, the suggested source of *masquin* (see p. 86, below). So it does, but I still tend to favour *wennol* as 'shuttle'. The fact that ON *skutill* probably meant 'shuttle' (and the modern Norwegian *skyttel* certainly does) would otherwise seem a very remarkable coincidence.

If *skutill* was the Old Norse name for The Smalls, where did the present name come from? George Owen wrote:

There are alsoe twoe litle rocks called Skytwell [Skutwell in another manuscript] and Smale out in the sea iiiij^{or} leagues from the havons [Milford Haven's] Mowth lyeing west and by North of S^{ca} Annes Head, which are great dangers Skytwell is lockt at half flud, but Smale is allwaies above water.⁵⁶

It is clear that by George Owen's time the descendants of *skutill* were no longer applied to The Smalls, and if we examine the positioning of those descendants on charts, it seems as though they

⁵⁵ Mark Redknap, 'Remarkable Viking Find in Remote Site', *Amgueddfa* (National Museum of Wales), Winter 1992, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Owen, *Description of Penbrokshire*, II, 554.

were progressively displaced by an ancestor of 'Small(s)', first to the position of the Hats and Barrels, later still to a location between the latter and Grassholm, eventually to disappear altogether.

If, as I suggested earlier, The Smalls were almost certainly not so named on account of their size, what was the original name and why was it bestowed? We saw earlier that the name as recorded in the Italian sailing directions was *ismael*, while the Low German ones appeared as *Ysmal* or *Hysmal*. The letter *h*, either at the beginning of a word, or internally, was often a mere scribal quirk, with no phonetic implication. There are quite a few cases on early manuscript maps and charts where names which really began with an *i*, *y* or *j* (which to a great extent were interchangeable) had that letter removed by a copyist, under the impression that it was an abbreviation for the word *isola*, *isla*, *isle* (modern French *île*), *ilha* or *island*. (I have not encountered a single case where an abbreviating *i* has been prefixed to a name.) Quite a number of names beginning with an *s* underwent a similar loss, as it was taken to be an abbreviation for *santo* (-a), *san*, *saõ*, *são*, *sam*, *saint* (-e), etc. This resulted in the creation of a number of non-existent saints; compare the name of St Kilda, from Old Norse *skildir* 'shields'.⁵⁷

A significant number of places in Brittany, Cornwall and Wales have been named after early Celtic saints of whom little or nothing is known. We have already noted the names of St David and St Tyfanog applied to Ramsey, and St Pÿr applied to Caldey. Bardsey Island, off the Llŷn Peninsula, is associated with St Cadfan, St Tudwal's Island obviously with that saint, and Priestholm or Puffin Island, off the north-east tip of Anglesey, is associated with St Seiriol. Dr F. G. Cowley observed that 'The islands on the Welsh seaboard offered a particularly attractive refuge for the monks and hermits of the Age of Saints, and Caldey was as well placed as Priestholm, Bardsey, Ramsey and Barry to provide such a refuge'.⁵⁸

There are in south-west Wales no less than eight churches dedicated to a St Ishmael. He was a mid-sixth-century Welsh saint. His father was a Breton chieftain named Budic, who landed in Dyfed and married Arianwedd, St Teilo's sister. Through the influence of St Teilo he became attached to St David, by whom he is said to have been

⁵⁷ A. B. Taylor, 'The Name "St Kilda"', *Scottish Studies*, 13 (1969), 145-58.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Howells, *Caldey*, p. 19.

consecrated suffragan bishop of Menevia.⁵⁹ St Ishmael's church, a little way out of the village of that name between Dale and Milford Haven, was founded by him. An early version of the village's name was *Llanysmael* ('Ishmael's Church'). The saint's reputation was such that other churches, at Lambston, Camrose, Rosemarket, Uzmaston, Boulston, Haroldston St Issels, and St Ishmael near Kidwelly were also dedicated to him.

Particularly dangerous navigational hazards, such as rocks, have frequently been named after persons or ships wrecked on them. There are no extant records to suggest that St Ishmael was shipwrecked on The Smalls, though he may have been. However, as mentioned by Dr Cowley, a number of saintly men certainly did spend periods of retreat on offshore islands. The size, and bare, rocky, exposed nature of The Smalls must surely invalidate any suggestion that St Ishmael can have spent any time on them. There is, however, another possibility. As we have seen in the cases of *dala*, *Skakum*, *Kamey* and *skutill*, names, especially on small scale maps and charts, could very easily become transferred from the place they originally identified to another one nearby, by copyists who had no personal knowledge of the areas concerned.

