

Hey, Mac! The Name *Maccus*,  
Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries

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The personal name *Maccus* occurs irregularly in English and other sources from the tenth century onwards and, while it has been the subject of a certain amount of passing discussion, the etymology of the name has not been satisfactorily established. Essentially, two explanations have been posited (one Scandinavian, the other Celtic) but neither has been pursued in any great detail. In this paper it is proposed to re-examine this rare but interesting name in the light of a survey of recorded forms, firstly as a personal name and subsequently as a surname. While the various lists of forms given below as Appendix I most certainly do *not* contain every possible instance of the name, they represent a greater sample than has hitherto been offered and should therefore form a suitable basis for some general comments.<sup>1</sup>

***Maccus* as Personal Name and Surname**

The pre-Conquest instances of the personal name *Maccus*—and those which occur in post-Conquest sources referring to pre-Conquest persons—indicate that the earliest forms were *Maccus* and *Macus*. The variant form *Machus* is also found from the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries, where the orthographic *ch* must presumably represent medial velar [k] rather than palatal [tʃ] or spirant [χ]; and in the thirteenth century we find *Mackus*. The most obvious explanation of the final *-us* is that it represents the Latin second declension masculine nominative ending; but, as the forms given in List 1 (pp. 85–88) demonstrate, it was not *usually* treated as such in the sources. Thus, not only is the *-us* retained in the handful of vernacular examples, but in Latin texts the nominative *-us* is given where other

<sup>1</sup> This paper has grown out of work on one of the tenth-century bearers of the name *Maccus*. I am grateful to Oliver Padel, both for his extensive editorial input and for his help and comments at a much earlier stage in the research. However, all mistakes remain my own.

cases should be used, either *without* the use of the expected ending as in *filio Maccus* (genitive), *Macus preposito* and *a Maccus* (both ablative), or with the suffixing of the appropriate ending *after* the *-us* as, for example, in *Macusus*, *Maucuso*, *Mascusium*, *Maccosi*, and Old English (OE) dative *Maccosse*. These examples suggest that the whole name (including the *-us*) was treated as the stem. This would probably explain the forms from Cornwall ending in *-os*: if, as seems likely, the *Maccos* of the Bodmin Manumissions is the same man as the tenant of St Petrock's called *Machus*, *Macus* (written *Mac*<sup>9</sup>) and *Macos* in Domesday Book and the Exeter Domesday, then the *-os* can be equated with *-us*.<sup>2</sup> However, there are some possible exceptions to this pattern: either the change of the *-us* to an appropriate case as in *Macho pincerna* (ablative), suggesting nominative *Machus*, or the loss of the ending altogether as in *Agnete relicta Mak* and *Rogerus filius Macke* (with non-etymological final *-e*?). Further variant forms of the name may be reflected in *Maicus* (1202) and 'Makky' (1296) but I am not certain in either case. It should also be stressed that the name is occasionally confused with *Matheus* and its variant forms by modern editors.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest examples of the personal name *Maccus* which I have been able to find occur in the second half of the tenth century and the latest date from c.1300 though, as we shall see, it seems to have had a longer life as a surname. The geographical distribution of the earlier

<sup>2</sup> M. Förster, 'Die Freilassungsurkunden des Bodmin-Evangeliars', in *A Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen*, edited by N. Bøgholm and others (London and Copenhagen, 1930), pp. 77-99 (nos XXX-XXXI); note also W. Stokes, 'The manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels', *Revue celtique*, 1 (1870-72), 332-45 (pp. 335-36). For the dating of the relevant manumissions see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957; repr., 1990), p. 159. For a discussion see J. Insley, 'Regional variation in Scandinavian nomenclature in England', *Nomina*, 3 (1979), 52-60 (p. 53). This *-us* and *-os* confusion is not without precedent in the south-west: cf. *Toxus* and *Toxos* in Dorset Domesday Book. For further discussion of the Cornish *Maccos*, see Appendix II by O. J. Padel (below, pp. 95-98).

<sup>3</sup> The form of the second name in *Herberto filio Machi* (1241) given in Rymer's *Foedera* looks suspiciously like a genitive of *Machus*, but a more recent edition indicates rather that it is an error for *Mathei*: see *Littere Wallie preserved in Liber A in the Public Record Office*, edited by J. G. Edwards (Cardiff, 1940), p. 12; cf. also p. 16. But note the name *Willelmus filius Maci* (c.1151-58) listed below (Appendix I, List 1).

examples is mostly associated with northern England (especially Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Northumbria) and southern Scotland, with outliers in the Irish Sea region and Cornwall. The one apparent Continental example of *Machus* which I have encountered is to be found in a confraternity book of St Gall, but it was cited by Searle in his *Onomasticon*, which presumably implies an Anglo-Saxon context.<sup>4</sup> There is also a small number of place-names which contain the personal name *Maccus* and these exhibit a similar distribution in northern England and southern Scotland (especially Berwickshire and Roxburghshire):<sup>5</sup>

Maxey (Northants): *Macuseige* (963-84), *Macusie* (972-92), + *eg*, 'island'.<sup>6</sup>

*Macuscroft* (Theddlethorpe All Saints, Lincs), + *croft*.<sup>7</sup>

*Macusbau* (Threshfield, Yorks), + (?) ON *haugr*, 'hill'.<sup>8</sup>

*Maccus Butts Close* (Horsforth, Yorks).<sup>9</sup>

Longformacus (Berwickshire): *Langfurmacus*, *Langfarmacus* (1321); *Langeford Makhous* (c.1340), *Longfurmacus* (1384), *Langfiddmacus* (1393); *Lochyrmaccus* (1430), *Lankir-*, *Lochyrmacus* (1606), possibly + Irish *longphort*, 'encampment'.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum: A List of Anglo-Saxon Proper Names from the Time of Bede to that of King John* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 344; *Libri Confraternitatem S. Gall Augiensis Fabariensis*, edited by P. Piper, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin, 1884), p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> It has been suggested that some early forms of Makerfield (Ashton, Wigan, Lancs) contain *Maccus-*, but Ekwall alternatively favoured Welsh *magwyr* ('wall, ruin'): H. C. K. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *The Place Names of Lancashire. Their Origin and History* (London, 1911), pp. 185-86; E. Ekwall, *The Place Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), pp. 93-94. A number of English place-names are thought to contain the otherwise unattested OE personal name \**Mac(c)a*, which should not be confused with *Maccus*. For the medieval Cornish place-name *Talkarn Mackus*, see below, pp. 89 and 95-98.

<sup>6</sup> J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, English Place-Name Society, 10 (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 237-38.

<sup>7</sup> G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, Navnstudier udgivet af Institut for Navneforskning, 7 (Copenhagen, 1968), pp. 192-93.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 192-93.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 192-93.

- Maxton (Roxburghshire): *Mackistun* (1187-99), *Mackestun* (1189-93), *Maccustun*, *Maxtoun* (c. 1200); *Mackustun* (c. 1226), + *tūn*, 'town'.<sup>11</sup>
- Maxwell (Roxburghshire): *Maccuswel*, *Maccuswell* (1213 [1322]), *Macchuswel*, + *well*;<sup>12</sup> cf. Maxwellheugh (Roxburghshire), Maxwelltown (Dumfriesshire), Maxwellton Braes (Sanquhar, Dumfriesshire).
- Maxpoffle (Roxburghshire): *Makispofil* (13th), *Maxpoffel* (1296), *Machispoffil* (n.d.), *Maxpofil*, *Maxpoffil*' (1306-29), *Mackyspoffil* (1320): + *poffle* 'a small parcel of land, a pendicle'.<sup>13</sup>
- Machusland* (Hume, Berwickshire), + *land*.<sup>14</sup>

Other Scottish place-names perhaps worthy of further consideration in this light include Macksmill and Mackside both in Berwickshire.<sup>15</sup>

My appended Lists 2A-C contain examples of medieval surnames possibly derived from the personal name *Maccus*. In 2A are listed instances where the final *-us* is retained, as in *Macus*, *Mackus* and *Makus*,

<sup>10</sup> *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland. 1306-[1668]*, edited by J. Maitland Thomson and others, 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1912-14), I, 521, 628. See J. B. Johnston, *The Place-Names of Scotland* (London, 1934), p. 243; J. B. Johnston, *The Place-Names of Berwickshire* (Edinburgh, 1940), p. 39; W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 495; W. C. Mackenzie, *Scottish Place-Names* (London, 1931), p. 164. Of the place-names containing *Maccus*, Longformacus is the only one to follow Celtic as opposed to English word order.

<sup>11</sup> *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, edited by [C. Innes], Bannatyne Club, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1837), I, 78-79, 81 and 111; II, 400 and 443; *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, edited by [J. Spottiswoode], Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 144.

<sup>12</sup> *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, edited by G. W. S. Barrow and others, 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1960-), V, 479-80; George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946), p. 589.

<sup>13</sup> *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, edited by Innes, I, 234, II, 382-4; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London*, edited by J. Bain and others, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1881-[1987]), II, 199 and 545; Black, *Surnames of Scotland*, p. 589; Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 249. On the OE place-name element *\*pofel* (meaning and origin unknown) see A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, E.P.N.S., 25-26 (Cambridge, 1956), II, 68.