The nearest island to The Smalls that could have served as a retreat for an ascetic hermit is, of course, Grassholm. The earliest recorded mention of a Welsh name for Grassholm occurs in the Mabinogion (twelfth century?), where it appears as *Gwales* or *Gwalas* 'ym penuro' (*Gwales* or *Gwalas* 'in Penfro' [Pembrokeshire]).⁶⁰ The meaning of that name is variously given as 'refuge', 'retreat', 'shelter'; 'lair'; or 'sanctuary'.⁶¹ In view of the strong currents around Grassholm, a name with such a meaning can hardly have been bestowed upon it by anyone with the intention of recommending its suitability as a shelter for shipping, and the concept of island bird sanctuaries lay several hundred years in the future. Could there be another logical explanation for naming Grassholm as *Gwales*? Could it possibly have been known to the Welsh, from St Ishmael's time, before the Vikings'

⁵⁹ S. Baring Gould, *Lives of the Saints* (Edinburgh, 1914), XVI, 235-36.

⁶⁰ *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, edited by Sir Ifor Williams, 2nd edition (Cardiff, 1951), pp. 45-46 and 214-15; see also Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 89.

⁶¹ *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru. A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (Cardiff 1950-), II, 1566.

arrival, as *Gwales Ismael*, meaning 'St Ishmael's sanctuary', indicating that he, a venerated local saint, had spent some time on it as a hermit? As mentioned above, an initial *i* was not infrequently removed from place-names by cartographers, under the impression that it was an abbreviation for 'island', etc. Early non-Welsh mariners, unacquainted with St Ishmael, could have done the same thing, thus causing *smael* eventually to be transferred from *Gwales* (Grassholm), and become attached to the nearby 'small' rocks to the west of it. There appears to be no evidence that this actually occurred, and the absence of any mention in the Mabinogion of St Ishmael having been associated with *Gwales* would tend to discredit the idea. On the other hand, it would provide a logical explanation for the rather strange Welsh name *Gwales*, which is otherwise rather difficult to account for. Be that as it may, some version of *Gwales* survived, in forms such as *Wallis*, *Walleis Ilande*, *Walys Iland* and even *Walleyes*,⁶² until at least the early seventeenth century, though the Old Norse name *Grasholmr* eventually overcame its Welsh rival.

If it were not for the above mention of *Gwales* being the old Welsh name for Grassholm, the second element in the third name under consideration, *masquin goales* etc., might well have been thought to indicate an island off the coast of Wales. After all, *Gal(l)es* is the name for Wales in the Romance languages, and we saw in the early Portuguese sailing directions, *guallez* for Wales, with a phonetically quite unnecessary *u* in it.

The location indicated for *masquin goales* etc., and the fact that *Gwales* was the Welsh name for Grassholm, must inevitably mean that it was applied to some feature in the vicinity of The Smalls, Hats and Barrels. The presence of the name only in French sailing directions, or in those derived at least partially from them, could suggest that the word is a French one. However, the word *masquin* seems to have appeared in French only on a very rare, possibly unique occasion, when by chance the word *damasquin* ('damascene') was misprinted as *de masquin*, hardly a name likely to have been applied by French

⁶² Charles, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p. 89. Note also Owen, *Description of Pembrokeshire*, I, 112: 'ffarre of in the sea standeth the Iland Gresholme so called of M' Saxton, but of the neighbours Walleyes. a small Iland viij' miles from the maine, and for the Remotenes thereof, and small proffettes yt yeldeth, is seldome frequented'.

mariners to a group of rocks.⁶³

The earliest cartographic appearance of *masquin* that I have found is on a chart included in Guillaume Brouscon's *Manuel de pilotage à l'usage des marins bretons* (1548) (Map 5, p. 96).⁶⁴ It also figures on Pierre Desceliers' world map of 1550.⁶⁵ The designation of Brouscon's work as being specifically for Breton mariners suggests that the word could well be Breton.

Breton *langoustiers*, until the introduction of the twelve-mile limit put an end to the practice, used to come to the coast of Pembrokeshire every year, towards the end of January, to catch crayfish and lobsters in the vicinity of The Smalls, Hats and Barrels where the tides run very swiftly. They had been doing this for as long as anyone can remember, and probably for well over a century.⁶⁶ Roparz Hemon's Breton dictionary gives the meaning of *maez* as 'campagne; grand champ; large (terme nautique) ['open country; large field; open sea (nautical term)']', and *gwenn* as 'blanc' ['white'].⁶⁷ The name *masquin* is therefore almost undoubtedly a version of Breton *maez gwenn*; *g* and *q* are readily confusable in manuscripts. The meaning 'white field' or 'white open sea' is a peculiarly apt description of the large stretch of 'white water' in the vicinity of The Smalls, Hats and Barrels in winter, on the very edge of the main channel to and from Milford Haven. The Welsh words *maes* and *gwyn* quite often appear in place-names, sometimes as *maesgwyn*. However, in view of the appearance of *masquin* only in French sources, and since the Welsh already had (*G*)*wennol* and almost certainly *Ismael* as well to indicate The Smalls, it seems almost certain that *masquin* is Breton, rather than Welsh.