<sup>14</sup> *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, edited by Thomson and others, I, 44; cf. *Machuland* in Duns (Berwickshire), *ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>15</sup> Johnston, *The Place-Names of Berwickshire*, p. 39.

and in these cases the derivation from the personal name seems relatively certain. Here the forms may suggest that the personal name has been adopted either directly as an uninflected surname (without a patronymic *filius* or gen. *-es*) or as a genitival surname in which *-es* has been assimilated to the final *-us* of the stem (as seems probable in the place-names cited above).<sup>16</sup> However, the vast majority of the surnames (those given in List 2B) lack the *-us* and involve varying degrees of ambiguity: for example, we have abbreviated forms such as *Mak'* and *Mack'* (possibly for *Mackus*); the omission of the final *-us* altogether (*Mac*, *Mack*, *Macke*, *Make*, *Mak* and *Makke*); and forms in *-ch-* of uncertain orthographic value (*Mache*, *Macche*, *Mach'*). In these cases, other etymologies are therefore possible: the orthographic *-ch-* may sometimes represent [tʃ] or [χ]; and the abbreviated forms may reflect other names. In addition, forms such as *Make* may derive from a byname from Middle English *make* ('mate, companion; spouse') < OE (*ge*)*maca*. Other surnames of interest here include the forms *le Mak'*, *le Make*, and *le Macho'*. Finally, some medieval Scottish instances of the surname *Make* and *Makke* could be variants of *Makky*, *Makee*, etc., which became modern Mackay and Mackie (< *Mac Aodha*).

The medieval surnames of the type(s) *Makke*, *Mache*, etc., may have developed either from *Maccus* with the loss of the final *-us*, or from the less common, shortened personal name *Macke*, *Mak*, etc. Furthermore, it is possible that the modern surname Mack may *in part* be a development from these medieval forms.<sup>17</sup> The individual medieval instances probably reflect a polygenetic origin since there is a relatively wide geographical distribution of the various surname forms, more so than that of the personal name. Thus, for example, the Berwickshire family-name Mack is probably a development from the southern Scottish instances of *Maccus* in the twelfth century and later, whereas those in England could similarly be derived from the English instances of the personal name rather than a migration of the Scottish surname. It is also worth stressing here that not all modern instances of the surname Mack need be derived from medieval *Maccus* or *Makke*. For example, it is known that certain modern Irish cases of the surname

<sup>16</sup> On these two types of surname see P. H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London, 1967), pp. 91-98.

<sup>17</sup> P. H. Reaney and R. M. Wilson, *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, 3rd edn (London, 1995), p. 292.

Mack represent a shortening of specific Irish patronymic surnames in *Mac-* or *Mc-*: from MacEnroe in Co. Tyrone and MacNamara in Co. Clare.<sup>18</sup> This is a relevant parallel to which I shall return below (pp. 82–83).

*Maccus* also seems to have occurred as part of other, more conventional types of patronymic surname (List 2C). For example, it is possible that surnames such as *Makson* and *Maxson* combine the shortened form *Mack-* (etc.) with *-son*, or again the final *-us* may have been assimilated to the sibilant of *-son*. However, Scottish examples such as *Makkeysson*, *Makkison*, *Makysoun*, and so forth became modern Mackieson and probably have a separate origin. Perhaps more interesting are examples of Irish patronymic surnames based on *Maccus* to be found in Anglo-Irish administrative documents from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Here—in addition to one example of the surname *Maccus*, 1299 (List 1)—the personal name is combined with the Irish patronymic words *Mac-* and *O'*. At least three separate family groups can be distinguished. Firstly, we have a number of records of the surname *Omaccus* or *Omackus* (i.e. O'Maccus) in Dublin; secondly there are three individuals with the same surname living around Wexford; and finally we have reference to the surname *Macmackus* (i.e. MacMaccus) in Limerick in 1295. This last example is slightly different from the others in that the person in question, called William O'Mullane, defended his position in a legal case on the grounds that he was not Irish (*Hibernicus*) but an Ostman (that is, of Hiberno-Scandinavian ancestry) and the text qualified his claim by adding '*viz.*, Macmackus' (see List 2C, p. 93).

### The origin of *Maccus*

The name *Maccus* has attracted a certain amount of discussion, normally directed at one of the earlier instances, with possible reference to one or more of the others. One scholar, we might note in passing, stated that 'the history of the name *Maccus* is fraught with interest!'<sup>19</sup> In seeking to trace the origin of this personal name, it is important to note at the outset its strong Scandinavian associations. We have seen that in thirteenth-century Ireland the surname

<sup>18</sup> See E. MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland*, 6th edn (Blackrock, 1985), p. 203.

<sup>19</sup> E. D. Laborde, *Byrhtnoth and Maldon* (London, 1937), p. 74.

*Macmackus* was taken to be synonymous with Hiberno-Scandinavian as opposed to native Irish ancestry, and the other 'Irish' surnames containing *Maccus* are also linked to traditional Ostmen towns. Indeed, some of the tenth-century bearers of the personal name had Norse patronymics, *mac Arailt* suggesting Old Norse (ON) *Haraldsson* and *filius Onlafi* suggesting *Ólafsson* (see Appendix I, List 1). Furthermore, the geographical distribution in Britain of the earlier examples implies a strong (though not exclusive) connection with certain areas of Scandinavian settlement in northern England and in southern Scotland as well as the Irish Sea region. Even the example from Cornwall is not necessarily an exception to this rule, as Scandinavians were not unknown in the south-west during this period.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the *Maccus* said to have fought at Maldon in 991 would not have been the only follower of *English* ealdorman Byrhtnoth to have had Scandinavian connections. The Scandinavian pattern might also be reflected in the distribution of the small number of English and Scottish place-names listed above which appear to incorporate the personal name *Maccus*.

Given this strong Scandinavian association of the name, it is perhaps not too surprising that the most common interpretation in the secondary literature, especially recently, is that *Maccus* is derived from the ON personal name *Magnús* (itself a borrowing from Latin of course): for many scholars it represents an 'Old Irish' or 'Hiberno-Norse' form or corruption of this Old Norse name, though 'an Anglicized version' has also been posited.<sup>21</sup> This derivation of

<sup>20</sup> Thus see J. Insley, 'Some Scandinavian personal names from south-west England', *Namn och Bygd*, 70 (1982), 77–93.

<sup>21</sup> For example, A. Bugge, *Vikingerne. Billeder fra vore forfædres liv*, 2 vols (Copenhagen and Oslo, 1904–06), I, 279; W. G. Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain* (London, 1908), pp. 190 and 210; Frederick Klaeber, 'Zu Byrhtnoðs Tod', *Englische Studien*, 55 (1921), 390–95 (pp. 391–92); Laborde, *Byrhtnoth and Maldon*, p. 74; E. Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960), p. 318; Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary of English Surnames*, p. 292; Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names*, pp. 192–93; N. F. Blake, 'The genesis of *The Battle of Maldon*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), 119–29 (p. 126); A. P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1975–79), II, 174–75; M. A. L. Locherbie-Cameron, 'The men named in the poem', in *The Battle of Maldon AD 991*, edited by D. Scragg (Oxford, 1991), pp. 238–49 (pp. 239 and 246).

*Maccus* is indeed tempting, but we should also recall the late Cecily Clark's more cautious statement that *Maccus* 'is now recognized as common among Irish Vikings'.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, there are problems with this interpretation. On the one hand, we would have the difficulty of explaining the phonological development *Magnús* > *Maccus*; and perhaps a better Scandinavian parallel for *Maccus* would be the very rare ON name *Mákr* (*Makkr*).<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, we do not find the name *Magnús* used by continental Scandinavian dynasties until the eleventh century: this is not surprising as the origin of the name presupposes some knowledge of Latin and thereby implies the sort of cultural context which might not have arisen before the adoption of Christianity. The eleventh-century Norwegian king *Magnús inn Goði* is often regarded as the first Scandinavian dynast to bear the name. Thus, according to Icelandic tradition, when the (Christian) Icelandic *skáld* *Sighvatr Þórðarson* christened the infant *Magnús*, the child's father king *Óláfr* asked why he had chosen that name, as 'that is not a family-name of ours' (*Ekki er þat vart ætt nafn*), and *Sighvatr* explained that he had taken it from *Karla-Magnús*, that is *Carolus Magnus* or Charlemagne.<sup>24</sup> Of course, the Scandinavians active in the British Isles were in closer contact with Latin and Christian culture at an early stage, many being of mixed blood and Christianized before their cousins at home, so the name *Magnús* could conceivably have developed earlier within such a mixed community as on Man, for example.<sup>25</sup> If so, however, it would be odd that the latinate scribes

<sup>22</sup> C. Clark, 'On dating *The Battle of Maldon*', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 27 (1987), 1–22 (p. 16).

<sup>23</sup> On this personal name see: E. H. Lind, *Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn ock Fingerade Namn från Medeltiden* (Uppsala and Leipzig, 1905–15), col. 757. It is sometimes regarded as a hypocoristic of *Magnús* and has been connected to the surname Mack (hence to *Maccus*?): see P. Hanks and F. Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames* (Oxford, 1988), p. 339.

<sup>24</sup> *Snorri Sturluson, Heimskringla*, edited by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols, Íslenzk Fornrit, 26–28 (Reykjavík, 1941), II, 210. It is tempting to render *ætt nafn* as 'a name of our people' (i.e. Scandinavian) as opposed to the more restricted 'family-name', but this translation might stretch the meaning of *ætt*.

<sup>25</sup> Although the Latin epithet *magnus* represents a posthumous coinage and presupposes a literary transmission, it is worth noting that it was used with reference to Charlemagne rather early (before 850): *Alfred the Great. Asser's Life of King Alfred and other Contemporary Sources*, translated by S. Keynes

managed to misrepresent the name so regularly when referring to the tenth century and rendered it properly for the subsequent ones.<sup>26</sup> An analysis of the Irish chronicles shows that, with the possible exception of the tenth-century *Maccus* of the Isles (but see below!), the name *Magnús* did not become current in Ireland (whether among the Hiberno-Scandinavians or the native Irish) until the early twelfth century, and then presumably under the influence of continental Scandinavian usage.<sup>27</sup> Certain other sources do imply that the name *Magnús* was current among the Hiberno-Scandinavians in the earlier period but they are late in composition and, more significantly, of dubious reliability.<sup>28</sup> We might also reject the suggestion that the name *Carlus* was derived by the Dublin Norse in the tenth century from the first element of *Carolus Magnus*, as a complement to *Maccus*:<sup>29</sup> it is first

and M. Lapidge (Harmondsworth, 1983), p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> The name *Magnus* itself also occurs in a tenth-century Bodmin manumission (no. XL): Förster, 'Freilassungsurkunden', p. 95; Stokes, 'Manumissions', p. 337.