⁶³ R. Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611; facsimile reprint, Columbia, S. Carolina, 1950).

⁶⁴ G. Brouscon, *Manuel à l'usage des marins bretons* (1548), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS français 25374, fol. 4; reproduced in full in black and white in Waters, opposite p. 45, and in colour in Michel Mollat du Jourdin and Monique de la Roncière, *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers* (New York, 1984), pl. 43.

⁶⁵ Pierre Desceliers, [Mappemonde], British Library, MS Add. 24065; reproduced in *Autotype Facsimiles of Three Mappemondes*, edited by C. H. Coote (Aberdeen, 1898).

⁶⁶ R. Howells, *The Sounds Between* (Llandysul, 1968), pp. 168–70.

⁶⁷ Roparz Hemon, *Nouveau dictionnaire breton-français*, 4th edition (Brest, 1970), p. 540.

I have only found one version of the dual name *masquin goalles* etc. on a chart, one of c. 1575 by the Portuguese cartographer Bartolomeu Lasso, where it appears as *masquigales*, or perhaps *masqui gales*;⁶⁸ it was presumably copied from a French source.

Sometime during the first half of the seventeenth century yet another name, *Mascus*, appeared for the first time, north-west of St David's Head. It is represented on Dutch charts as one large rock, surrounded by a number of smaller ones (see Map 2, p. 93).⁶⁹ It is described in several sea atlases; for example, the relevant text in W. J. Blaeu's *The Sea Beacon* (1643), reads: 'About five leagues northwest or somewhat northerly from Ramsey, lieth a great rock called *Mascus*, which is all round fowle, with many sunken rocks'.⁷⁰ Despite such warnings, Capt. Greenville Collins, in 1693, wrote of it: 'The *Mascus* is said to be a sunk Rock . . . but I never could hear of any coaster or other that ever found it'.⁷¹ Others echoed his observation. Despite this, Lewis Morris's chart of 1748 (Map 4, p. 95) recorded it as *Mascus Low Water Spring*, and it still figured with different wording on William Morris's updated version of it dated 1800.⁷² Since it seems never to have existed, how did it get onto charts and into sailing directions?

I mentioned earlier that in *The booke of the Sea Carte called the Rutter* the name *Masquin* had appeared in one context that did not occur in any of the other rutters in which the name figured. The passage concerned reads: 'ffrom Sainte Dauyds head to Maskyn west an be north'.⁷³ This misplacement of *Maskyn* (unrecognised as identifying The Smalls) west and by north of St David's Head, when west and by south is nearer the mark, is typical of scribal carelessness regarding compass directions. This text, or something like it, is almost certainly responsible for the appearance of *Mascus*; it only needed some additional miscopying of some variant spelling of *Masquin*, perhaps by

⁶⁸ Bartolomeu Lasso, [Portolan chart of the North Atlantic] (c. 1575), Philadelphia, Pa, Rosenbach Museum and Library, 596/21; reproduced in A. Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, (Lisbon, 1960; facsimile reprint, Lisbon, 1987), III, pl. 377.

⁶⁹ See note 35, above.

⁷⁰ Blaeu, p. 57.

⁷¹ Capt. G. Collins, *Great Britain's Coasting Pilot*, (London, 1793), p. 13.

⁷² See note 49; for William Morris's 'Chart of St George's Channel' see British Library, *King's Maritime III*, chart 35.

⁷³ *The booke of the Sea Carte* [see note 25, above], fol. 26v.

one or more copyists, to complete the process in the text of a rutter. Once a series of such errors had occurred in sailing directions, it only needed a cartographer to give graphic expression to it for it to become established 'fact'.

The first appearance of any version of Hats and Barrels that I have so far encountered is on Greenville Collins's charts (1693). He gives both *Hatts* and *Hats*, *Barrell* and *Barrel*. His spelling of The Smalls also varies, including *Small*, *Smalls*, *Small's* and *Smal's*.⁷⁴ It is noticeable that he never gives *Barrel(l)* with a final *s*, and there does not appear to be any version of the *Skittle* variety. As we have seen, some version of the latter name had occurred on charts and in sailing directions from at least as early as c. 1400, and must have had an oral existence since the presence of the Norsemen in the ninth or tenth centuries. It was still present on charts by Comberford and Burston in the mid- to late seventeenth century. With so many centuries of existence, one wonders why it should have more or less completely disappeared from charts as from c. 1693. Moreover, where did Collins get hold of *Hat(t)s* and *Barrel(l)* from?