<sup>27</sup> B. Ó Cuív, 'Personal names as an indicator of relations between native Irish and settlers in the Viking period', in *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland: Studies presented to F. X. Martin*, edited by J. Bradley (Kilkenny, 1988), pp. 79–88 (pp. 83–84).

<sup>28</sup> For example, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh. The War of the Gaedhils with the Gaill, or the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and Other Norsemen*, edited and translated by J. H. Todd, (London, 1867), pp. 76–81 (cf. Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*, p. 228); *On the Fomorians and the Norsemen by Duaid Mac Firbis*, edited and translated by A. Bugge (Oslo, 1905), pp. 4 and 11; D. Ó Corráin, 'Caithréim Chellacháin Chaisil: history or propaganda?', *Ériu*, 25 (1974), 1–69 (pp. 54–55).

<sup>29</sup> Bugge, *Vikingerne*, p. 279. In fact, this name was borne by *Carlus mac Cuinn meic Donnchada* (ob. 960), an Irishman, of Clann Cholmáin of Meath: see D. E. Thornton, 'Kings, chronicles and genealogies: reconstructing mediaeval Celtic dynasties', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, edited by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 23–40 (p. 34). Collingwood (*Scandinavian Britain*, p. 228) incorrectly called him 'Carlus mac Con', thereby creating a parallel with the eleventh-century Karl Hundason of Scotland mentioned in Icelandic sagas: but the name *Conn* derives from *conn* ('bulge, protuberance; leader, chief; adult; intelligence, reason'), and not from *con*, the genitive of *cú* ('dog'). For another tenth-century native Irish *Carlus*, see M. E. Dobbs, 'The Ban-Shenchus', *Revue celtique*, 48 (1931), 163–234 (pp. 189 and 228).

witnessed in the Irish chronicles in the ninth century and is probably derived directly from the (cognate) Scandinavian name *Karl* (itself from ON 'man, churl').<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps the strongest evidence favouring the derivation of the personal name *Maccus* from ON *Magnús* is the fact that the Irish chronicle known as the Annals of the Four Masters (most readily accessible in the nineteenth-century edition by John O'Donovan) refers to Maccus son of Harald, king of the Isles, as *Maghnus mac Arailt*.<sup>31</sup> Here therefore we have a well-attested figure otherwise known as *Maccus* being called *Magnus*, and this constitutes the only instance, to my knowledge, where the two names appear to be equated in a primary source with reference to a single person. Obviously one might question the reliability of these Annals, written in the 1630s, as a 'primary' source for the 970s but, despite their clearly late date, AFM were compiled from earlier material and can often be seen to be reliable. In fact, the solution to this problem is supplied by the text itself. The earlier edition of these Annals, by the Rev. Charles O'Connor in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, refers to this *Maghnus* using the intriguing form *Maccnus* (though *Magnus* is given in the accompanying Latin translation).<sup>32</sup> It is possible that this form has no value since O'Connor's edition is, according to O'Donovan, full of errors.<sup>33</sup> However, the issue does seem worth pursuing because we also know that O'Donovan himself did not have access to either of the original 'autograph' manuscripts of the first portion of the Annals (to 1171), now preserved as Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS Stowe C.iii.3 (1220) and Killiney, Franciscan Library, MS A.13.<sup>34</sup> He was

<sup>30</sup> For example, Carlus was son of Amlaíb, king of Dublin 853–73, who may be the eponym of *Claideb Carlusa*, 'Sword of Carlus', noticed in the annals for the years 995, 1029 and 1058: for his obit see *Annála Rioghachta Éireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, edited by John O'Donovan (= AFM), 7 vols, revised impression (Dublin, 1990), I, s.a. 866 (= A.D. 868).

<sup>31</sup> AFM, s.a. 972 (= A.D. 974). On this particular Maccus see my forthcoming paper, 'Edgar and the Eight Kings (A.D. 973)'.  
<sup>32</sup> *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, edited by C. O'Connor, 4 vols (Buckingham, 1814–26), III, 504.

<sup>33</sup> *Annála Rioghachta Éireann*, edited by O'Donovan, I, vii.

<sup>34</sup> T. F. O'Rahilly et al., *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 28 fascicules (Dublin, 1926–70), fasc. XXVI, 3276–82; M. Dillon,

therefore compelled to use 'a number of more or less faulty transcripts . . . in conjunction with the text issued by Dr. O'Connor' and as a result this 'was the cause of some mistakes' in his edition.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, O'Connor would have most certainly used the 'Stowe' original for his edition. Indeed, consultation of the two original copies demonstrates that O'Donovan's reading *Maghnus* must be considered as one of the 'mistakes' in his edition.<sup>36</sup> In these manuscripts the equivalent name is rendered by the abbreviated form 'mcc3', which should be expanded as 'Maccus' rather than as O'Connor's *Maccnus* and certainly not as O'Donovan's *Maghnus*. It would appear that a later copyist did not recognize this rare personal name and rendered it as a different (but not dissimilar) form with which they were more familiar. Lacking access to the originals, O'Donovan subsequently reproduced the resulting erroneous reading. The exemplar of the Four Masters' form *Maccus* is not apparent because the surviving medieval Irish chronicles only refer to this man by his patronymic *mac Arailt*: that the form was derived from some lost medieval annalistic source is perfectly possible though it is impossible to be sure of this. However, it is clear that Maccus, the tenth-century king of the Isles, is not called *Magnus* in any surviving primary source. Of course, this does not in itself refute the possible derivation of the name *Maccus* from *Magnus* (though it must surely weaken the case considerably) but it does indicate that statements to the effect that *Maccus* is the 'Old Irish' form of *Magnus* lack documentary proof: our only instances of the name *Maccus* in Irish sources—representing a small proportion of List 1 below—are considerably later than the linguistic Old Irish period and, as already demonstrated, the vast majority of notices of the name and its variant forms occur in *English* sources relating to parts of England.

C. Mooney and P. de Brún, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Franciscan Library, Killiney* (Dublin, 1969), pp. 24–27.

<sup>35</sup> For these comments see P. Walsh, *The Four Masters and their Work*, edited by C. Ó Lochlainn (Dublin, 1944), p. 38; and *idem*, *Gleanings from Irish MSS*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1933), p. 69.

<sup>36</sup> Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS Stowe C.iii.3 (1220), fo. 479r; Killiney, Franciscan Library, MS A.13, fo. 392v. I am extremely grateful to both Prof. Pádraig de Brún of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and Dr Anthony Harvey of the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources, Royal Irish Academy, for consulting these two manuscripts on my behalf.

That being said, it seems probable that we must remain in Ireland if we are to determine the ultimate origin of this personal name.

A number of scholars have rejected the etymology of *Maccus* from ON *Magnús*,<sup>37</sup> and the foregoing discussion would suggest there are strong grounds for doing so. The name has alternatively been explained according to an ultimately Celtic rather than Scandinavian etymology. For example, in some cases we find it being described as an 'Irish' or 'Old Irish' name (without any necessary reference to *Magnus*),<sup>38</sup> and more specifically some scholars (mostly in the last century) specifically derived it from the Old Irish noun *mac(c)*, 'son, boy', suffixed with the Latin case-ending *-us*.<sup>39</sup> Occasionally attention has also been drawn to the supposedly 'Old Cornish' form *Maccos*,<sup>40</sup> although I have already suggested that we should regard the latter as a variant of the forms ending in *-us* rather than a specifically Cornish name in its own right. The possible Irish derivation is certainly worthy of pursuit, though some basic facts ought to be stated at the outset. The extant name *Maccus* (and the variant forms) is not an 'Old Irish' name in the strict sense of belonging to the Old Irish (or even later

<sup>37</sup> A. Goss, in *Chronica Regum Manniae et Insularum. The Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys*, edited by P. A. Munch, revised edition by [A.] Goss, 2 vols (Douglas, 1874), I, 133, note *a*; A. H. Smith, 'Some aspects of Irish influence on Yorkshire', *Revue celtique*, 44 (1927), 34–58 (pp. 44–45).

<sup>38</sup> See Smith, 'Irish influence', pp. 44–45; O. von Feilitzen and C. Blunt, 'Personal names on the coinage of Edgar', in *England before the Conquest. Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, edited by P. Clemons and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 183–214 (pp. 200 and 209); *The Battle of Maldon*, edited by Gordon, pp. 84–85; *The Battle of Maldon*, edited by D. G. Scragg (Manchester, 1981), p. 109.

<sup>39</sup> *Chronica*, edited by Munch (1860 edn), p. 41, n. 1, and (1874 edn), pp. 132–33; K. van Maurer, *Die Bekehrung des norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthume in ihrem geschichtlichen Verlaufe quellenmassig geschildert*, 2 vols (München, 1855–56), I, 147–48, n. 17; J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, 4 vols (Copenhagen, 1876–82), III, 203, n. 2.

<sup>40</sup> For example, Insley, 'Regional variation', p. 53; O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), p. 323; note also F. Liebermann, 'Zu Geschichte Byrhtnoths den Helden von Maldon', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 101 (1898), 15–28 (p. 19, n. 32). The fact that Stokes omitted *Maccos* from his appended 'Index of Celtic words' ('Manumissions', pp. 338–45) suggests he did not regard the Cornish example as Celtic in origin.

Irish) anthroponymic corpus: as it stands, it cannot be etymologized as exclusively Old Irish and no such name in any of the variant forms can be found in the medieval Irish genealogical or annalistic texts which constitute our main sources for onomastic evidence.<sup>41</sup> As we have seen, the name is to be found in a handful of later Irish and Anglo-Irish sources referring to the medieval period, though in these cases the bearers of the name in question were associated with areas of Scandinavian settlement; and in one case the surname *Macmackus* was specifically equated with Scandinavian as opposed to native Irish descent.

As discussed above, while the English documents of the tenth century and later treated the name *Maccus* and its variants as the stem, the final *-us* does look suspiciously like the Latin second declension masculine nominative ending. When this termination is removed, we are left with *Mac(c)*- which in turn does indeed look suspiciously like the Old Irish noun *mac(c)*. This noun was employed in a number of different capacities in medieval Irish anthroponymy and constituted what M. A. O'Brien termed a 'most troublesome' name-element.<sup>42</sup> However, while we do find instances of the diminutive form *Macán*,<sup>43</sup> it should be stressed that there does *not* seem to have been a corresponding monothematic personal name \**Mac(c)*. Therefore, it is not immediately clear how the noun could have given rise to the name *Maccus*. A brief survey of the various uses of *mac(c)* in early Irish onomastics may help to throw some light on the problem. Firstly, the noun occurred as the deuterotheme in various common dithematic compound names such as *Cormac* (*Corbmacc*), *Blathmacc*, and *Ciarmac*, or, more rarely, as the prototheme in a few other compounds including *Maclaech*, *Maccoígi* and (in the genitive) *Maicnia*.<sup>44</sup> *Mac* was also employed as the first element in the characteristically Insular Celtic (and especially Gaelic) type of personal name combining a noun or substantival adjective with a following noun (common or proper) in the genitive case: *Mac Bethad* (*Macbeth*), *Mac Cáirthinn*, *Mac Raith*, etc.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> On the onomastic value of the genealogies see N. Ó Muraíle, 'The Irish genealogies as an onomastic source', *Nomina*, 16 (1992–93), 23–47.

<sup>42</sup> M. A. O'Brien, 'Old Irish personal names', *Celtica*, 10 (1973), 216–36 (p. 227).

<sup>43</sup> For example, O'Brien, *Corpus*, I, 370.

<sup>44</sup> O'Brien, 'Old Irish personal names', p. 227.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 226–30; O'Brien, *Corpus*, I, 680–84; B. Ó Cuív, 'Aspects of Irish

In addition, the word *mac* formed the middle element in the patronymic construction *X mac Y* ('X son of Y') by which individuals are most often distinguished in the annalistic sources before the eleventh and twelfth centuries: in some instances three generations may be given (*X mac Y maic Z*), while in others the bearer's own 'font name' (the *X* element) could be omitted leaving only the patronym proper (which we have encountered already with some references to Maccus king of the Isles as simply *mac Arailt*). Finally, the patronymic in *mac* developed into surnames in *Mac*, such as *Mac Carthaig* (McCarthy), *Mac Lochlainn* (McLaughlin), and so forth, just as the patronymic *X ua Z* ('X grandson of Z') gave way to the surnames in *Ua*, later *Ó*, Anglicized as *O'*.<sup>46</sup>

The most conspicuous use of *mac(c)* in early medieval Irish anthroponymy is undoubtedly as part of the patronymic, at least until the development of surnames in the eleventh century and later. The patronymic—which serves to distinguish between namesakes by naming their respective fathers—would make perfect sense in the appropriate linguistic community of the namesakes, but would be less functionally understood in other linguistic contexts. The precise linguistic character of the mixed Hiberno-Scandinavian communities settled in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries is by no means certain. However, while the occurrence of Gaelic personal names (in their own right or in place-names) indicates connections with Ireland or the Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland, the predominance of the Old Norse element in the toponymic evidence must reinforce the essentially Scandinavian and linguistically Norse character of these communities. It is not impossible therefore that the Irish patronymic construction encountered by the Scandinavians and perhaps used by a minority of the Hiberno-Scandinavian settlers could over time have lost its functionality. This would mean that the noun *mac*—the non-onomastic and functionally genealogical element in the construction—was subsequently regarded by the predominantly non-Gaelic speaking population simply as part of the overall

personal names', *Celtica*, 18 (1986), 151–84 (pp. 158–59). This type of name is sometimes hyphenated in modern works: for example, *Mac-bethad* and *Mac-Cáirbhinn*.

<sup>46</sup> Ó Cuív, 'Aspects of Irish personal names', pp. 179–84; also Thornton, 'Kings, chronicles and genealogies', pp. 29–30.

naming-system and came to be employed by them as a personal name in its own right, independent of the Irish usage.

There are parallels for this hypothesized development, both medieval and modern. For example, *Maccus* would not represent the only instance of a new nominal coinage in medieval England arising from a misunderstanding of or unfamiliarity with Irish onomastic practise. For example, we might recall that the personal name variously spelt *Gille* and *Gilli*—which is found in medieval English and Icelandic sources and which, like *Maccus*, occurs most frequently in areas of Hiberno-Scandinavian settlement in England<sup>47</sup>—derives from the Irish name-element *Gilla* from Old Irish *gillae* ('servant').<sup>48</sup> This element was particularly common in combination with biblical or saints' names, in such personal names as *Gilla Pátraic* ('servant of St Patrick'), *Gilla Críst*, *Gilla Ísu*, and so on, and more rarely as the deuterotheme in such names as *Dubgilla* and *Cróngilla*. O'Brien stated that *Gilla* 'occurs by itself as a name' but cited no supporting evidence; and the single instance of such a name in his *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, when compared with later copies of the relevant pedigree, can be shown to be an error for the fuller form *Gilla Senáin* (or possibly *Gilla Senaig*).<sup>49</sup> It seems likely therefore that the Anglo-Scandinavian name *Gilli* (etc.) was derived, not from a comparable Irish monothematic name *Gilla*, but rather from the first element in names of the type *Gilla Pátraic*. This would constitute a separate development among the predominantly non-Gaelic speaking

<sup>47</sup> Von Feilitzen, *Pre-Conquest Personal Names*, p. 261; W. A. Craigie, 'Gaelic words and names in the Icelandic sagas', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 1 (1897), 439–54 (pp. 445–46); Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names*, pp. 100–01.

<sup>48</sup> C. J. S. Marstrander, 'Altir. *Gillae*', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 12 (1918), 309–22; Marstrander, 'Altirische Personennamen mit *Gilla*', *Zeitschrift für celtische philologie*, 13 (1919), 1–2 and 147; on names with this element see Ó Cuív, 'Aspects of Irish personal names', pp. 167–68.

<sup>49</sup> O'Brien, 'Old Irish personal names', p. 229. Compare *Corpus*, I, 245 (for the Book of Lecan, fol. 228<sup>c</sup>14) with the Book of Uí Maine, fol. 88<sup>b</sup>23, and with S. Pender, 'The O'Clery Book of Genealogies', *Analecta Hibernica*, 18 (1951), 1–198 (p. 154; = § 2017). There are some other possible instances of a monothematic *Gilla* (for instance, Pender, 'O'Clery', p. 51 (= § 677); Dublin, Trinity College, MS H.2.7, col.188bb17) but these seem too few in number to account for the more common name *Gille* in England.



Scandinavian settlers in the British Isles and was at variance with Irish onomastic practice. This shortening of *Gilla-* names to *Gilli* is further illustrated in the case of the Norwegian king (1130–36) *Haraldr Gilli*, who is said to have first arrived from Ireland known as *Gillikeristr* (i.e. *Gilla Críst*) claiming to be the son of Magnus Barefoot but was subsequently known by the Norse name *Haraldr* with the byname *Gilli*.<sup>50</sup> That the structure of names of the type *Gilla Pátraic* was not always understood outside Ireland and Scotland is perhaps not surprising since they belong to a category of Celtic personal names (including names such as *Mac Bethad*, etc., mentioned above) which does not conform to established Indo-European onomastic patterns and which even modern scholars have failed to classify satisfactorily.<sup>51</sup> I would suggest that *Maccus* arose from a similar unfamiliarity with the finer conventions of Gaelic anthroponymy, in this case patronymic practises.

In addition, this hypothetical origin of *Maccus* would not be the only instance of the shortening of Gaelic names containing the word *mac(c)*. I have mentioned already how some Irish *Mac-* surnames can be shortened to form the new surname *Mack* (above, pp. 71–72). A Brittonic parallel is represented by the patronymic noun *map* ('son'; later *ap*), which must underlie some (if not all) instances of the medieval Welsh and Cornish surname *Map* or *Mab*—whose most famous bearer was of course Walter Map—as well as the modern Breton surnames *Le Mab*, *Le Maby*, *Le Map* and *Le Mapp*.<sup>52</sup> Indeed,

<sup>50</sup> He is also called *Haraldr Gille* or *Haraldr Gillikristr* as well as *Haraldus Hyberniensis*; one alternative tradition states that he was son of king Sigurðr Magnússon. See *Monumenta Historica Norvegiæ. Latinske Kildeskrifter til Norges Historie i Middelalderen*, edited by G. Storm (Oslo, 1880), pp. 66, 182 and 184; *Ágrip af Nóregskonunga Sögum. Fagrskinna—Nóregs Konunga Tal*, edited by B. Einarsson, Íslenzk Fornrit, 29 (Reykjavík, 1984), pp. 50 and 321; *Morkinskinna*, edited by F. Jónsson, 5 vols (Copenhagen, 1928–32), p. 391; *Heimskringla*, edited by Aðalbjarnarson, III, 265.

<sup>51</sup> For a brief discussion see D. E. Evans, 'A comparison of the formation of some Continental and early Insular Celtic personal names', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 24 (1970–72), 415–34 (pp. 431–32).