There were some rocks called the Barrels in some spelling or other off the south-east coast of Ireland from at least as early as Laurence Nowell's map of Ireland of the 1560s.⁷⁵ Presumably they could have been mistakenly transferred across St George's Channel, but that does not account for *Hat(t)s*. The sighting of wreck debris could have accounted for the replacement of the *Skittle*-type name, or perhaps *Hat(t)s* and *Barrel(l)* may have been the result of some mariner's imaginative concept of the shape of the semi-submerged rocks.

There is, however, another explanation which might account both for the sudden appearance of both those names, and for the sudden, apparently simultaneous disappearance of *Skittle* from charts. It is only a hypothesis, and one for which I have been unable to find any trace of evidence. Nevertheless it is perhaps worth mentioning. Until Greenville Collins's sea atlas of 1693, English mariners had relied very heavily on Dutch ones. Quite a few place-names on Dutch charts are preceded by the Dutch definite article, *de*, *den* or *het*; thus, for example, *De Bisschop met zijn Klercken*, *Den Haag* (The Hague) and *Het Seuen Steen* ('The Seven Stones' off Cape Cornwall). It seems possible

⁷⁴ Collins, p. 13 and charts 4, 25 and 26.

⁷⁵ Nowell [see note 31, above], fol. 97r.

that Collins, or one of his immediate predecessors, or a contemporary, may have seen some spelling of the *Skittle* variety, perhaps *skettel*, (we have already seen Samuel Lewis record *Skettle*), preceded by *Het*. *Het skettel*, or rather *Hetskettel*, could easily result in a false division of the 'word' as *Hets kettel*. Such erroneous amalgamations and divisions are remarkably frequent. It so happens that one of the old meanings of the Dutch word *ketel* was a 'water barrel',⁷⁶ so that *Barrel(l)* could be a translation of a misdivided *Hetskettel*. I must, however, admit that Henry Hexham's dictionary of the 1670s does not include that meaning.⁷⁷ An alternative hypothesis is that the suggested word *kettel* or *Kettel*, in manuscript, at least, could have been misread as 'barrel' or 'Barrel'. In either case, the 'word' *Hets* could easily have been believed a misprint, or mistranscription of 'Hats'. The appearance of *Barrel(l)* in the singular consistently for some forty years could be significant here; it is quite possible that its acquisition of a final *s* was merely due to the influence of the nearby Hats and Smalls, both in the plural. I should make one further admission. I have been unable to find any printed Dutch sea atlas which shows any trace of a *skittle*-type inscription. All those I have examined, right up to the end of the seventeenth century, slavishly copied the misplacement of the *Skakum* and *Kamey* inscriptions to indicate falsely two of The Smalls. I have not been able to check on any relevant Dutch manuscript charts of the period concerned.

Whatever the real origin of Hats and Barrels, their firm establishment on charts is almost certainly due to their appearance in Collins's sea atlas, *Great Britain's Coasting Pilot* (1693), for it was reprinted no less than three times, in 1723, 1738 and 1744, before Lewis Morris, on his chart of the coast of Wales, of 1748, recorded *Skittle bottom* (seemingly the last appearance of a *Skittle*-type inscription on a chart), as well as including *Hatts & Barrels* (Map 4).

None of the above discussion provides any explanation for Jean Alfonse's rock called *Marie spirituelle*, which is where we started off. It could, of course, be a name quite unrelated to any we have looked at. It could just conceivably be a very badly misplaced reference to St

⁷⁶ J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboek*, ('s Gravenhage, 1964), p. 289.

⁷⁷ H. Hexham, *A Copious English and Netherdutch Dictionary*, 2 vols (Rotterdam, 1672-75).

Mary's in the Scilly Isles, though I very much doubt it, and in any case, why the word *spirituelle*?