<sup>52</sup> T. J. and P. Morgan, *Welsh Surnames* (Cardiff, 1985), p. 155; M. Divanach, *5000 Patronymes bretons francisés* (Brest, 1975), pp. 74 and 76; for the Cornish example *Godric Map* see Förster, 'Freilassungsurkunden', no. XXXIII. It should be noted that this origin of the English surname *Mab(b)* is not the only

examples in Domesday Book of the surname *Mapesone* or *Mappesone* in Worcestershire and Herefordshire respectively possibly imply that *Map* could be employed as a personal name in the Welsh Marches, which would be directly comparable with the suggested development of the name *Maccus* from patronymic *mac(c)*.<sup>53</sup> A slightly different process underlies such surnames as *Fitz* and *Fitts* from French *Fitz-* (*filis*) or *Son*, *Sonne* and *Soane* from Middle English *sonne* (OE *-sunu*) which initially served as epithets for sons who bore the same name as their father (literally 'the younger or junior').<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, the shortened word *Mac(k)* has been employed as a designation for Scots and Irish (that is, people whose surnames begin with *Mac-* or *Mc-*) or more colloquially in the North American usage as a general form of address when greeting strangers ('Hey, Mac!').<sup>55</sup> Here it is the common character of the surname-element rather than its etymology which must underlie this practise. In a similar manner, I suggest, in the tenth century it was the common character of the patronymic-element *mac* which led to the coining, among Hiberno-Scandinavians who had lost close contact with the Gaelic language, of the name *Maccus*.

The difficulty with this hypothesis is the function of the final *-us*. While the suffixing of *-us* when writing the personal name \**Mac(c)-* in a Latin text would pose no problem, the fact remains that, even in the earliest instances of the name, the *-us* seems to have been treated as part

possible derivation: G. Tengvik, *Old English Bynames* (Uppsala, 1938), p. 378; C. W. E. Bardsley, *English Surnames* (London, 1873), pp. 512–13; Hanks and Hodges, *Dictionary*, p. 339; Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary of English Surnames*, pp. 290 and 298.

<sup>53</sup> *Domesday Book seu liber censualis Willelmi Primi Regis Angliae*, edited by A. Farley, 2 vols (London, 1783), I, fols 176c and 181a. Later instances of *Mab* (as in *Mab Tew* in Caernarfon in the 1360s) probably represent nicknames rather than a 'font name' proper: see *Caernarvon Court Rolls 1361–1402*, translated by G. P. Jones and H. Owen, Caernarvonshire Historical Society, Record Series, 1 (1951), pp. 18, 24–25, etc.

<sup>54</sup> For example, see Reaney and Wilson, *Dictionary of English Surnames*, pp. 170 and 417; Reaney, *Origin of English Surnames*, p. 81; Hanks and Hodges, *Dictionary of Surnames*, p. 499.

<sup>55</sup> *O.E.D.*, s.v. *mac*<sup>2</sup>; E. Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, new edn, edited by P. Beale (London, 1984), s.v. *Mac*; *Dictionary of American Slang*, compiled and edited by H. Wentworth and S. B. Flexner (London, 1960), s.v. *Mack*.

of the stem rather than an inflectional ending. If, on the other hand, the later personal names *Mak* and *Macke* are derived from *Maccus*—as the surnames *Macke*, *Mac*, etc., might be—then the *-us* was sometimes dropped. For my suggested origin of *Maccus* to hold, it is necessary to argue either that the final *-us* was indeed the Latin case-ending which lost its grammatical function and subsequently *by some means* became an integral part of the name, or that the *-us* had an altogether different origin. There is one possible precedent for the pattern posited here and, while it is highly unlikely to have had any influence upon the material under discussion, it is worth mentioning as a *post scriptum*. A fifth-century (?) memorial inscription of an Irish mercenary (*foederatus*) at Wroxeter reads (in Roman capitals): CUNORIX MACVS MAQVI-COLINE, 'Conrí son of Macc-Cuilinn [lies here]'.<sup>56</sup> This inscription is significant for present purposes since the word MACVS represents an interesting and (we are told) unique Latinization of the Ogamic MAQ(Q)I or \*MAQ(Q)OS (Primitive Irish 'son') by means of the suffixing of *-us*, in place of the expected *filius* or the Primitive Irish termination *-os*. If nothing else, this parallel demonstrates that it was possible for the Irish noun to be latinized as *macus* in a non-Gaelic speaking context, though in this instance it retained its patronymic function.

<sup>56</sup> See R. P. Wright and K. H. Jackson, 'A late inscription from Wroxeter', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 48 (1968), 296–300; also D. McManus, *A Guide to Ogam* (Maynooth, 1991), pp. 64, 114, 117 and 129.

## APPENDIX I: LISTS OF FORMS

In the following lists, the exact forms of the name are given as found in the source: consequently, Latin case-endings have been retained and where the inflection is not obvious from the form itself the appropriate preposition is also included. All such original forms are listed *in italics*. In those cases where the name has been found in modern translations of sources (calendars of documents, etc.), so that it is by no means certain whether the translated form given accurately reflects that in the original, the forms are listed unitalicized within double quotation marks. Chronological and geographical associations are supplied in the lists—where possible—in order to facilitate analysis of the relevant form (dates are supplied as *floruits* unless otherwise stated). A number of interesting but uncertain name-forms have also been included in the lists and are indicated by a question-mark.

### LIST 1

#### EXAMPLES OF THE PERSONAL NAME *MACCUS*

*MACVS* (moneyer): reign of Edgar, 959–75.<sup>57</sup>

*Maccus filius Onlafi, Maco consul* (Yorks?): 954.<sup>58</sup>

Maccus king of the Isles: *Maccus plurimarum rex insularum, archipiratam Mascusium, Macone rege Moniae et plurimarum insularum*: 973;<sup>59</sup> *Maccus rex insularum, Mascusius archipirata*,<sup>60</sup> *filio Haraldi, Marc*

<sup>57</sup> *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, vol. 28, *Cumulative Index of Volumes 1–20*, edited by V. Smart (London, 1981), p. 57; and vol. 41, *Cumulative Index of Volumes 21–40*, edited by V. Smart (London, 1992), p. 87.

<sup>58</sup> *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, edited by T. Arnold, Rolls Series, 2 vols (London, 1882–85), I, 197; *Flores Historiarum*, edited by H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, 3 vols (London, 1890), I, 503.

<sup>59</sup> *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, edited by B. Thorpe, 2 vols (London, 1848–49), I, 142–43; *Symeonis Opera*, edited by Arnold, II, 130–31; *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque; Historia Novellae Libri Tres*, edited by W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 2 vols (London, 1887–89), I, 165; *Chronica Majora*, edited by H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, 7 vols (London, 1872–84), I, 466–67; *Flores Historiarum*, edited by Luard, I, 513.

<sup>60</sup> P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters. An Annotated List and Bibliography*

*mab Herald, Madoc vab Herald, Mactus vab Harald*: 971;<sup>61</sup> *mac Arailt, Maghnus* [recte *Maccus*] *mac Arailt*.<sup>62</sup>

*Maccus* (fought at Maldon, Essex): 991.<sup>63</sup>

*Mactus Manach, Maccus Manach* ('the monk?', 'the Manxman?'): 1044.<sup>64</sup>

*Macus* (Cockerington, Lincs); *Macus* (South Cadeby, Lincs); *Machus* (Kelstern, Lincs); *Macus* (Preston, Holderness, Yorks); *Macus* (Little Ouseburn, Yorks): all pre-1066.<sup>65</sup>

*Machus, Macus, Macos* (Fursnewth, Cornwall): 1066–86; *Maccos, Maccosse hundredes mann* [OE dative], *pro anima Maccosi centurionis* (Bodmin, Cornwall): c.1050–1100.<sup>66</sup>

(?) *Willelmus filius Maci* (Wellington, Somerset?): c.1100–30.<sup>67</sup>

*Maccus filius Undweyn, Maccus filio Vndweyn, Maccus* [abl.] *filius* [sic] *Undwain, Macchus filio Vndwain* (Glasgow): c.1115–50.<sup>68</sup>

(London, 1968), nos 783 and 808.

<sup>61</sup> *Annales Cambriæ*, edited by John Williams (ab Ithel), Rolls Series (London 1860) (MS. B), s.a. [971]; *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes. Red Book of Hergest Version*, edited and translated by Thomas Jones (2nd edn, Cardiff, 1973), s.a. [971]; *Brut y Tywysogyon. Peniarth MS. 20*, edited by Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1941), s.a. 969 = 971; *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons. BM Cotton MS. Cleopatra B.v and The Black Book of Basingwerk NLW MS. 7006*, edited and translated by Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1971), s.a. 969 = 971.

<sup>62</sup> *The Annals of Inisfallen (MS. Rawlinson B.503)*, edited by S. Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951), s.a. 974.2; AFM, s.a. 972 [= A.D. 974].

<sup>63</sup> *Battle of Maldon*, edited by Gordon, p. 60.

<sup>64</sup> *Brut y Tywysogyon (Peniarth)*, s.a. 1044; *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, s.a. 1044.

<sup>65</sup> *Domesday Book*, I, fols 325a, 330d and 358a–b.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid.*, I, fol. 121a; *Libri censualis, vocati Domesday Book, additamenta*, edited by H. Ellis (London, 1816), fol. 204b; Förster, 'Freilassungsurkunden', nos XXX–XXXI.

<sup>67</sup> *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. 10, *Bath and Wells 1061–1205*, edited by F. M. R. Ramsey (Oxford, 1995), pp. 33–34. The editor translates the name as 'William son of Macus', but for the ambiguity of the genitive *Maci* see above, p. 6, n. 3. This 'Macus' is here named retrospectively as grandfather of Philip of Wellington, fl. c.1151–58.

<sup>68</sup> *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, edited by C. N. Innes, Maitland Club, 61, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1843), I, 5; *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, I, 158; *Early*

*Macchus* [abl.] (Selkirk): c.1120.<sup>69</sup>

*Macusus, Macus* (Belton, Lincs): 1148–66.<sup>70</sup>

*Liolfo filio Machus, Liolfo filio Maccus, Liolpho filio Maccus, Lyulfo filio Machus, Liolfo filio Macus, Lyulfo filio Mach<sup>9</sup>, Liulfo filio Ma', Liulfo filio Macchus* (Scotland): 1153–78.<sup>71</sup>

*Roberto filio Maias* [sic], *Roberto filio Maccus, Roberto filio Mascus* (Scotland): 1165–1214.<sup>72</sup>

*Maccus marschaldo* (Scotland): 1165–1214.<sup>73</sup>

*Macho preposito* (Scotland): 1165–1214.<sup>74</sup>

*Petro filio Macus; Macus preposito* (Yorks): both 1163–c.1170.<sup>75</sup>

*Macho pincerna* [abl.] (Northants): 1174–95.<sup>76</sup>

*de Maccus (Maucuso) de Leum* (Leam, Northumberland): 1176.<sup>77</sup>

*Scottish Charters*, edited by A. C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905), pp. 46 and 108; *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, edited by Innes, I, 4.

<sup>69</sup> *Early Scottish Charters*, edited by Lawrie, p. 28.

<sup>70</sup> *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107–1191*, edited by D. E. Greenway (London and Oxford, 1972), p. 155.

<sup>71</sup> *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, I, 186, 191, 194, 226 and 248; II, 151, 177 and 459; *Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle Abacie Cisterciensis Beate Virginis de Neubotle Chartarium Vetus*, edited by C. N. Innes, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 29; *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, edited by Innes, I, 56–57 and 141; *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, edited by L. C. Loyd and D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1950), p. 306.

<sup>72</sup> *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, edited by Innes, I, 56–57, 76 and 81. Despite the variant form *Maias*, we appear to be dealing with the same person in all three instances.

<sup>73</sup> *ibid.*, I, 68.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*, I, 77.

<sup>75</sup> *Early Yorkshire Charters*, edited by W. Farrer and others, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1914–16; Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 1935–65; Extra Series, 1942), I, 425.

<sup>76</sup> *The Cartulary of Daventry Priory*, edited by M. J. Franklin, Northamptonshire Record Society, 35 (Northampton, 1988), p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> *Pipe Roll 25 Henry II*, p. 140.

*Hubertus filius Mach, Huberti filii Machus, Hubertus filius Machus; Willelmum filium Mach* (Lincs): 1196–1224.<sup>78</sup>

*Machus de Nebus, Machus de Neuhus* [abl.] (Newsholme, Yorks): c.1155.<sup>79</sup>

*Henricus filius Machus* (East Halton, Lincs): before late 12th.<sup>80</sup>

*Macus pater Matillidis et Wimarce* (Hardwick, Lincs): 1202 or before.<sup>81</sup>

(?) *Maicus de Leuerton* (Leverton, Lincs): 1202.<sup>82</sup>

*pro morte Makus* (Yorks): 1218–19.<sup>83</sup>

*Roberto filio Machus* (Kelso, Roxburghshire): 1221.<sup>84</sup>

(?) *Mac* (Oxford): 1236.<sup>85</sup>

(?) “Makky of Buston” (Buston, Northumberland): 1296.<sup>86</sup>

*Rogerus filius Macke* (Guisborough, Yorks): c.1300.<sup>87</sup>

*de Agnete relicta Mak* (Wearmouth, Northumberland): 1340–41.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, edited by C. W. Foster and K. Major, Lincoln Record Society, 10 vols (1931–73), IV, 14, 24 and 28.

<sup>79</sup> *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw, from various Collections*, edited by F. M. Stenton (London, 1920), pp. 185–86 and 189.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>81</sup> *The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls A. D. 1202–1209*, edited by D. M. Stenton, Lincoln Record Society, 22 (1926), p. 61.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>83</sup> *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Yorkshire in 3 Henry III (1218–19)*, edited by D. M. Stenton, Selden Society, 56 (London, 1937), p. 218.

<sup>84</sup> *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, edited by Innes, I, 101.

<sup>85</sup> *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office ... 1227–[1272]*, 14 vols (London, 1902–38); and *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office ... 1272–[1509]*, 47 vols (London, 1892–1963), for years 1234–37, p. 513.

<sup>86</sup> *The Northumbrian Lay Subsidy of 1296*, translated by C. M. Fraser (Newcastle, 1968), p. 154.

<sup>87</sup> *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne, Ebor. Diceseos Ordinis S. Augustini, fundati A.D. M.C.XIX*, edited by W. Brown, 2 vols, Surtees Society, 86 and 89 (1889–94), II, 416–17.

## LIST 2

EXAMPLES OF SURNAMES DERIVED FROM *MACCUS*2A: FORMS WITH THE FINAL *-US*

(?) *Ricardus Makubus* (Gloucs): before 1189–97.<sup>89</sup>

“Dobbe Macus” (Lancs): 1246.<sup>90</sup>

“Osmund Talkarn Mackus” (Cornwall): 1286.<sup>91</sup>

“John Maccus” (Dublin): 1299.<sup>92</sup>

(?) *cum Agnete Makkes* (Sussex): 1347.<sup>93</sup>

“John Makhous of Wyuelyngham” (‘Willingham’, unidentified): 1364.<sup>94</sup>

“William Mackus of Kyslyngbury” (Kislingbury, Northants): 1398.<sup>95</sup>

“William Makus and Maud his wife” (? Compton, Wilts): 1399.<sup>96</sup>

(?) “Thomas Makkys” (Wilton, Wilts): 1490.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *Durham Cathedral Priory Rentals*, vol. I, *Bursars Rentals*, edited by R. A. Lomm and A. J. Piper, Surtees Society, 198 (1989), p. 39.

<sup>89</sup> *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217*, edited by R. B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), pp. 68–71.

<sup>90</sup> *A Calendar of the Lancashire Assize Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, edited by John Parker, 2 vols, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, 47 and 49 (1904–05), I, 74–75.

<sup>91</sup> *Close Rolls 1279–88*, p. 414; see Appendix II below (pp. 95–98).

<sup>92</sup> *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls or Proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland*, edited by J. Mills and M. C. Griffith, 3 vols (Dublin, 1905–[56]), I, 270.

<sup>93</sup> *Registrum Hamonis Hethe Diocesis Roffensis A.D. 1319–1352*, edited by Charles Johnson, 2 vols, Canterbury and York Society, 48–49 (1948), II, 952.

<sup>94</sup> *Registrum Simonis de Sudberia Diocesis Londoniensis A.D. 1362–1375*, edited by R. C. Fowler, 2 vols, Canterbury and York Society, 34 and 38 (1916–30), II, 28.

<sup>95</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols (1890–1915), I, 399.

<sup>96</sup> *Abstract of Feet of Fines relating to Wiltshire 1377–1509*, edited by J. K. Kirby, Wiltshire Record Society, 41 (1986), p. 42.

<sup>97</sup> *The Register of Thomas Langton Bishop of Salisbury 1485–93*, edited by

## 2B: FORMS WITHOUT FINAL -US AND ABBREVIATED FORMS

*Adae Mac, Adae Make, Adae Mack de Seleby, Adam filius Ricardi Mack, Adam filius Ricardi Mack, Adae filii Ricardi Make, Adae filii Ricardi Mack* (Selby, Yorks): undated.<sup>98</sup>

"Richard Mac" (Yorks): undated.<sup>99</sup>

*Radulfo et Petro Mac* (Shropshire): c.1180–86.<sup>100</sup>

*Hugo Mac, Hugonem Mac, de Hugone Mac* (Worcs): 1188–92, ob. c.1221.<sup>101</sup>

*Hugo Macke* (Beds): 1210.<sup>102</sup>

*Raud Mak'* (French text; Bristol?): 1229–1301.<sup>103</sup>

*Robertum Macke* (Durham): 1242.<sup>104</sup>

"Nicholas son of Adam Make" (Bucks): 1244–45.<sup>105</sup>

*Alanum Mak* (Sussex): 1249 (?).<sup>106</sup>

D. P. Wright, vol. I, *Canterbury and York Society*, 74 (1985), pp. 103–07.

<sup>98</sup> *The Coucher Book of Selby*, edited by J. T. Fowler, 2 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 10 and 13 (1891–93), I, 110, 156, 164, 168, 295, 297 and 304.

<sup>99</sup> *Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents contained in the Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains in the West Riding of the County of York*, edited by W. T. Lancaster, 2 vols (Leeds, 1915), I, 308.

<sup>100</sup> *The Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, edited by U. Rees, 2 vols (Aberystwyth, 1975), II, 272.

<sup>101</sup> *Pipe Roll 33 Hen. II*, p. 219; 2 *Ric. I*, p. 23; 3–4 *Ric. I*, p. 82; *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the Rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Lincolnshire 1218–9 and Worcestershire 1221*, edited by D. M. Stenton, Selden Society, 53 (1934), p. 549.

<sup>102</sup> *Fines, sive Pedes Finium*, I, edited by J. Hunter (London, 1835), I, 79.

<sup>103</sup> *Novae Narrationes*, edited by E. Shanks, Seldon Society, 80 (1963), p. 329.

<sup>104</sup> 'Two thirteenth-century Durham assize rolls', edited by K. E. Bayley, in *Miscellanea*, vol. II, Surtees Society, 127 (1916), 1–105 (p. 31).

<sup>105</sup> *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews preserved in the Public Record Office*, edited by J. M. Rigg and H. Jenkinson, 3 vols (London, 1905–29), I, 96.

<sup>106</sup> *An Abstract of Feet of Fines relating to the County of Sussex*, edited by L. F. Salzman, 2 vols, Sussex Record Society, 2 and 7 (1902–07), I, 131.