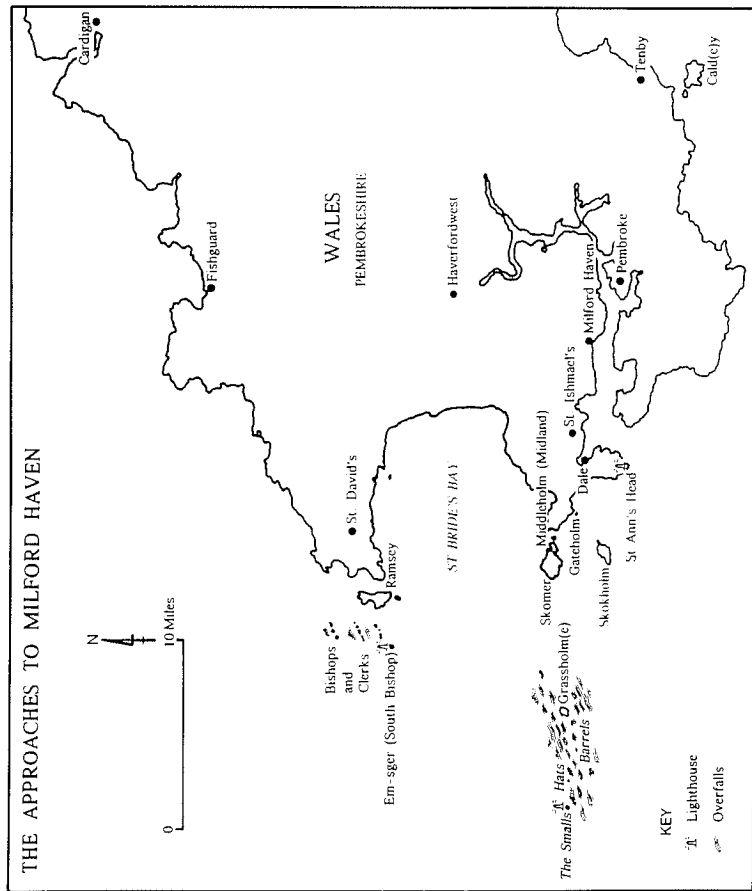
A perfectly feasible explanation is available. Charts by the late sixteenth-century Portuguese cartographer Fernão Vaz Dourado name a feature as *m^a* roughly in the vicinity of where the Smalls, Hats and Barrels are.⁷⁸ This may well have also appeared on earlier charts by other Portuguese cartographers, though I have not found one. Such an inscription, for a Portuguese of the period, would undoubtedly have been taken to be an abbreviation of *Maria*, or rather *maria*, for capital letters appeared very seldom and very erratically in early manuscript sailing directions. For a Portuguese working in France, as Jean Alfonse (João Afonso) was, a Breton place-name off the Welsh coast would almost certainly have seemed nonsensical. There has been an understandable tendency amongst mariners, when faced with foreign names, to attempt some approximate pronunciation of what they hear, or think they hear. Unfamiliar sounds produced very strange results. If a name, pronounced or written, struck them as being even remotely like a word in their own language, they were liable to substitute that word for the foreign one. Cartographers and the compilers of sailing directions would also 'edit' names in a similar way. Examples abound. The Spanish port of *la Coruña* (now Anglicised as *Corunna*), possibly originally from Latin *columna*, owing to the ancient Roman lighthouse there, was rendered *Grunha* by the Portuguese, *la Corogne* by the French, and *the Groyne* by the English. Spaniards, because of the perceived sound and/or spelling similarity, turned the cape named *Hoorn* by the Dutch into *Cabo de Hornos* (literally 'Cape of Ovens'), a singularly inappropriate name. The Vietnamese headland near Vungtau was called *cinco chagas* (the 'five wounds' of Christ) by the Portuguese, because of its appearance as five islands from the distance. This name underwent an astonishing transformation. Possibly via such a spelling as *sinquo chagas*, it was transformed by the Dutch into the *Hoek van Sinques Jaques*, or some variant thereof. In due course, the French turned this into *Cap St Jacques*, which English speakers then translated into *Cape St James*.

With those examples in mind, it does not, perhaps, seem too far-fetched to suggest that Jean Alfonse, or some other cartographer,

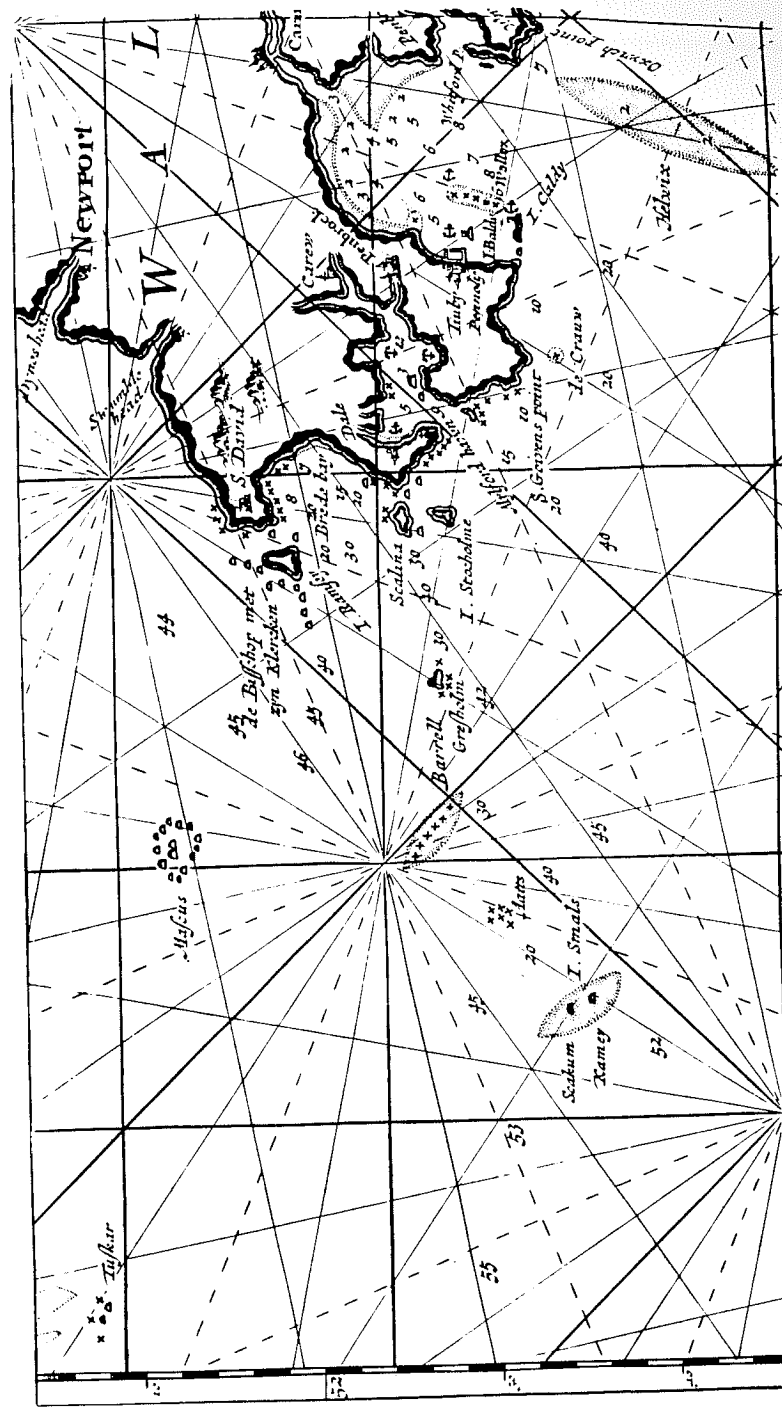
⁷⁸ Reproduced in Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, III, pls 243, 263, 318, 319, 332 and 333.

could easily have taken the initial *ma* of some spelling such as *masquingualles* to be an abbreviation for *maria* or *marie*. From that assumption it would have been a relatively short step to assume that the remainder of the 'word' *squingualles* was a careless misrendering of *spirituelle*, an appropriately religious-looking word, even though its precise meaning might be difficult to explain.

It is one of the fascinations and frustrations of place-name study that it is by no means always possible to establish the origin and meaning of the name of a given feature with a 100% degree of certainty, especially if one vital link in a chain of evidence cannot be found. It may be, however, that a sufficiently strong case has been made out to justify tracing the ancestry of The Smalls back to the sixth century St Ishmael (*ismael*), and Skittle etc., and just possibly Hats and Barrels, to the ninth century ON *skutill*. The readily-identifiable descendants of the Old Norse name for The Smalls lost out to their rivals, the descendants of *ismael*, and were transferred eastwards by degrees until the last survivor eventually vanished altogether, except in the memories of very old fishermen who remember Skittle Bottom as the name of a good fishing ground, though they are unsure of its location. The late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century *masquin*, in association with *gualles* etc. (i.e. *Gwales* or Grassholm), seems to have had a comparatively short life span, unless later examples can be found. It clearly suggests that Breton and/or French ships were acquainted with the area at that time on their way to and from Milford Haven. In view of the extremely dangerous nature of the area of The Smalls, Hats and Barrels, with its very strong currents and extensive overfalls, it seems somewhat unlikely that Breton *langoustiers* would have worked there until vessels with reliable engines became available. However, one never knows. After all, the Grand Banks off Newfoundland were fished for centuries by sailing vessels. Divers may yet find the remains of an identifiably Breton fishing vessel wrecked off The Smalls some five hundred years ago.