*de Johanne Macke* (Paxford, Worcs); *de Ricardo Macke* (Ombersley, Worcs); (?) *de Johanne le Macho* (Upton-on-Severn, Worcs): all 1272.<sup>107</sup>

"William Macke" (Ipswich?): 1274.<sup>108</sup>

"Robert Makke": 1276.<sup>109</sup>

(?) *Willelmum le Mak* (Sussex): 1279?; *Willelmus le Mach* (Chichester, Sussex): 1287; 'William le Make of Cicestre' (Chichester): 1320s (?); *Willelmo le Mak* (Sussex): 1327.<sup>110</sup>

"John Mak' of Chestreton" (Chesterton, Cambs): 1286.<sup>111</sup>

"Richard Mach" (Sussex): 1292.<sup>112</sup>

*Ricardus Macke* (Cambs): 1292.<sup>113</sup>

*de Ricardo Mac* (Canterbury, Kent): late thirteenth century.<sup>114</sup>

*de Rogero Mak* (Yorks): 1301.<sup>115</sup>

"John brother of Robert Mak' of Sutton in Holand" (Lincs): 1307.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *Lay Subsidy Roll for the County of Worcester 1 Edward I*, edited by F. J. Eld, Worcestershire Historical Society (1895), pp. 2, 9 and 72.

<sup>108</sup> *Close Rolls 1272–79*, p. 123.

<sup>109</sup> *Plea Rolls, Exchequer of the Jews*, edited by Rigg and Jenkinson, III, 195.

<sup>110</sup> *Feet of Fines ... Sussex*, edited by Salzman, II, 107; *The Register of John Peckham Archbishop of Canterbury 1279–1292*, edited by F. N. Davis, 2 vols, Canterbury and York Society, 64–65 (1968–69), I, 253; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office ... 1232–[1580]*, 72 vols (London, 1891–1971), for years 1321–24, p. 450; *The Three Earliest Subsidies for the County of Sussex in the Years 1296, 1327, 1332*, edited by W. Hudson, Sussex Record Society, 10 (1909), p. 109.

<sup>111</sup> *Patent Rolls 1281–92*, p. 260.

<sup>112</sup> *Customals of the Manors of Laughton, Willingdon and Goring*, edited by A. E. Wilson, III, Sussex Record Society, 60 (1961), p. 18.

<sup>113</sup> *Select Cases from the Coroners' Rolls A.D. 1265–1413 with a Brief Account of the History of the Office of Coroner*, edited by C. Gross, Selden Society, 9 (1896), p. 129.

<sup>114</sup> *The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury commonly called the Black Book*, edited by G. J. Turner and H. E. Salter, 2 vols (London, 1915–24), I, 92.

<sup>115</sup> *Yorkshire Lay Subsidy being a Fifteenth, Collected 30 Edward I (1301)*, edited by William Brown, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 21 (1897), p. 41.

<sup>116</sup> *Patent Rolls 1301–07*, p. 503.

"William Macke" and his sons Stephen and Walter: 1310; "Stephen Macke" and "Roger son of William Macke" both (Knaresborough, Yorks): 1323; (?) "William Mach" (York): 1348.<sup>117</sup>

"William Macke of Stratford, clerk" (Stratford, Warwicks): 1313.<sup>118</sup>

"Roger Mak the younger" (Suffolk): 1316.<sup>119</sup>

*Johanne Mack'* [abl.] (Somerset): 1327.<sup>120</sup>

"Henry Make" (Leicestershire): 1341.<sup>121</sup>

"Alice Mak of Baudeseye" (Bawdsey, Suffolk): 1346.<sup>122</sup>

"Robert Mache of Briggefod" (Bridgford, Notts): 1376.<sup>123</sup>

"John Makk" (Notts): 1388-89; *Iohannis Mak* (Newark on Trent, Notts): 1393-96.<sup>124</sup>

"William Make chaplain, Chicheley" (Chicheley, Bucks): 1396, 1399.<sup>125</sup>

*Roberto Mak'* (unlocated): 1400.<sup>126</sup>

"John Makke" (Scotland): 1424.<sup>127</sup>

"Hugh Makke of Wilton, mercer" (Wilton, Wilts?): 1425.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>117</sup> *Patent Rolls 1307-13*, p. 261; *1321-24*, p. 309; *1348-50*, p. 51.

<sup>118</sup> *The Register of Walter Reynolds Bishop of Worcester 1308-1313*, edited by Rowland A. Wilson, Dugdale Society Publications, 9 (London, 1928), p. 64.

<sup>119</sup> *Patent Rolls 1313-17*, p. 581.

<sup>120</sup> 'Exchequer Lay Subsidies 169/5' [Somerset Lay Subsidy, 1327], edited by F. H. Dickinson, in *Kirby's Quest for Somerset, Nomina Villarum for Somerset*, [etc.], Somerset Record Society, 3 (1889), pp. 79-284 (p. 110).

<sup>121</sup> *Patent Rolls 1340-43*, p. 282.

<sup>122</sup> *Patent Rolls 1345-48*, p. 130.

<sup>123</sup> *Patent Rolls 1374-77*, p. 297.

<sup>124</sup> *Abstracts of the Inquisitions Post Mortem relating to Nottinghamshire 1350-1436*, edited by K. S. S. Train, Thoroton Society Record Series, 12 (1952), p. 108; *Proceedings before the Justices of the Peace in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, edited by B. H. Putnam (London, 1938), p. 137.

<sup>125</sup> *Patent Rolls 1396-99*, pp. 27 and 531.

<sup>126</sup> *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench*, edited by G. O. Sayles, vol. VII, Selden Society, 88 (1971), p. 106.

<sup>127</sup> Bain, *Documents Relating to Scotland* (see n. 13, above), IV, 196.

<sup>128</sup> *Feet of Fines ... Wiltshire*, edited by Kirby, p. 87.

*Vilelmo Mak* (Paisley, Renfrewshire): 1426.<sup>129</sup>

"William Makke" (Sussex?): 1432.<sup>130</sup>

"John Mak" (Ayton, Berwickshire): 1470;<sup>131</sup> cf. "John Maxsoune", below.

(?) "Thomas Macche late of Lymmesfeld" (Limpsfield, Surrey): 1478.<sup>132</sup>

*Malcolmo Makke* (Galloway, Scotland): 1480.<sup>133</sup>

*Jonete Make, Jonete Makke* (Auchtermuchty, Fife): 1480.<sup>134</sup>

*Wil[lermo] Make* (Scotland): 1491.<sup>135</sup>

*Alexandro Makke de Balgarane* ('Balgarane' (unid.), Scotland): 1493.<sup>136</sup>

#### 2C. PATRONYMIC FORMS

*Roberto Makessone* (Scotland): 1214-49.<sup>137</sup>

"William le Teynturer of Artfinan [Ardfinnan, Co. Tipperary] of the Omoleyns . . . his father was called Thomas Omolyn, born at Iniseheenan [sic] . . . says he is not *Hibernicus* but *Houstmannus*, viz., Macmackus of the city of Limerick . . . his mother Olyna obtained the liberty of the Ostmen for her son" (Limerick and Tipperary): 1295.<sup>138</sup>

"Robert Omaccus and Maurice Manneis Omaccus . . . James Omaccus, Walter . . ., John Omaccus and Batinus Omaccus"; "Batyn Omaccus"; "James Omaccus" (all Dublin): 1302; "James Omackus"; "Robert

<sup>129</sup> *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet*, edited by C. N. Innes, Maitland Club, 17 (Edinburgh, 1832), p. 148.

<sup>130</sup> *Patent Rolls 1429-35*, p. 170.

<sup>131</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Colonel David Milne Home of Wedderburn Castle, N.B.* (London, 1902), p. 182.

<sup>132</sup> *Patent Rolls 1476-85*, p. 86.

<sup>133</sup> *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, edited by J. Stuart and others, 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1878-1908), IX (1480-87), 610.

<sup>134</sup> *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, for years 1488-96, pp. 674 and 717.

<sup>135</sup> *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, edited by J. M. Thomson and others, 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1912-14), for years 1424-1513, p. 427.

<sup>136</sup> *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, for years 1424-1513, p. 458.

<sup>137</sup> *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, edited by Innes, I, 4.

<sup>138</sup> *Justiciary Rolls of Ireland*, edited by Mills, I, 59.

Omackus, and John Omackus" (Dublin): 1305-07.<sup>139</sup>

"James Omackus" (Wexford, Ireland): 1302; "William Omackus" ('Balyscallan' (unid.), Co. Wexford): 1307; "Walter Omaccus" ('Kylsallan' (unid.), Co. Wexford): 1306-07.<sup>140</sup>

"Adam Makson" (Newcastle): 1341; "Hugh Makson" (Newcastle): 1387.<sup>141</sup>

(?) "Nicole Makkesson", "Nicol Makyssone" (Scotland): 1424-25.<sup>142</sup>

*Willelmo Maxson* (South Charlton, Northumberland): 1495-96.<sup>143</sup>

"John Maxsoune" (Ayton, Berwickshire): 1465;<sup>144</sup> cf. "John Mak" (1470), above.

<sup>139</sup> *Justiciary Rolls of Ireland*, edited by Mills, I, 392-94; II, 191 and 267.

<sup>140</sup> *ibid.*, I, 427, and II, 348; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, London, edited by H. S. Sweetman and others, 5 vols (London, 1875-86), V, 177.

<sup>141</sup> *Early Deeds Relating to Newcastle upon Tyne*, edited by A. M. Oliver, Surtees Society, 137 (1924), p. 150; *Patent Rolls 1385-89*, p. 283.

<sup>142</sup> Bain, *Documents Relating to Scotland*, IV, 197 and 202.

<sup>143</sup> *Durham Cathedral Priory Rental*, edited by Lomm and Piper, p. 197.

<sup>144</sup> *Manuscripts of Colonel Home*, p. 182.

## APPENDIX II: *Talkarn Mackus*

O. J. Padel

Peterhouse, Cambridge

A person called 'Osmund Talkarn Mackus' is cited by Thornton (above, p. 89), from the Close Roll for 1286. The entry in which he appears is not identified by county in the roll, but internal evidence shows that it refers to Cornwall. The printed entry itself reads as follows:

Osmund Talkarn Mackus came before the king on Sunday after St Mark [= Sunday 28 April, 1286] and sought to replevy his land in Kelinregnur, which was taken into the king's hands for his default before the king against Joan, late the wife of Richard de Trewhyla.<sup>145</sup>

As a surname, the words *Talkarn Mackus* are evidently derived from a place-name, presumably Osmund's residence. Although the place-name *Talkarn* could theoretically belong in either Cornwall or Wales, *Trewhyla* is characteristically Cornish.