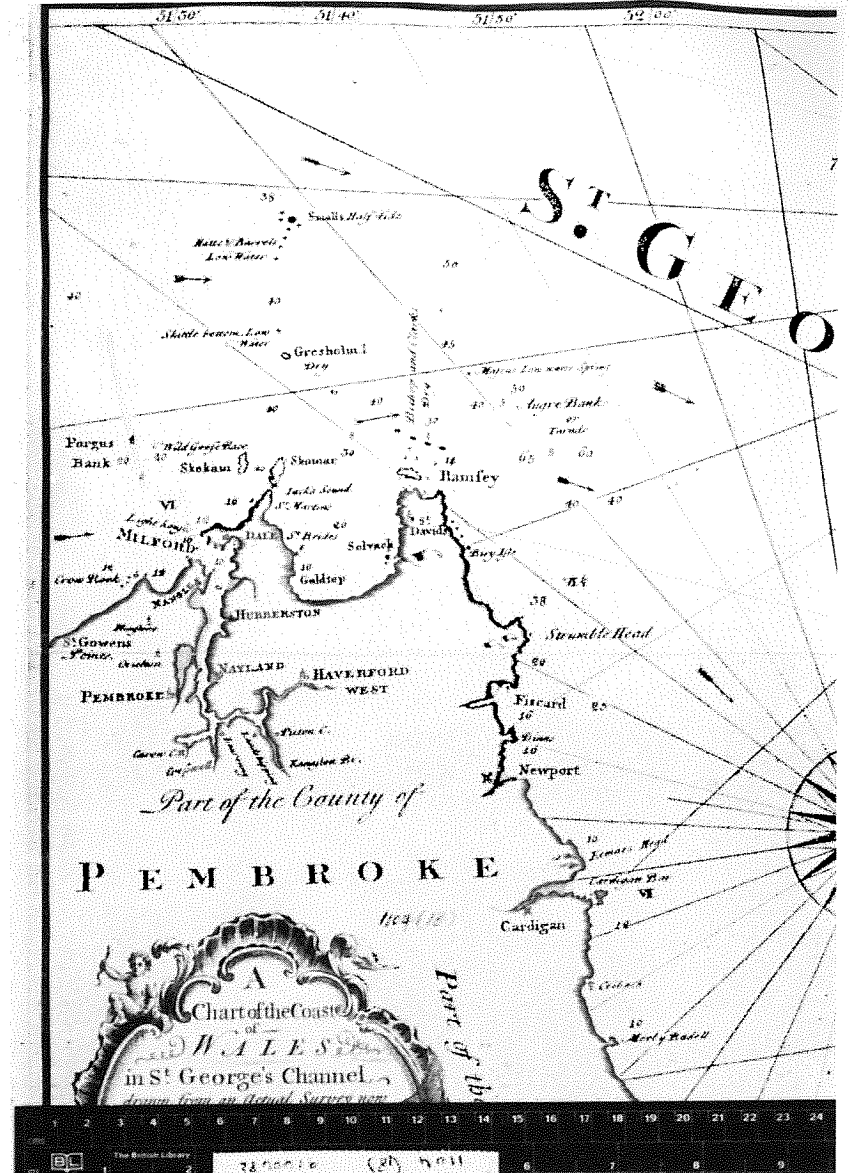
Map 1. The approaches to Milford Haven (courtesy of Jens Smith, Flinders University).



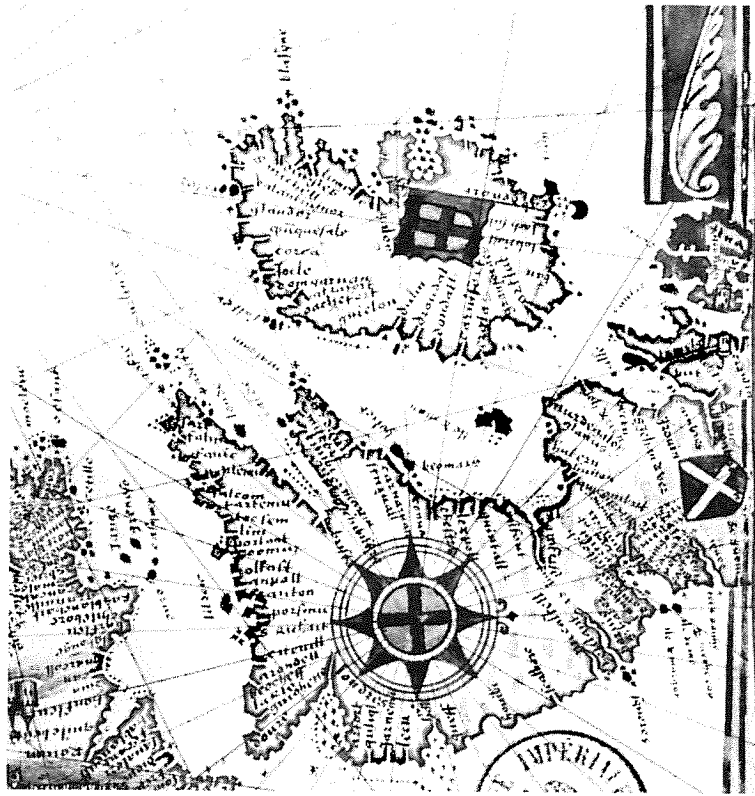
Map 2. Part of Jan van Keulen's chart covering south-west Wales. Note *Scakum* (Skokholm) and *Kamey* (Skalmey = Skomer) falsely shown as two of *I. Smalls* (The Smalls), *Aatts* (for Hatts), *Barrell*, and *Mascus* north-west of St David's Head. Skokholm and Skomer also appear as *I. Stocholme* and *Scalina* respectively.



Map 3. Part of a chart of the North Atlantic by Petrus Roselli (1456). (Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago). Note (in the centre) The Smalls identified as *estonnall* (i.e. Old Norse *skutill*).

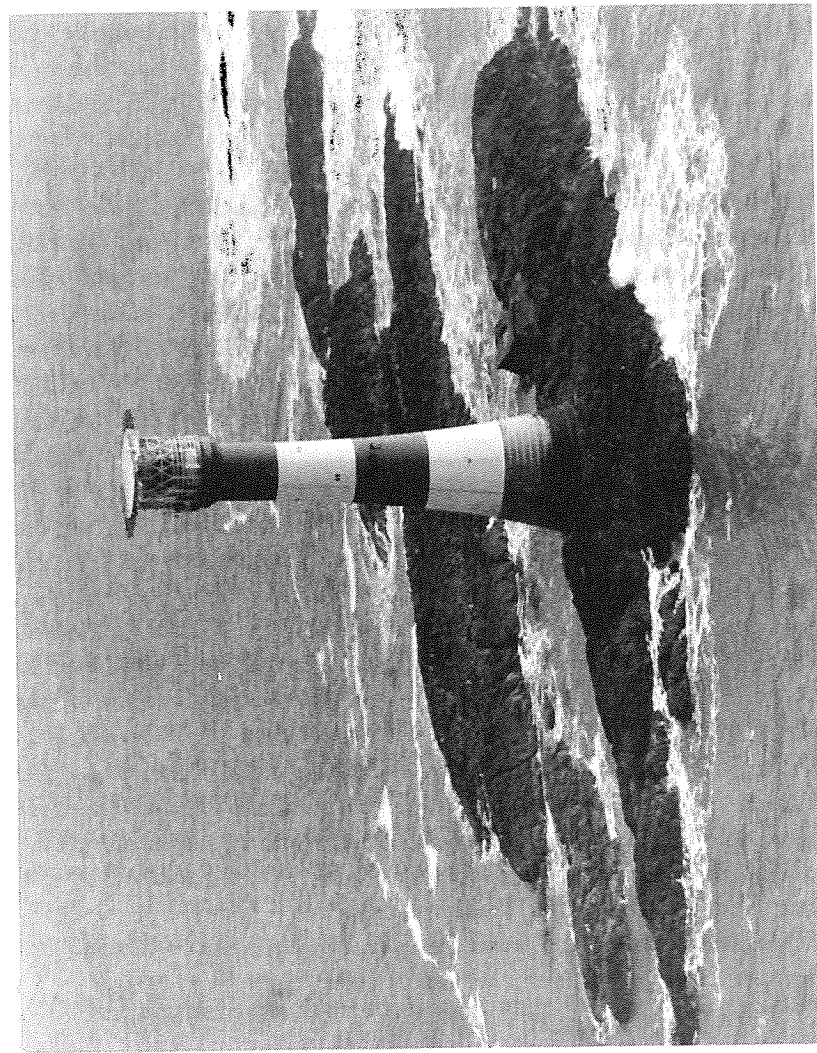


4. Part of Lewis Morris's chart of the coast of Wales, 1748. (Reproduced by courtesy of the British Library). Note the appearance of *Hatts & Barrels*, *Skittle bottom*, *Low | Water*, and the mysterious *Mascus Low water Spring*, west of the *Bishop and Clarks | Dry*.



Map 5. Part of the British Isles on a chart included in Guillaume Brouscon's *Manuel de pilotage à l'usage des marins bretons* (1548). (Reproduced by courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

Note (upper centre) The Smalls identified as *masquin*.



6. The Smalls (courtesy of Flight Lt Alan Coy).