The place from which Osmund took his surname, *Talkarn Mackus*, is reasonably well known in medieval Cornish sources. Its earliest known occurrence is as the surname of the same Osmund in 1281, *Osemund' de Talcarnackos*; later records give the place-name as *Talcarn Vaccos* 1316, *Talkarnuaccos* 1333, *Talcarn Vaccas* 1528, and *Tolcarne Vaccas alias Higher Tolcarne* 1694.<sup>146</sup> The last form provides the identification. Higher Tolcarne is in the parish of St Mawgan in Pyder, and is one of two places in that parish named Tolcarne (apparently independently, and not as subdivisions of a single *Talcarn*, since they lie

<sup>145</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I*, vol. 1279-1288, p. 414. *Trewhyla* is Trehwela in the parish of St Enoder; the place-name transcribed as *Kelinregnur* should actually be read as *Keliureguur*, referring to Coldvreath in the nearby parish of Roche.

<sup>146</sup> These five forms come, respectively, from: Public Record Office (London), assize roll, Just1/1249, m. 11; C. Henderson, in G. H. Doble, *Saint Mawgan*, Cornish Saints Series, no. 39 [Pyder edition] (Shipston-on-Stour, 1936), p. 18; PRO, hundredal court roll; Cornwall Record Office (Truro), manorial account roll, AR2/952, m. 1; and PRO, recovery roll, CP43/443, m. 42r.

two miles apart, with other places in between, including the churchtown of St Mawgan itself); the other is now called Tolcarne Merock, found earlier as *Talcarnmorep* 1331 and *Talcarn Moreb* 1376, 'Tolcarne by the sea-shore' (Cornish \**morrep* 'sea-shore').<sup>146</sup> The suffixes *Mackus* and *Morep* served to distinguish the two separate places of the same name within one parish.

The distinguishing suffix *Mackus* is evidently the personal name *Maccus* discussed by Thornton. As he points out (above, pp. 68 and 86), this name appears in eleventh-century Cornwall, both in the Bodmin Manumissions and in Domesday Book. In the latter source *Machus* is a tenant of the monastery of St Petrock's, holding the manor of Fursnewth (parish of St Cleer) in both 1066 and 1086;<sup>147</sup> in the Manumissions *Maccos* appears as a person of some substance, a *hundredes mann* or *centurio*.<sup>148</sup> The dates of the manumission-entries in which *Maccos* appears (later eleventh century), and also the context, would be compatible with the suggestion that he was the same person as the tenant recorded in Domesday Book.<sup>149</sup>

It is possible that Higher Tolcarne (alias *Talkarn Mackus*) is the modern identification of a manor called *Talcarn* which, Domesday Book tells us, had been taken away from St Petrock's monastery between 1066 and 1086 by the Count of Mortain, though the identification cannot be certain as there are other possible candidates.<sup>150</sup> If correct, the identification would mean that the place later known as *Talkarn Mackus* had once been a property of St Petrock's monastery. If that is so, then it is tempting to suggest that the presumed *Mackus* from

<sup>146</sup> Cornwall Record Office, deeds, AR3/5 and AR4/2130; for Cornish \**morrep*, see O. J. Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements*, English Place-Name Society, 56/57 (Nottingham, 1985), p. 169.

<sup>147</sup> *Domesday Book* (general editor J. Morris), vol. 10, *Cornwall*, edited by C. and F. Thorn, 4.17 (fol. 121a); his name is spelt *Macos* and *Mac* in the corresponding entry in the Exeter Domesday: *Domesday Book, additamenta*, edited by Ellis, p. 186 (fol. 204b).

<sup>148</sup> 'Freilassungsurkunden', edited by Förster, pp. 91–92 (nos XXX–XXXI).

<sup>149</sup> For the date see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. 159.

<sup>150</sup> *Domesday Book, Cornwall*, 4.22 (fol. 121b); *Domesday Book, additamenta*, p. 187 (fol. 205); for the identification, see *Victoria History of the County of Cornwall*, edited by W. Page, part 8: L. F. Salzman and Thomas Taylor, *The Domesday Survey for Cornwall* (London, 1924), p. 72a.

whom this former property of St Petrock's monastery derived its manorial suffix was the recorded tenant of St Petrock's called *Macos* or *Maccos*. He would have held St Petrock's manor of *Talcarn* in addition to its manor of Fursnewth, which he held for at least 20 years. However, *Maccos* is not mentioned in connection with the manor of *Talcarn*: in 1066, when it belonged to St Petrock's, it was held by one *Alnuardus*.<sup>151</sup> In order to have given his name as the manorial suffix, *Maccos* would therefore need to have held Tolcarne either before this Alward in 1066, or briefly at some time between 1066 and 1086, after Alward's tenure but before the manor was usurped by the Count of Mortain. (He is not likely to have held it any later, since it then ceased to have any association with St Petrock's monastery, so the argument would no longer apply that, as a known tenant of the monastery, he would be a likely candidate to have held this one of its manors.)

The alternative is that the manorial suffix is derived from another, unrecorded, person of the same name; but that seems unlikely in view of the scarcity of the name in southern England, as shown in Thornton's lists, above. As a personal name (List 1, pp. 85–88), *Maccus* is unattested south of Lincolnshire, except for the Cornish instance; and even as a surname (List 2A, p. 89) it is found no closer than Wiltshire. Indeed, it may be felt that the rarity of *Maccos* as a personal name in southern England makes it likely that Higher Tolcarne (alias *Talkarn Mackus*) was indeed named from this known individual, whether or not the place is also to be identified with St Petrock's manor of *Talcarn*; and thus that the name in itself makes the equation with *Talcarn* more likely. (This argument stems from *Maccos*'s own association with the monastery, as a tenant and as witness to manumissions performed under its aegis; if he was in fact a greater lord within late eleventh-century Cornwall, then his known tenure of one manor of St Petrock's could have been only part of his wider interests, and he could have given his name to *Talkarn Mackus* without its having any association with St Petrock's. But there is no hint in the record that he had wider interests.) If these suggested arguments are accepted, then the preceding study of the personal name, showing its known currency, may assist with the identification of the difficult *Talcarn* of Domesday Book.

<sup>151</sup> *Domesday Book, additamenta*, p. 187 (fol. 205); in 1086 it was held of the Count of Mortain by one *Alsinus* (*ibid.*).



If the suggestion is correct that the suffix in the place-name *Talkarn Mackus* is derived from the known tenant of St Petrock's of that name, then this constitutes a valuable instance of a Cornish manorial suffix originating with a tenant who lived in the eleventh century. That is rather earlier than the currency of most personal names found as manorial suffixes in Cornwall, and is of particular interest since the bearer of the name is known from two separate sources, a rare circumstance for Cornwall in the eleventh century. If this man's name was of Hiberno-Scandinavian derivation, as Thornton's discussion makes probable, then he was a man, presumably of Hiberno-Scandinavian ancestry, who (or his forebears) had settled in Cornwall, perhaps under the patronage of St Petrock's monastery. (Compare Leland's comment, 500 years later, that the saint's town of Padstow was 'ful of Irisch men').<sup>152</sup> He rose well up the social scale, becoming the holder of one or two manors and occupying an important position of social and fiscal responsibility—a useful demonstration of the possibility of flexibility and receptiveness towards overseas immigrants in Cornish society in the eleventh century.

<sup>152</sup> *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535–1543*, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London, 1906–10), I, 179.

## Reviews

KENNETH CAMERON, *English Place Names*, new edition, Batsford: London, 1996, 256 pp. ISBN 0 7134 7378 9. Price £17.99 (paperback).

Kenneth Cameron's *English Place Names* requires no introduction to readers of *Nomina*. Long established as the leading book in its field, it has been essential reading for both students and specialists since publication of the first edition in 1961. A new edition has been needed for some years, for despite being, as Margaret Gelling has commented, 'unlikely to be replaced or surpassed', the text had undeniably become outdated.<sup>1</sup> The pace of change in place-name research has meant that many of the views held in the 1960s are no longer considered valid; and this new edition not only presents a reliable and authoritative account of the current position, but outlines some of the most important work in place-name studies over the last thirty years in order to show how this position has been arrived at. Unlike previous revisions, where addenda to individual chapters were printed towards the end of the volume, the book has now been extensively rewritten to incorporate the most up-to-date scholarly thinking within the main body of the text. Certain sections are, of course, affected more than others, and this review will focus on the major changes that have been made.

Of the twenty chapters contained in the previous edition, one—'Place-Names and Archaeology'—has now been omitted. It is replaced by a chapter on 'Modern Place-Names', which discusses names formed during the last two and a half centuries and is partly based on the work of Adrian Room. Otherwise, the overall layout of the book remains much the same. The opening chapter on 'The Technique of Place-Name Study' has some new material, notably on topographical vocabulary and on the debate concerning Anglo-Norman influence on spelling and phonology; and the treatment of these topics later in the book has also been revised. Thus the chapters on 'Rivers, River-Crossings, and Marshland', 'Hills and Valleys', and 'Woods, Clearings and Open Land' now draw heavily on recent work by Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, as, to a lesser extent, does the chapter on 'Roads and Ways'. This allows much more precise definitions of individual terms to be given than was previously possible. Old English *ĕg*, *ford*, and *dun*, for instance, are now understood to have had a quasi-habitative significance (pp. 172, 175 and 181–82), while OE *hōb* has been shown to refer to a hill-spur of a particular shape (p. 184), OE *\*wæsse* to land that floods and drains quickly (p. 15), and OE *hop* to a valley characterised by a secluded location (p. 193).

<sup>1</sup> M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past. Place-Names and the History of England*, 2nd edn (Chichester, 1988), p. 16.